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**I, Steven Napier, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Studies.**

It is entitled:

**Political Development of Subaltern Education in Great Britain, the United States, and India**

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## Abstract

My dissertation research is an integrated design and analysis based on archival records and artifacts that examines the effectiveness of various civic organizations and collective agency of the populace in the development of education in Great Britain, the United States, and India. This research focuses on political development, and other areas concerning religious and ethnic diversity, multiculturalism, peace, international political economy and how those forces helped or hindered the development of education in those three countries. Further, this dissertation investigates the ancient and medieval origins of Indian education and its subsequent developments during the British Empire and during post-colonial development periods. My findings have led me to conclude that civilization is driven by perceived immediate self interest and divisions along various racial, ethnic, class/caste lines have served to further impede the development of education in Great Britain, the United States, and India. Moreover, increasing globalization and modernization of economies have provided many countries with increased opportunities, but also have served to create many challenges in regards to education in effectively dealing with those challenges.

This dissertation challenges the concept embodied by a whole realm of post-modern literature that purports that educational institutions including science, learning, literacy, and technology was developed by the bourgeoisie. Instead, this dissertation argues that these educational institutions were developed by the populace through the use and implementation of actions by labor unions and civic organizations. Post-modern literature is dominated by the social control thesis, which, emphasizes the instruments of control, but deemphasizes the role of the populace in implicating the development of education, literacy, science, technology, etc. In the U.S., the ‘new historical revisionists’ have taken the position that free, compulsory, public

education was imposed upon a passive working class as a means of social control, while Marxist scholars have countered with a labor education thesis which emphasizes the initiative of the working class in the struggle for public education.

Subaltern studies is typically defined as a person of 'lesser rank'. Thus, social science from this point of view is history from the bottom up. This dissertation studies subaltern education from the standpoint of the labor-education thesis which observes that various instruments of social control have been exerted by the bourgeoisie on the populace, but simultaneously observes that education for the masses has come about by pressure from the populace organized through labor unions and civic organizations. The debate of the labor-education as it relates to political economy and British, U.S., and Indian history is traced throughout this dissertation in an intellectual historiography. Additionally, the validity of the labor-education thesis is investigated and applied to India. My findings conclude that the actions of labor in India were primarily responsible for the development of education. My research, comparing educational activities and policies has given rise to the opportunity of expanding investigations into research in other countries.

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For Rukmani

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## ***Political Development of Subaltern Education in Great Britain, the United States, and India***

“The physicist who is only a physicist can still be a first-class physicist and a most valuable member of society. But nobody can be a great economist who is only an economist – and I am even tempted to add that the economist who is only an economist is likely to become a nuisance if not a public danger.” – (Friedrich August von Hayek, 1974).<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION:

This dissertation is concerned with the meaning, scope, implications and applications of Subaltern studies, or, the history of the social from the perspectives of the broad populace. The ‘Subaltern’, coined by Marxist scholar Antonio Gramsci<sup>2</sup>, simply means a person of lesser rank. Such histories have been such referred to in the West as ‘Peoples History’ in famous works by Howard Zinn<sup>3</sup>, Chris Harman<sup>4</sup>, Page Smith<sup>5</sup>, and many others who have incorporated various components and aspects of the history of the social as told from the bottom up. In most of these inquiries Karl Marx’s philosophical approach to historical inquiry, known as a dialectical materialism lies just below the surface.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Friedrich August von Hayek, “The Preface of Knowledge”, in *Nobel Lectures in Economic Sciences, 1969-1980*, vol. 1, Assar Lindbeck, Ed. (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company, 1980), p. 179-189; Hayek, winner of the 1974 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences, is also quoted by James J. Heckman who is also the 2000 winner of the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences in, “The New Economics of Child Quality”, at the T.W. Schultz Keynote Address at the American Agricultural Economics Association Annual Meeting (Chicago: January 5, 2007), p. 2, <http://www.kidsfirstcanada.org/heckman-2007.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> Chris Harman, “Gramsci, the Prison Notebooks, and Philosophy,” *International Socialism*, Iss. 114 (April 9, 2007), <http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=308&issue=114>; Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States: 1492 – Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Chris Harman, *A People’s History of the World: From the Stone Age to the New Millennium* (London: Verso, 2008).

<sup>5</sup> Page Smith, *A People’s History of the United States*, 8 Vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976-1987).

<sup>6</sup> See Chris Mathew Sciabarra’s, “Karl Marx”, *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology*, Jenas Beckert and Milan Zafiroski, Eds. (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 434-437; William H. Sewell, Jr., “Crooked Lines” *American Historical Review*, vil. 113, no. 2 (Apr., 2008), p. 393-405; Geoff Eley, “The Profane and Imperfect World of Historiography” *American Historical Review*, vil. 113, no. 2 (Apr., 2008), p. 425-437; Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Geoff Ely and Keith Nield *The Future of Class in History: What’s Left of the Social?* (Ann Arbor, MI:

In the age of Marx and beyond, the study of collective agency of the populace has often centered on trade unionism and related topics. For the historian/social scientist these topics are good starting place for inquiry and the records contained in labor archives are rich primary sources for social histories that reflect the force of the population on the development of various institutions of society.<sup>7</sup> This question is of particular importance when social scientists study events such as whether the British working class primarily sided with the Union or the Confederacy during the American Civil War. Some research, like that of Mary Ellison<sup>8</sup>, has been done to support the claim that the British working class sided with the south; however, other scholars that have dominated their research with heavy archival data were led to opposite conclusions. For example, Philip Foner asserts that, “when one examines the materials we arrive at opposite conclusions”. Foner concludes, “I have studied the meetings held by British workers during the Civil War, and these meetings ... overwhelmingly supported the North. Ellison simply developed her thesis without any real evidence.”<sup>9</sup> Even so, these archives can be limiting when examining history from different time periods and across international boundaries where official labor unions were not known as such or officially organized. This is especially true when studying ancient India where trade unions as they are known today did not exist, however the caste system was originally organized according to each person’s or family’s occupation.<sup>10</sup>

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University of Michigan Press, 2007); Jonathan Wolff, “Karl Marx,” in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta, et al. Eds. (2010 Edition), <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/marx/>.

<sup>7</sup> Daniel J. Leab and Philip P. Mason, Eds., *Labor History Archives in the United States: A Guide for Research and Teaching* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992).

<sup>8</sup> Mary Ellison, *Support for Secession: Lancashire and the American Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

<sup>9</sup> See Philip S. Foner, “The Role of Labor in the Struggle for Free Compulsory Education,” *The United States Educational System: Marxist Approaches*, Marvin J. Berlowitz and Frank E. Chapman, Jr., Eds. (Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1980), p. 93-103; Philip S. Foner, *British Labor and the American Civil War* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981).

<sup>10</sup> Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 61-70; Romila Thapar, *A History of India: Volume I* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 28-49.

Civilization since the dawn of humans has been driven by perceived immediate self interest. Various manifestations of trades unions fall under this idea as various applications of their implications and applications are exerted under the collective action of a conglomerate of perceived self interest. Trade collectivization in the context of the definition used in this dissertation is a mass movement of the populace to impose upon public policy to improve conditions. Under this premise collective agency of the populace is exerted in order to affect the structures of society. Yet, a wider and more comprehensive definition is necessary in order to encompass a wider range of persons and collective action that crosses the boundaries of the conceived notion of the nation-state and, likewise, the restrictions of definitions of the boundaries of inquiries across centuries. The dimensions of collective action include the institution of the eight hour work day, better working conditions, luxuries, comforts, and education. Political economy in regards to unions includes the involvement of politics, law, and economics with the three working in conjunction together. Therefore, the term “working class people” under this definition does not merely refer to the improvement of conditions on the job, but how they affect the world outside of the workplace. Industry is very much affected by outside influences just as education is influencing everything in the outside world and the outside world is influencing everything inside of it. The populace has direct influence upon luxury, leisure, wages, education and foreign policy. The collective agency of the populace is directly involved in affecting the structure of society and is constantly changing in its effects. The polity is also in a constant state of change and can decline in its sentiments toward the working class as we have seen in post-modern times or increase as we have seen in the ‘Occupation Wall-Street Movement’. Further, the effects can be seen in various economic initiatives but also can be seen in the legal structures that limit or give freedoms to organizations like labor unions or to policies

that are favorable to working class people.<sup>11</sup>

Civic organizations and collective agency of the populace, even though it has often involved international dimensions in policy, has always fallen within the nation-state boundaries and has been subjected to its confines of laws and policy. Regulations and public policy of labor unions differ significantly in their implications and applications in various countries from giving them significant latitude and freedoms in their operations to limiting their scope and functions. Some countries allow much freedom while others restrict this organization. Especially Western democracies have allowed for greater freedoms while many others in so-called Marxist regimes have traditionally placed greater restrictions on them. The political economy continues to affect public sentiments toward the images of unions and whether they limit or restrict economic progress and growth. Therefore the nation-state determines the implications and applications in which these civic organizations operate and affect the power they have in influencing public policy. Socialism under these pretenses is implicated as a manifestation of the collective agency of the populace acting out of their own collective self interest. The control of the means of production are challenged through the various civic organizations and the union activities that seek to turn the profit of the wages produced to social policies that help the poor. The bulk of the polity is involved in influencing the government in regulating public affairs and through this medium the means of production is controlled. The world as it exists as a contention of opposites exists in the polity as a solid substantial affect and not a contemporary event. The collective agency of the populace is best explained as solid social implicative that is continually affecting the polity in permanent ways that are not understood as merely a way in which they should be

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<sup>11</sup> Geoffrey Wood, "Trade Unions and Theories of Democracy," in *Trade Unions and Democracy: Strategies and Perspectives*, Mark Harcourt and Geoffrey Wood, Eds., (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 6-31; John E. Kelly, *Trade Unions and Socialist Politics* (London: Verso, 1988).

managed according to the benefits of the industrial organization.<sup>12</sup>

Scholarship of the working class has also differed across time periods in various countries according to the structures and functions of the economy and to the degree and time period when the industrial revolution took place in that region or country. The modern or post-modern concepts of labor unions appeared in Great Britain in the early 1700s and by the end of the century were very common all over the country. Great Britain was one of the first countries to fully transition to the industrial revolution. Therefore, the universities in Great Britain also began to study this phenomenon earlier than many did in other countries and this phenomenon influenced the rise of trade unions in other countries and subsequent research on them in other places. As a consequence, the British influence began to emerge in the United States in the proliferation of labor union emergence and research in the academy. In India and in various parts of the British Commonwealth the emergence of labor unions can be seen in the latter part of the 1800s and beyond. The unions were often spawned by British emigrants in those countries or by natives that were influenced by scholarship and writing from scholars in other countries who had already made a transition during the industrial revolution. India's Independence Movement was especially connected to the rise and proliferation of working class organization of which both Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were an integral part that continued into the twentieth century, during independence in 1947, and beyond. After independence their development was even more influential.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Albert Rees, *The Economics of Trade Unions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 3-48; Jack Barbash, *Trade Unions and National Economic Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), et al; Tony Van Den Bergh, *The Trade Unions: What Are They?* (Oxford, UK: Pegamon Press, 1970), p. 31-56.

<sup>13</sup> E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), et al; Hoyt N. Wheeler, *The Future of the American Labor Movement* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), et al; Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.92-295; Judith M. Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 187-378; Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi: The History of*

The bulk of scholarship in the academy largely ignored the economic impact of labor union activities, at least in a positive light, even prior to World War II when the academy was giving more attention to union activities and their sphere of influence was greater. Since 1950 the influence of unions and the attention of scholars to the subject have continued to decline. Bourgeois science can be blamed for much of the decline and lack of interest in the study of the economics of union activities. An additional influence on the lack of emphasis or interest on collective agency and political economy is the increasing specialization of the academic disciplines and their seemingly emphasis on their own professions where seldom do interactions with other departments or interdisciplinary work comes about. Most economic analysis studied the economic changes in isolation of political factors that regarded the political activities of unions as ‘marginal’ in its effects of overall economic growth. Their philosophy, definitions, and methods of inquiry allowed no room for assessing the effects of unions. Anthropologists and psychologists concentrated on human behaviors that were most often removed from economic influences and effects. In sociology scholars were primarily concerned with categories of human existence such as poverty, race, class, and gender or grand theories of how humans made choices and decisions. Historians have continued to focus investigations and inquiries on events that are from ancient, medieval, and modern, instead of postmodern or contemporary phenomena. The academy therefore largely emulated and replicated the dominant bourgeois ‘popular’ culture in its modes of inquiry. Embracing a philosophy of the protection of private property and the enshrining of the market as the most sacred value, scholars treated business/industry relations with their employees as a private matter only to be the sole responsibility and interest of a private

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*the World's Largest Democracy* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008), p. 61-64, 71-73, 377-378, 429-431, 538-548, 567-568, 588-591, 685-689, 700-703; Thomas George Percival Spear, *A History of India: Volume II* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 194-220, 230-270.

concern and a marginal aspect of economic affairs. Most studies with suggestions of labor influence on the economy were regarded as interfering with the free market economy.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Francis Fukuyama, "How Academia Failed the Nation: The Decline of Regional Studies" *SAISPERE* (Win., 2004), <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/pressroom/publications/saisphere/2004/fukuyama.htm>; Alison L. Booth, *The Economics of the Trade Union* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 12-50; Harold Joseph Laski, *Trade Unions in the New Society* (New York: Viking Press, 1949), et al; Alyssa Ayers, "Beyond Disciplines: India Studies in the United States," *India Review*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Jan., 2006), p. 14-38; Benjamin Cohen, "The Study of Indian History in the US Academy," *India Review*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Jan., 2006), p. 144-169.

## CHAPTER 1: ADVANCES OF THE DIALECTIC MATERIALISM IN RELATION TO OTHER HISTORICAL METHODOLOGIES:

One of the first significant advances of the dialectic materialism in its application to historical methodology was a complete body of work produced by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and Vladimir Lenin that instituted a dialectical materialism in the analysis of historical and contemporary events. Various thinkers defined, elaborated, and extended the idea of economic determinism, which was implicated after Marx's death. Some aspects were distorted, as Marx did not imply concepts of it to be absolute. In fact, Marx does not refer anywhere in his writings to economic determinism or to a dialectical materialism. These terms were applied after Marx's death and in a certain sense were appropriately applied to his writings. Under this demise, a person's environment and values are specifically developed based on the materialistic circumstances in which they are immersed in. Their environments also influence the values of labor unions, civic organizations, and businesses. Despite the influences of these unions, organizations and businesses, rational actors can and do invoke their agency on their surroundings, and also react to changes in their environment. Dialectical materialistic interpretations of phenomena often develop into assumptions about the existence of the human race and the discrepancy that exist between production and social relationships. This discrepancy leads to the class distinctions and disruptions first illuminated by Marx and subsequently developed by other scholars. The paradoxical aspects of capitalism helped to fuel the emergence of a dialectical materialistic component to society, which involves a contention of opposites that manifest themselves in class conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The dialectical materialistic interpretation of the world allowed scholars to examine the development and persistence of societal classes and to explain the continual change in society that exists in various

countries.<sup>1</sup>

A dialectical materialistic interpretation of the world was very slow to be accepted in its full application and was first recognized and transmitted to the social sciences in full scale by Russian sociologist Nikolai I. Burkharin in his, *Historical Materialism: A System of Sociology* in 1925. Julius Friedrich Hecker expanded it further in 1934 with his publication of *Russian Sociology: A Contribution to the History of Sociological Thought and Theory*. Because of the dominance of other philosophical methodologies, tensions between Russia and Western countries, and capitalism, social scientists and labor researchers in particular rarely accepted or used a full application of the methods elaborated on and further refined by Burharin and Hecker. During this period, other methodologies were developed and employed including: phenomenology, existentialism by scientists in the West. Scholars such as G.H.D. Cole chose to engage a dialectic materialist method, but came to different conclusions on the outcomes of events and sought to reconcile discrepancies between bourgeoisie science and methods employed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and others. Additionally, some labor scholars traditionally pursued research that investigated class conflict without examining the intricate complexities involved or they concentrated on the need for the proletariat to achieve class-consciousness before they

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988); Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, 3 Vols. Ben Fowkes and David Fernbach, Trans. (London: Penguin Books, 1990); Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, S.W. Ryazanskaya, Trans. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1993); Karl Marx, *Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Martin Milligan and Dirk Struik, Trans. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1959); Karl Marx, *Value, Price, and Profit* (New York: International Co., Inc., 1969); Friedrich Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Edward Aveling, Trans. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970); Vladimir Lenin, *Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960-1980); Ernest Mandel, "Marxism and Democracy," *Fourth International*, vol. 10, no. 4 (Apr., 1949), p. 104-109; Ernest Mandel, "Marxism as Seen By Bourgeois Economists," *Fourth International*, no. 8 (Winter, 1959-1960), et al; Ernest Mandel, *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1979), et al. See especially Ernest Mandel's, "Introductions" in the 1990 Penguin Books three volume edition of Karl Marx's *Capital* for Volume 1, p. 11-86, Volume 2, p. 11-79, and Volume 3, p. 9-90.

would be able to effectively counter a bourgeoisie action.<sup>2</sup>

More recent studies of post-modern British, U.S., and Indian society, culture, and life have given attention to the discrepancies and colonial legacies that predominate educational disparities within those countries. Most have traditionally argued that the aristocracy or the state developed educational institutions in the quest to foster state objectives, to maintain status quo, to control the masses and to maintain dominance. All of this research and historiography may be classified into branches of critical theory including: functionalist, socialist, neo-Marxist, and others that are in some ways a departure from a dialectic materialist approach; however, a dialectic materialistic approach in its truest form is perhaps more scientific than other approaches because it considers the multitude of archival data on the subject. This includes the many resources contained within the Indian Labour Archives in New Delhi.<sup>3</sup>

The dialectic materialistic approach carefully examines each source separately to determine its “quantity”. In other words, documents and records representing labor and other civic organizations carry more weight when determining the influence of particular outcomes in

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<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Clements Dutt, Trans. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1954); Joseph Deitzgen, *The Positive Outcome of Philosophy: The Nature of Human Brainwork, The Letters of Logic*, Ernest Unterman, Trans. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company Co-Operative, 1887), p. 27-36; Vladimir Lenin, *Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960-1980), et al; Nikolai I. Bukharin, *Historical Materialism: A System of Sociology* (Moscow: International Publishers, 1925); Julius Friedrich Hecker, *Russian Sociology: A Contribution to the History of Sociological Thought and Theory* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1934); Raj P. Mohan and Arthur S. Wilkie, Eds. *International Handbook of Contemporary Developments in Sociology* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press), et al. See especially Steven Yearly, “Contemporary Sociology in Britain”, p. 44-63, Grahan C. Kinloch, “Sociology’s Academic Development as Reflected in Journal Debates”, p. 277-288, Thomas A. Petee, “Contemporary Sociological Methodology in the United States”, p. 289-305, Raj P. Mohan and Arthur S. Wilkie, “Research Features of U.S. Sociology: Reflections and Dilemmas”, p. 342-382, Gennady S. Batygin and Inna F. Deviatko, “Russian Sociology: Its Origins and Current Trends”, p.436-460, and Raj P. Mohan and Vijayan K. Pillai, “Contemporary Sociology in India”, p. 673-700; A.W. Wright, *G.D.H. Cole and Socialist Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), et al; Luther P. Carpenter, *G.D.H. Cole: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1973), et al; James Hinton, “Review of Allen Hutt’s *The Post-War History of the British Working Class*”, *International Socialism*, no. 59 (Jun., 1973), p. 22; Allan Hutt, *The Post-War History of the British Working Class* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1938), et al; Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), et al.

<sup>3</sup> Simon Schama, *A History of Britain*, 3 vols. (New York: Hyperion, 2001), et al; Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 4-30; E.H. Carr, *What is History?*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (London: Penguin Books, 2008), p. 56-86.

history. For example, a single letter written by some elected official would carry less weight than a multitude of archival data representing mass movements of the populace, which is precisely the difference between various historical inquiries that use different philosophical methods. The dialectic materialist approach is, therefore, arguably more scientific because history becomes more like a social science than a humanity and comes closer to quantitative inquiries and approaches than it can using a different philosophical methodology.<sup>4</sup>

The narrative has dominated the historian's profession since people began to write about historical events stretching back at least as far as Herodotus. Although the debate has been underway as to whether the narrative or some other form of writing should dominate the profession, it is not likely to go away any time soon. Most historians agree that the narrative will always exist and be the dominant object of analysis even if other forms surface. One of the central issues of concern in the debate around the matter of narrative and how it should be analyzed is the fact that philosophers have dominated those discussions have been dominated by those and have been largely outside the mainstream of practicing historians.<sup>5</sup>

A narrative is a basic description of a human action. A human action must exist before a narrative is constructed that describes the action. An action in itself can be thought of as an expression of art. In fact, it would be hard to describe it as anything but a form of art. In that sense, history, the narrative, and the analysis thereof, cannot be effectively described as anything else but a form of art. Even within this framework, history is best when it attempts to arrive at

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<sup>4</sup> Hayden White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), et al; Fritz Stern, Ed., *The Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), et al; Leopold von Ranke, *The Theory and Practice of History*, Georg Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, Editors (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973), et al; Theodore von Laue, *Leopold von Ranke, the Formative Years* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), et al.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, *The Histories*, George Rawlinson, Trans (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), et al; Geoffrey Roberts, "Introduction: The History and the Narrative Debate, 1960-2000," in *The History and Narrative Reader*, Geoffrey Roberts, Editor (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 1-22; Richard Evans, *In Defence of History*, Revised Edition (London: Granta Books, 2000), et al.

some objective ends. That is, it tries to capture the essence of all available evidence and effectively synthesize this information in a way that can convey the best representation of those artifacts.<sup>6</sup>

However, as historians we must not forget the need and the value to treat aspects of the profession as if it were a science. The analysis of various aspects of narratives can reveal various dominate paradigms, ideologies, and patterns that reveal themselves whenever the narrative form is broken down and organized using various graphic tools. In addition, recent advancements in science has enabled supplementary evidence to be uncovered in order for historians to examine the past. Artifacts from the past can now be examined using DNA, Carbon Dating, various uses of the microscope, and other mechanisms that continually add to the evidence at hand to inform the historian's work. As new artifacts are discovered and old ones are being re-examined using new technologies, the 'narrative' the historian constructs is continually expanding and the potential for improving on the narrative's quality is eminent. Therefore, history should employ the scientific method for collecting and analyzing data with the mindset that all history can only be seen as verifiable and useful from the standpoint that it represents one view or perspective of the past. In addition, even if it could represent a complete an accurate account of all the available evidence at hand, it would be impossible for that particular narrative to remain stagnate because new historical evidence is continually being revealed.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey Roberts, "History and Human Action," in *The History and Narrative Reader*, Geoffrey Roberts, Editor (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 130-140; Frederick A. Olafson, "The Dialectic of Action," in *The History and Narrative Reader*, Geoffrey Roberts, Editor (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 71-106; Georg Iggers and J.M. Powell, Eds., *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990), p. 4-196.

<sup>7</sup> Hayden White, "The Narrative Text as Historical Artifact," in *The History and Narrative Reader*, Geoffrey Roberts, Editor (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 221-236; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: the 'Objectivity' Question and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), et al; Leonard Krieger, *Ranke: The Meaning of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), et al.

As practitioners of a form of art that uses the scientific method, historians should not be passive observers that wait on advancements in the natural sciences to inform their profession. Instead, they should be active participants who are continually uncovering new evidence that shed light on new historical breakthroughs by employing methods such as oral history to inform the craft. Jan Vansina observes that oral history can bring in a multitude of perspectives that were not accounted for when researchers only gather evidence from written sources. Even so, the need to question the validity and accuracy of oral histories is just as necessary as the need to triangulate data collected from an archive or memoir. Oral history is best employed when it is verified against other primary source accounts and it can also serve to verify them as well. He has specifically challenged the classification of virtually any document as a primary source by observing that, “Hearsay is the fountainhead of most tradition or most written documents.”<sup>8</sup>

Some historians such as Brian Boyd, in *On the Origins of Stories*, have observed that since each human action is a form of art and that the artful human action forms the basis of the narrative, then the only reality that exists is a narrative. Even when we deviate from the narrative we are drawing from and make observations based on some conceptualization of a narrative whether it is real or imagined. Therefore, the only reality we have is a text or a narrative. Taken literally and observed from the standpoint of all its implications and applications, Boyd promulgates that the line between historical fact and fiction is very blurred. As historians we must be conscious of the idea that works of fiction and history writing cannot be readily distinguishable. Increases in the advancements of technology have especially brought to light

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<sup>8</sup> Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 6, et al; Jan Vansina, Selma Leydedorff, and Elizabeth Tonkin, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2006), p. 183-204; Marc Bloch, *The Historians Craft* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 40-65; Alessandro Portelli, “What Makes Oral History Different,” in *The Oral History Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson, Eds. (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 32-42; Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide to the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), p. 35-67.

new evidence for the examination of pre-historical artifacts. Boyd notes that our understanding of current history or history over the last 10,000 years cannot be understood clearly unless we study the ‘pre-history’ of the human race that stretches back for hundreds of thousands of years.<sup>9</sup>

Under Collingwood’s definition, historical imagination is the way in which historians produce visual imagery about what actually happened in the past when they are constructing the narrative. It also refers to the way in which readers construct their own artificial visual imageries whenever they also reflect on historical events that are largely imagined from the texts they read and try to make sense of them. All of which will probably be slightly different for every person, historian, or history connoisseur. No matter how a text is written or what is said, the reader is going to bring in their own prior experiences, learning, knowledge, etc. and produce a different visual image than the person sitting next to them. In addition, each historian will also be constructing their visual imagery differently based on these same principles and therefore their narratives will differ from person to person even if they have the same information and work from the same sources.<sup>10</sup>

Collingwood elaborates on the idea of historical imagination, as well as other concepts, very extensively in the book, *History as Re-Enactment*. The central concern of the book is to build upon previous contributions in the advancements of history and establish what he believes to be the true goals or objectives of the historical profession. In Collingwood’s view, history as the text is written should be a description of the actual events as they took place and is therefore,

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<sup>9</sup> Brian Boyd, *On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 3-13, et al; Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, Eds., *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1999), et al; Felix Gilbert, *History: Politics or Culture? Reflections on Ranke and Burckhardt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 3-98.

<sup>10</sup> Robin George Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 1-13, et al; Robin George Collingwood, *Essays in the Philosophy of History*, Williams Debbins, Ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 1-112; Robin George Collingwood, *The Principles of History and Other Writings in the Philosophy of History*, William H. Dray and W.J. van der Dussen, Eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), et al.

scientific. By scientific, he does not mean it in the sense that it is a science in the same way that chemistry or physics are sciences. Collingwood is well aware that history is subjective when it comes to the selection of certain sources and the interpretations of them are also subject to a considerable amount of disagreement from person to person; however, he still believes that the goal for each historian should be to construct the events as much as possible to be representative of “What actually happened.” Other scholars have determined that Collingwood was somewhat naïve and very facetious to assume that this were even possible. However, according to William Dray in his commentary on Collingwood’s piece, Collingwood’s original contribution was rescued and clarified tremendously by the editor with the inclusion of the written lectures from the 1920s and 1930s at the end of the book—. Whether Collingwood, if he had lived to see the completion and publication of his original masterpiece, would have chosen to include the final sections of the book based on his lectures for clarification or not, Professor Dray regarded him to be a genius and one of the original thinkers on the idea of history as a science.<sup>11</sup>

But even so, the idea of history itself as a profession is called into question with publications like Simon Schama’s, “Many Deaths of General Wolfe”, Bowersock’s, *From Gibbon to Auden*, Joel Mokyr’s, “King Kong and Cold Fusion”, and Niall Ferguson’s, *Virtual History*. From these works and others we learn that so much of history did not have to happen that way. As a matter of fact, almost anything could have happened. Even in Schama’s, “Many Deaths of General Wolfe,” we learn that the interpretation of so-called ‘facts’ is open to many so

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<sup>11</sup> William H. Dray, *History as Re-Enactment: R.G. Collingwood’s Idea of History* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 67-107; Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, p. 1-13, et al; Collingwood, *Essays in the Philosophy of History*, p. 1-112; Collingwood, *The Principles of History and Other Writings in the Philosophy of History*, et al.

many different conclusions. Therefore, some aspects of history might, after all, be classified as fiction or contain many of the same elements as fiction.<sup>12</sup>

So what if we are able to prove that a particular event occurred or whether a particular ‘fact’ is really true, what does it tell us as a society and as professional historians? What does it really reveal to us to when the history could have been almost anything. Virtual history allows us to imagine what might have happened and allows us to venture into a fictional realm where we are also discovering and learning things that we would not have known or imagined to be true otherwise. Therefore, as historians if we truly want to understand history as well as its implications and applications it is important for us to read fiction and to even contemplate virtual history. For reading fiction as well as the use of the term virtual history, as defined by Niall Ferguson, helps us to imagine or conceptualize what could be true. This is especially needed in instances where we lack historical record and where those records are very shaky. Samuel Johnson once stated that, “We must consider what little history there is.” Why not just study fiction? Well, as we learn from “King Kong and Cold Fusion” almost anything could have happened in history, but some events are not likely. In addition, each era or event is often determined by several limiting factors.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Simon Schama, *Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations* (New York: Vintage Press, 1992), p. 3-72; Schama, *A History of Britain*, 3 vols., et al; G.W. Bowersock, *From Gibbon to Auden: Essays in Classical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 8-112; Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols. (New York: Everyman’s Library, 1994), et al; Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis, Eds., *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), et al; Joel Mokyr, “King Kong and Cold Fusion: Counterfactual Analysis and the History of Technology,” in *Unmaking the West: ‘What If?’ Scenarios That Rewrite History World History*, Philip E. Tetlock, Richard Ned Lebow, and Geoffrey Parker, Editors (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2009), et al; Niall Ferguson, *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals*, New Edition (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 1-90; Niall Ferguson, *The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), et al; Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), et al.

<sup>13</sup> Mokyr, “King Kong and Cold Fusion: Counterfactual Analysis and the History of Technology,” in *Unmaking the West: ‘What If?’ Scenarios That Rewrite History World History*, et al; Ferguson, *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals*, p. 1-90; Ferguson, *The Ascent of Money*, et al; Ferguson, *Empire*, et al; Steven Napier and Kevin F. Wozniak, “The California Gold Rush,” in *Turning Points – Actual and Alternative Histories: Manifest Destiny and*

David Bell's work illuminates the method and purpose of the actual practice of writing history that most historians undertake and are involved with for most of their professional lives. History on the small scale is actually the kind of history that is printed in most of the historical journals and is the history of a person or a certain group of people over a limited number of years. As we have seen, small-scale histories and biographies can give historians insights into larger worldviews and issues that are affecting society at-large. They are also helpful in uncovering findings that are not readily apparent or would otherwise not have been able to be detected while writing a much larger macro-view of history.<sup>14</sup>

An example of the benefits of writing history on a small scale that would have tremendous implications and applications for larger societal and global issues is Leslie Peirce's, *Morality Tales*, where only a couple of years of Turkish Islamic court history is examined; however several different cases are presented that give a snapshot of what life may have been like in the sixteenth century. In addition, we get a glimpse of how power relationships were structured and how individual actors were able to use the institutions available to them, such as the courts, to foster some of their own objectives to better their lives. Even though this work is a micro-history of sorts, it is suggestive of different research questions that might require some further inquiry and study and could also inform a much larger macro-perspective.<sup>15</sup>

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*the Expansion of America*, Rodney P. Carlisle and J. Geoffrey Golson, Editors (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2007), p. 121-138; James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (New York: Everyman's Library, 1992), p. 364, 440, 554.

<sup>14</sup> David A. Bell, "Class Consciousness and the Fall of the Bourgeois Revolution," *Critical Review*, nos. 2-3 (2004), p. 323-351; David A. Bell, "Total History and Microhistory," in *The Blackwell Companion to Historical Thought*, Sarah Maza and Lloyd Kramer, Eds. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), p. 262-276; Peter Gay, *Style in History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), et al.

<sup>15</sup> Leslie Pierce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), p. 251-350; M. Hakan Yavuz and John L. Esposito, Eds., *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Global Impact of Fethullah Gulen Nur Movement* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), et al.

Jill Lepore has given practicing historians a terrific account of the tragedies and obstacles that can erupt when historians undertake biography that contrasts, according to her definition, quite sharply with micro-history. Under her definition, micro-histories are those publications like *Morality Tales*, which gives an account of several person's experiences as they occurred around an established formal institution for a limited number of years. She alerts historians that could get into trouble by getting too intimately connected (almost emotionally) with their subjects and flaw their historical narratives by rejecting some source materials that criticize the subjects they have decided to write about. As Lepore observes, the best biographies and historical treatments are those in which the historian gets to know their subjects well, but do not become emotionally attached or afraid to criticize their actions.<sup>16</sup>

What historians write, of course, their topics, titles, subjects, and perspectives are all influenced by the particular times they live in including the prevailing politics, ideologies, philosophies, and the fashionable trends of academia. This is never more apparent than the current emphasis on biography that has captured the top posts in sales and awards given out each year and is reflective of societies' interests. One of the problems with biography is that from the beginning researchers select their biographical subjects most often by the researcher's particular interests in them and although a subject may be selected that may be totally disliked by the biographer, it is only on rare occasions that a biographer selects someone that they totally dislike

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<sup>16</sup> Pierce, *Morality Tales*, p. 251-350; Jill Lepore, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no. 1 (Jun., 2001), p. 129-144; Judith M. Brown, *Windows into the Past: Life Histories and the Historian of South Asia* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), p. 1-120.

or have a dominant disdain for. Therefore, most of the biographical treatments of subjects are remarkably positive with limited criticisms.<sup>17</sup>

Micro-histories, by contrast, tend to be much more critical than biographies. One of the main reasons for this is that micro-histories usually examine the cultural contexts a little more thoroughly than biographies and they focus more on the collective experiences of several people and, usually, the dominant global events of the era. One could make the argument here that history written on the small-scale is perhaps better and more informative than macro-history, however the small-scale histories should examine collective experience. Likewise, considerations for space, time, and structure should always be examined. Biography can also be informative, insightful, and contribute to the professional literature of their respective categories, but must also be able to critically reflect on the subjects at hand in order to serve the greater historical good.<sup>18</sup>

In the *Future of Class History*, its companion volume, *The Crooked Line*, and the review essays last year in the *American Historical Review* we observe distinct ‘gaps’ in the existing literature that allows historians to truly capture the voices of the classes, the sexes, and the subalterns. These publications taken as a whole could indicate that a slight modification is occurring with the cultural and linguistic turn in philosophy that arose during the 1960s and 1970s and has dominated the social sciences and humanities ever since. In William Sewell’s estimation it is a turn back toward social histories and even Marxism. Gabrielle Speigal has labeled the new trends of historical inquiries as Neo-Phenomenology. Regardless of whether the

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<sup>17</sup> Pieter Geyl, *Debates With Historians* (New York: Meridian Press, 1958), et al; Pierce, *Morality Tales*, p. 251-350; Lepore, “Historians Who Love Too Much,” p. 129-144; Brown, *Windows into the Past*, p. 1-120.

<sup>18</sup> Ann Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl*, Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler, Editors., Susan Massotty, Trans. Reprint Edition (New York: Everyman’s Library, 2010), et al; Brown, *Windows into the Past*, p. 1-120; Judith M. Brown, “‘Life Histories’ and the History of Modern South Asia,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 114, no. 3 (Jun., 2009), p. 587-595.

trends of new historical inquiry are truly something new or a maturity of cultural or linguistic historical inquiry there is much left to be said and discovered about social histories. For many decades scholars have attempted to explain various groups including social classes, the sexes, and subalterns, but have done so from the standpoint of ‘experts’ who believe that they can best tell their history and make an interpretation of their circumstances for them instead of having less privileged populations speak directly to the historian about their own observations. Inquiries involving social classes, the masses, and the less-privileged have deep roots in Marxism.<sup>19</sup>

One of the most famous early social historians was E.P. Thompson, who has been referred to over and over again as a British Marxist Historian. In the *Making of the English Working Class*, . Thompson gives us wonderful insights into the form and shape of the British working class, its influences, and how this culture changed over time. Thompson takes issue with some scholars such as Neil Smelser who has tended to emphasize the more active role and complete positive treatment of the working classes and less-privileged, including women. Thompson also takes issue with previous historians who have produced works that argue that the working classes were almost entirely victims of industrial capitalism. For this reason, Smelser has observed in *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, “very few British class historians have employed a complete application of Marxist theories to the study of the British working class and have instead borrowed selectively from Marx.” Thus, E.P. Thompson’s work, even though it is very informative and influential, tends to minimize the ‘agency’ or role of the working classes and comes into conflict with Walter Johnson’s theories put forth in “*On Agency*”. Walter

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<sup>19</sup> William H. Sewell, Jr., “Crooked Lines,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 2 (Apr., 2008), p. 393-405; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “Comment on *A Crooked Line*,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 2 (Apr., 2008), p. 406-416; Manu Goswami, “Remembering the Future,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 2 (Apr., 2008), p. 417-424; Geoff Eley, “The Profane and Imperfect World of Historiography,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 2 (Apr., 2008), p. 425-437; Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, *The Future of Class History: What’s Left of the Social?* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007), p. 81-138; Geoff Eley, *The Crooked Line: From Cultural History of Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), et al.

Johnson observes that the agency or activities of subaltern cultures such as former slaves have been minimized and their voices have been excluded from dialogues that have tended to place them into categories of helplessness. Johnson observes the activities of enslaved peoples who were in continuous rebellion, which contributed to their eventual emancipations. In addition, they were able to seek out and acquire vast amounts of knowledge through collective agency that helped to define, develop, and preserve an African American culture.<sup>20</sup>

Gayatri Spivak has observed in “*Can the Subaltern Speak?*”, that minimization toward the voices of the Subaltern has occurred in academia. Colonized peoples, under the various forms of colonization, can be heard through inquires such as oral histories which was originally developed to collect data from those whose voices had been previously excluded or minimized in history and had left behind little historical record. These groups included the working classes, the sexes, and subaltern cultures. John Beverly also observes that when the historian is able to capture the voice of the subaltern cultures in its truest form and in its entirety we often uncover an entirely different history than the dominant historiography available to us. Elements of white supremacy have been articulated and maintained by some academicians who have failed to give a voice to the subaltern. Beverly observes that when the subaltern speaks we are able to extract a collective agency that can be transformed into a social history. Often this social history reveals a continuous class struggle.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Margaret R. Somers, “Narrativity, Narrative Identity, and Social Action: Rethinking English Working Class Formation,” in *The History and Narrative Reader*, Geoffrey Roberts, Editor (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 354-374; Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, et al; Neil J. Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change: British Working Class Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), p. 11-14, et al; Walter Johnson, “Introduction: The Future Store,” in *The Chattell Principle*, Walter Johnson, Editor (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 1-31; Walter Johnson, *Soul By Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, Editors (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 24-28; John Beverly, “What Happens When the Subaltern Speaks?,” in *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth*, by John Beverly (Minneapolis: University

Cultural history has been around for at least two hundred years and is the study of a particular group or civilizations values, norms, customs, precedents, and interactions defined broadly. Although, we see through many classic and contemporary contributions that culture itself can evolve and change over time. Therefore, even if we concentrate on a specific group or country we might see how a society changed over a period of years. This is never more apparent than the fragmentation of Europe that occurred after the fall of the Roman Empire and the ushering in of the Middle Ages. The church comes to dominate all of European society where all people spoke Latin and information traveled at a rapid pace not equaled until the rise of technologies like the telephone, television, radio, and Internet in the latter part of the twentieth century. Fragmentation occurred throughout Europe and the continent saw the rise of several new languages and the nation-state was finally erected. This fragmentation caused the culture in many regions of Europe to change drastically so that the individual countries exhibited their own culture. Even so, Europe could be categorized as one homogenous culture that shared characteristics within and between various countries. This was perhaps first observed most distinctively by Oswald Spengler who described this grouping as “Western” culture, which, in his view, by the early twentieth century had encompassed and had taken control of the entire earth.<sup>22</sup>

Cultural histories fell out of fashion in the mid-twentieth century as historians and social scientists turned toward structural history and quantitative methodologies began to become more popular. The 1960s onward saw the rise of anthropological influence in historical analysis that

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of Minnesota Press, 2004), p. 79-94; John Beverly, “The Impossibility of Politics: Subalternity, Modernity, Hegemony,” in *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader*, Ileana Rodriguez, Editor (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 47-63.

<sup>22</sup> Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols., et al; Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages: A Study of Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Dawn of the Renaissance*, Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, Editors (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), et al; Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West: Form and Actuality*, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), et al.

continues to the current day. The influence of anthropology on history is consistent with the cultural and linguistic turn on in philosophy that, as Peter Burke observes, has not only influenced social sciences, behavioral sciences, and humanities, but the natural sciences as well.<sup>23</sup>

An early contribution that could be described as a “cultural history” is Johan Huizinga’s *The Waning of the Middle Ages* or a later translation known as *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*. This book attempts to describe the overall dominant culture of Europe and how this changes over the course of a few hundred years. This book differs from later cultural histories, such as Ruth-Ben-Ghiat’s *Fascist Modernities*, because it groups all regions of the continent of Europe into a single classification of culture. The sources for Huizinga’s book also appear to be more limited to written records that have come from church archives. Little attention is paid to the departures from the dominant culture that appeared to as it evolved throughout the Middle Ages. In addition, there is also scant attention given to the causation of the various historical events and turning points throughout this period including major political changes.<sup>24</sup>

In *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945*, Ruth Ben-Ghiat observes that the entire country of Italy was motivated toward modernizing, embracing industrialization, and developing its economy so that it could maintain both a high standard of living and its place as a world power. *Fascist Modernities* is a history over a shorter time period than the *Autumn of the Middle Ages*, which is a history of a few hundred years. Ben-Ghiat’s work attempts to describe the various departures within Italy from the aristocracy’s initiation of a movement toward modernization that

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<sup>23</sup> Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Oxford, UK: Polity Press, 2004), et al; See especially p. 20-30; Peter Burke, *Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000), et al; Roger Chartier, “Texts, Printing, Readings,” in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, Editor (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), p. 154-175.

<sup>24</sup> Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, et al; Ruth-Ben-Ghat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), et al; Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, “The New Huizinga and the Old Middle Ages,” *Speculum*, vol. 74, no. 3 (Jul., 1999), p. 587-562.

started out as a minority, but became a majority consensus. Ben-Ghiat differs from Huizinga in that throughout her book she attempts to show opposition to what became the dominant culture. There were continued departures in various capacities that continued to emerge and that are described as subcultures. Ben-Ghiat's book is especially insightful as it treats culture as more of a mental conceptualization than earlier works like the *Autumn of the Middle Ages*.<sup>25</sup>

John Maynard Keynes effectively advanced the cause and study of labor unions after the publication of his magnum opus entitled, *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* in 1936. Keynes demonstrated how the effects of labor collectively organized could directly impact economic growth and conditions, which were traditionally seen as being supported by bourgeoisie social science as marginal activities. Wages were traditionally studied as labor price values to be determined by free markets without regard to collective bargaining. Culminating in years of scholarship on workers compensation, J.R. Hicks published his *Theory of Wages* in 1932 and later elaborated further in *Value and Capital* which were highly theoretical pieces examining certain selective aspects of workers' wages in isolation of practical application and broader societal effects. Problems arose with previous analyses, which had concluded that the prices of wages, labor, commodities, were determined by markets that were completely free, open, and allowed for equal competition. In the calculations of those investigations Hicks used a theoretical framework where market forces were examined to purport that multiple transactions were taking place in constant intervals in which a single transaction would have limited or a marginal effect on the macro-economy regardless of its magnitude. Therefore, the collective agency of the populace in affecting their salary rates was regarded as marginal at best. The collective agency of the citizenry was almost completely written out of the equations by most

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<sup>25</sup> Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, et al; Ruth-Ben-Ghat, *Fascist Modernities*, et al; Peters and Simons, "The New Huizinga and the Old Middle Ages," p. 587-562.

social scientists – especially economists. Traditional economists calculated salaries based on market forces, which meant supply/demand-side economics, and in any such instance the market forces were absolute and could not fluctuate under those specific conditions. Those studies saw any action by way of the populace as an intrusion of the idea of ‘limited governments and free markets’ and through collective bargaining the workers’ salaries would rise above market values and the end result would be rising unemployment rates. Keynesian economics demonstrated that the market values of salaries, commodities, labor, etc. could be affected by an increase of salaries that would, if other conditions were positively met, decrease unemployment rates. Even though Keynesian economics is not considered Marxist economics and has also been considered bourgeoisie, it effectively altered the study of economics and supported the study of political economy for social scientists.<sup>26</sup>

Keynesian economics examined the relative change in wages and decreases of unemployment in its relation to macro-economy, which had sparsely been studied on previous occasions. After Keynes’ publication, many studies were conducted that examined the dichotomy of the increase in wages and the unemployment rates in various countries. Much of this literature can be compared to ideas brought about by Henry Ford who sought to pay his workers a good salary so that they would also be able to buy a T-Model Ford. These studies concentrated on how the collective agency of the populace influenced policy to affect wages, like the minimum wage increases, or the negotiation involved regarding wages in collective bargaining agreements. Keynesian economics is more holistic, dialectical, and comprehensive in

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<sup>26</sup> John Maynard Keynes, *Indian Currency and Finance* (London: MacMillan and Company, 1913); John Maynard Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920); John Maynard Keynes, *A Revision of the Treaty, Being a Sequel to the Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Harcourt & Brace, 1922); John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965), <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/economics/keynes/general-theory/>; J.R. Hicks, *The Theory of Wages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (London: MacMillan, 1963); J.R. Hicks, *Value and Capital*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946).

its ability to ascertain the realm of influences affecting the determination of wages than prior economic theories. Michel Kalecki made further advancements in 1939 with the publication of *Essays in the Theory of Economic Fluctuations*, which examines macro-economic changes in the economy from multiple perspectives including the activities of workers unions, and civic organizations that affect laws, public policy, and wages. Keynesian economics was widely accepted at its onslaught, however, it was not until the conclusion of World War II in which many scholars returned to Keynes to examine the effects of labor union activities.<sup>27</sup>

Almost fifty years ago, Harvard historian Bernard Bailyn published a phenomenal work, which had a dramatic impact on the history of education, entitled, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study*. This work was published through the University of North Carolina Press and subsequently published through the Oxford University Press in 1960. This work was a sharp criticism of the “History of Education” at least as it had been written by historians of education until 1960. Bailyn argued that educational history had developed and had been told almost completely independent of the larger historical profession and by persons who were, mostly, not professionally trained historians. In his view, because of this development educational history had been distorted and had not done a thorough and adequate job of including those outside factors that were influencing education from the outside such as, culture, politics, economics, etc. In addition, those historians of education had not

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<sup>27</sup> Keynes, *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*; Mark Blaug, Ed. *Michal Kalecki (1899-1970)* (Aldershot, Hants, UK: Elgar, 1992); Michal Kalecki, *Essays on the Theory of Economic Fluctuations* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1943); Michal Kalecki, *Collected Works of Michal Kalecki*, 7 Vols. Jerzy Osiatynski, Trans. And Ed. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1990-1997).

adequately described or explained how education had influenced society beyond the classroom doors and the study of education was too isolated and focused on curriculum only.<sup>28</sup>

Bailyn's 1960 publication, *Education in the Forming of American Society*, was spawned by a study conducted in Williamsburg, Virginia. Twenty prominent scholars (mostly historians) met to discuss the role of education in American history. This publication came about as a result of a draft of the lecture given by Bernard Bailyn during this conference which culminated in an in-depth analysis of American education in aggregate, or in its holistic entirety. The lecture notes were subsequently revised and published the following year by both North Carolina and Oxford University Presses. This study had a remarkable impact on the history and historiography of education at that time and has continued to influence scholars in the half-century since its publication. Interestingly, among the twenty who attended this conference were an elite group of scholars in American history including Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Richard Hofstadter, Charles A. Barker, Edmund S. Morgan, among others.<sup>29</sup>

Bailyn's work is divided into two primary sections. The first section, entitled "An Interpretation", is approximately fifty pages of an account of Bailyn's findings after studying the impact of education on early American society and culture. The second section, approximately eighty-five pages, is entitled, "A Bibliographical Essay", and features an annotated survey of the literature that has been published concerning education and early American society in which Bailyn outlines the opportunities that still exist for exploring new research alternatives.<sup>30</sup>

The primary research question for Bailyn, "Is the impact of education on society much less studied than the impact of society on education?" Although this inquiry was of chief concern

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<sup>28</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), et al.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

to Bailyn, he also entertained questions about the reciprocity of those two issues. He identifies that not enough research has been done on how each of these two aspects, the influence of society on education and education on society, have continually affected each other throughout the ages. In Bailyn's view, education should be studied from a standpoint that includes almost all of history. His definition of education is: "The process by which all of civilization transmits itself from one generation to the next." Bailyn argues that education is practically a study of civilization itself. Perhaps a work that fits this profile might be Edward Gibbon's, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published in the late eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

Bailyn argues that the studies of education from the 'founding' of the discipline around 1890 until the publication of his study in 1960 mostly focused on curriculum studies that looked at schools as almost entirely independent of society and culture itself. In Bailyn's view most of those studies primarily focused on what teachers were doing in the classroom, with some insight into what policy makers were doing to influence curriculum. Practically nonexistent were the influences of education on the outside environment, society, policies, culture, and philosophy in general. According to Bailyn, these earlier studies failed to examine the transformation of culture that was determined, early in the Republic, by the family and not the school. Bailyn attributes this failure primarily to the development of the study of educational history, which was almost entirely independent from the predominant historiography of other professional historians.<sup>32</sup>

For this research Bailyn looked at most of the histories of education that had been performed during the seventy years prior to the publication of *Education and the Forming of the American Society*. Bailyn also looked at the development of the historiography from the American modern historical period (1750-1950). Bailyn is one of the most prominent historians

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid; Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society*, p. 5-6.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid; Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society*, p. 5-6.

today who concentrates on colonial America, especially that of the founding generation. In the first section, “An Interpretation”, the works on the study of Education are critically analyzed and are examined for their overall comprehensiveness and quality. Bailyn says that historians of education should look at the churches, the family, the agrarian society, and the formation of the early American schools, all of which were most likely involved in education at that time, according to Bailyn, with no intention of really changing society or the way in which people lived.<sup>33</sup>

After examining a massive number of books on education and the early American period, Bailyn concluded that nearly all of these works set out with a predetermined conception that the entire advancement and progression of mankind has taken shape almost entirely due to formal education. Bailyn found that most of these studies set out to prove that formal education was the cause for all of society’s advancement and those studies fell much short of viewing or placing the history of education in its true context. This is due to the fact that the development of mankind has come about through multiple means and mechanisms. Along with formal education are factors such as culture, scientific and technological advancement, institutions other than formal institutions of education, on-the-job training, and informal education.<sup>34</sup>

As a result, Bailyn’s phenomenal work gave much insight into the need for further study. It was well received throughout the historical community and was influential across many disciplines, in addition to education, such as sociology and anthropology as evidenced by various reviews in the *History of Education Quarterly*, *Journal of Higher Education*, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* and other prominent publications. Many of the early discussions revolved around Bailyn’s assessments of the state of the discipline at the

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

time of its publication. Although acknowledging that much progress has been made in the production of studies that address educational history in a more holistic nature, as late as the year 2000, scholarly discussions have often centered around the lack of research on both outside influences affecting education and how education is affecting society and culture outside of school.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the holes in the gaps that Bernard Bailyn identified have subsequently been filled through inquiries in various disciplines such as sociology and anthropology, and with other disciplines whose focus of research from the 1960s onward have been race, class, gender, etc. By most scholars' accounts, as indicated in scholarly discussions, although many deficiencies were identified by Bailyn, with great progress especially made during the first two decades, many more questions and problems have arisen in ensuing decades with not enough attention having been given to causation and the broader implications and factors that have contributed to the

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<sup>35</sup> R. Donato and M. Layerson, "New Directions in American Educational History: Problems and Prospects," *Educational Researcher*, vol. 29 (2000), p. 4-15; L. Veysey, "The History of Education." *Reviews in American History*, vol. 10 (1982), p. 281-291; L. Veysey, "Toward a New Direction in Educational History: Prospect and Retrospect." *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 9 (1969), p. 343-359; David Tyack, "Education as Artifact: Benjamin Franklin and Instruction of 'A Rising People'," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 6 (1966), p. 3-15; J.L. Wagoner, Jr. "Historical Revisions, Educational Theory, and an American Paideia," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 18 (1978), p. 201-210; R.K. Seckinger, "Conant on Education as a Discipline," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 4 (1964), p. 193-197; Carle F. Kaestle, "Standards of Evidence in Historical Research: How Do We Know When We Know?" *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 32 (1992), p. 361-366; C.L. Lord, "Review of the book *Education in the Forming of American Society*," *Journal of Higher Education*, vol. 32 (1961), p. 522-523; R.E. Mason, "Review of the book *Education and American History: Committee on the Role of Education in American History and The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberly: An Essay on the Historiography of American Education by Lawrence A. Cremin*," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 5 (1965), p. 187-190; H. Miller, "Education in Early America: Documents and Directions," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 14 (1975), p. 379-390; P.J. Harrigan, "A Comparative Perspective on Recent Trends in the History of Education in Canada," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 26 (1986), p. 71-86; J. Herbst, "Beyond the Debate Over Revisionism: The Educational Parte Writ Large," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 20 (1980), p. 131-145; N.R. Hiner, "History of Education for the 1990s and Beyond: The Case for Academic Imperialism," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 30 (1990), p. 137-160; B.L. Hood, "The Historian of Education: Some Notes On His Role," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 9 (1969), p. 372-375; H. Hutton and P. Kalisch, "Davidson's Influence on Educational Historiography," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 6 (1966), p. 79-87; T. Bender, P.D. Hall, T. Haskell, and P.H. Mattingly, "Institutionalization and Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 20 (1980), p. 449-472; W.W. Brickman, "Revisionism and the Study of the History of Education," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 4 (1966), p. 209-223; D.W. Adams and V. Edwards, "Making Your Move: The Educational Significance of the American Board Game, 1832 to 1904," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 17 (1977), p. 359-383.

growing inequality in America, including the discrepancy in funding of inner city schools that are becoming increasingly more segregated. Segregation and social stratification continue to dominate as society has progressed backwards from the desegregation that occurred after *Brown vs. Board of Education*.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> David Tyack, "Reflections on Histories of U.S. Education," *Educational Researcher*, vol. 29 (2000), p. 19-20; P. Nash, "The History of Education," *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 34 (1964), p. 5-21; J. Simon, "The History of Education in Past and Present," *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 3 (1977), p. 71-86; D. Sloan, "Historiography and the History of Education," *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 1 (1973), p. 239-269; C.E. Strickland, "The Use of History in the Study of Education," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 12 (1973), p. 13-22; R. Syreter, "The History of Education in Non-Education Periodicals," *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. 16 (1968), p. 318-328; M. Beach, "History of Education," *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 39 (1969), p. 561-576; G.J. Clifford, "Education: It's History and Historiography," *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 4 (1968), p. 210-267; B.J. Elliot, "Researching the History of Education," *Research Intelligence*, vol. 3 (1977), p. 16-19; Barbara Finkelstein, "Educational Historians as Mythmakers," *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 18 (1992), p. 255-297; H. Judge, "American Schooling and History: An English View," *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 3 (1977), p. 235-246.

## CHAPTER 2: MARXIST COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF RACE, CLASS, GENDER, AND ETHNICITY

Historians and their scholarship around concepts of race and racial themes can often be confined by the same dimensions that historians in the broader discipline of history are faced with. Some leading historians of race, racial tension, and race relations have observed the limitations and confinement of simply relying on previous histories to inform our scholarship and the production of subsequent theories and scholarship on the subject. The historian cannot simply sit down and construct quality historical narratives without critically examining their subjects and almost removing themselves from their particular time, place, and influences in history. Yet, all historians contain the potential for bias in their backgrounds, training, lived experiences, the prevailing trends in academia and the politics of the ages in which they live.<sup>1</sup>

Ann Laura Stoler's, "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth", is especially useful in helping historians of race to reexamine the constructs of the theories and histories produced to date in this realm of scholarship. The purpose of reexamining these theories and histories is to determine the ways in which they have been limited by the confines on which previous scholarship has been constructed. In other words, virtually all new developments in the field of

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<sup>1</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 11 (1997), p. 183-206; Virginia R. Dominguez, "A Taste for 'The Other': Intellectual Complicity in Racializing Practices," *Current Anthropology*, vol. 35, no. 4 (Aug.-Oct. 1994), 333-348; Virginia R. Dominguez, "Response to other Faculty Contributions," *Current Anthropology*, vol. 35, no. 4 (Aug.-Oct. 1994), 346-347; Elizabeth Spelman, "Managing Ignorance," p. 119-131, in Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana, eds., *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007; Lucius T. Outlaw (Jr.), "Social Ordering and the Systematic Production of Ignorance," p. 197-211, in Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana, eds., *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007; Virginia R. Dominguez, "Implications: A Commentary on Stoler," *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 11 (1997), p. 207-215; David Roediger, "A Response to Stoler," *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 11 (1997), p. 219-220; Loic J.D. Wacquant, "For an Analytic of Racial Domination," *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 11 (1997), p. 221-234; Uday Singh Mehta, "The Essential Antiquities of Race and Racism," *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 11 (1997), p. 235-246; Ann Laura Stoler, "On the Politics of Epistemologies," *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 11 (1997), p. 247-255; Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), et al; Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of an Urban Crisis: Race and Equality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), et al.

the study of race has been written by first reviewing literature that has previously been written and then attempting to challenge those ideas or expand upon them. Stoler refers to this epistemological construct as, “analytic grids of intelligibility”.<sup>2</sup>

Questions raised surrounding these epistemological constructs include several contradictory critiques, specifically an idea that even though scholars are seemingly contesting previous scholarship and developing new theory, they are drawing much of their foundation from previously produced material. According to Stoler, dominant paradigms, definitions, and theories surrounding race have included the very ambiguous use of terminology that has not remained static, even for the most rigorous scholars in the field. The terminology and concepts of race and racism have been traditionally defined as having different meanings throughout history. The blatantly discriminatory practices of slavery of the late nineteenth century have gradually subsided and a new age has emerged with post-modernism that involved more hidden elements of racism and discrimination and a popular concept of ‘whiteness’ that continues to keep disparities among various minority groups in regard to socio/economic/political equality. The scholarship surrounding these ideas has also remained dynamic as have the changes of historical accounts by which the general population has also adapted and shifted in its concepts of race and racial discrimination. Many historians writing about racial discourse at the turn of the twentieth century often have spoken about a dialectical argument in terms of a dichotomy of African American and Caucasian relationships. Much of this has changed to include many arguments based upon dynamic definitions that have constructed race not as a dichotomy, but as either having several different degrees or variations or as being based on the idea that race is a mere

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<sup>2</sup> Stoler, “Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth,” p. 183-206.

construct of the mind.. Stoler argues that despite this paradigm shift, all the scholarship has been limited by previous concepts and ideological assumptions.<sup>3</sup>

Ann Laura Stoler's own argument, despite its extreme importance and invaluable contribution to the historical profession, may also be critiqued along the same lines that she appears to be critiquing existing scholarship. The "new histories" that are constantly in production are producing new insights and are adding to the available literature on the subject of racial discourses. This phenomenon has much to contribute to the explanation of why the terminology and definitions surrounding this discourse may sometimes be conceptualized as ambiguous and dynamic. Paradoxical accounts that build a sense of sophistication and new insights are the inevitable result of being able to break away from older scholarly contributions and to the development of new theoretical insights. This is specific not only to historical inquiries surrounding racial discourses and scholarship, but also to an integral dimension surrounding the entire historical profession. Paradoxical and dynamic relationships existing within the various branches of the literature are inherently intertwined with the production of new theoretical insights that break with the existing traditions and advance the "science" or the "art" we are seeking.<sup>4</sup>

Racial discourses and scholarship can invariably be seen as a circumstance where political power dynamics are taking place with many persons who are vying for power and seeking to enrich their own power-standing by engaging in the discourse on racializing

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<sup>3</sup> Stoler, "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," et al, See especially p. 191 for a more specific reference to her inquiry.

<sup>4</sup> Stoler, "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," p. 183-206; Dominguez, "A Taste for 'The Other': Intellectual Complicity in Racializing Practices," 333-348; Dominguez, "Response to other Faculty Contributions," 346-347; Spelman, "Managing Ignorance," p. 119-131; Outlaw, "Social Ordering and the Systematic Production of Ignorance," p. 197-211; Dominguez, "Implications: A Commentary on Stoler," p. 207-215; Roediger, "A Response to Stoler," p. 219-220; Wacquant, "For an Analytic of Racial Domination," p. 221-234; Mehta, "The Essential Antiquities of Race and Racism," p. 235-246; Stoler, "On the Politics of Epistemologies," p. 247-255; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, et al; Sugrue, *The Origins of an Urban Crisis*, et al.

theoretical developments. Stoler's insights into this discussion is dialectical and does not merely subscribe to a reality where the strong and powerful occupy their existence while the weak and the suffering are simple, hopeless victims accepting their circumstances. Instead, the scholarship embodies a dialectical position, according to Stoler, where some scholarship is produced by those who seek to strengthen the hold of the aristocracy in their position with the power structure framework, while others, often on the opposite side of the dialectic, are vying to increase their position within the dynamic power structure. Seen in this light it is almost impossible for historians to be removed from not only being influenced by their background, academic training, lived experiences, and the theoretical ideologies that they embrace, but also as active participants in the making of history. Among her central argument is the reality that scholarship is produced on all sides that are progressive, dynamic and build sophistication into existing theoretical foundations. Historians, therefore, become active participants in the politics of the age in which they live, whether actively choosing to do so or not. They are either subliminally or subconsciously constructing their narratives, either real or conceptualized, or are using a specific historiography to develop history and theory and borrowing selectively from various theoretical frameworks for their productions. Still, according to Stoler, they embody some type of ideological position that serves to enhance the power schemes of the status quo or are presumably chosen to disrupt in some varying degree.<sup>5</sup>

Other histories are able to illuminate the insights given by Stoler such as Thomas Sugrue in, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, and Mae Ngai's, *Impossible Subjects*. Sugrue departs from traditional histories that proposed that persistent poverty existed because many African

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<sup>5</sup> Stoler, "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," et al, p. 91. Stoler, "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," p. 183-206; Dominguez, "Implications: A Commentary on Stoler," p. 207-215; Roediger, "A Response to Stoler," p. 219-220; Wacquant, "For an Analytic of Racial Domination," p. 221-234; Mehta, "The Essential Antiquities of Race and Racism," p. 235-246; Stoler, "On the Politics of Epistemologies," p. 247-255.

Americans in cities like Detroit existed within a ‘culture of poverty’ from which many persons of color simply could not escape. Much of the earlier scholarship embraced the idea that a complete liberal environment existed in which everyone was basically given free choice to create their own paths to prosperity; however, these earlier narratives ignored any institutional structures that may have persisted in keeping many minority groups suppressed. Sugrue observes how collective action and agency was employed in keeping and maintaining racial segregation. This was done by various leaders within labor unions who chose to make alliances with the bourgeoisie and the proletariat by excluding persons of color from participating in their organizations.

Mae Ngai also departs from the traditional narratives by demonstrating that by affording various minority groups second-class citizenship, these groups were suppressed and channeled into low wage employment, which has also contributed to social stratification. Many of the low wage occupations, especially centered on agricultural labor and other employment have traditionally been dominated by individuals of illegal citizenship categories. Collective agency has often been employed by the populace who has subsequently sought to influence legislation to prohibit illegal aliens from climbing the social ladder and to keep them in low wage occupations. Traditional scholarship has mostly ignored the collective agency of the citizenry who have exerted political influence in ensuring various minority groups remain excluded from citizenship.<sup>6</sup>

Stoler’s main arguments have been widely accepted as being largely valid in her interpretations of histories and philosophies on racial discourse. Even so, some criticisms have emerged that have used Stoler’s analysis to critique Stoler’s own work. For example, Virginia

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<sup>6</sup> Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, et al; Sugrue, *The Origins of an Urban Crisis*, et al.

Dominguez observes that "...histories of racism(s), according to Stoler, are motivated by a desire to fight racism, but get blinded by their common belief that racism and conservative political agendas go hand in hand." Clearly Stoler seeks a desire for liberation from the chains of previous scholarly constraints; however, it is not clear from the scholarship she has produced exactly how to reach such a goal. All future theoretical debates, discussions, and discourse will inevitably be primarily based on the original scholarship that has already been produced and how can we completely be liberated from it? In addition, are these not seemingly contradictory paradoxical theoretical frameworks an attempt by scholars to depart from this traditional framework?<sup>7</sup>

Sexual relationships among various members of the populace have persisted throughout much of the history of civilization and the scholarship of modern and post-modern civilization has observed that modern and post-modern times are no different. As is observed by Ngai and others, the growth of the American republic was somewhat dependent on the continual supply of low wage labor throughout most of its history. The scholarship, if observed in an abstract holistic view, embraces an economic interpretation of civilization and concepts, theories, and discussions around race and racialization. Economics appears to be the dominant force that is somehow continually in the background that is driving even the contemporary scholarship produced by historians. Keeping African Americans segregated in post-war Detroit and persistently keeping various minority groups from participating as fully recognized citizens was a way to maintain social stratification and the historical scholarship produced has tended to embody and embrace

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<sup>7</sup> Stoler, "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth," p. 183-206; Dominguez, "A Taste for 'The Other': Intellectual Complicity in Racializing Practices," 333-348; Dominguez, "Response to other Faculty Contributions," 346-347; Spelman, "Managing Ignorance," p. 119-131; Outlaw, "Social Ordering and the Systematic Production of Ignorance," p. 197-211; Dominguez, "Implications: A Commentary on Stoler," p. 207-215; Roediger, "A Response to Stoler," p. 219-220; Wacquant, "For an Analytic of Racial Domination," p. 221-234; Mehta, "The Essential Antiquities of Race and Racism," p. 235-246; Stoler, "On the Politics of Epistemologies," p. 247-255.

this social hierarchy. The citizenry could simultaneously be accepting cheap agricultural products and services that were rendered on the back of immigrants while justifying it by a classification of these minority groups as “non-citizens”. This social hierarchy was, therefore, established and maintained with the economic dimensions that dominated this thought process.<sup>8</sup>

The social hierarchies of western civilization are intricately bound together through a variety of mechanisms that both cloud human understanding of the multifaceted state of oppression while helping to include certain groups and to exclude other underrepresented groups such as women, minorities, and the less-privileged. This social hierarchy is intertwined across all elements of society and crosses international boundaries into almost every corner of the globe. The ways in which civilization and oppression continually developed centered around the white male who was most often in charge of family hierarchies. Concepts of whiteness and the discrimination against African Americans, Native Americans, and other groups are best understood when they are presented in comparison to other similar examples that can be taken from different Western nation-states and their subsequent colonization of other less-developed regions of the world. When whiteness is examined in the context of the United States the historian finds that an identity develops that includes a subliminal and subconscious action that focuses on whiteness only and ‘others’ are excluded. An examination of history demonstrates the changing dynamics of oppression which takes place from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries. Early, blatant examples of racism and discrimination have gradually faded away and more subtle forms have taken its place and is centered on personal identity. In other words,

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<sup>8</sup> Stoler, “Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth,” p. 183-206; Dominguez, “A Taste for ‘The Other’: Intellectual Complicity in Racializing Practices,” 333-348; Dominguez, “Response to other Faculty Contributions,” 346-347; Spelman, “Managing Ignorance,” p. 119-131; Outlaw, “Social Ordering and the Systematic Production of Ignorance,” p. 197-211; Dominguez, “Implications: A Commentary on Stoler,” p. 207-215; Roediger, “A Response to Stoler,” p. 219-220; Wacquant, “For an Analytic of Racial Domination,” p. 221-234; Mehta, “The Essential Antiquities of Race and Racism,” p. 235-246; Stoler, “On the Politics of Epistemologies,” p. 247-255; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, et al; Sugrue, *The Origins of an Urban Crisis*, et al.

African Americans and other disadvantaged persons often find themselves excluded from employment opportunities, social gatherings, and various other opportunities. Exclusionary principles/ideas are most often perpetuated in contemporary society not as a specific choice by participants, but their unintentional process of focusing on their own lives.<sup>9</sup>

Race, gender, nation, and colony all developed as part of western dominance and expansion into the eastern and southern hemispheres. Although a very subjective concept, the top of the social hierarchy was encompassed by the identity of white heterosexual men. Men became the center and head of the household where women were oppressed. Every other component of the human race that was not part of this central hierarchy became less valued and less important to dominant popular culture. This meant that everything else that was not part of this whiteness became what some scholars have termed 'whiteness'. The 'other' largely consisted of women who are more than fifty percent of the population due to slightly different infant mortality rates, a higher percentage of men who die from more dangerous occupations and accidents, and women traditionally have longer life expectancies. This is despite the fact that some countries such as India and China have traditionally favored male children and have had a high abortion rate among women carrying girl babies. The 'other' significantly reinforced the center of civilization as the male at the head of the social hierarchy in many developing countries as well as Western

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<sup>9</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 34, no. 2 (1992), p. 514-551; Warwick Anderson, "Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution," *Critical Theory*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Spr., 1995), p. 640-669; Nayan Shah, "Between 'Oriental Depravity' and 'Natural Degenerates': Spatial Boderlands and the Making of Ordinary Americans," *American Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 3 (Sept., 2005), p. 703-723; Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), et al; Nancy Stepan, "Race, Gender, Science, and Citizenship," *Gender & History*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Apr., 1998), p. 26-35; Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Questions in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 183-202; Donna Haraway, "Race: Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture," in *Modest Witness and Second Millennium, FemaleMan Meets Oncomouse*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 213-266; Patricia Hill Collins, "It's all in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation," *Hypatia, Journal of Feminist Philosophy*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Sum., 1998), p. 62-82.

nations. Part of the disadvantaged that has been classified as ‘other’, are gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transsexuals, religious minorities, racial minorities, and other groups that differ from country to country.<sup>10</sup>

A philosophy of science also developed that maintained oppression through the cultivation of practices that supported white supremacy by the implementation of policies/practices that saw Western countries as more civilized and superior to other countries. Western scientific paradigms, definitions, and philosophy were connected with a logic formed on the basis of nature. Social hierarchies, even science, if it is connected with nature, are difficult to refute as being of a racist, imperialist, or of an oppressive order. The ‘other’ or whiteness was also combined and justified the continuation of Western medical practices that often used developing countries in the tropics as laboratories to conduct their experiments. Much of the early medical and other scientific research was conducted in tropical countries that were part of various empires. Such is the case of the United States’ presence in the Philippines.<sup>11</sup>

Patricia Hill Collins has explained that the social hierarchies were mutually constructed through various combined interests that have resulted in keeping several disadvantaged groups suppressed. She has termed this phenomenon as ‘intersectionality’. Collins observes that ‘intersectionality’ developed in conjunction with the rise of the nation-state and property rights. Property rights developed that gave almost complete ownership of all women, slaves, and

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<sup>10</sup> Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers,” p. 514-551; Anderson, “Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution,” p. 640-669; Shah, “Between ‘Oriental Depravity’ and ‘Natural Degenerates’”, p. 703-723; Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, et al; Stepan, “Race, Gender, Science, and Citizenship,” *Gender & History*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Apr., 1998), p. 26-35; Haraway, “Situated Knowledges,” p. 183-202; Haraway, “Race: Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture,” p. 213-266; Collins, “It’s all in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation,” p. 62-82.

<sup>11</sup> Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers,” p. 514-551; Anderson, “Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution,” p. 640-669; Shah, “Between ‘Oriental Depravity’ and ‘Natural Degenerates’”, p. 703-723; Nancy Stepan, “Race, Gender, Science, and Citizenship,” *Gender & History*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Apr., 1998), p. 26-35; Haraway, “Situated Knowledges,” p. 183-202; Haraway, “Race: Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture,” p. 213-266; Collins, “It’s all in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation,” p. 62-82.

children to the white male head of the household. Especially in the courts, African Americans and women saw fewer rights and entitlement to property than Caucasian men. The courts served as tremendous instruments of oppression against Blacks and women throughout much of U.S. history. Therefore, ‘intersectionality’ maintain this social hierarchy through prejudices and discrimination against various minority categories. Hence, an African American woman could be excluded based on an intersectionality of race and gender classifications. The structure and rise of the nation-state was centered upon this intersectionality and thus ideas behind citizenship.<sup>12</sup>

Nancy Stepan expands the social science critical theoretical framework beyond Patricia Hill Collins work by elaborating on how concepts of race, nation, colony, and science have been centered around the family. She observes that all have been combined to support oppression by connecting things with their so-called ‘natural orders’. If things are justified as being natural or a part of a natural order of things in the universe they become part of what is known as a natural order that will be very difficult to challenge and would most often give the impression that things cannot be questioned or rearranged in some other fashion. Stepan also observes that property rights were highly stratified and developed to include certain persons within certain elitist categories and exclude others. Often, migratory patterns gave rise to exclusionary policies that developed the concept of citizenship that became intertwined with property rights<sup>13</sup>

Kathleen Brown, in *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, has defined and labeled a similar concept of intersectionality. Brown observes the changing dynamics of the family as they occurred when Native American people came into contact with European colonizers during the seventeenth century and beyond. Sex role stereotypes were quite different

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<sup>12</sup> Collins, “It’s all in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation,” p. 62-82.

<sup>13</sup> Stepan, “Race, Gender, Science, and Citizenship,”; Collins, “It’s all in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation,” p. 62-82.

for Native American women when they encountered European settlers. Women were accustomed to performing many hard labor tasks, like construction, which were traditionally reserved for men in British society. Interracial relationships were especially numerous early on in the colonies and these social interactions changed even the way Caucasian households were structured. White women became more accustomed to doing manual labor outside the home. Even fieldwork became more common for women during that era.<sup>14</sup>

Donna Haraway establishes a term that may be examined in light of a dimension with ‘intersectionality’, with “fungal web of nature, nation, sex, race and blood.” A combining effect has occurred, according to Haraway, that theories of scientific analysis were developed that sought to give a natural order to natural principles that connected a person’s sex and race with concepts that included science and a natural order of things. These histories of “embodied difference,” and the “dramas of identity and reproduction,” as Haraway has called them, are phrases of representation for a whole body of research that has contributed to advancing our knowledge of some privileged groups but has also limited further advancement and development of subsequent scholarship that move beyond these points.<sup>15</sup>

Ann Stoler contended that gender and sex have been inextricably bound with race throughout much of Western national and imperial history. As Western imperialism and colonialism expanded abroad into lesser-developed countries, so did humanitarian interests that sought to justify their actions while subliminally or latently justifying commercial interests and occupying countries. The ‘other’ as such has also been expanded on by Post-Modern international institutions like the World Bank, WTO, United Nations, etc., which have been

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<sup>14</sup> Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, et al.

<sup>15</sup> Stepan, “Race, Gender, Science, and Citizenship,” p. 26-35; Haraway, “Situated Knowledges,” p. 183-202; Haraway, “Race: Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture,” p. 2285; Collins, “It’s all in the Family,” et al.

criticized by some scholars who see these organizations' subsequent development as nothing more than extensions of colonialism. Stoler's article demonstrates how citizenship became an important issue with several colonial powers who became increasingly worried about what was going to happen to national identities and loyalty to empire authorities. Stoler is very much concerned with how local officials who had migrated from their home country of France and began having sexual relations with the local natives with whom they came into contact. When we examine race in this context it does not seem to be an issue with the local populace. It is the capitalistic, commercial interests that the colonial powers become concerned with and want to keep the local trans-locates loyal to them. So the concept of citizenship becomes more developed and racial classification/categorization becomes a key element in local colonial policy that is connected with citizenship.<sup>16</sup>

How does gender analysis change the way we understand race and racial formation? Gender analysis does this by illuminating these two intersections as barriers or obstacles that have kept certain groups marginalized and in many cases completely excluded from the development, decision-making, and participation in many elements of society. Some of this exclusion has been obvious and blatant but most has been developed and sustained by continual processes of sometimes subliminal and subconscious concentration on dominant characteristics of whiteness. Gender/sex helps to illuminate race, because it becomes ever more apparent that race and our concepts of it could sometimes be superficial in the same way our concepts of gender have been socially constructed and at times are superficial. Because of perhaps an, 'intersectionality', societies, countries, cultures, and all of civilization have been clouded by the complexities and complications of various socially-constructed definitions, paradigms,

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<sup>16</sup> Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers," p. 514-551..

philosophies, etc. that have allowed for various groups to continue to come up against barriers of progress such as women, gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transsexuals, racial minorities, and other minority groups.<sup>17</sup>

The dominant historiography that has been developed surrounding the concept of race and racial identity has largely embraced theories of cultural characteristics and cultural identities that have either sought to exclude members of other races or focused on how racial identities were formed. ‘Metalanguages’ developed as a part of those dominant popular culture characteristics. The ‘metalanguage’ narrative around racial identity, both actual and as a mental construct, developed and became the primary medium for culture acquisition of the dominant popular culture and, specifically, the working class.. ‘Metalanguages’ as defined in the literature can take on a variety of forms including symbols, representations, and both nonverbal and verbal communications, all of which are represented in a society’s art, culture, institutions, structures, entertainment, theories, customs, traditions, practices, etc.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers,” p. 514-551; Anderson, “Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution,” p. 640-669; Shah, “Between ‘Oriental Depravity’ and ‘Natural Degenerates’”, p. 703-723; Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, et al; Nancy Stepan, “Race, Gender, Science, and Citizenship,” *Gender & History*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Apr., 1998), p. 26-35; Haraway, “Situated Knowledges,” p. 183-202; Haraway, “Race: Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture,” p. 213-266; Collins, “It’s all in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation,” p. 62-82.

<sup>18</sup> David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 2007), et al; Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), et al; Peter Erickson, “Seeing White,” *Transition*, no. 67 (1995), p. 166-185; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” *Signs*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Win., 1992), p. 252-274; Barbara Fields, “Ideology and Race in American History,” in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Van Woodward*, edited by J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 143-177; Charles Mills, “White Ignorance,” in *Race and the Epistemologies of Ignorance*, edited by Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tauna (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), p. 11-38; Linda Martin Alcoff, “Epistemologies of Ignorance: Three Types,” in *Race and the Epistemologies of Ignorance*, edited by Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tauna (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), p. 39-58; Harvey Cormier, “Ever Not Quite: Unfinished Theories, Unfinished Societies, and Pragmatism,” in *Race and the Epistemologies of Ignorance*, edited by Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tauna (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), p. 59-76; Alison Bailey, “Strategic Ignorance,” in *Race and the Epistemologies of Ignorance*, edited by Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tauna (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), p. 77-94.

One such scholar is David Roediger who has observed that a ‘metalanguage’ narrative developed around race within the working classes in the nineteenth century that centered on the concept of white racial attitudes that embraced concepts of African American inferiority. For Roediger, white supremacy over members of the African American race within circles of the working classes developed as an integral aspect of maintaining social stratification. Membership to many trade unions was exclusively geared toward whites, while blacks were most often denied membership, which prohibited them from gaining access to the higher-paid, skilled occupations. An integral part of this metalanguage included the development of the arts, sciences, and everyday entertainment that all contained elements of white supremacy in such activities as Blackface Minstrelsy. Roediger’s historiography sees the Blackface Minstrelsy development and acceptance by the working class almost exclusively in terms of the white working class’s embodiment of principles that African Americans were entirely inferior and that it was a conscious decision made by them to discriminate against Blacks and to gain access to the higher paying occupations.<sup>19</sup>

Eric Lott’s, *Love and Theft*, is a departure from the historiography of David Roediger’s in that it views the development of Blackface Minstrelsy and the dominant popular culture of late nineteenth and early twentieth century in an entirely different light. Eric Lott observes that Blackface Minstrelsy was developed and came to represent many different things to different people. The most dominant, however, is that it developed as the result of a love for and an appreciation of African American culture. This is in contrast to David Roediger’s assertion that it developed as the direct result to establish white supremacy. Instead, Lott observes that whites had a well-established tradition of paying to see African American performances long before

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<sup>19</sup> Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, et al.

Black Minstrelsy was ever established. Prevailing commercial interests caused this phenomenon to be established and flourish in an environment where whites were willing to pay to see these performances. Lott raises the question of the development of Blackface Minstrelsy as a direct result of sexual identification and expression. Aspects of *Love and Theft*, could be interpreted to presume that Blackface Minstrelsy developed as a means in which gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transsexuals, and others could express themselves, observe those expressions, and simultaneously hide behind an idea that the shows were linked only to racial attitudes and expressions.<sup>20</sup>

Many observed that it was very difficult to determine if the performers were African American or not and some even believed that the performers of the Blackface Minstrelsy were indeed Black. Several prominent thinkers of the nineteenth century observed the cultural richness of the performances. Lott quotes Mark Twain as stating that he, “should have no further use of the opera after seeing a Minstrel show.” Lott traces the origins of many dominant popular cultural characteristics to those inherited from the African American community. In fact, not only did the populace or working classes develop an appreciation for African Americans, but also effectively ‘stole’ many of those characteristics that eventually became integral features of white culture. Lott uses Post-Modern examples of manifestations of this integration by citing Elvis Presley and Mick Jagger as two entertainers who chose to imitate African American performers. One of America’s earliest composers, Stephen Foster, is cited with many examples and powerful evidence of how his compositions most likely were influenced and inspired by African Americans. All of this cultural influence formed a sort of, ‘metalanguage’ that was adopted by the dominant popular culture. In the process, the concepts and paradigms were then

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<sup>20</sup> Lott, *Love and Theft*, p. 48-62.

embraced by the dominant popular culture and African American contributions were diminished so that an almost subconscious embrace of white supremacy was developed over time.<sup>21</sup>

Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham significantly transformed the scholarship and concepts of the study of race by combining it with second wave feminism. She observed that scholarship surrounding its study had, up until that point, been dominated by concepts of gender only and had failed to take into account race in addition to gender as categorizations that helped to maintain social stratification. In order to be effectively studied, Higginbotham observed that African American females were members of two categories of marginalized groups that had often faced at least two forms of discrimination. She establishes that race, class, and gender are integrally inherently intertwined categories that should not be observed in isolation for accurate and thorough historical analysis. She defines ‘metalanguage’ as terms, definitions, and expressions that serve to establish persons’ identities in a subliminal, subconscious, and almost passive way as individuals function in the global environments within which they live. Higginbotham reveals that societies fail to completely dictate the roles or personas of each individual, but instead convey subconscious meanings to them to which each individual responds as they interact with their environments. In essence, black females take on the roles and expectations that are already represented in the ‘metalanguage’ narratives with which they are presented qwsd when they are born into the world. White males also take on their roles in society according to this same identification as do white females and every other member of society. In this manner, self-identity and reflection determines who we are and are determined by the ‘metalanguage’ of civilization.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Lott, *Love and Theft*, et al.

<sup>22</sup> Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” p. 252-274.

Barbara Fields has held that race is a physical and identifiable construct that has served the interest of the privileged throughout history. Race, according to Fields, is an artificial construct erected by the privileged to suppress other groups. Fields asserts, by contrast to Higginbotham, that racial tensions and discrimination did not primarily develop out of a subliminal or subconscious conventionalization that individuals take on themselves but rather, a specific 'label' or identification that society places on individuals that keeps them confined to specific categories. As a result of the classifications of race, Barbara Fields notes that the ideological racial classification in itself has served to keep African Americans in lower socioeconomic status. American exceptionalism has played a powerful role in helping scholars of the African American experience to conclude that there even should be a homogenous group known as "African American". This has served to dismay any analysis that examines the diversity that exists within the African American community in terms of ethnicity, class, and gender.<sup>23</sup>

Valuable insight may be gained from scholars like Charles Mills, who have presumed that all of civilization has been established around concepts of race and racial identity. Even going as far back to John Locke's, *Social Contract*, can one see the establishment of concepts of property that were intended for the select few white men who would be seen as the only members of society entitled to own property. Human beings were even conceived of as some kind of property in different capacities that included persons of color, women, and even children. Interestingly, John Locke was also an investor in the Royal African Company. Mills invokes a dialogue about the "racial contract" that has served to help develop a white cultural presence that is pervasive above all others in the nation. As a result, a white ignorance has developed because

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<sup>23</sup> Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," p. 143-177.

of attitudes that have focused almost entirely on whiteness and have excluded any dialogue around race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism. Mills notes that African Americans know much more about white people than they do of African American or other cultures. His concept of ‘ignorance’ is such that it encompasses more than just a lack of knowledge of African Americans. Mills states that this ignorance is much greater and also includes willful, conscious decisions on the part of whites to concentrate on their white identities. Because of this principal of self-identification, whites are most likely to see institutions and societal structures as open to everyone and each person as their own free agent to make their own choices and to be self-determined without regard to other material and structural consequences. Whites in general, according to Mills, have a lack of sensitivity and understanding of the implications and applications that others from disadvantaged groups may have encountered. They also might lack knowledge that certain elements of discrimination even exist. Mills’ principal arguments establish a sound theoretical framework that gives powerful insight to other scholars such as David Roediger, Eric Lott, Evelyn Higginbotham, and Barbara Fields that could be seen as an advancement to the theories and historiography established by them. Mills proclaims that explanations for the reasons marginalized groups like women and racial minorities were developed and maintained had to do with subliminal and subconscious identities that were developed by white persons and a sense of racial supremacy. It also had to do with a subliminal and subconscious cultural acquisition developed by African Americans and women that often accepted their ‘politically correct’ roles that society maintained for them.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Mills, “White Ignorance,” p. 11-38; Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, et al; Lott, *Love and Theft*, et al; Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” p. 252-274; Fields, “Ideology and Race in American History,” p. 143-177.

Scholars have observed that whiteness and white racial constructs were largely developed around the sexual identities of white men. These sexual identities have come to define the whiteness self-identity that has allowed for ignorance of African Americans to persist. Linda Alcoff has categorized the various kinds of ignorance into three different types. Those three types, according to Alcoff, are the willful disregard for knowledge of African American culture, the neglect of knowledge of other races/cultures that comes about because of a whiteness racial identity, and ignorance that comes about through societal reproduction because of structural constraints. Lott, Roediger, and others have observed that cultures change, shift, and adapt over time. As a result, institutions, purposes, and definitions often change and evolve with those cultures. Black Minstrelsy, as it originated, may have very well been a commercial medium by which Caucasians could experience African American creative and artistic talent; however, after the Civil War it became an instrument through which white supremacy could be communicated through a ‘metalanguage’ to the populace.<sup>25</sup>

Barrington Moore, Jr. died at the age of ninety in 2005. At the time of his death he had published over 600 articles and 50 books bearing his name. Perhaps his most famous work was *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Overall, the book was pretty well received and widely reviewed by scholars. Historians, however, as reflected in the dominant historical literature, were among Moore’s harshest critics. It is interesting that the publication of the book examines and accepts social explanations for transformative changes that occurred in countries around the globe as they shifted from agricultural to more industrial-based economies and rejects cultural explanations for societal changes, shifts, and patterns. Many historians have rejected

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<sup>25</sup> Erickson, “Seeing White,” p. 166-185; Alcoff, “Epistemologies of Ignorance: Three Types,” p. 39-58; Cormier, “Ever Not Quite: Unfinished Theories, Unfinished Societies, and Pragmatism,” p. 59-76; Bailey, “Strategic Ignorance,” p. 77-94.

many aspects of Moore's critical analysis of transitions to 'modernization' loosely conceived. Historians have widely criticized Moore's definitions and classifications of various types of regimes, the historical accuracy and interpretation of various historical events, and to a lesser extent his methodological approaches. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, has now been translated into most major languages and has been widely described by scholars as a Marxist or Neo-Marxist interpretation of transitional paths to a modern state. It is therefore ironic that the most widely quoted phrase from the book is, "there is no democracy without a bourgeoisie."<sup>26</sup> Despite its critics, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, has become a

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<sup>26</sup> Barrington Moore, Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), et al; Charles Tilly, "In Search of Revolution," *Theory and Society*, vol. 23, no. 6 (Dec., 1994), p. 799-803; Jonathan Tumin, "The Theory of Democratic Development: A Critical Review," *Theory and Society*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Mar., 1982), p. 143-164; Jonathan M. Wiener, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *History and Theory*, vol. 15, no. 2 (May, 1976), p. 146-175; Jonathan M. Wiener, "The Barrington Moore Thesis and Its Critics," *Theory and Society*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Aut., 1975), p. 301-330; Olivier Zunz, "Toward a Dialogue with Historical Sociology," *Social Science History*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Spr., 1987), p. 31-47; Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Apr., 1980), p. 174-197; Dennis Smith, "Morality and Method in the Work of Barrington Moore," *Theory and Society*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Mar., 1984), p. 151-176; Dennis Smith, *Barrington Moore, Jr.: A Critical Appraisal* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1983) et al; James J. Sheehan, "Barrington Moore on Obedience and Revolt," *Theory and Society*, vol. 9, no. 5 (Sep., 1980), p. 723-734; Earl Finbar Murphy, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Jul., 1968), p. 271-274; Edith M. Link, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Jun., 1967), p. 261-262; David Lowenthal, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *History and Theory*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1968), p. 257-278; H.D. Harootunian, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Feb., 1968), p. 372-374; C.E. Black, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *American Historical Review*, vol. 72, no. 4 (Jul., 1967), p. 1338; Victoria E. Bonnell, "The Uses of Theory, Concepts, and Comparison in Historical Sociology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Apr., 1980), p. 156-173; A.A. van den Braembussche, "Historical Explanation and Comparative Method: Towards a Theory of the History of Society," *History and Theory*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Feb., 1989), p. 1-24; Philip D. Curtin, "Graduate Teaching in World History," *Journal of World History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spr., 1991), p. 81-89; Carl N. Degler, "Comparative History: An Essay Review," *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 34, no. 3 (Aug., 1968), p. 425-430; John J. Flint, "Conceptual Translations in Comparative Study: A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 18, no. 4 (Oct., 1976), p. 502-516; Edward Friedman, "Review of *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village*, by William Hinton and *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *The China Quarterly*, no. 31 (Jul.-Sep., 1967), p. 159-160; John G. Gallaher, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *Catholic Historical*

Post-Modern classic literary work that has been widely influential across many disciplines in the social sciences and humanities.

By the time Moore's seminal work was published in 1966 he was already an established veteran scholar who had joined Harvard University's newly created Russian Research Center. In some ways, Moore already had an audience that was familiar with his previous work and could anticipate the release of this book, which undoubtedly aided in its subsequent success. Moore's analysis classifies the types of regimes he examines into Communist, Fascist, and Democratic states. He examines the countries of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, the United States, China, Japan, and India. For Moore, modernization was a long process that developed over time and democracy came about through much struggle and after much violence had been exerted on the peasantry. In all of the examples used by Moore, the peasant classes were mostly economically prosperous under the old order or under feudalistic regimes in terms of providing for their basic needs and the acquisition of a small surplus. This was before the rise of the nation-state.<sup>27</sup>

Criticisms of Moore, by historians, have been centered around Moore's philosophical and methodological approach more than the quality of his work. Moore consistently applies a dialectical materialism to his inquiry that sometimes subtly departs from Orthodox Marxism.

Moore observes class struggle but does not view it entirely from the standpoint of economic

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*Review*, vol. 55, no. 3 (Oct., 1969), p. 451-452; James R. Green, "Radical Historians on Their Heritage," *Past & Present*, no. 69 (Nov., 1975), p. 122-130.

<sup>27</sup> Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, et al; Barrington Moore, Jr., "Reply to Rothman," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 64, no. 1 (Mar., 1970), p. 83-85; Joseph Gusfield, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *Social Forces*, vol. 46, no. 1 (Sep., 1967), p. 114-115; Robert Jackall, "The Education of Barrington Moore, Jr.," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Sum., 2001), p. 675-681; Donald A. Nielsen, "Introduction to Two Essays of Barrington Moore, Jr.," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Sum., 2001), p. 683-685; Theda Skocpol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*," *Politics & Society*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1973), p. 1-34.

determinism in the same way Marx does. Moore builds more stratification and further divides the societies at hand into various classifications and observes that the old landed aristocracies that had dominated previous societies under feudalism (like the Junkers) must dissipate with the rise of the new Bourgeois in order for Democracy to develop. If not, then it will provide fertile soil for Fascist or Communist Regimes to emerge instead of democracy. Historian Lee Benson made the claim that Moore's analysis had distorted the interpretation of events to a reality beyond recognition to be historical truth because he was an economic determinist. Other scholars have also made similar claims about Moore by declaring that he was nothing more than an economic determinist in the tradition of Marx such as Gabriel Almond and Stanley Rothman. Lee Benson had further discussed at the 1970 Organization of American Historians Meeting that *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, was the best comparative historical social science contribution of its type known to date. However, he re-emphasized that it was not worth serious consideration because of Moore's insistence that a person's motivations were entirely motivated by economic interests.<sup>28</sup>

*Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* was generally better -received in the disciplines of Sociology and Political Science, which was not surprising, since Moore was a

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<sup>28</sup> Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, et al; Tilly, "In Search of Revolution", p. 799-803; Tumin, "The Theory of Democratic Development", p. 143-164; Wiener, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 146-175; Wiener, "The Barrington Moore Thesis and Its Critics", p. 301-330; Zunz, "Toward a Dialogue with Historical Sociology", p. 31-47; Skocpol and Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry", p. 174-197; Smith, "Morality and Method in the Work of Barrington Moore", p. 151-176; Smith, *Barrington Moore, Jr.: A Critical Appraisal*, et al; Sheehan, "Barrington Moore on Obedience and Revolt", p. 723-734; Murphy, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 271-274; Link, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 261-262; Lowenthal, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 257-278; Harootunian, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 372-374; Black, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 1338; Bonnell, "The Uses of Theory, Concepts, and Comparison in Historical Sociology", p. 156-173; Braembussche, "Historical Explanation and Comparative Method", p. 1-24; Curtin, "Graduate Teaching in World History", p. 81-89; Degler, "Comparative History: An Essay Review", p. 425-430; Flint, "Conceptual Translations in Comparative Study", p. 502-516; Friedman, "Review of *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village and Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 159-160; Gallaher, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 451-452; Green, "Radical Historians on Their Heritage", p. 122-130.

sociologist by training and held academic appointments in that field. Some criticism existed for Moore by some sociologists who were sold on traditional methodological approaches to the field and employed more quantitative methodologies. Moore's approach was a historical comparative approach and in the last chapter of the book he expresses some of his discontent with the limitations of statistics to inform scholarship. Political Scientists especially praised Moore for being able to make cross-country comparisons as to the level of political and economic development. Moore was especially insightful in succinctly describing the general process and ways in which a society develops ideas, values, norms, etc. about its polity. Moore's sources heavily drew on Marxists literature such as, Herbert Apthekar and Philip Foner.<sup>29</sup>

Moore's methodological approach has been attacked by historians who have observed that he failed to employ the use of archival materials to support his research. He entirely uses published sources throughout the book. In addition, Moore's printed sources are all in English, French, and some German. There are no original sources to be found in Japanese, Chinese, or any language originating within the Indian subcontinent. It is not surprising that, *Social Origins*

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<sup>29</sup> Gianfranco Poggi, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Jun., 1968), p. 215-217; Gabriel A. Almond, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 61, no. 3 (Sep., 1967), p. 768-770; Reinhard Bendix, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr.," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 82, no. 4 (Dec., 1967), p. 625-627; Victoria E. Bonnell, "Review of *Barrington Moore, Jr.: A Critical Appraisal*, by Dennis Smith," *Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 13, no. 3 (May, 1984), p. 307-308; E.J. Hobsbawm, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 32, no. 5 (Oct., 1967), p. 821-822; Ian S. Lustick, "History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 90, no. 3 (Sep., 1996), p. 605-618; Nicos Mouzelis, "In Defence of 'Grand' Historical Sociology." *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Mar., 1994), p. 31-36; Gayl D. Ness, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 32, no. 5 (Oct., 1967), p. 818-820; Stanley Rothman, "Barrington Moore and the Dialectics of Revolution: An Essay Review." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 64, no. 1 (Mar., 1970), p. 61-82; William G. Roy, "Class Conflict and Social Change in Historical Perspective." *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 10 (1984), p. 483-506; Gilbert Shapiro, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 32, no. 5 (Oct., 1967), p. 820-821; John G. Stephens, "Democratic Transition and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939: A test of the Moore Thesis." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94, no. 5 (Mar., 1989), p. 1019-1077.

of *Dictatorship and Democracy*, might be considered to have a Euro-centric bias. In addition, those sources selected are primarily secondary sources and those containing a dominant Marxist or Neo-Marxist philosophical methodological approach. For example, the chapter on the United States contains sources written by scholars such as Herbert Apthekar, Charles and Mary Beard, and Philip Foner. All of whom are known to have held Marxist predilections. Most historians have maintained that the treatment of this subject was well done, but disagree with his interpretations. Despite these criticisms, the same arguments have been raised on various occasions with research produced in India. No single social scientist has ever known all the languages of India and therefore has been limited in their scope of inquiry.<sup>30</sup>

Despite having reservations about Moore's classifications and interpretations, most historians have heralded Moore's attempt to make comparisons across countries and regions and to take a macro perspective for his historical analysis. Moore's book stretches as far back as the fourteenth century and includes most of the political developments in the countries examined well into the twentieth century. Some questions have been raised about cases that attempt to compare for example, the French Revolution to the American Civil War. These two historical events are from different time periods and the French Revolution can be attributed to the single

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<sup>30</sup> Gusfield, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 114-115; Jackall, "The Education of Barrington Moore, Jr.", p. 675-681; Nielsen, "Introduction to Two Essays of Barrington Moore, Jr.", p. 683-685; Skocpol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 1-34. Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, et al; Tilly, "In Search of Revolution", p. 799-803; Wiener, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 146-175; Wiener, "The Barrington Moore Thesis and Its Critics", p. 301-330; Zunz, "Toward a Dialogue with Historical Sociology", p. 31-47; Skocpol and Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry", p. 174-197; Smith, "Morality and Method in the Work of Barrington Moore", p. 151-176; Smith, *Barrington Moore, Jr.: A Critical Appraisal*, et al; Sheehan, "Barrington Moore on Obedience and Revolt", p. 723-734; Link, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 261-262; Lowenthal, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 257-278; Harootunian, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 372-374; Bonnell, "The Uses of Theory, Concepts, and Comparison in Historical Sociology", p. 156-173; Braembussche, "Historical Explanation and Comparative Method", p. 1-24; Degler, "Comparative History: An Essay Review", p. 425-430; Flint, "Conceptual Translations in Comparative Study", p. 502-516; Friedman, "Review of *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village and Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 159-160; Green, "Radical Historians on Their Heritage", p. 122-130.

catapulting event that brought France from a monarchy to a democracy. Historians have observed that in some ways it would have made more sense to compare the American Revolution to the French Revolution in order to perform a more viable historical analysis. Again, Moore's choice of the American Civil War is very heavily influenced by Marxism that sees this conflict as the true "American Bourgeois" Revolution. Moore maintains that the conflict arose out of economic conflict between the Bourgeois of the North and the South. As a result, violence was exerted upon the South, which consisted of predominantly small famers. In fact, the number of small farmers and slaves far exceeded the number of slaveholders during the time.<sup>31</sup>

Moore rejected cultural explanations and considerations as inadequate explanations of historical events as societies change and metamorphosis into modern nation-states. Under certain historical conditions values are transmitted to and projected on future generations, and are then transformed into public policies, which benefit certain groups. Stanley Rothman criticized Moore for almost entirely dismissing the idea of cultural factors and how they may or may not have played a central role in the development of particular kinds of democracy, fascism, and

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<sup>31</sup> Gusfield, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 114-115; Jackall, "The Education of Barrington Moore, Jr.", p. 675-681; Nielsen, "Introduction to Two Essays of Barrington Moore, Jr.", p. 683-685; Skocpol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 1-34. Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, et al; Tilly, "In Search of Revolution", p. 799-803; Wiener, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 146-175; Wiener, "The Barrington Moore Thesis and Its Critics", p. 301-330; Zunz, "Toward a Dialogue with Historical Sociology", p. 31-47; Skocpol and Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry", p. 174-197; Smith, "Morality and Method in the Work of Barrington Moore", p. 151-176; Smith, *Barrington Moore, Jr.: A Critical Appraisal*, et al; Sheehan, "Barrington Moore on Obedience and Revolt", p. 723-734; Link, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 261-262; Lowenthal, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 257-278; Harootunian, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 372-374; Bonnell, "The Uses of Theory, Concepts, and Comparison in Historical Sociology", p. 156-173; Braembussche, "Historical Explanation and Comparative Method", p. 1-24; Degler, "Comparative History: An Essay Review", p. 425-430; Flint, "Conceptual Translations in Comparative Study", p. 502-516; Friedman, "Review of *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village and Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 159-160; Green, "Radical Historians on Their Heritage", p. 122-130.

communism. Moore's emphasis was on the structures that maintain certain societal functions and how these structures change over time.<sup>32</sup>

*Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* was, overall, more well-received in Europe than in the United States, perhaps due to less anti-Marxist and anti-Socialist sentiment than had been experienced in the United States. Wolf-Dieter Narr, a well know scholar in the Frankfurt School tradition, praised Moore for upholding structural considerations and for rejecting cultural ones as explanations for the development of the type of government and as the causation of modernization. Knut Borchardt praised Moore for making societal structures the primary area of focus and limiting the cultural explanations for history. Pierre Lantz offered the most significant praise for Moore by stating the most significant contribution of the whole piece was Moore's lack of attribution of societies' cultural characteristics as explanations for the country's political development. Gianfranco Poggi described Moore as giving an awesome interpretation that demolishes arguments for cultural explanations of civilization. Peter Nettl

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<sup>32</sup>Weiner, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, by Barrington Moore, Jr Gusfield, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 114-115; Jackall, "The Education of Barrington Moore, Jr.", p. 675-681; Nielsen, "Introduction to Two Essays of Barrington Moore, Jr.", p. 683-685; Skocpol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy", p. 1-34. Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, et al; Tilly, "In Search of Revolution", p. 799-803; Wiener, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 146-175; Wiener, "The Barrington Moore Thesis and Its Critics", p. 301-330; Zunz, "Toward a Dialogue with Historical Sociology", p. 31-47; Skocpol and Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry", p. 174-197; Smith, "Morality and Method in the Work of Barrington Moore", p. 151-176; Smith, *Barrington Moore, Jr.: A Critical Appraisal*, et al; Sheehan, "Barrington Moore on Obedience and Revolt", p. 723-734; Link, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 261-262; Lowenthal, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 257-278; Harootunian, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 372-374; Bonnell, "The Uses of Theory, Concepts, and Comparison in Historical Sociology", p. 156-173; Braembussche, "Historical Explanation and Comparative Method", p. 1-24; Degler, "Comparative History: An Essay Review", p. 425-430; Flint, "Conceptual Translations in Comparative Study", p. 502-516; Friedman, "Review of *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village* and *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 159-160; Green, "Radical Historians on Their Heritage", p. 122-130." *History and Theory*, vol. 15., no. 2 (May, 1976), p. 146-175.

observed that Moore helps the scholar to observe other factors like social structures rather than turning to only cultural explanations.<sup>33</sup>

Theda Skocpol had observed that Moore's, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, helped to create the branch of Comparative Analysis in the discipline of history. She said that he helped us take a careful look at issues that we would not have otherwise done. Those other issues included the comparative analysis of cost factors in routes to modernization. Other historians have also maintained this perspective and some evidence suggests that Moore's book has been more influential over the long term and in the years since its publication. Historians' reactions to the book were not particularly welcoming in the first few years after its publication but from at least 1976 onward it has been cited hundreds of times by historians. Even by those writing in the world history journals. Many titles have emerged that were directly influenced by the work of Barrington Moore. In retrospect, it is important to note that the publication of the book coincides with the cultural, linguistic, and anthropological turn that was beginning to take shape in history and philosophy. At the height of the Cold War, anything remotely associated with Communism, Marxism, or Dialectical Materialism was being rejected in the West. As the Cold War began to fade, Moore's influence began to rise.<sup>34</sup>

Equally influential is Moore's historical influence on other disciplines such as Political Science and Sociology. Traditionally, other social science disciplines had primarily used less

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<sup>33</sup> Weiner, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 150.

<sup>34</sup> Weiner, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 146-175; Skocpol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 1-34; Skocpol and Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry", p. 174-197.

comparative mechanisms and relied on quantitative approaches. Narratives were structured to encompass immediate contemporary issues.<sup>35</sup>

As Barrington Moore, Jr. demonstrated, the collective agency of the populace with influence and organizing activities exerted either through civic organizations and unions or efforts that have been transformed into political parties has been understudied in the academy and needs further inquiry into comparative analyses that cross international boundaries. After World War II, social scientists started to increase their interest in the study of collective agency when the union activities began to impede upon the national and international goals and activities of the bourgeoisie. In Western nations, labor unions were blamed for many problems associated with unemployment and with slumping economic conditions. All of the criticism was continually professed by the bourgeoisie-dominated press, pop culture, and science.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Almond, "Review of *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*", p. 768-770; Bonnell, "Review of *Barrington Moore, Jr.: A Critical Appraisal*, by Dennis Smith", p. 307-308; Lustick, "History, Historiography, and Political Science", p. 605-618; Mouzelis, "In Defence of 'Grand' Historical Sociology", p. 31-36; Rothman, "Barrington Moore and the Dialectics of Revolution", p. 61-82; Roy, "Class Conflict and Social Change in Historical Perspective", p. 483-506; Stephens, "Democratic Transition and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939", p. 1019-1077.

<sup>36</sup> John J. Bethune, "The History of Economic Thought: A Survey of Undergraduate Textbooks", *Journal of Economic Education*, vol. 23, no.2 (Spr., 1992), p. 153-161; Lewis E. Hill and Robert L. Rouse, "The Sociology of Knowledge and the History of Economic Thought" *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, vol. 36, no. 3 (Jul., 1977), p. 299-309; Usamah Ramadan and Warren J. Samuels, "The Treatment of Post Keynesian Economics in the History of Economic Thought Texts", *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, vol. 18, no. 4 (Sum., 1996), p. 547-565; Jon D. Wisman, "The Sociology of Knowledge as a Tool for Research into the History of Economic Thought", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, vol. 39, no. 1 (Jan., 1980), p. 83-94.

## CHAPTER 3: CAPITALISTIC DOMINANCE OF WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Questions concerning the rise of so-called free market capitalism have been seriously considered and researched at least as far back as Karl Marx and beyond to observers who were lukewarm at best to transformative changes they had observed in Europe during the industrial revolution. To date, no complete work that captures the full essence of capitalistic expansion and slavery has been produced. Capitalistic interests were pursued throughout the world and included a quest for various products and raw materials that could either be marketed directly or could be imported by more industrialized European countries in order to manufacture products for domestic or international markets. The institutions and the individuals investing in those institutions became very wealthy due to the slave trade. Those formal institutions either directly or indirectly benefited from the capital inflows and profits reaped from slave labor. Many scholars have observed that even leading up to the civil war, American northern business was often neutral on the slavery issue and that the economy based on manufacturing had indirectly, but substantially profited from slavery. The literature is full of examples where historians can discover traces of specific ties that certain institutions may have had to slavery—for example, the British Cadbury Brothers in Kevin Grant's *Civilised Savagery*. However, little can be found in the literature that traces specific transactions and specific profits that can be directly linked to the slave trade to individuals and single institutions. If such a study or groups of studies were to be constructed, an almost irrefutable case could be surmounted in support of slave reparations. The

global expansion of capitalism came about with much violence exerted against various lower classes holding positions of manual labor.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most significant contribution to the advancement of the study of how slavery fueled the expansion of capitalism is Eric Williams' 1944 classic work, *Capitalism and Slavery*. Among Williams' most significant contributions contained in this study is his observance that racism developed as a result of slavery and not vice-versa. *Capitalism and Slavery* demonstrates that slavery or indentured servitude began without reservations or limitations based on race. Many whites came to the shores of the Western Hemisphere in order to work to pay back bad debt or to work as indentured servants to serve out sentences for crimes of which they had been convicted. Williams' work examines the relationship of a triangular trade between the Caribbean, Africa, and Great Britain. According to Williams, massive amounts of capital were accumulated as a result of slave labor used on plantations in the West Indies, which mostly grew tobacco, sugar cane, and cotton. Those profits, he would argue, were used to later fuel the growth and expansion of the industrial revolution in England. It is interesting that Williams is able to show how the expansion of capitalism in England had been tremendously propelled with profits taken from the Caribbean, yet he did not even touch on finance capital derived from other regions due to slavery and profits received due to advantages of the colonial system. This entire system was

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<sup>1</sup> Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), p. 126-135; Kevin Grant, *A Civilised Savagery: Britain and the New Slaveries in Africa, 1884-1926* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 109-134; Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, p. 111-155, et al; Betty Wood, *The Origins of American Slavery: Freedom and Bondage in the English Colonies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), p. 20-39; Sven Beckert, "Reconstructing the Empire of Cotton: A Global Story," in Manisha Sinha and Penny Von Eschen, Editors, *Contested Democracy: Freedom, Race, and Power in American History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 181; Jeremy Adelman, "An Age of Imperial Revolutions," *American Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 2 (Apr., 2008), p. 319-340; Jonathan Dewald, "Crisis, Chronology, and the Shape of European Social History," *American Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 4 (Oct., 2008), p. 1035.

economically enriched and the magnitude of the riches relied on a tremendous supply of slave labor to reap the profits.<sup>2</sup>

According to Robin Blackburn, the growth in profits from slave labor in the Western Hemisphere more than tripled in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century alone. This specifically coincides with the proliferation of slavery and the slave trade during that time period, which was at its zenith. Estimates vary as to the total numbers of slaves living in the Western Hemisphere at that time. Most sources, including Blackburn, estimate the number to be just over thirty thousand at the beginning of the eighteenth century, around three million at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and over six million by the middle of the nineteenth century. An estimated one-and-a-half million Africans died in unsanitary and unsafe conditions crossing the Atlantic Ocean on their way to their destinations and up to twenty percent of the new arrivals died within the first year of setting foot on the soil of the Americas. Like Williams, Blackburn builds upon his thesis to demonstrate that the huge profits derived from slavery provided the means for endogenous and exogenous growth that became part of industrial capitalism. Capital derived from slave labor provided for endogenous economic growth by allowing much investment in technology, science, and market innovations, which resulted in increased efficiency, the development of products for market, and mass-produced goods and services. Exogenous economic growth came by way of innovations and technologies that were developed outside specific market investments, but contributed in the long run to continued economic growth. All of which was made possible, according to some scholars, as a result of slave labor capital.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 5-11, 197-212.

<sup>3</sup> Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 307-343. Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in*

Since the beginning of civilization human creativity, innovation, and production has been central to the advancement of the human family. The skills and abilities of laborers have been especially crucial to the sustained growth of capitalism that has become even more important to post-modern economies as workers with critical thinking skills are needed for the scientific discoveries and technological advancements that develop and produce goods and services for international markets. For contemporary society the bulk of scholarship surrounding this concept has been most often referred to as Human Capital in the economic literature. Human Capital development is formed formally through institutions of education and informally through learning based on one's cultural and societal structures that inform ideas and practices, and through sources of literature and media. Therefore, certain areas have tended to develop specific coveted skills in individuals that were not readily apparent in other societies. One clear example of a commodity that became very important to an expanding global economy in the fifteenth through at least the nineteenth century and beyond was rice cultivation. Rice growing was a very tedious and labor-intensive process that required specialized skills from individuals to carry through the process. Slaves were coveted for their skills along the Guinea-Bissau coast to be captured, sold, and exported to the South Carolina low country and other areas in order to be used for rice growing and cultivation on the rice plantations there. Although historians have, rather extensively, explored the coveted skilled labor by African-Americans, which contributed to the growth of capitalism and enriched institutions, there is significant neglect regarding the

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*International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 130-149; Laurent DuBois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 132-152; Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery and the Economy of Sao Paulo, 1750-1850* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 28-78; Richard L. Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants, and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), et al.

skilled labor and technological innovations contributed by African Americans to the overall advancement of civilization and its crucial impact on the wealth of Western nations.<sup>4</sup>

Capitalistic expansion has also been significantly linked to African Americans and their creative contributions to research and cotton growing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Until after the U.S. Civil war, enslaved African Americans were unable to apply for patents and get them registered in their names at the U.S. patent office. Inventions derived by them were credited with their owners. Toward the end of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama was involved in many research initiatives and its early curriculum could be compared to many modern engineering schools. In fact, the Atlanta Exposition Speech has been widely read by students of history from the undergraduate level through graduate school. However, the historiography of the Atlanta Exposition overall has been overlooked by many as being remarkably limited and much research is lacking as to the kinds of products presented here. Whenever it is examined closely we find that the types of products presented were creations, inventions, and innovations of various types of products that would rest fully within the confines of a modern school of engineering. This is a sharp departure from the typical historiography on the Tuskegee Institute which has continually maintained that Booker T.

Washington had only wanted to train carpenters, bricklayers, and janitors and had no interest in

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<sup>4</sup> Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations Along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400-1900* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003), p. 55-82; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), p. 35-62; David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson, "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas," *American Historical Review*, vol. 112, no. 5 (Dec., 2007), p. 1329-1358; See specifically Judith Carney's, "Landscapes of Technology Transfer: Rice Cultivation and African Continuities," in Bruce Sinclair's, *Technology and the African-American Experience: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), p. 19-48. Sinclair's volume should be consulted in general in its entirety for specific neglect of African-American contributions to the advancement of civilization and the overall growth of the international political economy; See also Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), et al and Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), et al; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 142-176.

affording Blacks the opportunity to enter white collar occupations. Most have focused on Booker T. Washington's accommodationist predilections and have overlooked the creative contributions of the Institute that have also fostered the growth of capitalism. Early on, the Tuskegee Institute was involved in research efforts to advance the yield and disease-resistance of cotton cultivation and was even visited by Max Weber from Germany. As Sven Beckert and other scholars have shown, the western European powers of Great Britain, Spain, Belgium, Germany, Portugal, and others attempted to grow cotton and other products in colonized states in order to fuel a continued growth of capitalism even after the abolishment of slavery so they could take advantage of the low wages of Third World countries. As a result, cotton innovations originating in Tuskegee were implemented in Latin American, Africa, and Asian countries.<sup>5</sup>

One specific means of the way in which capitalism was allowed to expand and flourish was provided by legal codes throughout the South relative to the status and treatment of African Americans. Historians, however, have mostly overlooked the study of the legal aspects of slavery in its relationship to the overall international political economy. Political economy is most commonly defined in the literature as the study of law, politics, and economics with the three working in conjunction together. Historians have yet to produce a satisfactory piece of scholarship directly linking specific profits to changes in legal codes and judicial decisions throughout the country. Criticisms abound as to even making a connection with slavery and the rise of global capitalism. This is consistent with the cultural and linguistic turn in philosophy since the 1960s and away from the social, which had traditionally applied a more pure dialectic materialism to the study of history; likewise, economic components of history were more also

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<sup>5</sup>Beckert, "Reconstructing the Empire of Cotton: A Global Story", p. 164-190; Andrew Zimmerman, "A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers," *American Historical Review*, vol. 110, no. 5 (Dec., 2005), p. 1362-1398.

dominant. In a recent article, James Sweet expands on the work of Alison Games by critiquing how studies of “African-American contributions to ‘building’ America is an important topic, however the tendency to emphasize American institutional outcomes draws attention to broader critiques of extant Atlantic histories... instead focus narrowly on European and American histories that are old wine in new bottles.”<sup>6</sup>

Chattel slavery, as it was represented in the courts, was one that was not static but evolved and adapted over time. As has been demonstrated by prolific authors such as Ariela Gross, the character of slavery, especially in the American South, took on a double characteristic of how the courts treated slaves and how they actually exerted a sense of agency and humanity on the plantations and in their daily interactions. Therefore, in a certain sense each slave lived their own history that was unique and different, yet historians can draw some parallels from their lives that might reveal a collective existence. What is striking is that the legal status of slaves and their treatment under the law shifted and changed to the advantage of their owners, which is consistent with the growth of capitalism. Historians, in the review of many thousands of court cases in the South, have determined that slaves took on the character of persons in criminal cases. That is, in criminal cases that African Americans were being charged of committing a crime. In all other cases African Americans were most commonly treated as property throughout the southern states where slavery continued to exist. Most revisionist historians have observed the limitations of traditional legal economic histories that have failed to examine the local cultural characteristics of each case and have neglected the influence the slaves themselves may have had on the case at hand. Revisionist attention to the influence of African Americans on each

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<sup>6</sup> James H. Sweet, “Mistaken Identities? Olaudah Equiano, Domingos Alvares, and the Methodological Challenges of Studying the African Diaspora,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 114, no. 2 (Apr., 2009), p. 283; Alison Games, “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 111, no. 3 (Jun., 2006), p. 745; Sewell, “Crooked Lines,” p. 393-405.

situation at hand has given much more “agency” to their treatment as historical actors. The same agency applied to affecting outcomes of court transactions has also been observed by Walter Johnson who contends that African Americans were also very influential as to their fate in the buying and selling that took place within the antebellum slave markets.<sup>7</sup>

Macro-economy and politics cannot be effectively divorced from the day-to-day social interactions of individual slaves, masters, and civilization in general from any time point in history. The greatest historical productions are able to weave together intricate details of slaves’ lives and place them in a proper overall study of global civilization within the time periods they examine. *Soul By Soul* falls tremendously short of this idealistic goal by exaggerating the impact and contribution of the New Orleans slave market. Johnson ignores the interactions of buying, selling, and exchange of ‘prisoners’ that occurs throughout most of the country as well as the series of events and episodes that occurred before the slaves ever reached the slave market itself. The economic and political turbulence of this time period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is also largely ignored throughout this book.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Laura F. Edwards, “Status without Rights: African Americans and the Tangled History of Law and Governance in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. South,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 112, no. 2 (Apr., 2007), p. 365-393; Dylan C. Penningroth, “The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 112, no. 4 (Oct., 2007), p. 1039-1069; Van Gosse, ““As a Nation, the English Are Our Friends’: The Emergence of African American Politics in the British Atlantic World, 1772-1861,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 4 (Oct., 2008), p. 1003-1028; Gilbert Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), p. 3-17; Malick Ghachem, “The Slaves Two Bodies: The Life of an American Legal Fiction,” *William & Mary Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 4 (Oct., 2003), p. 809-842; Ariela Gross, *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 22-46; Jenny Wahl, *The Bondsman’s Burden: An Economic Analysis of the Common Law of Southern Slavery* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), et al; Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, p. 358-368; Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 162-188; Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), et al.

<sup>8</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Eugene D. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), et al; Marvin T. Brown, *Civilizing the Economy: A New Economics of Provision* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), et al.

Winning the Thomas J. Wilson Prize in history from its own publisher, Harvard University Press, *Soul By Soul* is in some ways an original contribution to the massive enclave of historiographical literature that has been produced on this time period. Johnson's focus on the market as the primary shaper of slave/master social interactions has uncovered a neglected aspect of slavery. As Johnson reveals, the slave market shaped social interactions as masters were often inclined not to permanently destroy viable property that could later be marketed. Some minor aspect of a slave's behavior was also often influenced and modified by the treatment of the master toward the slave. How well or bad the slave life encompassed on their master's plantation continually influenced subsequent behavior on the plantation, which, in turn, might have affected the slave owners decisions to either sell or retain a slave and at what price. The problem with Johnson is the exaggeration of its impact. While it, in no doubt, affected some interactions by way of the slave who had specifically experienced a change in ownership or witnessed the slave market themselves, it is an oversimplification to assume that all slaves did. What about the slaves who were born on the same plantation and had never experienced a change in ownership and had never talked to anyone who had? Moreover, what about the thousands of slaves who had changed ownership and had never witnessed the New Orleans slave market themselves? This was a very frequent happening where slaves were marketed locally, from state to state, and sometimes over long distances outside of the Louisiana slave trade post.<sup>9</sup>

Recent books published on the slave trade during this time period in the U.S. and abroad have covered a wide variety of topics that are virtually ignored by Johnson. Johnson's piece is largely parochial and significantly ignores the comparative and international contexts of the age

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<sup>9</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), et al; Sally Hadden, "Searching for Identities in the New Orleans Slave Market," *Common-Place*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Jul., 2001), <http://www.common-place.org/vol-01/no-04/reviews/hadden.shtml>.

of which it is written. It neglects the continual evolvement of the American frontier. International events of the time period, including war, expanding markets, and territorial expansion by many Western European powers, were also very influential. Advances in science and technology were also shaping the very existence of slavery, prices of slaves, and social interactions of individuals at every level of society.<sup>10</sup>

One of the most interesting contributions of Johnson's, *Soul By Soul* is his analysis of the economy outside the antebellum New Orleans slave market in the Epilogue. Here, Johnson begins to approach the market in comparative and national perspectives, but never quite fully includes a thorough examination of all the elements of civilization that affects its 'history'. This includes a careful examination of the tobacco slave economy that is continually evolving and developing in the Chesapeake Bay area, but fails to effectively connect these ideas and principles to the overall theme of the book on New Orleans and is mostly a direct contradiction to the central thesis or framework in which the work is originally pitched . It is appropriate to include this perspective in an epilogue, however, more of the issues related to the slave life, trade, and traffic that occurs outside New Orleans should be included and interwoven throughout the other chapters of the book in order to place Johnson's arguments into their appropriate contextual perspectives.<sup>11</sup>

Some historical background is covered in this book that describes what was considered to be the problem in examining slave culture and life leading up to the events of the American Civil War and emancipation that follows thereafter. Some of these include the concepts and definitions

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<sup>10</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Jean-Christophe Agnew, "Capitalism, Culture, and Catastrophe," *Journal of American History*, vol. 93, no. 3 (Dec., 2006), p. 772-791; Portia James, "To Collect Proof of Colored Talent and Ingenuity, 1619-1930," in *Technology and the African American Experience: Needs and Opportunities for Study*, Bruce Sinclair, Editor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), p. 49-70; Jonathan D. Martin, *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 134-202.

<sup>11</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Gavin Wright, *Slavery and American Economic Development* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), p. 3-134; Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, et al.

of ‘blackness’, and how this concept evolves and develops. In addition, Johnson draws upon scholars, such as Frederick Douglas and others, to provide additional supporting evidence to connect and give significance to the arguments behind the Slave Market of New Orleans during the Antebellum Period. Many revisionists would applaud Johnson’s attention to giving the slaves credit for somewhat controlling their own destinies. Marxists and Neo-Marxists have long argued for the struggle that slaves themselves undertook while in slavery and their pivotal roles in having it abolished. In many ways, slaves were active participants in the Underground Railroad and leading contributors to their own emancipations. Johnson, however, over-determines the role slaves played in getting themselves bartered to new owners and their abilities to control their own destinies.<sup>12</sup>

Revisionist historians have offered powerful evidence to support the claim throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that African Americans carried many cultural traditions with them to the ‘New World’. Johnson, either latently or inadvertently, attempts to undermine the significance of this historiography by overemphasizing the New Orleans slave market, which, according to him, was the essence of the culture of African Americans during the period. These efforts, according to Johnson, have contributed significantly to a largely static system that has offered little or no change to slave civilization once established until after the Civil War.<sup>13</sup>

*Soul By Soul* offers a remarkable account of the history of how the slave market developed in the city even while neglecting the significant national and international dimensions of the period. Johnson’s book overwhelmingly supports the history long developed by

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<sup>12</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Wright, *Slavery and American Economic Development*, p. 3-134; Fergus M. Bordewich *Bound for Canaan: The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), et al.

<sup>13</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Judith Carney, “Landscapes of Technology: Rice Cultivation and African Continuities,” in *Technology and the African American Experience: Needs and Opportunities for Study*, Bruce Sinclair, Editor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), p. 21-48; Robert Evans, Jr., *The Economics of American Negro Slavery, 1830-1860* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 185-256.

mainstream historians that slavery was used to promote the economy by supplying a continual cheap labor force. It is well-researched with a wealthy supply of primary source materials to back up its claims.<sup>14</sup>

Johnson criticizes the contradictory paradigms of some dominant historiography that embrace such ideas as hierarchy and equality. A philosophy that embraces both of these concepts at the same time is inherently contradictory because the idea of hierarchy in itself implies inequality at some level. The consideration then becomes, what level of inequality will society tolerate? Aspects of inequality still plague U.S. society and culture. Although *Soul By Soul* has been heralded as a historiographical breakthrough by some famous historians it is largely a disappointment. With its theme and title it displays sparks of scholarship that is unsupported by the magnitude of available literature on the topic or by the bulk of primary source materials in which Walter Johnson draws upon. The breadth and depth of the topics on slavery covered in this publication are significant contributions but are also limited.<sup>15</sup> For example, Johnson's book is limited the study of slavery to a single institution and the serious scholar would need to consult various other sources to gain a complete understanding of this time period and topic in American and World history.<sup>16</sup>

Joseph Inikori describes expansion of capitalism and capitalistic interests as originating in the eleventh century with the organization of the church in relation to the governance of local areas that both grew and developed with the rise of the nation-state. This attention to the rise of

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<sup>14</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Carney, "Landscapes of Technology: Rice Cultivation and African Continuities," p. 21-48; Martin, *Divided Mastery*, p. 1-28.

<sup>15</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Martin, *Divided Mastery*, p. 1-192; Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery*, et al; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), et al.

<sup>16</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, et al; Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery*, et al; Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, et al; Deirdre N. McCloskey, *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethics for an Age of Commerce* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), et al.

the nation-state and its role in the development of capitalism and slavery is a subtle departure from *The Fruits of Merchant Capital*, where they articulate the correlation between the rise of merchant capitalism in the Medieval Islamic world and the later transformation into industrial capitalism throughout Europe. Inikori also makes this observance; however, he gives additional attention to the rise of the nation-state. He is able to show with much supporting data how industrial production, in terms of total capital, increased along with the importation of various commodities and raw materials and the tremendous explosion of slave labor and trafficking.<sup>17</sup>

In *Civilized Savagery*, Kevin Grant observes that the lines between conditions under slavery and wage labor are often so blurred that it is frequently very difficult to tell the difference. His work gives rise to a further debate of how capitalism has continually expanded under different forms of slave labor into the twentieth century where labor is provided by coercive, forced, and other methods where the populace has little or no choice other than to participate in those systems. Geoffrey Hodgson departs from Kevin Grant's observations on capitalistic expansion during the nineteenth century by claiming that capitalism expanded during its early stages due to slavery, but further expansion depended on slavery's demise. Hodgson's interpretation on this aspect is consistent with Marxian theory, which has claimed that various forms of civilization arise and also fall based on their abilities to advance or prohibit so-called 'progress'. The revolutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that ushered in liberal democracies embraced concepts that coincided with the growth of free market capitalism, which utilized forms of slave labor to flourish. More research is needed in order to get a good measure

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<sup>17</sup> Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*, p. 130-149, 473-486, et al; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), et al; Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 107-144.

of the specific total capital derived directly from slave labor to the specific institutions that directly benefited from it. Some data appears to be incomplete, however, careful examination of the secondary source materials and the historian's comments on them reveal that significant fodder for a very serious original study remains untouched.<sup>18</sup>

International forces have continually affected India's international security, economic development, foreign policy, and interactions with neighboring countries. Among those concerns is the view held by many Indian government officials, policy-makers, and Indian academics that international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and other institutions are nothing more than extensions of U.S. foreign policy and colonialism. In many scholars' eyes, the international institutions that were established directly after World War II excluded the voices of Third World countries and are still dominated by Western countries like Great Britain, France, and the United States. Countries like India have had almost no choice but to comply with their demands and in some ways maintain policies that keep India in chains. Concepts of colonialism and Western dominance in India continue to influence decisions and actions like the change of the names of many of India's largest cities from those instituted by the British to their former names before the imposition of British names. Even though the influence of the British still remains with many traditions and customs in India, local political influence seeks to eliminate many of these traditions and customs by formulating new public policies based on Hindu tradition and Indian nationalism. This has never been more apparent than the drive in India to teach the local language in the public schools as the primary language of instruction instead of English, which has dominated

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<sup>18</sup> Grant, *Civilised Savagery*, p. 3; Geoffrey M. Hodgson, "Varieties of Capitalism and Varieties of Economic Theory," *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Aut., 1996), p. 423; Adelman, "Age of Imperial Revolutions", p. 325.

for several centuries. All of these local issues are affecting and will continue to affect Indian foreign policy both globally and regionally for many decades to come.<sup>19</sup>

Every civilization since the dawn of the human race has been ruled by an artificial aristocracy. By an artificial aristocracy we can infer that leaders, rulers, and those members of the ruling classes have successfully attained and maintained their status based upon some concepts that are part of social transformations and have not been acquired according to talents, skills, abilities, and merit that would warrant such achievements. But the ideas behind these theories have been viewed primarily through the lens of a ‘zero sum game’. This ‘zero sum game’ has primarily fueled the argument behind the international division of labor theories. The international division of labor theories have held that richer countries have developed high tech industries while the poorer countries have industries that are based on industries derived from the primary sector such as agriculture, mining, etc. as well as industries requiring lower technologies. These theories explaining the causation and levels of international development are somewhat obsolete with some post-modern development theorists who proclaim that a key ingredient to development in the international political economy is entrepreneurship.<sup>20</sup>

International institutions that had been established following the Bretton Woods Conference of July, 1944 have always, in one way or another, addressed issues concerning development, poverty, and the overall improvement of conditions for the world’s poor. Even the

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<sup>19</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p.92-295; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 187-378; Guha, *India After Gandhi*, p. 62-95, 145, 168-183, 249-262, 313-321, 400-458, 619-665, 711, 737-738.

<sup>20</sup> William Easterly, “The Ideology of Development,” *Foreign Policy* (Jul./Aug., 2007), p. 32; Dani Rodrik, *One Economics, Many Recipes* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 219; Robert Wade, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 8; Paul Krugman, “The Myth of Asia’s Miracle,” *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec., 1994), p. 67-68; T.J. Pempel, “The Development Regime in a Changing World Economy,” in Meredith Woe-Cumings, ed., *The Developmental State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 166; Peter Evans, *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 243-250; Kent E. Calder, *Strategic Capitalism: Private Business and Public Purpose in Japanese Industrial Finance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 262-268.

WTO, which is less than twenty years old, initially had the goals of global poverty reduction and development in addition to the promotion of global free trade. The policies sought by these institutions have been met with mixed results. Some developing nations have experienced major periods of growth, even running into the double digit percentages, as is the case with China, India, and Japan, since World War II. Most of these countries in addition to those listed were able to subsidize certain industries and maintain protective tariffs in certain industries in order for these industries to develop fully or partially early on before they were challenged to compete on a global scale. Since the WTO was established in 1993, policies that have been pursued by them have drifted away from development and toward almost complete free markets. No one policy has been met with unprecedented growth. Usually policies that contain a mixed approach have turned out to be the most beneficial for development purposes.<sup>21</sup>

Some scholars have observed that although the WTO initially promoted free trade along with development ideals and goals as its primary instruments of policy objectives, these objectives have failed to foster economic development entirely. Many of the countries that have been shown to continually develop with unprecedented growth rates were able to subsidize certain industries in the beginning and were able to keep protections in place until these industries developed fully. Countries such as Japan were mostly developed by the time that the WTO was formed and promoted policies that sought to impose internal controls on nation-states

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<sup>21</sup> Joseph E. Stiglitz and Lyn Squire, "International Development: Is it Possible?" *Foreign Policy* (Spr., 1998), p. 138-147; Robert Hunter Wade, "What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of 'Developmental Space'," *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 10, no. 4 (Nov., 2003), p. 621-644; Kenneth C. Shadlen, "Exchanging Development for Market Access? Deep Integration and Industrial Policy Under Multilateral and Regional-Bilateral Trade Agreements," *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 12, no. 5 (Dec., 2005), p. 750-775; Linda Weiss, "Global Governance, National Strategies: How Industrialized States Make Room to Move Under the WTO," *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 12, no. 5 (Dec., 2005), p. 723-749; Steven Napier, *Roosevelt's Monetary Policy: The International Political Economy During the Great Depression and World War II* (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft, 2008), p. 147-182.

like banking policy, monetary policy, and fiscal policy. Since at least the year 2000, the WTO has forced many countries like Indonesia to abort their own strategies of development to institute almost a complete free market. What may seem by law and policy as a free market that is fair and equitable for everyone is actually placing developing nations at risk. This is primarily the result of large international corporations, which are already at a competitive advantage with many resources at hand, entering developing markets with the ability to drive many of the local businesses out of the market. Several large U.S. corporations for example, have annual gross sales that exceed the annual GDP of several foreign countries.<sup>22</sup>

Several examples of economic liberalization can be cited where developing nations have directly benefited from economic liberalization. Examples of such countries are India and Japan. Development in Japan has been going on for a long time and in some measures it still has a long way to go as far as poverty rates, overall per capita income levels, and further advancement of high-tech industries. However, despite the turbulence in the Japanese markets and nationalization of its banking industry, Japan has experienced unprecedented growth for several decades. It has been argued by several scholars that countries like Japan have developed some industries before the economic policies of the WTO took place after 1992. The Japanese were able to protect its high-tech industries in order to allow them to develop before full integration took place. This has allowed its high-tech industries to flourish as the country has gained increasing access to

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<sup>22</sup> Wade, "What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today?," p. 621-644; Shadlen, "Exchanging Development for Market Access?," p. 750-775; Weiss, "Global Governance, National Strategies: How Industrialized States Make Room to Move Under the WTO," p. 723-749; Kevin P. Gallagher, "Understanding Developing Country Resistance to the Doha Round," *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Feb., 2008), p. 62-85.

global markets. In addition, the Japanese were able to subsidize some industries before a so-called “international free trade” policy was instituted.<sup>23</sup>

Examples such as these clearly demonstrate that development overall has taken place as a result of both development policies that were allowed to be sought by central governments across the globe and as the direct result of economic liberalization. Over time, the policy of the WTO has shifted away from a two-goal orientation to one in which almost complete free market ideology has taken over. The result of this shift has come with mixed results. Some countries have experienced some development while others have been tremendously handicapped due to WTO policies. Developing countries need to be able to protect and subsidize certain industries while they are developing in order to be able to seek out their own development interests. They also need for these industries, once established, to be able to gain access to foreign markets for them to continue to experience growth and development. In addition, they also need to allow foreign direct investment in their industries. This theory is met by powerful empirical evidence from China, India, and other countries that can attribute a large portion of their economic growth rates to the flow of capital into the countries as multinational corporations have invested in various service and manufacturing industries.<sup>24</sup>

The current economic crisis may be viewed through the lens of Marxism as a means of bringing investment banks, derivatives, and hedge funds under increased regulation. All of which have been observed by most economists as significantly contributing to the current economic

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<sup>23</sup> Rodrik, *One Economics, Many Recipes*, p. 237-238; Robert Wade, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), et al.

<sup>24</sup> Rodrik, *One Economics, Many Recipes*, p. 213-242; Wade, *Governing the Market*, et al.; Krugman, “The Myth of Asia’s Miracle,” p. 67-68; Stiglitz and Squire, “International Development: Is it Possible?,” p. 138-147; Wade, “What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today?,” p. 621-644; Shadlen, “Exchanging Development for Market Access?,” p. 750-775; Weiss, “Global Governance, National Strategies: How Industrialized States Make Room to Move Under the WTO,” p. 723-749; Gallagher, “Understanding Developing Country Resistance to the Doha Round,” p. 62-85.

crisis. Franklin Roosevelt brought the commercial banks in the United States under heavy regulations in the 1930s that made the banking industry more sound and it stabilized the American economy. Even then, this had a tremendous impact on the world economy. The regulations that FDR established did not include investment banks. Some scholars have observed that in order to begin to cure the current economic crisis we should bring the investment banks under the same regulation as the commercial banks. In addition, the growth of hedge funds and derivatives has been enormous. Several of the country's largest hedge fund managers were brought to Washington in order to testify to congress on the need to bring hedge funds under increased regulation.<sup>25</sup>

The U.S. government has little information on hedge funds, as current regulations do not require them to report their total holdings and activities. The legacy of Alan Greenspan is being increasingly questioned because he continuously fought to keep investment banks from being regulated for many years as the Federal Reserve Chief. Derivatives serve as a kind of insurance policy for banks that attempt to move risks of loan default to various investors. This has had advantages for banks that can afford to take additional risks beyond what they were traditionally able to. The classic scholarly journal, *Rethinking Marxism*, recently examined this question in detail during the summer of 2008 in which they also called for greater regulation in the banking and finance industries. Regulating these industries, especially all of Wall Street, could have many applications and could be viewed in the light of a Marxist lens. It has also increased evidence supporting Marxist theory in regards to the dominance of economic factors in world

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<sup>25</sup> Rodrik, *One Economics, Many Recipes*, p. 213-242; Wade, *Governing the Market*, et al.; Krugman, "The Myth of Asia's Miracle," p. 67-68; Stiglitz and Squire, "International Development: Is it Possible?," p. 138-147; Wade, "What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today?," p. 621-644; Shadlen, "Exchanging Development for Market Access?," p. 750-775; Weiss, "Global Governance, National Strategies: How Industrialized States Make Room to Move Under the WTO," p. 723-749; Gallagher, "Understanding Developing Country Resistance to the Doha Round," p. 62-85.

history. The Bretton Woods institutions that arose out of World War II and the Great Depression, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Bank for International Settlements and to a lesser extent, the United Nations have been criticised for being and existing as nothing more than extensions of U.S. foreign policy. They have also been seen as instruments for the extension of colonialism for the U.S. and other European powers. This is largely supported for seemingly contradictory policies of promoting democracy, while at the same time supporting dictatorships in various countries that suppress human rights and fail to observe democracy or establish democratic institutions. Policies by the international institutions and Western powers have also often been accused of not allowing for the economies of some nations to develop. This is especially true in the developing world on the continents of South America, Africa, and Asia.<sup>26</sup>

Post-modern political scientists have contemplated many questions related to international security including terrorism, genocide, nuclear war, global warming, financial stability, and many other related questions. Stephen Brooks' masterpiece, *Producing Security*, brings to light many questions regarding the connection that might be made between economics, globalization, and national security. Brooks' argument that the globalization of production reduces the likelihood of international conflict for more developed countries is significant, but limited. Chief critics of Brooks argue that his emphasis on the phenomenon of the globalization of production is overemphasized and fails to effectively emphasize other factors contributing to international security such as democratic peace, international trade and finance, increased

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<sup>26</sup> Chalmers Johnson, "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept," in Meredith Woo-Cumings, ed., *The Developmental State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 32-60; Easterly, p. 31-36; Rodrik, *One Economics, Many Recipes*, p. 213-242; Wade, *Governing the Market*, et al.; Krugman, "The Myth of Asia's Miracle," p. 62-78; Pempel, "The Development Regime in a Changing World Economy," p. 158-174; Evans, *Embedded Autonomy*, p. 243-250; Calder, *Strategic Capitalism*, p. 260-278.

technology, and public opinion. Although Brooks refers to these issues he downplays their significance, according to some scholars. In *Globalization and National Security*, Jonathan Kirshner and a host of contributing authors group together the “globalization of production” theme into one broad category simply entitled, “globalization”, and reason it is only one factor among many others that is contributing positively to post-modern world peace.<sup>27</sup>

One central feature of the argument on the globalization of production is that the phenomenon is relatively new in its relationship to world history. Critics of the theory in *Producing Security* have observed that although multinational corporations have expanded, global production supply chains were well-integrated before World War I. Many finished products were finally assembled in their home countries using various components and raw materials from international suppliers all over the world. Critics acknowledge that foreign direct investment has increased and is creating an additional incentive for great powers to maintain peace but must not be overstated. Brooks uses the term foreign direct investment or FDI as specific investment in various types of resources, which includes personnel, property, resources, materials, goods, services, as well as financial resources. Although the concept of foreign financial investment has existed for more than one hundred years in mass quantities the rise of the multi-national corporation has occurred more recently in world history. This distinction is

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<sup>27</sup> Stephen G. Brooks, *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 214-219, et al; Stephen G. Brooks, “Reflections on Producing Security,” *Security Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Win., 2008), p. 637-678; Jonathan Kirshner, “Globalization and National Security,” in *Globalization and National Security*, Johnathan Kirshner, Editor (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 1-34; Jonathan Kirshner, “Globalization, Power, and Prospect,” in *Globalization and National Security*, Johnathan Kirshner, Editor (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 321-340; Karl P. Mueller, “The Paradox of Liberal Hegemony: Globalization and U.S. National Security,” in *Globalization and National Security*, Johnathan Kirshner, Editor (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 143-170; Adam Segal, “Globalization Is a Double-Edged Sword: Globalization and Chinese National Security,” in *Globalization and National Security*, Johnathan Kirshner, Editor (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 293-320; Jonathan Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers: Financial Caution on the Road to War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), et al; Jonathan Kirshner, *Currency and Coercion: The Political Economy of International Monetary Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), et al; Jonathan Kirshner, Ed., *Monetary Orders: Ambiguous Economics, Ubiquitous Politics Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), et al.

especially exemplified by Jonathan Kirshner. He suggests that globalization of production was already widespread and was occurring in massive quantities. The difference, according to Kirshner was merely the existence of many multinational companies with global branches in different countries that produced goods and services. In other words, globalization of production in a different capacity was already taking place prior to World War I and while it may have been a deterrent it failed to prevent either World War.<sup>28</sup>

Brooks contends that multinational corporations significantly reduce the incentives for international conflict with production facilities that are increasingly spread across the globe in several different countries. Brooks' central thesis is supported by claims that conquering countries will be faced with dilemmas of interruption in these global supply chains and will be unable to attract foreign investments from other nations because they would have violated property rights through the invasion. Historically, Brooks uses Nazi Germany as a primary example that in his view would have been deterred from invasions leading up to World War II if production would have been more globalized at that time. Critics of Brooks' thesis claim that supplies are usually stockpiled by invading forces where several years would have to pass in order for their supplies to be severely depleted. In addition, they claim that if supply chains are interrupted then new international suppliers may be found or conquering countries can seek out new raw materials to supply production from newly acquired or existing territory.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Brooks, *Producing Security*, p. 214-219, et al; Brooks, "Reflections on Producing Security," p. 637-678; Kirshner, "Globalization and National Security," p. 1-34; Kirshner, "Globalization, Power, and Prospect," p. 321-340; Mueller, "The Paradox of Liberal Hegemony: Globalization and U.S. National Security," p. 143-170; Segal, "Globalization Is a Double-Edged Sword: Globalization and Chinese National Security," p. 293-320; Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers*, et al; Kirshner, *Currency and Coercion*, et al; Kirshner, *Monetary Orders*, et al.

<sup>29</sup> Brooks, *Producing Security*, p. 214-219, et al; Brooks, "Reflections on Producing Security," p. 637-678; Kirshner, "Globalization and National Security," p. 1-34; Kirshner, "Globalization, Power, and Prospect," p. 321-340; Mueller, "The Paradox of Liberal Hegemony: Globalization and U.S. National Security," p. 143-170; Segal, "Globalization Is a Double-Edged Sword: Globalization and Chinese National Security," p. 293-320; Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers*, et al; Kirshner, *Currency and Coercion*, et al; Kirshner, *Monetary Orders*, et al.

The globalization of production has affected developed as well as developing countries. To presuppose that conflict among smaller, weaker, and less developed states will likely increase as the globalization of production increases assumes that the less developed countries can attack other weak states without facing any repercussions for their actions. In addition, most weak states are growing more intertwined with the globalized production that is originating with the more developed countries. The interest of developed nations in the less developed nations is tremendous and likely to spark their resistance to any outside force that could interrupt their production supply chains. Brooks' argument that developed states will be faced with decreasing incentives to wage war while developing nations will encounter an increase in incentives to attack other developing countries has gone unchallenged by prominent international security scholars.<sup>30</sup>

Brooks supposes that the world economic stability and development levels will continue throughout the twenty-first century and beyond without any interruptions from various natural and artificial threats. Natural threats to international security could come in the form of famine, disease, earthquakes, global warming, and other dangers. If these events were catastrophic enough they could end or severely limit an almost unlimited varying degree of modern society, culture, and life. Such a severe catastrophe is likely to increase international conflict. An even more immediate danger is the threat of terrorist networks that utilize modern technological advances to organize and coordinate global networks that could sabotage various food supply chains and launch nuclear attacks that are equal to or greater in magnitude than any central

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<sup>30</sup> Brooks, *Producing Security*, p. 214-219, et al; Brooks, "Reflections on Producing Security," p. 637-678; Kirshner, "Globalization and National Security," p. 1-34; Kirshner, "Globalization, Power, and Prospect," p. 321-340; Mueller, "The Paradox of Liberal Hegemony: Globalization and U.S. National Security," p. 143-170; Segal, "Globalization Is a Double-Edged Sword: Globalization and Chinese National Security," p. 293-320; Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers*, et al; Kirshner, *Currency and Coercion*, et al; Kirshner, *Monetary Orders*, et al.

government over the course of the last few thousand years. *Producing Security* assumes that economic security and development will proceed uninterrupted with only minor setbacks and does not take into consideration the potential weakness for conflict that could arise from a major terrorist attack that could severely interrupt and restrict global production of energy and food supply. There is a good chance that nation-states could retreat behind protective tariffs and erect barriers to impede any previous gains made under the globalization of production, free trade, and international exchange and finance. Brooks and his critics are virtually in agreement that international terrorist organizations are becoming increasingly well-equipped to carry out entrepreneurial terrorist plots due to mass communication and further technological developments. According to Brooks, globalization of production is not considered to be a factor in contributing to the rise of terrorists' threats.<sup>31</sup>

Significantly adding to the antithesis of Brooks' arguments is a critique given by Jonathan Kirshner that successfully rests on five main arguments that globalization does not mean interdependence, it is not a novel concept, it can be reversed, it can be resisted, and it involves a sophisticated intertwining of global politics. Kirshner's argument captures the essence of modern scholarship in international relations that jointly hold, respectively, that globalization could have many positive benefits but also pose many challenges. Kirshner argues that globalization should not be confused with interdependence. Globalization can further make the world more connected but it does not mean they are absolutely dependent on other countries. In Kirshner's view globalization has been around for many years even prior to the nineteenth

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<sup>31</sup> Brooks, *Producing Security*, p. 214-219, et al; Brooks, "Reflections on Producing Security," p. 637-678; Kirshner, "Globalization and National Security," p. 1-34; Kirshner, "Globalization, Power, and Prospect," p. 321-340; Mueller, "The Paradox of Liberal Hegemony: Globalization and U.S. National Security," p. 143-170; Segal, "Globalization Is a Double-Edged Sword: Globalization and Chinese National Security," p. 293-320; Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers*, et al; Kirshner, *Currency and Coercion*, et al; Kirshner, *Monetary Orders*, et al.

century and beyond that interchanged products and services. Some scholarship approaches the subject of globalization as if it cannot be reversed. Kirshner, along with others, has warned that nation-states could retreat into isolation and erect barriers. He also notes that some countries might choose to maintain themselves outside the global mainstream, which is filled with politics. In an environment that is so highly mobilized, politicized, and polarized, anything can happen. No one can be precisely sure how international political influences can push countries in opposite directions that contribute to global insecurity.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Brooks, *Producing Security*, p. 214-219, et al; Brooks, "Reflections on Producing Security," p. 637-678; Kirshner, "Globalization and National Security," p. 1-34; Kirshner, "Globalization, Power, and Prospect," p. 321-340; Mueller, "The Paradox of Liberal Hegemony: Globalization and U.S. National Security," p. 143-170; Segal, "Globalization Is a Double-Edged Sword: Globalization and Chinese National Security," p. 293-320; Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers*, et al; Kirshner, *Currency and Coercion*, et al; Kirshner, *Monetary Orders*, et al.

## CHAPTER 4: LABOR EDUCATION THESIS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The dominant historiography of American and British education supports the claim that educational institutions were primarily developed as a means of controlling the populace.

Challenging this perspective are the theories established by Philip and Eric Foner.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars have also expanded this historiography into many facets that observe how the schools and many aspects related to its implementation have been used as an instrument of oppression including standardized testing, IQ tests, curriculum, segregation, funding, and other policies.

Labor-education thesis scholars observe these instruments of oppression, but also conclude and have maintained that the working classes, which remain disproportionately African American,

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<sup>1</sup>Foner, "The Role of Labor in the Struggle for Free Compulsory Education", p. 93-103; Foner, *British Labor and the American Civil War*, et al; Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, 10 vols. (New York: International Publishers, 1947-1994), et al; Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), et al; Philip S. Foner, *The Fur and Leather Workers Union: A Story of Dramatic Struggles and Achievements* (Newark, NJ: Nordan Press, 1950); Philip S. Foner, *The Bolshevik Revolution: Its Impact on American Radicals, Liberals, and Labor* (New York: International Publishers, 1967), et al; Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1773* (New York: Praeger, 1974), et al; Philip S. Foner, *History of Black Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975); Philip S. Foner, *Labor in the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), et al; Philip S. Foner, *Blacks in the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), et al; Philip S. Foner, *American Socialism and Black Americans: From the Age of Jackson to World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), et al; Philip S. Foner, *Essays in Afro-American History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978), et al; Philip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From Colonial Times to the Eve of World War I* (New York: Free Press, 1979), et al; Philip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From World War I to the Present* (New York: Free Press, 1979), et al; Philip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From the First Trade Unions to the Present* (New York, Free Press, 1982), et al; Philip S. Foner and Josephine S. Pacheco, *Three Who Dared: Prudence Crandall, Margaret Douglass, Myrtilla Miner: Champions of Antebellum Black Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), et al; Philip S. Foner and Reinhard Schultz, *The Other America: Art and the American Labor Movement in the United States* (West Nyack, NY: Journeyman Press, 1985), et al; Philip S. Foner, Ed., *The Black Worker: A Documentary History From Colonial Times to the Present*, 8 vols. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978-1984), et al; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), et al; Eric Foner, Ed., *America's Black Past: A Reader in Afro-American History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), et al; Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), et al; Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), et al; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), et al; Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), et al; Eric Foner, *Slavery and Freedom in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), et al; Eric Foner, *The New American History*, Revised Edition (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), et al; Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), et al.

Hispanic, and female, have fought against oppression and placed pressure on the government for the development of continued education reform measures. Virtually all scholars view education in its holistic sense of both formal and informal learning processes and draw distinctions between education and schooling which includes the specific education taking place within classrooms themselves. Therefore, our schools are influencing all of civilization outside of it and they are being influenced by all of civilization that affects their curriculum, assessments, funding, etc. Even before the publication of Bernard Bailyn's masterpiece, *Education in the Forming of the American Society*, scholars from the labor-education thesis school of thought were researching and writing on education to include both of its formal and informal components. The most prominent post-modern scholars (with significant contributions and scholarship after World War II) include Marvin Berlowitz<sup>2</sup>, Neil Smelser<sup>3</sup>, Myron Weiner<sup>4</sup>, Ramin Farahmandpur<sup>5</sup>, George Dawson<sup>6</sup>, Brian Simon<sup>7</sup>, Jonathan Rose<sup>8</sup>, and several others who maintain that these institutions were developed out of pressure from the populace. During slavery many laws were passed throughout the southern U.S. that prohibited African Americans from being formally educated.

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<sup>2</sup> Marvin J. Berlowitz and Frank E. Chapman, Jr., *The United States Educational System: Marxist Approaches*, Eds. (Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1980), p. ix-xvi, et al; Marvin J. Berlowitz, "Review of the book *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Everyday Life* by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis", *Urban Education*, vol. 12, no. 1(Jan., 1977), p. 103-108.

<sup>3</sup> Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, p. 11-14, et al.

<sup>4</sup> Myron Weiner, *The Child and the State in India: Child Labor and Education Policy in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), et al; Myron Weiner, *The Politics of Scarcity: Public Pressure and Political Response in India*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), et al; Myron Weiner, *Party Building in a New Nation: The Indian National Congress* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), et al.

<sup>5</sup> Ramin Farahmandpur, "Essay Review: A Marxist Critique of Michael Apple's Neo-Marxist Approach to Educational Reform", *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Mar., 2004), <http://www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=24>, p. 1-24.

<sup>6</sup> George G. Dawson, "Doctoral Studies on the Relationship Between the Labor Movement and Public Education", *Journal of Educational Sociology*, vol. 34, no. 6 (Feb., 1961), p. 260-269.

<sup>7</sup> Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1960), et al; Brian Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure, 1780-1870* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1974), et al; Brian Simon, *Education and the Labor Movement, 1870-1920* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1974), et al; Brian Simon, *The Politics of Education Reform, 1920-1940* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1974), et al; Brian Simon, *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), et al.

<sup>8</sup> Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, et al.

Legacies from slavery continued in the United States and Great Britain, which included little interest in the development of quality education for most of the populace. The labor-education thesis is a forerunner to and appeared many years prior to the rise of the Frankfurt School, Critical Theories, and the social control thesis that now dominates post-modern history and social science. Millions of primary and secondary sources abound supporting labor/populace role in the development of educational institutions which draws major questions as to how their roles have been minimized and ignored by the bulk of the scholarship. How academics have managed to exclude the voices of the subaltern remains a mystery to which this dissertation seeks to find direct answers.

In Great Britain, there has been a neglect in the amount of macro-analysis of Union activities. The histories that have been written have mostly been on select, individual cases of specific unions themselves and have failed to place them in their broad national or international context. The social history of the French Annals school and the scientific history of the Germans have had limited influence in Great Britain. A more modern updated analysis and application of Marx's work on trade unions also has not been explored that much in most of the publications. The several works that have significantly contributed to this realm of study have been in the form of either master's theses, doctoral dissertations or descriptive volumes of the activities of individual unions. Economists have done little research in macro-historical analysis in this area and have increasingly become more quantitative while economic history has been given less and less attention. Of the few histories that are available, most are descriptive of events, but critical analysis employed by them refuse to accept the influence of class struggle from a dialectical point of view or any aspect of the economic constraints placed upon the proletariat. Studies of labor organizations in Great Britain have also consisted of studies involving industrial

organization from the top down approach and dealt with managerial issues involved in dealing with union activities. Most of the documentary research and narrative histories have included few primary sources. The bulk of the materials deal with unions as a limitation or obstacle to human progress and give insight to how union activities and leadership should be kept to a minimum, even eliminated at all cost, so the employer may maximize profits.<sup>9</sup>

Research on unions in Western countries has increasingly become more refined and defined on issues of finite concern. Those involved with research in the academy and its increasing specialization is correlated with the demand that it have practical and real life application. Those studies have primarily focused on contemporary events that examine behavioral aspects of societal contentions of opposites. In addition, scholars of business have pushed research that involve best management practices and how managers might operate under existing constraints and often lack comparative analysis or how structures, functions, and protocol, might be altered to change the relationships within the industrial organizations. Most studies do not even begin to touch on the contributions of the proletariat to the growth in the economy, improvement of working conditions, education, health, and leisure activities. A realm of scholarship also exists that attempts to continually show and point to discrepancies within Marxist thought, the inaccuracies of Marx, and to an attempt to show where he was clearly wrong. By focusing on merely the contemporary and in absence of the underlying contention of opposites in the tradition of a dialectic materialistic interpretation of the world, scholars have, in effect, failed to research topics of industrial organization and have come short of giving analysis

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<sup>9</sup> Booth, *The Economics of the Trade Union*, p. 12-50; John McIlroy, *Trade Unions in Britain Today* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 3-23; Will Paynter, *British Trade Unions and the Problem of Change* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970), p. 2-172; Rederick Martin, *Communism and the British Trade Unions, 1924-1933: A Study of the Nation's Minority Movement* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1969), et al; Hugh Armstrong Clegg, Alan Fox, and A.F. Thompson, *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1964), et al.

of effectively dealing with its challenges. Therefore, based on this neglect, there is a significant and tremendous gap in literature that gives an explanation for the contention of opposites between the bourgeoisies and proletariats. An implication and application of this research demonstrates that there is a bulk of scholarship that gives an inaccurate analysis of the so-called facts.<sup>10</sup>

The bulk of literature and research on economic planning is also limited in that it seeks to explain economic development in terms of state objectives and initiatives without regard to the fact that an aristocracy or the bourgeoisie dominates the nation-state. With most of the research of this type, therefore, there is a significant amount of latitude in regards to the examination of the so-called facts. These so-called facts must be examined based on a model that is relative, subjective, and superlative. The greatest deficiency arises whenever the theoretical research is examined against the backdrop of the will, sentiment, or even broad public support of the objectives that the research is investigating. Assessments and evaluations of socio-economic issues have proliferated around planning issues, including funded grant projects. The biggest neglect has been the science employed in order to define concepts such as social responsibility, giving back to the community, and community services. The data used to support such philosophies have been highly selective to support the bourgeoisie science. Most are simply define and categorize variables that contain a disdain against the working classes that they are studying. Dominant popular cultural and philosophical values have prevailed to give credence

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<sup>10</sup> Bethune, "History of Economic Thought", p. 153-161; Hill and Rouse, "The Sociology of Knowledge and the History of Economic Thought", p. 299-309; Ramadan and Samuels, "The Treatment of Post Keynesian Economics in the History of Economic Thought Texts", p. 547-565; Wisman, "The Sociology of Knowledge as a Tool for Research into the History of Economic Thought", p. 83-94.

that history/social science has been conducted and written by the winners.<sup>11</sup>

Education has always been at the forefront of union activities in Great Britain, the United States and in other countries. A major piece of a Marxian approach is education of workers in every aspect including their knowledge of political economy and the emphasis on good schools for the workers' children with the establishment of public schools for them. A portion of the scholars separated formal and informal education into distinctive categories while some categorized them together. Some went further to describe the movement of labor unions to push for education as contradistinctive to any other educational development and reform efforts. Some insisted that labor unions contained a specific ideology and purpose all its own and should be examined as an exclusive phenomenon.<sup>12</sup>

Brian Simon and Neil Smelser have provided the most significant contributions to the labor-education thesis in Great Britain. Brian Simon completed a multivolume history outlining the labor-education thesis in Great Britain from 1780 to 1990. Throughout his career, Brian Simon was actively engaged with Marxist organizations and the Communist Party in Great Britain. Ironically, he married the daughter of Home Peel, who worked in the India office during British Colonialism, Joan Peel. In *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure, 1780-1870* and *Studies in the History of Education*, Simon traces the actions and activities of the modern tradeunion from its conception, which actually has origins in the British trade guilds that existed and were actively involved in educational developments in England centuries before 1780.

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<sup>11</sup> Keynes, *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, et al; Blaug, *Michal Kalecki (1899-1970)*, et al; Kalecki, *Essays on the Theory of Economic Fluctuations*, et al; Kalecki, *Collected Works of Michal Kalecki*, 7 Vols., et al; J.E. Mortimer, *Trade Unions and Technological Change* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 1-108.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Sewall Adams and Helen L. Sumner, *Labor Problems: A Textbook* (London: Macmillan Company, 1905), p. 20-47, 64-67, 433-460; Carter Alexander, *Some Present Aspects of the Work of Teacher's Voluntary Associations in the United States* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1910), p. 1-99; Henry A. Atkinson, *Men and Things* (New York: Missionary Education Movement in the United States and Canada, 1918), p. 23-25, 42-44, 118-119, 130-132, 150-152, 176-189; 192-193, 198-205; Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New York: International Publishers, 1998), p. 75-92.

Simon, despite the title, actually begins his inquiry in 1760. To support his historiography he draws on a multitude of primary source documents that have been ignored by most post-modern British educational historians. Late eighteenth-century Britain was dominated by laborers who read books, the daily, papers, and other pamphlets and sought to enroll their children in the best education available to them. Three early civic organizations dominated by the working classes in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were the Lunar Society, the Manchester Literary Society, and the Philosophical Society, all of which pushed for the development of educational reforms. Many of the schools established in England early on were not entirely free and compulsory; however, required fees and the push for their development came from the poor and working classes. As Simon explains, a multitude of developments came with the establishment of hordes of educational institutions throughout the first half of the nineteenth century from universities, grammar, and secondary schools. This also includes the passage of Britain's Education Bill of 1833, which brought grammar school education to the masses, was supported by the working class, and was, in part, fought against by the bourgeoisie. The economy was also changing at the time and required better skills to increasingly compete in their environments. Post-1850 Britain included a further push for reforms through the National Education League, which was a civic organization dominated by working classes, and culminated with the passage of the British Educational Act of 1870 which provided for free public education for the masses.

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<sup>13</sup> Simon, *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870*, et al; Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure, 1780-1870*, et al; Simon, *Education and the Labor Movement, 1870-1920*, et al; Simon, *The Politics of Education Reform, 1920-1940*, et al; Simon, *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990*, et al; Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, et al; Gary McCulloch, "A People's History of Education: Brian Simon, the Communist Party and 'Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870'," *History of Education*, vol. 39, no. 4 (Jul., 2010), p. 437-457.

Simon's third volume entitled, *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920*, shows the working class of Britain in its finest hour and its influence upon educational structures, academic freedom, and cultural developments. Despite the advancements of educational development during these years, vast differences in the social structures of schools began to be even more defined and arranged to benefit the bourgeoisie that was perpetuated by the rise of industrial society. The schools the working classes were provided ended up as being a series of compromises at various levels from various individuals who in many ways betrayed working-class values and wants. Therefore, the working class schools in England developed into being much the same as they were in the United States that had been noted by Carter G. Woodson in *The Miseducation of the Negro*, which contained inferior resources in textbooks, curriculum, supplies, facilities, etc. Woodson observed that the working class African American schools attempting to train for example, mechanics were not equipped to turn out cutting edge and top candidates because of inferior resources. The entire socialist movement in Britain was deeply rooted in Karl Marx's philosophy in which he actively took a role and had by then taken refuge in England. A central theme of the movement became, "Educate, educate, and educate." This included pressure from the working-class movement to press for an eight-hour workday, compulsory attendance, child labor restrictions, investments in education, science, and technology, support for academic freedom, and the development of political and cultural institutions. Simon perhaps best sums up the advancements during this period with, "... leisure, not idleness. Leisure to think, to learn, to acquire knowledge, to enjoy, to develop; in short leisure to live." This became an informal slogan and voice of the common people of the times. One labor leader, Tom Mann is quoted as stating, "It was the trade unions that did this....these

trade union men were the cause of the little bit of leisure and education that came to me and all those who suffered as I did.”<sup>14</sup>

Brian Simon’s fourth volume entitled, *The Politics of Educational Reform, 1920-1940*, reflects the ongoing struggles of a continually changing world that requires constant research and upgrades for schools and universities to remain relevant and the ongoing struggle of the working classes to get adequate education for themselves and the future generation. The period from 1920 to 1940 was somewhat of a ‘golden age’ in British labor history as the British Labour Party, which had been founded in the late nineteenth century, gradually gained prominence until the founding of the first labor government in parliament in 1924. The evidence heavily documented by Simon clearly leads the scholar to conclude that education at all levels was the center of party politics and its importance penetrated the minds of various politicians who were bound to capitalize and benefit from policies that addressed educational benefits, including Neville Chamberlin and Winston Churchill. As Simon and other scholars have pointed out, the primary initiative sought by the British Labour Party during this period became the *Secondary Education for All* initiative. Obviously the party’s push for this idealistic goal fell far short of the original plan conceived or even what the party itself kept pushing for in increased investments. As this era drew to a close, along with the end of the Great Depression and the beginning of World War II, came the passage of the 1936 Education Act. Fifteen to thirty percent of the British were in poverty and eighty percent of its youth left school by the age of fourteen. This legislation

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<sup>14</sup> Simon, *Education and the Labor Movement, 1870-1920*, p. 40, et al; Carter Goodwin Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990), et al.

strengthened compulsory school attendance and the number of years children had to remain in school despite the staggering British economy.<sup>15</sup>

Simon's fifth and final volume of the series entitled *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990*, captures the attention British Labor continues to exert toward education during some of the most economically prosperous eras. Over twenty Royal Commissions were established by the government to conduct analysis and make policy recommendations at all levels of education. By 1945, approximately one-fifth of the electorate was voting for the first time. Of this twenty percent, sixty-one percent voted for the Labour Party candidates. As Labour flourished in terms of their success of gaining seats in parliament throughout the twentieth century, education remained one of the top concerns of the movement and was continually exerted in political rhetoric. However, advances made in the country's educational system were continually lagging behind the changing environment which, like the rest of the world, was transitioning from an industrial to an information age. An explanation for this is given by Simon as, "(economic problems) lies at a deeper level than covered in this analysis – in terms of the historical role of education in assimilation, in a Gramscian sense, of subaltern (or subordinate) classes within the social complex. The experience of the Labour government once again highlighted the role of education in the mediation of class relationships within a capitalist society."<sup>16</sup>

The University of California sociologist Neil Smelser provided another major contribution to the labor-education thesis, as it applies to Great Britain. In the book *Social*

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<sup>15</sup> Simon, *The Politics of Education Reform, 1920-1940*, et al; A.J.P. Taylor, *English History, 1914-1945* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 272; Andreas M. Kazamias, *Politics, Society and Secondary Education in England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), p. 257-258, 271; Michael Parkinson, *The Labour Party Organisation of Secondary Education, 1918-1965* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 22; Stanley James Curtis, *Education in Britain Since 1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1952), p. 88-89; Charles Loch Mowat, *Britain Between the Wars, 1918-1940*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (London: Methuen, 1968), p. 208-209; John Graves, *Policy and Progress in Secondary Education, 1902-1942* (Edinburgh, UK: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1943), p. 120.

<sup>16</sup> Simon, *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990*, p. 142-143, et al.

*Paralysis and Social Change*, Smelser asserts that few British educational historians had provided a full application of Marxist theories to their research. Most had instead, “borrowed selectively from Marx,” which had, in effect, supported a social control thesis within most post-modern historiography that has crossed both sides of the Atlantic. Therefore, they have significantly, in varying capacities, ignored, de-emphasized, or even gone so far to claim the working class were at odds with the development of learning, literacy, science, education, and technology. A full application of Marxist theory in British historiography should conclude, as Smelser does, in this enormous contribution, that the working classes of Great Britain have always been in a continual struggle to fight against oppression by attempting to advocate for the development of their own education.<sup>17</sup>

One of the most significant advancements to the labor-education thesis in the United States in the post-modern era has come from Marvin J. Berlowitz and Frank E. Chapman, Jr., in 1980 with the publication of their classic *The United States Educational System: Marxist Approaches*. This work poses a specific challenge to the work of a range of scholars including Michael Katz, Clarence Karier, Marvin Lazarson, Carl Kaestle, Joel Spring, David Tyack, Colin Greer, and others, who have built their careers on the concept that schools were created for the mere purpose of social control and have deemphasized or eliminated the roles of working class people in developing their own education system.<sup>18</sup>

Professor Berlowitz also criticized the approaches used by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis in their famous work *Schooling in Capitalist America* for its emphasis on social control and de-emphasis of working class struggles. Bowles and Gintis demonstrated how working class schools helped to sustain their oppression by emphasizing cultural domination and the

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<sup>17</sup> Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, p. 11-14, et al.

<sup>18</sup> Berlowitz and Chapman, *The United States Educational System: Marxist Approaches*, p. ix-xvi, et al.

subordination of lower classes through schooling. Berlowitz asserts that they have, in effect, merely emphasized the domination of radical functionalism. Later scholars, especially, like Michael Apple, have dismissed the activities of class struggle as any part of the political development process. Berlowitz also critiques the anarchist tendencies and leanings in, “Anarchism and Educational Policy Studies: A Marxist View of Joel Spring’s *The Sorting Machine*.” He observes the anarchist tendencies which merely emphasize the imposition of bourgeoisie concepts and philosophy on working classes in order to advance causes of the nation-state. Berlowitz’s critique takes level aim at the needs of schools to help develop talents skills, abilities and the working-class demand for high quality education.<sup>19</sup>

Another significant contribution to the work on the labor-education thesis in the United States is the work of Ramin Farahmandpur who agrees with Professor’s Berlowitz and Smelser that post-modern, post-structuralist, post-racist, post-Marxist, etc., thought has borrowed selectively from Marx and failed to apply a whole-hearted application of a dialectic materialism to their inquiries. Farahmandpur congratulates the contributions of various scholars in their advancement of the causes of Marxist educational research and theories, but observes their limitations in the examination of its focus on how they have exerted elements of control or oppression and have failed to focus on the initial development of schools and the demand of the populace on good, efficient, improved, and relevant educational institutions by working-class people.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Berlowitz, “Review of the book *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Everyday Life* by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis”, p. 103-108; Marvin J. Berlowitz, “Anarchism & Educational Policy Studies; A Marxist View of Joel Spring’s *The Sorting Machine*”, American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting (New York: April 3-8, 1977), p. 1-16.

<sup>20</sup> Farahmandpur, “Essay Review: A Marxist Critique of Michael Apple’s Neo-Marxist Approach to Educational Reform”, p. 1-24.

Robert B. Everhart supplies another significant commentary on the labor-education thesis by examining contemporary events regarding compulsory school attendance laws and the origins of their passage. Everhart states that from the late seventeenth century forward, broad public sentiment began to recognize with the coming centuries that the family and the church were no longer adequate to provide for the basic educational needs of the populace. Increasing support grew for the development of free public education for working class people. Later, with the rise and proliferation of formal labor unions, legislation was passed. Everhart criticizes various court rulings, which tended to ignore legislative intent, origins, and development.<sup>21</sup>

Grabiner and Grabiner have also expanded and advanced the labor-education thesis in the United States by looking at the ongoing, dynamic, and progressive role teachers themselves have progressively played and continue to play in school improvement, performance, and advancements. This role continues to evolve and change, but has consistently been influenced by teachers and their unions who have sought to improve conditions and learning experiences for students in the public schools. The public schools are dominated by the working class students and are disproportionately dominated by minorities. Teachers are the closest to the work at hand and have first-hand knowledge of best practices and needs of the schools they work in. Grabiner and Grabiner, like most of the writers contributing to the labor education thesis most, often include teachers as members of the working class community.<sup>22</sup>

The labor-education thesis has not only be reduced or ignored by historians of education, but has also been directly challenged and argued in the literature to be nothing more than clear exaggerations and myth. One of the most prominent refutations came from Jay Pawa in his

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<sup>21</sup> Robert B. Everhart, "From Universalism to Usurpation: An Essay on the Antecedents to Compulsory School Attendance Legislation," *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 47, no. 3 (Sum., 1977), p. 499-500.

<sup>22</sup> G. Grabiner and V. Grabiner, "The Self-Determined Educator and the Expansion of the 'Labor-Education Thesis'," *Journal of Curriculum Theory*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Jan., 1987), p. 39-61.

“Working-Men and Free Schools in the Nineteenth Century: A Comment on the Labor Education Thesis.” In this article, Pawa makes the claim that the labor-education thesis can be traced merely to Frank T. Carlton and the source for the theory had been developed only on primary source data from the Northeast – primarily New York City and Boston – and included a period of twenty-five to thirty years in the early nineteenth century. He goes further to claim that all the scholarship developed thereafter accepted this theory without real evidence and further research to support the conclusions and those historians had merely borrowed secondarily from Carlton. A more careful examination of the scholarship from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reveals that hordes of primary and secondary sources exist that supporting the positive role of the populace (labor unions and civic organizations) in continuing to press for the further reform and development of educational initiatives. As noted by Charles Dawson, at the time of his publication in 1961 at least thirty-six studies, heavily laden in primary source materials, had been completed on the labor-education thesis. Many thousands of primary documents still exist that would support a labor-education thesis that have not been investigated.<sup>23</sup>

From its beginning, the American Federation of Labor has been continually involved in pressing for advancements and investments in various educational initiatives at federal, state, and local levels. The organization especially enlarged and flourished as the industrial revolution simultaneously advanced and took holds that targeted efforts in all aspects of society, culture, and life of the proletariat. From the onset of its formation in 1881 the by-laws, meeting notes,

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<sup>23</sup> Jay M. Pawa, “Working-Men and Free Schools in the Nineteenth Century: A Comment On the Labor-Education Thesis,” *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 3 (Aut., 1971), p. 287-302; Dawson, “Doctoral Studies on the Relationship Between the Labor Movement and Public Education,” p. 260-269; Frank Tracy Carlton, *Economic Influences Upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-1850* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1908), et al; Frank Tracy Carlton, *Education and Industrial Evolution* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1908), et al; Frank Tracy Carlton, *The History and Problems of Organized Labor* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Company, 1911), et al; Frank Tracy Carlton, *The Industrial Situation: Its Effect Upon the Home, The School, The Wage Earner and The Employer* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1914), et al.

commentaries, etc., show the American Federation of Labor's overwhelming support for compulsory attendance. Further, extended time in school for youth and additional resources were at the forefront. As we move into the twentieth century, a prohibition on child labor also becomes part of its official policy advocacy. Early collective action of the organization was more relaxed in its approaches and policy recommendations for governmental issues surrounding science, education, literacy, and technology. During the Progressive Era, World Wars I and II, and the Great Depression, the organization became increasingly aggressive in demanding public education reform measures. In addition, in 1895 the organization significantly challenged the use and proliferation of the dominance of industrial education and called for more well-rounded and well-developed curricula based in the liberal arts.<sup>24</sup>

Frank Tracy Carlton acknowledges that the proletariat accepted the communal education plan of early Labor leader Robert Owen. Carlton argues that the early labor union organizers were able to get the proletariat organized behind the theme of, "eight hours for work, eight hours for sleep, and eight hours for everything else," which included cultural enrichment and leisure activities. Algie Simons stresses that the working-class movement goes way beyond the Working Men's Party of the nineteenth century or merely union activities alone and should be defined so that it embraces the broad populace. Carlton and Simons both extend their inquiries into the activities of labor in regards to cultural enrichment activities throughout the nineteenth century and the very beginning of the twentieth century. Carlton utilizes a true dialectic materialism that is best classified as scientific history that stresses a contention of opposites between the classes.

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<sup>24</sup> Frank T. Carlton, "The Workingmen's Party in New York City," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 22 (Sep., 1907), p. 414-415; Samuel J. McLaugham, "The Educational Policies and Activities of the American Federation of Labor During the Present Century", Unpublished Dissertation (New York: New York University, 1936), et al; Warren Edwin Gauerke, "The Attitude and Activity of Labor Concerning Federal Funds for Education, 1914-1947", Unpublished Dissertation (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1949).

Carlton holds that every major societal transformation (from agrarian to industrial, industrial to information, etc.) age involved the development of certain classes that may become recompositioned or may descend into societal decay. According to Carlton and Simons, although labor turned to leadership for stability and organization, all of its members were actively involved in ensuring that their interests were served and that they were very actively voicing their concerns to the leadership.<sup>25</sup>

Carlton's research takes a positive view of labor leadership, but observes the equal role of the masses in affecting their decision-making. The traditional interpretation is usually divided into a couple of branches of philosophy tracing much of its origins to Frank T. Carlton, who stressed social movements of education, and to Ellwood P. Cubberly who emphasized the role of various leaders of labor, politicians, and others who lead these movements. Even Cubberly's historiography acknowledged the positive role of labor unions/civic organizations Original interpretations of educational thought were born and divided along class lines and favored the bourgeoisie. Ellwood Cubberly was very influential in the early days of educational historiography in the United States. Cubberly's historiography of public schools was used widely throughout the twentieth century and served as the standard of nineteenth century public education interpretation. Mostly, Cubberly described education as a culmination of a few great men's effort to develop it for the masses. The problem with Cubberly is that he describes the development of education as the great 'white men' struggling against everyone else to develop education for the masses. Cubberly's treatment of the educational events of his era gives the

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<sup>25</sup> Carlton, "The Workingmen's Party in New York City", p. 414-415; Frank T. Carlton, "Humanitarianism Past and Present", *International Journal of Ethics*, vol. 17 (Oct., 1906), p. 49-51; Carlton, *Economic Influences Upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-1850*, et al; Carlton, *Education and Industrial Evolution*, et al; Carlton, *The History and Problems of Organized Labor*, et al; Carlton, *The Industrial Situation*, et al; Algie M. Simmons, *Class Struggles in America*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1907), et al; Algie M. Simmons, *Personnel Relations in Industry* (New York: Ronald Pruss Company, 1921), et al; Algie M. Simmons, *Social Forces in American History* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1912), et al.

impression that the bourgeoisies joined together with the proletariat to develop science, education, technology, literacy, etc.<sup>26</sup>

Lawrence A. Cremin published his multivolume *The American Common School: A Historic Conception* that did much to advance the concept of the labor-education thesis. Cremin observes that a Catholic versus Protestant struggle in New York City only complicated the historiography of free and public education, challenged the difficulties of traditional historiographies and supports a labor-education thesis. Cremin summarizes, elaborates on, and to a large extent expands the labor-education thesis. Cremin traces the public schools of the masses to the proletariat who had been, for over a century, responsible for the funding through local property taxes for the working classes. Instead of interpreting the events from the traditional standpoint, Cremin interprets the events from the perspective of a top-down approach, which could be viewed as an attempt to see the expansion of free/compulsory/public education as addressing the needs of the urban, or rural/local environments. Cremin gives much credence and credit to the Labor movement as well as giving credit to the various leaders in the communities.<sup>27</sup>

In 1926, Philip Curoe completed his *Educational Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor in the United States*, which is now considered a classic among educational labor historians. He builds more sophistication into his arguments and further qualifies and defines

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<sup>26</sup> Carlton, "The Workingmen's Party in New York City", p. 414-415; Carlton, "Humanitarianism Past and Present", p. 49-51; Carlton, *Economic Influences Upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-1850*, et al; Carlton, *Education and Industrial Evolution*, et al; Carlton, *The History and Problems of Organized Labor*, et al; Carlton, *The Industrial Situation*, et al; Ellwood P. Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History*, Revised Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), p. 17, 149-150, 157-159, 177-179, 363-365, 488-496, 563-595, et al.

<sup>27</sup> Philip R.V. Curoe, *Educational Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor in the United States* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1926), et al; Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), et al; Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), et al; Lawrence A. Cremin, *Traditions of American Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), et al; Lawrence A. Cremin, *Public Education and Its Discontents* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), et al.

various aspects of labor that some other writers fail to examine. Curoe blatantly observes that the labor-education thesis has been generalized across various time periods and eras to develop existing theories regarding it. He observes that a move to narrowly define the labor-education thesis was unreliable in drawing conclusions about the era and to clearly exclude or include the full essence of working-class activities in the development of educational and cultural institutions. A much broader interpretation was needed than what was applied by most scholars – even in his day and age. Labor unions, despite their significant advancements, were not able to avoid the two world wars and the Great Depression, but were actively involved in attempting to affect public policy in their avoidance of developing institutions and promoting public policy that benefits the proletariat. A broader definition used by Philip Curoe actually included not only labor organizations, but also many civic groups, which advocated for education and were consumed and then represented by politicians and leaders who attempted to take credit for and capitalize on their activities.<sup>28</sup>

What early labor education theorists have repeatedly noted is that the resulting education systems fell completely short of what the working classes actually wanted in terms of size, quality, and offerings. Most of the theorists, despite Bernard Bailyn's claims, conceived of education in the broadest sense as to be determined by how civilization transmits itself on the next generation. Therefore, the interpretation of union educational activities and their advocacy for the development of educational activities are also written from this standpoint. Curoe's study was especially important because it took broad aim at schools and education in the U.S. instead

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<sup>28</sup> Curoe, *Educational Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor in the United States*, et al; John R. Commons, Ulrich B. Philips, Eugene A. Gilmore, Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews, Eds., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, 10 vols. (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1910), et al; John R. Commons, Ed., *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1905), et al; Mary Ritter Beard, *A Short History of the American Labor Movement* (Boston: Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920), p. 1-174; Mary Ritter Beard, *Women's Work in Municipalities* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915), et al.

of focusing on narrowly defined areas. This does not especially prove that it is more important, however, it allowed for non-specialists to pick up a singular work and see how unified the public school movement was to the working classes and from their perspectives. Even before the Civil War, there were mass movements being led by the working classes to push for free public education and also African Americans secretly taught themselves how to read and write in some areas where laws were passed against it.<sup>29</sup>

Labor's role in the development of education is not one-sided, nor does it appear just as a footnote in the educational record. Millions of documents exist which show debate, dissent and discussions, as to the form, shape, and structure education should take. These records demonstrate, beyond any doubt, the subaltern hunger, thirst, and quest for learning and knowledge. Some scholars, like Harry Wellington Laidler, have maintained that labor union education relies on the workers to learn about political economy and influence the establishment and development of curriculum, resources, funding, and structures of educational systems that benefit the populace. It could be concluded that education, as defined by labor unions and focused under this definition, has much to do with teachers of working class people and workers. John Lawrence Kerchen maintains that labor education, if it is unique, primarily consists of a different type of education that is altogether different from other forms of education delivered to the populace from a dominant popular culture. The education articulated is biased— based on

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<sup>29</sup> Curoe, *Educational Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor in the United States*, et al; Richard T. Ely, *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society* (New York Macmillan Company, 1910), et al; Richard T. Ely, *Introduction to Political Economy*, Revised Edition (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1901), et al; Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1886), et al; Richard T. Ely, *Outlines of Economics* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1893), et al; Richard T. Ely, *Problems of Today: A Discussion of Protective Tariffs, Taxation, and Monopolies*, Revised Edition (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1888), et al; Richard T. Ely, *Recent American Socialism* (Baltimore: N. Murray, 1885), et al; Richard T. Ely, *Socialism: An Examination of Its Nature, Its Strength and Its Weakness With Suggestions For Social Reform* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1895), et al; Richard T. Ely, *The Strength and Weakness of Socialism* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1899), et al;

entirely the perspectives of the working class. The dominant education conceptualized rests on a dialectical materialistic interpretation of historic events based on the self-interest of the proletariat. The essential components of such an education consist of continual progress in regards to macro-economic concerns. Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers Education Bureau of America, considers that a labor-education thesis, which should be included as an integral portion of the reasons education was developed, is primarily conceptualized and focused on the self-interest of the working class. The focus became, in the early years, how affect public policy on socialism and refrained from human capital development. Miller goes further to define labor education in terms of a cultural phenomenon and downplays the significance of the structures within which these workers function.<sup>30</sup>

More specifically, in the United States there existed various schools of thought and philosophy on the ultimate goals and objectives of the education of the proletariat. One school of thought sought to educate the workers on political economy so that they might collectively organize and completely control the means of production by dominating industry. They sought to do so in order to continue to advance economic interests for the good of the populace with flourishing industries in which capitalism was drastically modified. Scholarship and leadership from this school of thought has both conservative and liberal components. Uptrainings were advocated so that the workers could remain relevant to their particular industries and trades and to practical application of their knowledge. Many members of this school of thought were

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<sup>30</sup>Harry Wellington Laidler, *Social Economic Movements: An Historical and Comparative Survey of Socialism, Communism, Cooperation, Utopianism and Other Systems of Reform and Reconstruction* (Whitefish, MT: Literary Licensing, 2011), p. 643-786, et al; Harry Wellington Laidler, *Socialism in Thought and Action* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 235-246; John Lawrence Kerchen, *The Attitude of Organized Labor Toward Vocational Education* (New York: General Books, 2010), p. 1-44; Spencer Miller, Jr., "American Labor's Relation to the International Labor Organization," in *The International Labor Organization*, Alice Squires Cheyney, Editor (Philadelphia: A.L. Hummel, 1933), p. 156-161.

actively involved with the National Socialists Party of the United States, which was most active and dominant in the early part of the Twentieth Century.<sup>31</sup>

A second aspect of the labor-education thesis was led by the American Federation of Labor (later the AFL-CIO) and the Worker's Education Bureau of America. These groups were involved in a whole variety of activities associated with education including the establishment of colleges and universities, and the coordination of research with scientists already in the academy working on industry/business-related research. The work of these organizations/individuals was so broad in their scope of educational, scientific, and research activities that some questioned the idealistic/realistic goals and objectives the activities should be directed toward. Early discussions revealed that there was reluctance on the part of the organizational movement to specifically define the goals/objectives because they did not want to limit/restrict any educational activity. There is also significant supporting evidence the educational purposes of labor unions were among its primary concerns. Bourgeoisie scholarship has used a lack of a specific, commonly agreed-upon definition to exclude the influence of the working classes on the development of education.<sup>32</sup>

In the beginning of the twentieth century, three main components of education emerged that began to be accepted by most labor organizations and leadership. The first purpose was to

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<sup>31</sup> Richard T. Ely, "Cooperation in Literature and the State," in *The Labor Problem: Plain Questions and Practical Answers*, William E. Barns, Editor (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), p. 7-16; James A. Waterworth, "The Conflict Historically Considered," in *The Labor Problem: Plain Questions and Practical Answers*, William E. Barns, Editor (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), p. 17-51; Fred Woodrow, "Side-Lights on the Labor Problem" in *The Labor Problem: Plain Questions and Practical Answers*, William E. Barns, Editor (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), p. 256- ; And from the "Symposium" Barns *Labor Problem* see especially p. 55-58, 92-96, 114-115, 128-253, et al; Richard T. Ely, *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society* (London: Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 57-73, 87-99, et al.

<sup>32</sup> Warren Edwin Gauerke, "The Attitude and Activity of Labor Concerning Federal Funds for Education, 1914-1947," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1949), et al; Samuel McLaughlin, "The Educational Policies and Activities of the American Federation of Labor During the Present Century," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (New York: New York University, 1936), et al; American Federation of Labor, *Industrial Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Labor, 1910), p. 5-68; *American Federation of Labor: History, Encyclopedia Reference Book* (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Labor, 1919), p. 5-46, et al.

instill the value of, provide resources for, and allow time to pursue education simply for entertainment or the love of learning for learning's sake. The second purpose was to provide education that would instill values/ethics/morals and a sense of community service. They were also concerned with giving students an adequate education that embraced cosmopolitanism and an understanding of political economy. A third purpose was to train members to become strong union leaders and how to engage effectively in union activities.<sup>33</sup>

The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, based in New York, was once one of the largest Unions in the United States with a total membership of over 300,000 by World War II and peaking at over 450,000 worldwide in 1969. This union, like many others, had its own Education Department involved in a variety of activities including lobbying, research, and direct education of the workers. Representing primarily women, this union was heavily responsible for the further development of free public education in the United States. The main philosophy advocated by them was to specifically tailor the philosophy and curriculum to the needs of the working classes. The philosophy articulated by them was that no education was neutral, therefore it should be useful, practical, and suit the needs of the population(s) it served. The labor-education thesis for them insisted that the central core should consist not only of talents, skills abilities, etc., needed to perform a specific job function, but also tools and knowledge in which they may be able to improve the conditions of society that entailed improving the quality of life for the entire human race. For the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union this meant the development of a curriculum rich in social science education that gave alternative perspectives

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<sup>33</sup> Commons, Ed., *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*, et al; Charles A Beard, *Contemporary American History, 1877-1913* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 9-11, 22-26, 180-183, 251-252, 321-323; Amity Shales, *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2007), p. 32-36, 48-59, 68-78, 93, 145-150, 226, 253-275, 309-331, 376-377, et al; Michael Kazin, *American Dreamers: How the Left Changed a Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), et al.

and insights that enabled future youth to examine the world from a dialectical materialistic viewpoint.<sup>34</sup>

The Workers' Education Bureau also advocated for an education for the proletariat that was free from bourgeoisie bias and tailored to working class needs. The purpose of working class education was to give the children of working class backgrounds the tools to be successful in a changing, emerging social order. Education in the public schools was seen by them to prepare children to become actively involved in all aspects of labor unions and for the overall benefit of society. Elaborating further on education for the public schools and the continued lifelong learning that enables workers to adapt to changing machine technologies of industry/business, to enable workers to enjoy leisure activities with the establishment of the eight hour work day, and to combine various other civic organizations to find common ground on the further development of cultural and educational institutions.<sup>35</sup>

The various factions during the early days of labor union activities can be subdivided into a dichotomy of one group that sought to completely transform a capitalist system and another group that sought to improve the current conditions with respective changes in societal structures, functions, and protocol. In all aspects, the various groups overwhelmingly supported and were primarily the main social actors in the establishment of free public education that also included many minorities. Because of the changing societal needs that are inevitably part of an ever-changing world and because of the limitations of the initial investments in education, some

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<sup>34</sup> Kenneth C. Wolensky, Nicole H. Wolensky, and Robert P. Wolensky, *Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 126-184; Daniel Katz, "Race, Gender, and Labor Education: The ILGWU Locals 22 and 91, 1933-1937," *Labor's Heritage*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan., 2000), p. 4-19; Susan J. Ott, "Raring to Go: The ILGWU Its History and the Educational Experiences of the Women Who Participated, 1916-1995," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Buffalo, NY: State University of New York at Buffalo, 2004), et al.

<sup>35</sup> A.J. Muste, "Workers' Education in the United States," *The Nation* (Oct. 1, 1924), p. 32-38; Spencer Miller, Jr., Ed., *Workers Education in the United States: Report of the Proceedings First National Conference on Workers Education in the United States* (New York: Workers Education Bureau of America, 1921), p.133-145.

members of the populace were disenchanted with the quality of education in the existing public schools and universities, which resulted in education continually being at the core aims of labor unions throughout the twentieth century. Many labor leaders became dismayed with the curriculum and instruction of working-class children and young adults in the public schools and universities primarily because of the dominance of bourgeoisie influence, which they felt failed to meet the needs of the broad populace. Therefore they advocated an increase in labor union educational activities in order to remedy the deficiencies. Early twentieth century documents demonstrated much opposition to the existing dominant pedagogy of educational institutions. They claimed that the workers were not getting the kind of education they wanted to receive. The teachers at various institutions of learning were criticized for not being sympathetic to labor unions and the purpose of their various activities.<sup>36</sup>

This philosophy embraces the concept that education within the labor movement itself must come from within and cannot be transmitted to the populace through the public schools, universities, media and cultural institutions. It also cannot be developed from those who are not familiar with the obstacles, challenges, and problems that those of the working class may encounter. Worker's education, to a large extent, was advocated to be developed and even financed by their own money in an environment where the proletariat controls the means of production. An alternative control by them in which government authorities, businesses, and others cease to be in the best interest of the proletariat is an eminent threat. Most believed that universities and other training programs were needed and served some of the interests of the

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<sup>36</sup> Savel Zimand, *Modern Social Movements* (New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 1921), p. 123-129; C.P. Sweeney, *Adult Working Class Education in Great Britain and the United States: A Study in Recent Developments* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Labor Statistics Bureau, 1920), p. 1-96; Arthur Gleason, *Worker's Education: American and Foreign Experiments* (New York: Bureau of Industrial Research, 1921), p. 1-62; Henry de Man, "Labor's Challenge to Education," *New Republic*, vol. 26 (Mar. 2, 1921), p. 16-18; Henry Sterling, "Labor's Attitude Toward Education," *School and Society*, vol. 10 (Aug. 2, 1919), p. 128-132; Frank A. Vanderlip, *Business and Education* (New York: Duffield and Company, 1907), et al.

working class people, but must be supplemented with other union educational initiatives. In addition, they believed partnerships could be further developed that combined university research that contained a dialectical component that served both the needs of business/industry and the workers they employed.<sup>37</sup>

In 1921, development of education and the labor-education thesis was the foremost issue of concern of the delegates for the First National Convention on Workers Education. Spencer Miller, Jr. articulated that a 'subaltern culture' or proletariat had a thirst for knowledge and learning and attempted to satisfy this hunger through the further advancement of educational and cultural institutions. At this meeting, labor representatives and officials declared that a quality education should be brought to the proletariat through labor union libraries, trainings, and other educational activities. One of the main issues to be handled at the conference was a citation of the statistic that only 1.4% of the populace at that time had bachelor's degrees or higher. The leadership of the proletariat believed that this 1.4% was trained to articulate aristocratic and bourgeoisie values that worked most often contrary to the benefit of the broad populace.<sup>38</sup>

James H. Maurer at the First Convention on Labor Education believed the teachers of the public schools were not at all in favor of the labor movement and were involved in progressively instructing, to the demise of collective working class activities, that advocated for public policies to be enacted in their favor. He goes on to state that the education they received was not even adequate to meet the needs of business and industry at that time. Maurer went on further to state that the scholarly output of the professors as a whole demonstrated a lack of concern for the poor, the working classes, and the masses and many of their ideas were transmitted to many

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<sup>37</sup> Zimand, *Modern Social Movements*, p. 123-129; Sweeney, *Adult Working Class Education in Great Britain and the United States*, p. 1-96; Gleason, *Worker's Education*, p. 1-62; Man, "Labor's Challenge to Education," p. 16-18; Sterling, "Labor's Attitude Toward Education," p. 128-132; Vanderlip, *Business and Education*, et al.

<sup>38</sup> Miller, *Workers Education in the United States*, et al.

college students to support the bourgeoisie in breaking labor disputes. Maurer states that workers education would improve all aspects of society including government, business, and industry at all levels by giving the country better managers than those who were currently operating things, which is additional supporting evidence for the further advancement of education. Joseph Schlossberg, a delegate representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, stated that for workers to have the essential tools to transform existing civilization would be as important to the proletariat as a doctor going to medical school. John Brophy, representing the United Mine Workers of America, stated that education of the workers would save millions of dollars for businesses as they could run more efficiently and effectively.<sup>39</sup>

In conclusion, a consensus emerged that for a world existing as a contention of opposites education must exist independently of any outside governmental intervention and business/industrial leadership in order for it to accomplish the goals of advancing human progress, alleviating human suffering and poverty, and to advance science, learning, literacy, technology, and further cultural contributions and advancements. This was based on the premise that civilization is driven by perceived immediate self-interest. This self-interest can be collectively organized under an umbrella of collective interest, as in the case of the proletariat here. Therefore, education must be under the primary control of the group it is attempting to educate. The various differences of philosophies among the conservative and liberal factions of

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<sup>39</sup> James H. Maurer, "The Pressing Need for Labor Education," in *Workers Education in the United States*, Spencer Miller, Jr., Ed., p. 75-77; Joseph Schlossberg, "The Labor Union as an Educator," in *Workers Education in the United States*, Spencer Miller, Jr., Ed., p. 70-74; John Brophy, "Miners' Problems and Their Education," in *Workers Education in the United States*, Spencer Miller, Jr., Ed., p. 65-67.

the working classes primarily centered around whether civilization could be transformed or should become modified from its existing form.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Zimand, *Modern Social Movements*, p. 123-129; Sweeney, *Adult Working Class Education in Great Britain and the United States*, p. 1-96; Gleason, *Worker's Education*, p. 1-62; Man, "Labor's Challenge to Education," p. 16-18; Sterling, "Labor's Attitude Toward Education," p. 128-132; Vanderlip, *Business and Education*, et al.

## CHAPTER 5: NEW REVISIONIST SOCIAL CONTROL THEORIES

Throughout history, Labor fought against severe opposition, discrimination, and oppression in order to establish institutions of learning to liberate the mind. By contrast, the aristocracy has continued to fight against increasing educational investments. The contention between race/class/gender issues remain. Critical theories in academia seek to explain social justice and inequalities and promote change that will lead to a just society and equal social relations. Traditional critical theories emerged from what has been termed the Frankfurt School of Thought whose principles were founded by several prominent German scholars such as, Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, and Jurgen Habermas.<sup>1</sup>

One of the principal figures of the Frankfurt School, Max Horkheimer, believed that certainty and objectivity in knowledge and reality is not possible. He said that all facts and historical truth is dependent upon selectivity, interpretation, and the circumstances from which conclusions are drawn. Horkheimer concluded that scholars should employ dialectic critiques of theories especially those in scientific inquiry in order to reveal those paradoxical axioms between

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<sup>1</sup> Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Verso, 1997), p. 120-167; Max Horkheimer, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays* (New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 2002), et al; Seyla Benhabib, Wolfgang BonB, and John McCole, Eds., *On Max Horkheimer: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), et al; Zoltan Tar, *The Frankfurt School: The Critical Theories of Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Publishers, 1977), et al; Theodor W. Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 61-97; Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics* (New York: Continuum International Publishing, 2005), et al; Theodor W. Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity* (New York: Routledge, 2003), et al; Theodor W. Adorno, *Metaphysics: Concept and Problems*. Rolf Tiedemann, Editor. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), et al; Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 3-86; Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), et al; Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2005), p. 55-77; Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be?* (New York Continuum, 1997), p. 24-39, 55-77; Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976), et al; Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1973), p. 300-361; Jurgen Habermas, *Jurgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader*, Steven Seidman, Editor. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), et al; Jurgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, Frederick G. Lawrence, Editor. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), p. 106-130, et al; Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger and Frederick G. Lawrence, Trans. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), p. 141-235; Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, 2 vols. Thomas McCarthy, Trans. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), et al.

theory and reality. Perhaps the clearest definition of critical transformation theories that have built upon the work of Horkheimer is Annette Hemmings who describes the prevailing ideologies or histories of any group as ideas that the groups articulate about the historiography of their past, the present circumstances, and the perceived or conceived direction for their future destinations. These ‘histories’ are based primarily on the own self or group self-interest and are transmitted to the rest of society or the subsequent generations whether the other groups are receptive to it or contest it and without sensitivity to other groups’ self-interest and without reservation for the best interest of society as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

Another significant contributor to the Frankfurt School was Theodor Adorno who believed that subjectivity is the primary component of the life experiences of individuals. He said that all aspects of a person’s existence are man-made and socially-constructed processes that are all subject to speculation and criticism. Adorno differed slightly from Horkheimer in that he believed that scholars should employ negative dialectics that critique the individual or group actions, beliefs, values, histories, etc. and its relationship to the actual observed realities. He believed that this process would yield more positive, realistic, and objective outcomes. Adorno believed that societal norms and values were transmitted primarily by those individuals with authoritarian personalities that most closely articulated traditional middle class values, which

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<sup>2</sup> Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, p. 120-167; Horkheimer, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*, et al; Annette Hemmings, “Conflicting Images? Being Black and a Model High School Student,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 1 (Mar., 1996), p. 20-50; Benhabib, BonB, and McCole, Eds., *On Max Horkheimer: New Perspectives*, et al; Tar, *The Frankfurt School: The Critical Theories of Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno*, et al; Annette Hemmings, “Navigating Cultural Crosscurrents: Post Anthropological Passages Through High School,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 2 (Jun., 2006), p. 128-143; Annette Hemmings, “Lona’s Links: Postoppositional Identity Work of Urban Youths,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 2 (Jun., 2000), p. 152-172; Annette Hemmings, “High School Democratic Dialogues: Possibilities for Praxis,” *American Educational Research Journal*, vol. 37, no. 1 (Spr. 2000), p. 67-91; Annette Hemmings, *Coming of Age in U.S. High Schools: Economic, Kinship, Religious, and Political Crosscurrents* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004) et al.; Annette Hemmings, “Extending the Dialogue: Author’s Reply to Alan Singer and Michael Peyone,” *American Educational Research Journal*, vol. 38, no. 3 (Aut., 2001), p. 541-543.

turn out to be the bulk of the population. Most of these persons comply with the authority and precedent established by the upper or ruling classes and the established norms of society. In his view, the authoritarian personality, for the most part, believes that the world is wild and dangerous, that it tends to quell creativity and innovation, and it contains an overly concerned mindset as it relates to sex and sexuality.<sup>3</sup>

Herbert Marcuse built upon his predecessors in the development of critical theory by the establishment of three principal categories in which social transformation authoritatively occurs through personal gratification, social speech, and repressive tolerance. Marcuse believed that persons seeking out their own personal gratification seek out human liberation and self-realization that lead to the suppression of sexual expression and freedom. As society progresses (or regresses) through technological innovation and the articulation of popular culture that is transmitted through the media, personal freedom is restricted through each individual's daily personal speech. Marcuse states that modern democracies' promotion of tolerance is a farce in what he labels as repressive tolerance. This is because individuals are controlled by what society considers acceptable communication and this helps to sustain domination by certain groups.<sup>4</sup>

Erich Fromm, who established that social transformation occurs because workers are alienated because they are denied basic psychological need for creativity and identity, also advanced the Frankfurt School. It is through this process that individuals no longer know what it means to love because their intimate relations with other human beings become alienated. Jürgen

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<sup>3</sup> Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, p. 120-167; Horkheimer, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*, et al; Benhabib, BonB, and McCole, Eds., *On Max Horkheimer: New Perspectives*, et al; Tar, *The Frankfurt School: The Critical Theories of Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno*, et al; Adorno, *The Culture Industry*, p. 61-97; Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, et al; Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity*, et al; Adorno, *Metaphysics: Concept and Problems*, et al.

<sup>4</sup> John Abromeit and Mark Cobb, Eds., *Herbert Marcuse: A Critical Reader* (New York, Routledge, 2004), et al; Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, p. 3-86; Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation*, et al; Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, p. 55-77.

Habermas significantly contributed to the Frankfurt School and the study of political economy by maintaining that the aim of politics should be the cultivation of character through the pursuit of the good and just life. In order to accomplish this goal, Habermas claimed that the ethical principles established through the philosophy of truth and values should be correlated with everyday practical application. This process should come about by what Habermas has termed, 'committed reason'. He states that this process should involve an individual's self-reflection and a critique of their own actions to determine why they are engaging in any activity and if that activity is only serving to support the aristocracy. Habermas asserted that persons should seek to employ new languages and new ways of conveying language in order to empower and liberate the masses. Accepted language, vocabulary, and established norms of communication tend to control one's own personal attributes and thought processes. Habermas is known for establishing what he has termed the Ideal Speech Situation (ISS). In his view the ISS should include others' viewpoints instead of attempting to exclude others. Each person should interact in an open environment where issues are debated and discussed, and ideas are continually critiqued. Although all claims are regarded as valid under the ISS, each interpretation is determined to be from that person or group's perspective and is under the influence of their dominant ideology. By bringing into play these various views and ideas, all work in conjunction together for the betterment of all civilization.<sup>5</sup>

Critical race theory has expanded on the entire realm of critical theory and has been especially advanced by Gloria Ladson-Billings who places emphasis on its relationship to race and racism in education. She challenges the dominant white, middle-class ideologies that have

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<sup>5</sup> Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be?*, p. 24-39, 55-77; Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, et al; Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, p. 300-361; Habermas, *Jurgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader*, et al; Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, p. 106-130, et al; Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, p. 141-235; Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, et al.

traditionally attempted to convey that the education system is without racism and prejudice and provides equal opportunities for everyone. Ladson-Billings is interested in educational policies that foster the reduction and eventual elimination of racism and social injustices in society. Critical race theorists have called for increased attention to the contributions of people of color to educational policies, structures, and curricula, which have been traditionally excluded from these processes and have endorsed an interdisciplinary approach to its study.<sup>6</sup>

Critical Pedagogy has developed from such prolific scholars as Henry Giroux. He says that schools can and should be the principal organs for social change and that all curriculum development should foster creativity, innovation, and problem-solving that allows for more social change to develop. He also advanced the concepts of earlier work from the Frankfurt School on political economy by noting that teachers and students were in fact “political subjects” that could change, develop, and support democracy with a well-structured curriculum. Perhaps Giroux’s work gives the most informative insight as to how decisions on education policy should be structured in order to bring about social change. Following Giroux’s approach can empower teachers to bring about social change; however, the process will be slow and will take time to evolve. It can only be brought about with patience and diligence by policy makers and administrators to maintain an open curriculum that encourages innovation and liberal thought.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Gloria Ladson-Billings, “Just What Is Critical Race Theory and What’s It Doing in a Nice Field Like Education?” *Qualitative Studies in Education*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan., 1998), p. 7-24; Gloria Ladson-Billings, *The Dream Keepers: Successful Teachers of African-American Children*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. (San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2009), et al; Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate, Eds., *Education Research in the Public Interest: Social Justice, Action, and Policy* (New York: Teacher’s College Press of Columbia University, 2006), p. 1-16, et al; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Feminisms without Illusions: A Critique of Individualism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), et al; Isabel Killoran, and Karleen-Pendleton Jimenez, Eds., ‘*Unleashing the Unpopular*’: *Talking About Asexual Orientation and Gender Diversity in Education* (Bethesda, MD: Association for Childhood Education International, 2007), et al.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Giroux, *Theory and Resistance in Education: Towards a Pedagogy for the Opposition* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 2001), p. 42-112; Henry Giroux, *Postmodernism, Feminism, and Cultural Politics: Redrawing Educational Boundaries* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 1-59, et al; Stanley Aronowitz

Feminist theories have been founded on a clear distinction between traditional male and female roles that society has developed and the natural biological make up between the sexes. Feminists have observed that all societies have developed different social roles for both men and women. Patriarchy has depended upon a distinction between private and public aspects of social life and it has been maintained by societies that have either completely eliminated feminist thought and perspectives or have relayed it as being inferior. In addition, not only have women been assigned inferior statuses than their male counterparts their experiences have varied substantially from that of men in terms of their social class, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientations.<sup>8</sup>

Modern liberal feminist theory generally developed during the 1960s and 1970s where the focus and emphasis was placed on equal rights, equity in education, and reformation of traditional societal norms and values for women. Liberal feminists recognized early on that societal barriers existed within schools that prohibited equal educational opportunities for women. School socialization processes have traditionally perpetuated gender-role stereotypes. During the 1980s and 1990s a new Marxist and neo-Marxist wave swept through the feminist theory spectrum that focused on the political economy and how unequal division of labor between men and women at all levels was continually reproduced and transmitted through institutions of education. More recent radical versions have encouraged women to form their own communities without the influence or membership of men into their groups in order to try to ameliorate these differences. Also, during the 1980s and 1990s the essentialist wave of feminist

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and Henry Giroux, *Education Under Siege: The Conservative, Liberal and Radical Debate over Schooling* (London: Routledge, 1986), p. 47-57.

<sup>8</sup> Lorraine Code, Ed., *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories* (New York: Routledge, 2000), et al; Carole R. McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim, Eds., *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2003), et al; Judith Evans, *Feminist Theory Today: An Introduction to Second-Wave Feminism* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1995), et al.

theories developed, which emphasized essential differences between women and men with regards to epistemology, morality, and leadership. The most important contributions were developed by Carol Gilligan's *In a Different Voice*, Mary Belenky et al. *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind*, and Charol Shakeshaft's 1989 article in *Education Administration Quarterly* entitled "The Gender Gap in Educational Administration." In addition, Nel Noddings 1984 work entitled *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education* was a significant contribution. These feminist theorists argue that significant social progress in amending the gender gap differences by advocating that teachers and students should value their relationships and respond in a caring way to one another's physical, emotional, psychological, and academic needs.<sup>9</sup>

Black feminism in educational thought emerged as women of color observed, as a critique of previous feminist theories, that they had inappropriately classified all women into the same category. Black feminist theory articulates that White women have contributed the suppression of Black women and that racism should be considered and observed along with sexism. Perhaps the most prominent authority on Black feminist theory is bell hooks, who has noted the need to raise the issues concerning race and feminism in order to raise political awareness that could effectively provide for social change. She states that education for critical consciousness allows Black women to give a voice to varied dimensions of their lives. She informs scholars that future theory should be developed that includes diverse perspectives that include African American women. Hooks says that the intertwining of theory, practice, and the

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<sup>9</sup> Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), et al; Mary Field Belenky, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), et al; Linda Alstott, *No Exit: What Parents Owe Their Children and What Society Owes Parents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), et al; Charol Shakeshaft, "The Gender Gap in Educational Administration," *Education Administration Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 4 (Nov., 1989), p. 324-337; Nel Noddings, *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), et al.

active involvement of teachers and students to effectively promote social change can overcome sexism and racism. Two prominent Post-modern scholars on white feminist pedagogy, Angeline Martel and Linda Peterat, have argued that the suppression of all women has come about by silencing girls in their interactions with teachers and other male students and their exclusion from many activities involving social interactions in schools and curriculum. Martel and Peterat state that social change will take place by recognizing and talking about the suppression of women.<sup>10</sup>

The development of queer theory has had a profound influence on post-structural, post-modern, and cultural studies. Queer theory has attempted to critique heteronormativity, which assumes heterosexuality is normal and correct and other sexualities are abnormal and strange. Queer theory is similar in its relation to feminist theoretical concepts in that it establishes that every society has placed a distinction between heterosexual and homosexual identities. Michel Foucault, in his landmark *History of Sexuality*, traces the history of sexual classification of homosexuality from no classification to the creation of the category that was labeled homosexuality, which was traditionally looked upon as an illness and evil activity. Scholars have

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<sup>10</sup> V.P. Franklin, "In Plain View: African American Women Radical Feminism, and the Origins of Women's Studies Programs, 1967-1974." *Journal of African American History*, vol. 87 (Aut., 2002), p. 433-445; Linda M. Perkins, "The Impact of the 'Cult of Sure Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women," *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 39, no. 3 (1983), p. 17-28; bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), et al; bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. (London: Pluto Press, 2000), p. 108-116; bell hooks, *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), p. 19-24; Patricia-Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Boston: Unwin Hyman Press, 1995), et al; Patricia-Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender and the New Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), et al; Patricia Hill-Collins, "Feminism in the Twentieth Century." In *Black Women in America: A Historical Encyclopedia*, 3 vols. Darlene Clark Hine, Editor. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), et al; bell hooks and Cornel West, *Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life* (Boston: South End Press, 1991), et al; Angeline Martel and Linda M. Perkins, "Margins of Transformation: The Place of Women in Education," In *Inside/Out: Contemporary Critical Perspectives in Education* Rebecca A. Martusewicz and William M. Reynolds, Editors. p. 151-166. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Maxine Leeds Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?: Black Women, Beauty and the Politics of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), et al.

noted that the politics of the self in society has significantly disrupted the personal need for their own identity development versus their attempt to comply with societal pressures.<sup>11</sup>

Post modernism has provided notions of multiple, local, intersecting struggles aimed at creating social spaces that encourage the proliferation of pleasures, desires, voices, interests, modes of individualization, and democratization. The significant contributions of cultural studies has revealed that the enormous impact of popular culture through various media has promoted images of gays and lesbians as being inferior, different, and “not normal”. W.F. Pinar has significantly contributed to the development of queer pedagogy in *Queer Theory in Education*, in which he develops the concepts of relational, identity, performativity, difference, and heteronormativity as a means of establishing a curriculum in order to bring about social change in relation to issues involving gays and lesbians. Pinar suggests that sex should be treated as a relationship between individuals rather than an object or thing. He says that identity should be addressed as politics of the self as well as relationally expressed in the service of physical, emotional, and psychic pleasure. Pinar state that the inherent differences among individuals themselves should be considered not just categories or stereotypes of being a “homosexual” and “performativity” where historical variability should be stressed. With heteronormativity, Pinar suggests that in education the curriculum should allow for the examination of using any reference or category to define sexual orientation in an effort to eliminate this stereotyping. Pinar’s concepts have provided the most valuable practical application of conceptual frameworks that can possibly bring about the most effective social change.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Nikki Sullivan, *A Critical Introduction into Queer Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), et al; Steven Seidman, Ed., *Queer Theory: Sociology* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), et al; Iain Morkand and Annabelle Willox, *Queer Theory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2005), et al; Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: The Care of the Self*, 3 vols. (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), et al.

<sup>12</sup> Frederic Jameson, *Post Modernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC:

The forerunner to post-modernist and post-structuralist thought was modernism, which has been traditionally defined as the period of time existing primarily from the Industrial Revolution to World War II. Modernism, as a philosophical thought was known to worship the power of reason and logic. Thinkers and scholars placed much emphasis on objective science, promoted the creation and the advancement of technologies, advanced grand theories or philosophies as to attempt to explain human civilization, and worshipped “High Culture”. Simultaneously existing from roughly the same period was the structuralist thought that held theories and worldviews that were premised on assumptions that there are cognitive, cultural, economic, social, and other kinds of structures that influence or determine human actions.<sup>13</sup>

Post-modernism thought came along following World War II as an antithesis to the modernism philosophy and challenged many of the ideas held to at the basic premises of their arguments. One such thinker of the Post-modernist tradition was Jean-Francois Lyotard who proposed that reason is as suspect as emotion and intuition, and is subject to various interpretations. Lyotard held that grand “meta-narrative” theories could not be trusted. He held that these theories are privileged discourses that legitimize all other discourses in society and do not allow for various views or interpretations. Plural local discourses have exploded generating “differends” or conflict between people who are unable to see eye to eye. Lyotard said that differends have led to great wrongs such as Nazism and racism and education should foster

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Duke University Press, 2003), p. 260-278; Tim Woods, *Beginning Postmodernism* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 38-48; Victor E. Taylor and Charles E. Winquist, Eds., *Encyclopedia of Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 2004), et al; W.F. Pinar, Ed., *Queer Theory in Education* (Manwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998), et al; Thomas Docherty, Ed., *Postmodernism: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), et al.  
<sup>13</sup> Madan Sarup, *An Introductory Guide to Poststructuralism and Postmodernism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. (Essex, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 1993), p. 129-160; Stephen R.C. Hicks, *Explaining Postmodernism: Skepticism and Socialism from Rousseau to Foucault* (Tempe, AZ: Scholarly Publishing, 2004), p. 135-173; William B. Stanley, *Curriculum for Utopia: Social Reconstruction and Critical Pedagogy in the Postmodern Era* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 151-190; Stuart Sim, *Beyond Aesthetics: Confrontations with Poststructuralism and Postmodernism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), et al.

imaginative knowledge that bears witness to differends and can represent the unrepresented in ways that invent new conceptions in discourses that lead to greater good for the betterment of society.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps the most celebrated and magnificent contributor to Post-structuralist thought was Michel Foucault. He held that the politics of everyday life were more important than large political systems like nation-states. Foucault states that power is not in the hands of the few but is articulated and established in the overall scheme of society through policies, courts, laws, institutions, and education. He revealed that we live in an era of disciplinary power, which is an impersonal yet highly effective system of surveillance and social control. The system of disciplinary power depends on discourses, especially those in the social sciences where knowledge and power are combined in ways that effect the psychology and thought of people. We are surrounded by discourses that we neither create nor control. As discourses change, so too do knowledge and relations of power. People need to work on the self in order to transcend the intellectual, social, and moral cages that are imprisoning them. Foucault held that teachers should not fit students into self-encasing aspects of society but should permit them to transcend the ‘normal’ classifications.<sup>15</sup>

As a result of prevailing Post-modernist and Post-structuralist thought, ideas for education reform developed including recommendations that curriculum should place less

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<sup>14</sup> Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi, Trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), et al; Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Lyotard Reader*, Andrew Benjamin, Editor. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), et al; Jean-Francois Lyotard, *Libidinal Economy*, Iain Hamilton Grant, Trans. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), p. 95-154; Chris Rojek and Bryan S. Turner, Eds., *The Politics of Jean-Francois Lyotard: Justice and Political Theory* (London: Routledge, 1998), et al.

<sup>15</sup> Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: The Care of the Self*, 3 vols. (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), et al; Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Routledge, 2005), et al; Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization* (London: Routledge, 1989), et al; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), et al.

emphasis on the universalistic theories of knowledge and history and focus more on autobiography, institution, eclecticism, and mystery. Teachers and students should examine discourses and how they affect the surveillance of individual psychologies. Postmodernists argue that absolute reason should be removed from the highest order that traditional modernist thinkers placed it on. Multiple ways of knowing should be recognized and social powers should be shared between the various classes. Others, like Patti Lather, note that contemporary feminisms are ‘sites’ where the theory/practice can provide for the most creative possibilities for change in the overall societal structures and themes that have kept various minority groups suppressed.<sup>16</sup>

Every civilization since the dawn of humankind has been ruled by an artificial aristocracy.<sup>17</sup> By an artificial aristocracy we can infer that leaders, rulers, and those members of the ruling classes have successfully attained and maintained their status based upon some concepts that are part of social transformations and have not been acquired according to talents, skills, abilities, and merit that would warrant such achievements. What societal policies and institutions should exist for a meritocracy to develop?<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Sarup, *An Introductory Guide to Poststructuralism and Postmodernism*, p. 129-160; Hicks, *Explaining Postmodernism*, p. 135-173; Stanley, *Curriculum for Utopia: Social Reconstruction and Critical Pedagogy in the Postmodern Era*, p. 151-190; Sim, *Beyond Aesthetics: Confrontations with Poststructuralism and Postmodernism*, et al; Patti Lather, *Getting Lost: Feminist Practices Toward a Double(d) Science* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), et al; Patti Lather, *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy Within the Postmodern* (New York: Routledge, 1991), et al.

<sup>17</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. W.D. Halls (New York: Free Press, 1984), et al.; Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, 3 vols., trans. Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin Books, 1990), et al; Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. Frederic L. Bender (New York: W.W. Norton & Company), et al.; Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), et al; Plato, *The Republic of Plato*, trans. A.D. Lindsay (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), et al.; Thucydides, *The Complete Writings of Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War*, trans. R. Crawley (New York: Modern Library, 1934), et al.; Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, trans. Charles Francis Atkinson, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), et al.; Niccolo Machiavelli, *History of Florence: From the Earliest Times to the Death of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, ed. Charles W. Colby (New York: P.F. Collier & Son), et al.; Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, trans. E.S. Haldane, 3 vols. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), et al.; Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1984), p. 1305-1306.

<sup>18</sup> John E. Schwarz, *Illusions of Opportunity: The American Dream in Question* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), p. 26-28, 42.

Critical theorists have posed some very serious and interesting questions regarding race, class, and gender and how these groups have traditionally been suppressed and how the upper classes have effectively kept these groups divided and have effectively maintained power. Does giving disadvantaged groups access to resources that enable some of its members to climb the social status ladder cure society of all social ills? Scholarship done in this arena has done much to help society understand the tremendous challenges we face in countering racism, sexism, and the role that institutions and schools have played in successfully transforming society from one generation to the next and keeping various minority groups socio-economically suppressed. Especially Critical Race Theorists have identified property rights as a leading contributor to the lack of progress in making further gains in alleviating the inequalities associated with the suppression of disadvantaged groups. What kind of society would exist without the existence of property? Not only do questions arise concerning that of property but also on societal structures and functions. Even in the most basic organized societies of six thousand years ago contained some structures of rule including written codes of law, dwellings, gatherings of marketplaces and religious rituals, and a chief or someone who was in charge of running things. It is difficult to imagine what kind of society it would be without an established socio-economic hierarchy. Even twentieth-century Communist societies contained ruling classes and organizational hierarchies where property ownership was not allowed. What kind of society would it be without someone leading and functioning in a decision-making capacity? Perhaps, if we are looking for an outlier or some alternative to the exceeding debate we should turn to the Marxists. Marxist philosophies have perhaps been the most misunderstood throughout the entire history of the human race and Marx's complete philosophical contributions together comprise some one hundred volumes. The

most widely quoted and read is the *Communist Manifesto*; however, it might not be the best guide to his thought.<sup>19</sup>

One of the earliest and most influential classic social transformation theorists was Max Weber. One central core to Weber's thought is that the economic basis or core of a society determines the structure of everything else. For example, the economic structure also determines the structures and functions of everything else in that society including the culture, its institutions, politics, etc. This is seen by many scholars including Talcott Parsons to contradict his central arguments set forth in *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*. In this work, Weber argues that religion and religious principles influence the nation-state's political economy. In other words, people have acquired their knowledge of the political economy and the capitalistic system has developed, by and large, due to religious influences. Writing in the shadow of Karl Marx and Marxist philosophy, Weber demonstrates how the "Protestant Ethic" articulates and supports the desire and motivation to increase profits and search out in one's own best interest. These pursuits, according to Weber, inevitably lead to class conflicts. Weber's thought centers around upper classes that exclude lower class membership into their privileged institutions. Weber does not describe how any certain abilities or skills may be developed through those various institutions, especially schools. Weber maintains that certain attributes or characteristics are transmitted on the next generation of individuals according to the individual class to which each person belongs. Weber's writings are a departure from so-called 'orthodox' Marxism.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> hooks and West, *Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life*, p. 12-19; hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*, p. 19-27; Ladson-Billings, "Just What Is Critical Race Theory and What's It Doing in a Nice Field Like Education?" p. 20-21.

<sup>20</sup> Maximilian Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner & Sons, 1958), et al.; Talcott Parsons, "Capitalism in Recent German Literature: Sombart and Weber, Part 1,"

Another prominent social transformationist theorist, Talcott Parsons mainly saw the role of schools as socialization agencies where the ‘survival of the fittest’ dominates and the participants or pupils are in a race to win. Winning in the race to succeed or come out dominant in school was seen by Parsons to dominate for the rest of their lives. Parsons was highly influenced and motivated by the scholarship of Max Weber. Parsons hypothesized that student performance was merely determined by how well the student was able to memorize and reproduce teacher-directed and modeled activities. According to Parsons, little creativity, if any, was articulated in schools and grades had relatively little to do with creative thinking or problem-solving activities. Perhaps the most important contribution of Parsons’ work is that working-class children almost always end up with working-class jobs. This occurs through alienation and class struggles that end up working to the disadvantage of the lower classes. Interestingly, Talcott Parsons, like Max Weber, inherently links the economy to education and social transformation but in a different way than modern economists. They both see economics as related to education as they effectively help to maintain status quo; however, neither one effectively addresses how schools might aid in the development of subsequent skills and abilities.<sup>21</sup>

Later Postmodern researchers such as Randall Collins have determined that education and economic development are virtually unrelated except that they confer a “degree” on an individual based on their socio-economic status. Collins and others writing in the latter twentieth century have become known as Neo-Weberian theorists because of the way they hold class or a

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*Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 36, no. 6 (Dec., 1928), p. 641-661; Talcott Parsons, “Capitalism in Recent German Literature: Sombart and Weber, Part 2,” *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 37, no. 1 (Feb., 1929), p. 31-51.

<sup>21</sup> Talcott Parsons, “The School as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society,” *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 29, no. 4 (Fall, 1959), p. 297-318; Parsons, “Capitalism in Recent German Literature: Part 1,” p. 641-661; Parsons, “Capitalism in Recent German Literature, Part 2,” p. 31-51.

person's social status a predictor of an individual's life chances. Collins holds that on-the-job-training is the most valuable and in most cases matters more than any formal schooling in relation to an individual's job performance. Collins maintains that most jobs' basic responsibilities and functions have remained relatively the same and have not changed over the last one hundred years. He says that educational institutions are only credentialing agencies that, by awarding academic degrees, are merely conferring status upon that individual that they are members of an upper or elite class. Collins states that class conflict is kept down and held to a minimum through institutions of education. He supports his claims through the use of data that would suggest that adding additional years of schooling fails to produce little private or public benefit to economic development.<sup>22</sup>

Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron have demonstrated how a society or culture transmits itself on the next generation. Their work further defines the various realms in which societies are structured. They give definitions to various forms of capital including economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital, which have been developed completely independent of the commonly used term 'human capital' that dominates the economic literature. Surprisingly, economists have largely ignored Bourdieu's work. Economic capital consists of income and wealth, cultural capital is defined as the attributes of an individual's dominant culture, social capital consists of social networking, and symbolic capital is the recognition of competence that may be evidenced by academic degrees, awards, etc. Bourdieu and Passeron's work relates to the "artificial aristocracy" in that they put forth a theory known as symbolic violence, which occurs whenever individuals in positions of power manage to impose meanings for their actions to maintain their power and hide the real sources of

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<sup>22</sup> Randall Collins, "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 36, no. 1 (1971), p. 1002-1019.

social relationships that maintain that power. One term they employ is *habitus*, which is defined by them as the internalization of certain rules or precedents from a culture that maintain the status quo and power in a culture. Habitus, in their view, acts almost subliminally and subconsciously where individuals who are participating in normal societal functions and activities but are doing so without consciously synthesizing all the implications and applications of their actions as it relates to the established societal power structures. Further study is needed to more clearly define and distinguish human capital from the other forms of categorical capital that have been developed by Bourdieu. The problem with modern economists is that they have attempted to categorize and associate human capital with that of symbolic capital and theoretical measurements have been unable to accurately test theories involving education and economics. The concept of human capital would be best served if it were classified as a form of economic capital. Bourdieu sees institutions of education as agents to effectively distribute and transmit popular culture onto the general population.<sup>23</sup>

Recent cutting-edge scholarship on critical social transformation theories have produced research that supports the limitations posed upon subsequent generations to change their socio-economic statuses and overcome adversity. Perhaps the most clear definition of social transformation theories has been developed and articulated by Annette Hemmings through several separate studies, a definition for ideologies where each societal group transforms its own history on the next generation based on its own interest and without regard to what is best for future generations or the common good of humanity as a whole. According to Hemmings, these

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<sup>23</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," In *Handbook of Theory and Research For the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 241-258; Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1977), et al.; Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," In *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change*, edited by Richard K. Brown (London: Tavistock, 1973), p. 71-112.

ideologies are articulated through various histories, curriculum, and popular culture to view their past histories and project to the future all to their own benefit.<sup>24</sup>

Other scholars attempting to measure the economic effects of education by looking at the academic degrees using signaling and screening models would seem to support a theory that education or schooling merely transmits itself on future generations by supporting those dominant groups of society and maintaining status quo. These studies have given much valuable insight into the ways in which various groups, cultures, societies, and countries have been continually suppressed with each subsequent generation. However, most of this research only looks at the role of education as a one-sided affair. Researchers have concluded that either screening out the less ambitious and those with fewer innate or inheritable abilities or signaling to employers that those with additional advanced degrees have desirable characteristics and are suitable for employment including membership to the upper or ruling classes spawns additional educational achievement. One could conclude from reviewing studies from various academic fields such as sociology, anthropology, economics, and others, that education and economic development are not connected to each other. More recently, one leading educational researcher, Julia Resnik, has examined the realm of scholarship surrounding human capital formation and development. Resnik observes that scholars of human capital have developed an ‘academic black box’. She acknowledges that economics and education are related, however, economists have developed a subfield in which theories have not and perhaps cannot be adequately tested or measured. She calls economics and education a ‘shaky’ sub-discipline. I would argue further that

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<sup>24</sup> Hemmings, “Conflicting Images? Being Black and a Model High School Student”, p. 20-50; Hemmings, “Navigating Cultural Crosscurrents: Post Anthropological Passages Through High School”, p. 128-143; Hemmings, “Lona’s Links: Postoppositional Identity Work of Urban Youths”, p. 152-172; Hemmings, “High School Democratic Dialogues: Possibilities for Praxis”, p. 67-91; Hemmings, *Coming of Age in U.S. High Schools*, et al.; Hemmings, “Extending the Dialogue: Author’s Reply to Alan Singer and Michael Peyone,” p. 541-543.

the subfield of education and economics is only ‘shaky’ if the two are not related or connected in any manner. The two are definitely connected but the field needs to be expanded to include new measures and methods to test its theoretical concepts for further development. Human creativity measurements perhaps could look at the number patents, trademarks, publications and other criteria to more clearly reflect the impact of the quality and quantity of education or learning on the economy.<sup>25</sup>

Conventional wisdom would support the claim that the most significant contributions to economic development since the beginning of civilization itself has occurred through creation, invention, publication, and innovation.<sup>26</sup> Famous German philosopher, George Wilhelm Frederick Hegel, held that in order for a person to achieve a true education they must grasp the understanding of all scientific, technological, and cultural achievements of the human race since the beginning of civilization to the current day. By gaining an understanding of all these events including explorations, discoveries, creations, and innovations a person could connect how each achievement influences and gives rise to the next development and it can be understood through this kind of education how the overall condition of humans has improved with each passing century and how economies have developed. In other words, one invention, creation, or discovery gives rise to the next. All of humanity has improved its existence upon finding new

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<sup>25</sup> Julia Resnik, “International Organizations, the Education-Economic Growth’ Black Box, and the Development of World Education Culture,” *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 50, no. 2 (May, 2006), p. 173-195; George Herbert Mead, “The Genesis of the Self and Social Control,” *International Journal of Ethics*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Apr., 1925), p. 251-277.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Florida, *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), p. 25-65; S.R. Epstein, “Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Pre-industrial Europe,” *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 58, no. 3 (Sep., 1998), p. 684-713; Ann P. Bartel and Nachum Sicherman, “Technological Change and Skill Acquisition of Young Workers,” *Journal of Labor Economics*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Oct. 1998), p. 718-755; Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, et al.; Marx, *Capital*, 3 vols., et al.; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols., et al.; Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Ed. Edwin Cannan (New York: Modern Library, 2000), et al.; Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, et al.; Spengler, *Decline of the West*, 2 vols., et al.; Machiavelli, *History of Florence*, et al.; Hegel, *History of Philosophy*, 3 vols., et al.

forms of energy, transportation, living quarters, more efficient agricultural systems, and improved health.<sup>27</sup>

Testing social transformation and human capital theories by looking at the levels of educational achievement and economic development indicators are limited in their capacities to inform researchers. Scholars need to develop more skillful ways to capture the effects of creativity on economic development. While measuring the level of education and the level of economic development is interesting, it severely limits scientists' knowledge. Observing levels of education informs scholars about the quantity of education, but does not indicate the quality of the education received. In addition, as the economy transitions to a knowledge-based economy more workers are needed that have skills that may be applied in the workplace to think creatively.<sup>28</sup>

Post-modern humanity is now living at the dawn of a new age and one in which economies are transitioning at an increasing rate and one in which knowledge workers and human creativity have become the most important aspects of economic development in the twenty-first century. Perhaps the two most important factors in Modern or Post-modern economic development are institutions and human capital that have come to dominate the central focus of modern economic thought. Human capital as defined principally by economists in economic literature is known as talents, skills, abilities, etc. that a person or population possesses. These talents, skills, or abilities may be developed formally through schools, universities, NGOs (non-governmental organizations), employment, etc., or informally through one's own culture, individual study, customs, traditions, and other factors. It has been well-

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<sup>27</sup> Hegel, *History of Philosophy*, 3 vols., et al..

<sup>28</sup> Florida, *Flight of the Creative Class*, p. 25-65; Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), p. 44-66.

established in the economic literature, especially at the micro-level, that talents, skills, and abilities can be developed through certain practices or policies.<sup>29</sup>

Economist Paul Romer has perhaps come the closest of modern economists studying education and human capital to conclude that economic development is related to education by the quantity of human creativity. His research has concluded that human capital may increase without any educational attainment. He further concludes that any increase in human capital that does not lead to economic growth is because of the established or lack of established institutions to sustain and maintain that growth. He connects the two mostly by stating that any overall increase in educational attainment must lead to eventual economic development if the proper institutions are established and maintained. Romer found that whenever educational attainment stops increasing the overall societal and individual human capital (which is the total sum of a societies skills, talents, abilities, etc.) continues to expand largely through on-the-job training and cultural influences. From his research, Romer observes that the growth in productivity of any nation-state is dependent on the existing stock of ideas and the total number of people times their total time allocation to the accumulation of additional ideas, technological advancements, and scientific breakthroughs.<sup>30</sup>

Paula Stephan has explored the relationship of scientific discovery and its effects on the economy. Those researchers who have studied and developed theories of human capital have seemed to have primarily evolved almost entirely separate from those who study the economic

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<sup>29</sup> Flavio Cunha and James Heckman, "The Economics of Human Development: The Technology of Skill Formation," *American Economic Review*, vol. 97, no. 2 (May, 2007), p. 31-45; Resnik, "International Organizations, the Education-Economic Growth' Black Box," p. 181-184; Gary S. Becker, *A Treatise On the Family* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), et al.; Gary S. Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, With Special Reference to Education*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

<sup>30</sup> Paul M. Romer, "Endogenous Technological Change," *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 98, no. 5 (Oct., 1990), p. S71-S102; Luisa Rivera-Batiz and Paul M. Romer, "Economic Integration and Endogenous Growth," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 106, no. 2 (May, 1991), p. 531-555.

benefits of science. Stephan has observed the contemporary idea that acting almost in reciprocity that technological advancement and scientific discoveries have evolved and developed in conjunction with each other. As scientific discoveries are found they enable other researchers to develop technologies. With the aid or development of additional technologies such as the microscope, telescope, computers, more advanced software, etc., scientists are able to learn more about the world in which we live and this leads to further discoveries. Therefore, this technology/science connection continues to spiral together and to lead to further quality of life improvements for all of humanity.<sup>31</sup>

Improving the world in which we live in order to make our quality of life better would require a reexamination of educational policies. Policy makers should advocate for a tremendous increase in the investments in education especially in failing inner city schools that now contain overwhelming majorities of minority students. Despite the scholarship that has been produced that finds little or no connection between levels of education and economic development, the two are inherently linked. Since the beginning of civilization economic development has occurred through creation, invention, and publication. It is human creativity that is at the crux of the creation of wealth and the improvement of the quality of human life that has prevailed throughout all human history. Social transformation of societal norms, values, belief, and even a person's own class that they are born into is definitely in effect. However, policies should center on education that develops creative thinking and problem solving for all members of society. In *Shame of the Nation*, Jonathan Kozol observes that the curricula in inner city schools with overwhelming majorities of minority students fail to adequately prepare the students for competitive job markets by limiting the students' creativity. These schools, Kozol explains, are

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<sup>31</sup> Paula E. Stephan, "The Economics of Science," *Journal of Economic Literature*. vol. 34, no. 3 (Sep., 1996), p. 1199-1235; Romer, "Endogenous Technological Change," p. S71-S102.

usually run down with inadequate materials, books, teacher training, and an authoritative curriculum that does not allow the children to adequately develop creative thinking and problem-solving skills. As time goes by, more and more workers are needed that exhibit these higher-order creative thinking skills. We have more jobs today that require creative thinking than at any other time in our history. The assembly line worker roles of thirty, forty, fifty years ago that required workers to perform one certain task continually throughout the day has changed. Most assembly line tasks involved in mass production have been given over to the use of robotics that completes these tasks for the workers. Agriculture, automotive, steel making, and other industries have become highly mechanized in today's global economy and require fewer workers to complete the same tasks at higher productivity levels.<sup>32</sup>

The social control theories with its roots in the Frankfurt School has been transmitted to research on schooling and education and have dominated with several prominent post-modern educational historians including Joel Spring, Michael Apple, David Tyack, Michael Katz, Clarence Karier, Marvin Lazerson, Carl Kaestle, Colin Greer, and several others. Taken as a whole either reduce, ignore or eliminate the role the masses, various classes, and working class persons played in the development of education in the United States and other countries. In some instances the new revisionists have made the claim based on limited resources and alliances with bourgeoisie social science that the working classes have actually opposed development of education and have justified the continued lack of support for high-quality education for the masses. As a result, we have gone from traditional historiography that was based on 'great white men' theories to 'not-so great white men' theories. This has, by and large, promoted a conclusion

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<sup>32</sup> Jonathan Kozol, *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2005), p. 7-12, et al; Florida, *Flight of the Creative Class*, p. 25-65; Florida, *Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 44-66.

that the masses do not support increased funding, educational research, compulsory education, and cultural enrichments that have dominated the working class movements.<sup>33</sup>

Social transformation theories around schooling have severely refuted human capital theories, testing, curriculum, national and international standards, and increased funding. Much of the social transformation theories tend to emphasize cultural deficit theories by stating that the less-privileged and working-classes are totally receptive to the deceptive mechanisms imposed on them by the bourgeoisie in order to contain them in their social hierarchies. In addition, the social transformationists have tended to neglect heavy archival research and evidence especially focused on labor archives and unions. Most continue to borrow from the collections and resources of the white supremacy in order to draw their negative conclusions. In addition, they frequent the same resources that supported the ‘great white men theories’. They do not give credence to social movements within society. Archival evidence still tends to be focused on specific individuals from the aristocracy who dominated governmental resources and have

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<sup>33</sup> Joel Spring, *How Educational Ideologies Are Shaping Global Society: Intergovernmental Organizations, NGOs, and the Decline of the Nation-State* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), et al; Joel Spring, *The American School, 1642-2004*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2005), et al; Joel Spring, *American Education*, 13<sup>th</sup> Edition (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2008), et al; Joel Spring, *Conflict of Interests: the Politics of American Education*, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2005), et al; Michael Apple, *Global Crisis, Social Justice, and Education* (New York: Routledge, 2010), et al; Michael Apple, *Educating the ‘Right’ Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New York: Routledge, 2006), et al; Michael Apple, *The State of and Politics of Education* (New York: Routledge, 2003), et al; Michael Apple, *Cultural Politics and Education* (New York: Teacher’s College Press, 1996), et al; Michael Apple, *Education and Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New York: Routledge, 1995), et al; David B. Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 1-184; David B. Tyack, Robert Lowe, and Elisabeth Hansort, *Public Schools in Hard Times: The Great Depression and Recent Years* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), et al; David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), et al; Michael B. Katz, *Class Bureaucracy and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), et al; Micheal B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), et al; Clarence J. Karier, *The Individual, Society, and Education: A History of American Educational Ideas*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), et al; Clarence J. Karier, *Shaping the American Educational State, 1900 to the Present* (New York: Free Press, 1975), et al; Marvin Lazerson, *Higher Education and the American Dream: Success and Its Discontent* (Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press, 2010), et al; Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), et al; Carl Kaestle and Alyssa E. Lodewik, Eds., *To Educate a Nation: Federal and National Strategies of School Reform* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2007), et al; Colin Greer, *The Great School Legend* (New York: Viking Press, 1976), et al.

donated or contributed their private papers to the various collections. Working-class peoples, in spite of their enormous numbers, are significantly underrepresented in the archives.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Spring, *How Educational Ideologies Are Shaping Global Society*, et al; Spring, *The American School, 1642-2004*, et al; Spring, *American Education*, et al; Spring, *Conflict of Interests* et al; Apple, *Global Crisis, Social Justice, and Education*, et al; Apple, *Educating the 'Right' Way*, et al; Apple, *The State of and Politics of Education*, et al; Apple, *Cultural Politics and Education*, et al; Apple, *Education and Power*, et al; Tyack and Cuban, *Tinkering Toward Utopia*, p. 1-184; Tyack, Lowe, and Hansort, *Public Schools in Hard Times*, et al; Tyack, *The One Best System*, et al; Katz, *Class Bureaucracy and Schools*, et al; Katz, *Reconstructing American Education*, et al; Karier, *The Individual, Society, and Education*, et al; Karier, *Shaping the American Educational State*, et al; Lazerson, *Higher Education and the American Dream*, et al; Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, et al; Kaestle and Lodewik, *To Educate a Nation*, et al; Greer, *The Great School Legend*, et al.

## CHAPTER SIX: INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Science, technology, learning, and literacy are deep rooted and have ancient origins on the Indian subcontinent. Non-Eurocentric, Post-modern histories observe that the oldest universities on earth were established in Asia several centuries before their European counterparts. For many centuries, India remained disaggregated and fragmented. Even with the conquering of the Islamic kingdoms in various capacities from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, India cultivated and exported the arts, sciences, mathematics, and learning by way of the Silk Road, interactions with neighboring people, and throughout the Mughal Empire. Ancient Indian contributions to higher education and learning have been written down for many years who sought to support Western policies of dominance that continually asserted the British were ‘developing’ India while simultaneously exploiting the country’s resources. Western civilizations began to infiltrate India in the seventeenth century such as the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch, and finally the British. Western Colonialism ushered in elements of white supremacy that resulted in forms of slavery and global division of labor. This is even reflected in such modern acts of arrogance like Winston Churchill’s still unpaid promissory note on display at the Bangalore Club in Karnataka, India.<sup>1</sup>

British colonial interests in India were those associated with capitalism and exploitation of Indian labor. As a result, the British, who first began their entrance in India by way of the British East India Company until control was relinquished to the British government, sought to

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 16-56; John F. Richards, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 253-281; David Arnold, *The New Cambridge History of India: Science, Technology, and Medicine in Colonial India* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), et al; Zaheer Baber, *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), et al; Ram Sharman Sharma, *India’s Ancient Past* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), et al; Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education (Brahmanical and Buddhist)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), et al.

pursue commercial interests and failed to invest in India's cultural and educational institutions and infrastructure. While some development of educational institutions was instituted by the British, these were only intended for the select few, most often Brahmins, which helped to maintain British control of India. The masses, therefore, remained largely formally uneducated and education for the majority of the population came about through private enterprise and informally in much the same way African Americans developed their own educational institutions and processes in the United States during slavery and its aftermath. Therefore, at the time of Independence literacy rates were very low that dramatically increased in the coming decades and much emphasis was placed on the development of Indian educational institutions. India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru observed that Science, Learning, and Literacy had declined in India under the chains of colonialism.<sup>2</sup> Political development has been traditionally defined as the development of a society's or country's values, ideas, norms, institutions, etc. Education is one of those institutions affecting all of civilization outside of it and it is affected by all of civilization. This includes the educational institutions' funding, resources, curricula, values, behaviors, structure, and the interactions of individuals within those institutions. Therefore, in most democratic societies they were developed through political processes that often occurred through debate and discussion, and much contemplation over competing interests that can be discovered and is reflected in the media, newspapers, and in the debates of the Indian Parliament and in the local debates that occur within each Indian state legislature. This study is an investigation of the various representations of India's social classes/castes in the development

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<sup>2</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 44-46, 282-312; Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 637-638; Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 482-497.

of its educational institutions and how these institutions impact India's future, political and economic security, and human rights.<sup>3</sup>

Ranajit Guha's opening chapter to the *Subaltern Series* by Oxford University Press entitled "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India," the bulk of social science and scholarship that had been written up to that point as aristocratic, elitist, and dominated by bourgeoisie philosophy and advancements. Guha primarily seeks to show how the contributions of subaltern groups or the broad populace has almost been completely excluded from the scholarship that had been produced by both Western scholars and Indians alike. British historians who were an integral part of maintaining and justifying colonialism and white supremacy first dominated the previous scholarship, according to Guha. He also goes on to criticize the Indian elite who only sought to kick out the British and take over their posts without enacting any viable concrete change in the system in order to effectively improve the quality of life for the bulk of the Indian populace. Previous scholarship from the Indian perspective of time periods both prior to and after Independence had given almost complete credit for the movement to an elite group of Indians that at the same time supported their rise to and continual control of power and wealth. British historians had, by and large, justified colonialism by painting a picture of the pre-colonial state as uncivilized, unorganized, backward, and incapable of governing themselves. Indian historiography tended to over racialize the intrusion of the British and focused on leaders who would lead the country out of oppression. According to Guha, the scholars merely adopted historical inquiry that would please and support their bosses and the Indian intelligencia merely imitated this style by replacing the "good guys" with Indian names and influence. Nationalist

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<sup>3</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 16-56; Arnold, *The New Cambridge History of India: Science, Technology, and Medicine in Colonial India*, et al; Baber, *The Science of Empire*, et al; Sharma, *India's Ancient Past*, et al; Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education (Brahmanical and Buddhist)*, et al.

historians had given almost complete emphasis on the influence of the populace in gaining independence from Great Britain. For Guha, the elitist historiography blamed India's downfall and the inability of its rise from colonialism to a lack of class-consciousness that was brought about by great leaders who instilled the value of class-consciousness and organized the nationalist movement. The Indian elite is usually defined as those individuals in government or universities, those holding the greatest amount of wealth and property, and those who control the means of production. Neo-colonialist scholarship is also criticized by Guha as being somewhat elitist and has minimized the forces of the subaltern, proletariat, and the peasantry in the development of its institutions. Neo-colonialism in its scope almost completely supports a social control thesis. Like other scholarship developed by earlier Marxist writers of the British and U.S. labor movement, Guha's historiography embraces both conservative and liberal components.<sup>4</sup>

An example of the elitist historiography from the British perspective includes the writing of the 'Sepoy Mutiny' as a rebellion on the part of Indian locals to comply with British policies or an instance of mere religious differences and lack of sensitivity to cultural difference. Indian historiography describes the 'Sepoy Mutiny' as the First War of Independence. The traditional

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<sup>4</sup> Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India," in *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, Ranajit Guha, Editor (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 1-8; Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700-1960 (Cultures of History)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 34-63; Satish Chandra, *Historiography, Religion, and State in Medieval India* (New Delhi: Har Anand Publications, 2007), p. 1-46; Nicole Weickgenannt Thiera, *Salman Rushdie and Indian Historiography: Writing the Nation Into Being* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2009), p. 6-55; Balachandra Rajan, *Under Western Eyes: India from Milton to Maugham (Post Contemporary Interventions)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 1-30, 174-212; Dhruv Raina, *Images and Contexts: The Historiography of Science and Modernity in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 178-206; Rama Sundari Mantena, *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India: Antiquarianism and Philology, 1780-1880* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2012), et al; Kirit K. Shah and Meherjyoti Sangle, Eds., *Historiography: Past and Present India* (Jawahar Nagar, India: Rawat Publications, 2005), p. 1-172; Kate Brittlebank, *Tall Tales and True: India, Historiography and British Imperial Imagining* (Caulfield East, Australia: Monash Asia Institute Press, 2008), p. 3-17; Ramya Sreenivasan, *The Many Lives of a Rajput Queen: Heroic Pasts in India, c. 1500-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), p. 16-38; Kamala Ganesh and Usha Thakkar, Eds., *Culture and the Making of Identity in Contemporary India* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), et al; Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and David Dean Shulman, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India, 1600-1800* (New York: Other Press, 2003), p. 8-23.

British historiography explains the event as developing because of the Indian leadership's inability to govern and their being in a transition of learning to govern the country. The Indian bourgeoisie were seen as individuals who were power hungry and chose to insurrect a rebellion. From an Indian elitist perspective, the Indian elite organized this First War of Independence leading to the eventual freedom from the chains of colonialism. There are varying degrees of complexities to the various analyses, but all may be categorized as downplaying or even eliminating the collective agency of the populace in this and other events.<sup>5</sup>

Guha outlines four aspects of an aristocratic, elitist, or bourgeoisie, historiography that contributes to the overall understanding of South Asian history. Among the positive aspects outlined by him are that many members of the Indian power elites had good intentions and aided in India's rejection of colonialism and some significant, subtle advances in post-colonial India. Second, many of them fought against and suffered persecution in the process of the struggle for independence. Third, the Indian elite, such as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru even helped to collectively organize and promote various causes of the subaltern. Fourth "their

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<sup>5</sup> R.S. Sharma, *Rethinking India's Past* (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 48-56; Sugam Anand, *Modern Indian Historiography : From Pillai to Azad* (Agra, India: MG Publishers, 1991), p. 2-28; Muhammed Aslam Syed, *Muslim Response to the West: Muslim Historiography in India, 1857-1914* (Delhi: Adam Publishers, 2008), et al; Sylvie Guichard, *The Construction of History and Nationalism in India: Textbooks, Controversies and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 65-87; Betty Joseph, *Reading the East India Company, 1720-1840* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 1-32, 178-180; Vinay Lal, *The History of History: Politics and Scholarship in Modern India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 27-78, 186-230; Henry Schwarz, *Constructing the Criminal tribe in Colonial India: Acting Like a Thief* (Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 13-46; R.C. Majumdar, *Historiography in Modern India: 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1970), p. 1-62; Sanjay Subadh, *Historiography of Medieval India* (New Delhi: Manak Publications, 2003), et al; Henry Schwartz, *Writing Cultural History in Colonial and Post Colonial India* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 34-63; H.A. Phadke, *Essay's on Indian Historiography* (Jawahar Nagar, India: Rawat Publications, 2005), p. 114-156; Thomas Weber, *On the Salt March: The Historiography of Gandhi's March to Dandi* (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 114-134.

altruistic and self-abnegating characters” which lusted for and seized power of their own helping to establish the post-modern Indian state.<sup>6</sup>

Guha objects to all the above advantages of elitist historiography while simultaneously giving credence to some contributions of it. Guha claims that the Indian elitist scholars, as a whole, have almost completely ignored their involvement in also sustaining and maintaining oppression and have lived very privileged lives by invoking religion in order to justify their actions. In addition, bourgeoisie historiography aids in determining British colonial state structures, functions, and protocol. It helps the scholar to determine how power was exerted and maintained. Various ideologies and functions were changed during certain time periods, which slightly pitted various castes/religious/classes against each other, which an elitist/bourgeoisie historiography helps us to understand. It also helps to gain understanding of the contradictions of capitalism, the conflicting discrepancies in clashing bourgeoisie interests, and the conflict between the Crown of Great Britain, colonial administration and the Indian aristocracy.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Guha, “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” p. 2-3; Kevin Michael Doak, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), p. 1-24; G. Khurana, *British Historiography on the Sikh Power in the Punjab* (Herndon, VA: Books International, 1985), 83-96; Nancy Gardner Cassels, Ed., *Orientalism, Evangelicalism, and the Military Cantonment in Early Nineteenth Century India: A Historical Overview* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1991), p. 1-164; Sniqdhha Sen, *Historiography of the India Revolt of 1857* (Columbia, MO: South Asia Books, 1992), p. 62-101; Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *Bengal: Rethinking History, Essays in Historiography* (New Delhi: Monohar Publishers, 2001), p. 23-53; Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 79-108; Ramnarayan S. Rawat, *Reconsidering Untouchability: Chamaers and Dalit History in North India* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011), p. 185-190; Monorama Sharma, *History and History Writing in Northeast India* (New Delhi: Regency Publishers, 2002), p. 3-70; N.N. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Religious Historiography* (Columbia, MO: South Asia Books), p. 87-153; P.K. Misra, *Aspects of India History and Historiography* (New Delhi: Kaveri Books, 1999), p. 206-275; Jagannath Agrawal, *SR Goyal: His Multidimensional Historiography* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1992), p. p. 1-45; I.D. Gaur, *Essays in History and Historiography: India's Struggle for Freedom* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1998), et al; Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Colonial India: Essays on Politics, Medicine, and Historiography* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005), et al.

<sup>7</sup> Guha, “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” p. 2-3; Ranajit Guha, *Dominance Without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), et al; Brown, *Windows into the Past*, p. 1-120; Gholam Rasul, *The Origin and Development of Muslim Historiography* (Lahore, Pakistan: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1976), p. 1-115; James Mills, *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism: The 'Native Only' Lunatic Asylums of British India, 1857-1900* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), p. 14-42; Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004),

The Indian elitist historiography explanations outlined by Guha and several other scholars help to clearly illuminate the ideological origins of maintaining dominance of the elite and to make a case to further impede development of the overall human development index. Mass movements in India and Indian nationalism, except for traditional Marxist and other subaltern scholars, are written from the standpoint of merely responding to leadership of Indian bourgeoisie. Many scholars have pointed to massive sources which support a philosophy that Indian nationalism both existed and flourished in ancient and medieval India and was alive and well upon the arrival of all European conquistadores and especially the British. Western historiography and social science is written in the same philosophy that was used by British elitist responses to contemporary events that treated any rebellion on the part of the Indian population as criminal acts that needed to be put down through tougher laws, penalties, and the enlargement of both the British military and police forces. These ideas were extensively debated in the British parliament during its entire rule in India. The talents, skills, abilities, charismatic charm of individual viceroys, governors, and officials are credited with maintaining control of the populace and bringing about 'law and order' both with successful colonial leaders under the British and after Independence under an Indian aristocracy. As a result, these analyses are one-sided and are not a true dialectical materialistic interpretation of historical events. Distortion of events are perhaps most distorted in movements like the Quit India Movement of which Gandhi

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p. 1-24; Surchi Thapar-Bjorkert, *Women in the Indian National Movement: Unseen Faces and Unheard Voices, 1930-42* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), p. 19-53; Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, Eds., *Modern South Asia: A Sourcebook and Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2012), et al; Indra Sengupta and David Ali, *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 171-226; Laura Bear, *Lines of the Nation: Indian Railway Workers, Bureaucracy, and the Intimate Historical Self* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 1-20; Rajnayaran Chandararkar, *History, Culture and the Indian City* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 59-102, 236-250; Purnima Bose, *Organizing Empire: Individualism, Collective Agency, and India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 169-222; Sumit Sarkar, *Beyond Nationalist Frames: Postmodernism, Hindu Fundamentalism, History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002), p. 38-111.

was a part, but involved massive numbers of actors, organizers, and protesters who were largely defunct of elite actors and often where they tried to take credit for but had very little to do with it. Such social sciences supports the ‘bosses’ or employers of the researchers and are employed to serve the interests of bourgeoisie/elite classes and can never give the subaltern/proletariat/peasantry the credit for the development of most equitable, viable, and significant institutional development that exists in the country to serve the needs of the masses.<sup>8</sup>

Subaltern groups were in resistance on various fronts all over India for many years before the First War of Independence in 1857 in much the same manner persons of African descent in North and South America and beyond were in constant revolt throughout the history of slavery. The British intervened and took dominance at various times with the Indian ruling classes; however, the broad populace continued to revolt under oppression and by countering the instruments imposed by both groups to subdue them. Subaltern/Marxist scholars interpret historical events from both the side of the subordinate and the side of the ruling classes that seek to subdue them. Some scholars, such as Barbara Ramusack, have brought to life the intricate details of the Indian elite who adapted their approaches, philosophies, and ideologies within the framework of colonial policy with each change in structure brought about by the British government and parliament. The Princely States that were brought under the Indian national

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<sup>8</sup> Guha, *Dominance Without Hegemony*, et al; Chandararkar, *History, Culture and the Indian City*, p. 59-102, 236-250; Bose, *Organizing Empire*, p. 1-73; Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 13-57; Desppande, *Creative Pasts*, p. 85-128; Kirit K. Shah and Meherjyoti Sangle, Eds, *Historiography: Past and Present India* (Jawahar Nagar, India: Rawat Publications, 2005), et al; Kate Brittlebank, Ed., *Tall Tales and True: India, Historiography and British Imperial Imagining* (Caulfield East, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 2008), p. 1-141; Ramy Sreenivasan, *The Many Lives of a Rajput Queen: Heroic Pasts in India, C. 1500-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), p. 8-32; Kamal Ganesh and Usha Thakkar, *Culture and the Making of Identity in Contemporary India* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), p. 39-112; Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and David Dean Shulman, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India, 1600-1800* (New York: Other Press, 2003), et al; Kirit K. Shah, *History and Gender Some Explorations, India* (Jawahar Nagar, India: Rawat Publications, 2005), p. 1-182.

government after 1947 were met with extreme resistance from the individual rulers and the subalterns they ruled over. Many compromises had been made with differing groups that involved family relations, caste, religions, and classes, which made change increasingly difficult than would have been expected under a so-called 'hollow crown', that had been proclaimed in neo-colonialists literature. Some of the subaltern movements are more fragmented, scarcely documented, and lacked organization, therefore, definitions of variables and treatment of sources must be adapted in order to accommodate for the discrepancy in the data used to support elite historiography.<sup>9</sup>

The peasantry was just as involved as the urban poor and middle classes in rejecting elite dominance and the development of India's institutions. This historiography has been further developed since Gupta originally published his piece in 1980 and has various components and dimensions according to the differences in the various historians' analyses. The involvement of the peasantry has been met with mixed reviews, but most agree they were heavily united and involved to rally around the Independence movement and serve to greatly enhance and exacerbate the cause of it. Some scholars have observed some instances where divisions occurred between the peasantry and other members of the subaltern classes. A significant observance is the recognition on the part of the proletariat in India to resist oppression and place pressure on government to develop institutions that reflect the best interest and will of the populace. A clear distinction with modification can be discerned from the approaches and agency of the subaltern

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<sup>9</sup> Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 18-76; Barbara N. Ramusack, *The Indian Princes and Their States* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), et al; Chandarankar, *History, Culture and the Indian City*, p. 59-102, 236-250; Kumkum Chatterjee, *The Cultures of History in Early Modern India: Persianization and Mughal Culture in Bengal* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 8-62; Georg G. Iggers, Q. Edward Wang, and Supriya Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (London: Longman Press, 2008), p. 38-42, 69-116, 281-289; Jack Harrington, *Sir John Malcolm and the Creation of British India* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 161-198; Michael J. Franklin, *Romantic Representations of British India* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 1-44, et al; Naheem Jabbar, *Historiography and Writing Post Colonial India* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 3-48.

in India and the aristocracy/elite/bourgeoisie. Examination of speeches, writings, and original documentation reveal that it is evident that the leadership in India failed to reflect the values and sentiments of the populace in much the same manner the leadership fell short within the countries of Great Britain and the United States. A clear dialectical conflict exists in India as has occurred in other countries. The exclusion of this dialectic has helped to maintain white supremacy, the suppression of women, and justify Western dominance that continues to be reflected in the values and policies of international institutions such as the World Bank, the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the Bank for International Settlements and other international organizations.<sup>10</sup>

The Indian proletariat and bourgeoisie are not complete dichotomies that are mutually exclusive. The two groups represent a contention of opposites in which each one is continually influencing the other and are adapting over time. Various groups are continually pitted against each other in 'divide and conquer' techniques and alliances the bourgeoisie makes with certain members of the lower classes in order to help maintain their success and dominance. Some political turmoil was caused when alliances were made with the British and clashing bourgeoisie interests lead to the partition of India. Elitist historiography can still be found in the academy in England, India, and elsewhere that treat these struggles internally according to religious/cultural and small conflicts which have relatively little to do with regional, national, and international

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<sup>10</sup> Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, p. 220-277; Guha, *Dominance Without Hegemony*, et al; Vinayak Chaturvedi, *Peasant Pasts: History and Memory in Western India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), p. 1-232; Rahul Sapra, *The Limits of Orientalism: Seventeenth-Century Representations of India* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press), p. 19-38; John Keay, *India Discovered*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New York: Harper Collins), et al; Michael Gottlob, *History and Politics in Post-Colonial India* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011), et al; John C.B. Webster, Ed., *History and Contemporary India* (Columbia, MO: Asia Publishing House, 1972), et al; Nazer Singh, *Delhi and Punjab: Essays in History and Historiography* (New Delhi: Sehgal Book Distributors, 1995), p. 1-154; Amal Chatterjee, *Representations of India, 1740-1840: The Creation of India in the Colonial Imagination* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p. 75-156; Kim A. Wagner, *Thuggee: Banditry and the British in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 198-266.

influences and factors. Due to the inability of the working class to rise above the local limitations, and the lack of good leadership, history has interpreted their national struggles as fragmented local rebellions for economic, political and petty reasons. History of Modern and Post-modern history, like so much of history in general did not have to turn out like it did. A complete transformation could have occurred to reform India for the entire benefit of the populace. Guha recommends that social scientists should also reject Western and Indian elitist scholarship, which continues to advance the interest of the bourgeoisie, limit or restrict human progress, and prohibit India's continued further development.<sup>11</sup>

Were India's educational institutions developed by the aristocracy, the British, or the Brahmins? Or were they developed primarily by pressure from the populace that included the mass public including women, gays, lesbians, bisexuals, Dalits, underprivileged classes/castes, persons with disabilities, and other groups? The bulk of the historical record reflects that various formal and informal civic organizations and movements were primarily responsible for the development of India's educational institutions for most of the population. The study of educational institutions in the development of the polity is largely absent in studies of India. The bulk of the archival evidence demonstrates that the development of educational institutions came about primarily during ancient and medieval time periods that subsided under British colonialism

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<sup>11</sup> Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, p. 278-332; Guha, *Dominance Without Hegemony*, et al; Bose, *Organizing Empire*, p. 128-168; Chaturvedi, *Peasant Pasts*, p. 1-232; Pandey Biswas, *Historiography of India's Partition: Analysis and Writings* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishing India, 2004), et al; Benjamin Zachariah, *Developing India: An Intellectual and Social History, c. 1930-50* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 6-56; David R. Syiemlieh, *Survey of Research in History in Northeast India (1970-1990)* (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 2002), p. 1-98; Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 89-111; Nandini Bhattacharya, *Reading the Slendid Body: Gender and Consumerism in Eighteenth-Century British Writing on India* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1997), et al; A.R. Kulkarni, *Maratha Historiography* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2006), p. 1-48; C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994), et al.

and that has largely come about after British Independence and as the direct result of pressure from the populace that has been made possible by the development of liberal democracy.<sup>12</sup>

This theme is consistent with the work of Samuel P. Huntington, Martha Nussbaum, Fareed Zakaria, and others who have observed that viable permanent democracy must have institutions that were developed from the bottom-up so that cultural values and norms are reflected in those institutions. Many failed states have attempted to impose public policy on the population from a top-down approach. This research project challenges the dominant historiography that educational institutions were developed by the aristocracy as a means of control. Instead, this inquiry argues that British Colonial India was dominated by commercial interests and only established educational institutions to educate a small portion of the Indian populace that helped maintain British dominance. As a result, literacy rates remained very low in terms of international standards at the time of independence that dramatically increased with the coming decades. Post-independence saw the development of many institutions of higher learning in India including the Indian Institutes of Technology, which are now among the world's finest universities. This hypothesis is consistent with the central theme in Amartya Sen's, *Development as Freedom* that concludes that famine is not common in democracies because of the pressure of the populace on the government to guard against it.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Sarkar, *Beyond Nationalist Frames*, p. 154-194; Mrinalini Sinha, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 197-254; Nita Kumar, Ed., *The Politics of Gender, Community, and Modernity: Essays on Education in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), et al; Badri Narayan, *Women Heroes and Dalit Assertion in North India: Culture, Identity and Politics (Cultural Subordination and the Dalit Challenge)* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), p. 1-196;

<sup>13</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 1-31, 376-395, 429-448; Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), et al; Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3 (Sum., 1993), p. 22-49; Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, Eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), et al. See especially, Orlando Patterson's, "Taking Culture Seriously: A Framework and an Afro-American Illustration," p. 202-218; Martha C. Nussbaum and Amartya K. Sen, Eds., *The Quality of Life* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1993), et al; Martha K. Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000),

Heavy research based on primary sources reveal that various special interest groups in India including employers, servants, various professional organizations, peasants, merchants, consumers, intellectuals and labor organizations, all placed pressure on the government to develop education in India. Discussions around issues of modernity have traditionally argued that schools were used by the British in order to maintain the status quo by enshrining basic concepts of caste, class, and social hierarchy to maintain power. While these forces were at work, this project seeks to investigate how the greatest control was exerted by the policy of exclusion that kept a large portion of the masses from getting an adequate education. Many groups were underrepresented and excluded from, and continue to be excluded from, equal educational opportunities in India including women, various castes/classes, certain religious groups, and persons with disabilities. In the classic work by Rudolf and Rudolf, class/caste structures have also served to maintain the tremendous gender differences that have existed within the caste system, which continue to indirectly affect differences in educational opportunities between the Dalit, OBC's (Other Backward Castes), the sexes, and the privileged classes.<sup>14</sup>

Whenever one examines the bulk of the archival materials we find that most of the successful and equitable institutions were created from within. This dissertation maintains that

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p. 24-30, et al; Martha K. Nussbaum, *The Clash Within: Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 80-121, 264-301; Martha K. Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 143-192; Fareed Zakaria, *The Post American World* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), et al; Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), et al; Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 181-192; Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 285-352; Amartya K. Sen, *Rationality and Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 262-380; Amartya K. Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), p. 84-102.

<sup>14</sup> Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and Lloyd Rudolph, Eds., *Education and Politics in India: Studies in Organization, Society, and Policy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), et al; Lloyd Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Explaining Indian Democracy: A Fifty Year Perspective, 1956-2006*, 3 vols. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), et al.

the history of inequality of various groups/castes in India was maintained primarily through exclusionary processes and policies in regards to education. It is interesting that many studies have overlooked the dominant commercial interests pursued by the British and their overall lack of concern for the social conditions and education of the populace. Equally interesting to this investigation is the exclusion of minority groups from India's political development processes in the post-colonial state that includes various religious groups such as Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, and other religious minorities. In addition, no nation-state has ever equally reflected every group or interest in its institutions as part of a political development process. This has never been more apparent than the struggle to include the voices of feminist, gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender, and persons with disabilities issues in Indian Post-Modern politics.

My investigative process will pursue an integrated view of Modern and Post-modern southern Indian political development through the use of archival and published documents dominated by English and some Kannada and Tamil source materials. I precluded my visit to India with one year of literature review and archival research in the United States and Great Britain, visiting the largest holdings in those countries of sources related to the research topic. The focus of the research has been the Karnataka State Archives in Bangalore and Mysore and the Tamil Nadu State Archives located in Chennai, which was the central location of British rule in colonial India. I also visited the Tamil-Nadu State Archives, the Archives of Indian Labour, India's National Archives, and the Indian National Library located in Kolkata. These archives contain monographs, epigraphs, autobiographies, government documents, unpublished manuscripts, artifacts, and other sources. The sources contained in these archives and other institutions contain in excess a solid basis for the doctoral dissertation.

This dissertation seeks to fulfill a gap in the literature that reveals that further analysis is needed of the influence of colonialism on ‘underdeveloped’ countries such as India and the linkage to contemporary problems of violence, poverty, inequality, gay/lesbian/bi-sexual/transgender issues. Various Post-Colonial studies have traditionally focused on less-developed regions in Asia, Latin America, however, have largely excluded analysis of feminists/gay/lesbian/bi-sexual/transgender issues in their relationships to political development in those regions.

Concentrating on the states of Tamil-Nadu and Karnataka, this project seeks to determine the role liberal democracy in stabilizing Indian political stability and economic growth. Most of India’s development since post-independence has occurred in the southern states if Karnataka and Tamil-Nadu. These states have also invested the largest financial resources in the development of the educational institutions, which now contain the largest number of engineering schools and turn out the largest number of engineers in the World.

## CHAPTER 7: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL VEDIC, BRAHMANIC, & HINDU EDUCATION

The pre-historic era of the Indian subcontinent and, more specifically, Karnataka were deeply rooted in learning and were in fact some of the most advanced people on earth. Findings of pre-historic Karnataka and the entire Deccan Plateau reveal that the Stone Age, as well as bronze- and iron- working were in existence long before most places on earth. The Stone Age is a pre-historic period in which the human race used various stone objects for their primary means of survival. Most social scientists and historians date the Stone Age, a period of about 2.5 million years that ended around 4,500 B.C.E. Around fifty years ago an axe was found in present-day Karnataka that has led scientists to conclude that iron-working pre-dated most prior accounts of where it existed and during which time period. Mining was highly developed in Karnataka and pre-historic gold mines supplied much of the gold that was used in the Indus Valley civilization in what is now Northeast India and Pakistan.<sup>1</sup>

Learning and literacy in ancient India was well-respected and cultivated. Rulers often attempted to lure various scholars/teachers into their lands and were often in competition with each other. They established ashramas which were schools named after Ashrama Dharma, which divided a person's life into four stages of 25-year segments. Teacher-Scholars also established mathas, which were schools attached to early Hindu and Jain temples. Early teachers/scholars usually traveled frequently throughout the Indian subcontinent and Asia, regardless of political and socio-geographic boundaries, staying at length to perform educational

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<sup>1</sup> R.S. Panchamukhi, "The Prehistoric Cultures of Karnataka" in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds. *Karnataka Through the Ages: From Prehistoric Times to the Day of the Independence of India* (Bangalore, India: Literary and Cultural Development Department, Government of India, 1968), p. 89-98; H.D. Sankalia, "Paleolithic, Neolithic and Copper Ages," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and A.K. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 125-142; S.K. Chatterji, "Race Movements and Prehistoric Culture," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and A.K. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 143-171; A.D. Pusalker, "The Indus Valley Civilization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and A.K. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 172-204.

and religious functions. Ancient rival groups such as Chalukyas, Hoysalas, Ganges, and Rashtrakutas would freely welcome international traveling gurus or teachers into their kingdoms and were often in competition as to who could lure in the most renowned scholars. Education in those days was often tailored to suit the individual needs of each person's caste, which was subdivided according to each person's occupation. A person was already predetermined by birth to belong to a particular , which also predetermined their respective occupations. Thus, unemployment in ancient and medieval India was almost non-existent.<sup>2</sup>

According to an individual's caste, he or she received vocational education in industries such as; farming, herding, sculpting, painting, weaving, goldsmithing, coppersmithing, brasssmithing, art, and temple building. Merchants, warriors, physicians, priests, astrologers,

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<sup>2</sup> B.R. Gopal, "Social Life & Political History" in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds., *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 99-111-163; R.C. Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 47-65; R.C. Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 91-107; D.C. Sircar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 191-216; R.C. Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 60-95; R.C. Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 96-123; R.C. Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 124-176; D.C. Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 177-202; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 223-226; D.C. Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 227-254; R. Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 255-283; U.N. Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 341-361; A.M. Ghatage, "Religion and Philosophy: Jainism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 408-418; D.C. Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 419-430; U.N. Ghoshal, "Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and AK. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 590-607.

etc., were also trained in their vocations. The caste system included Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaisyas (skilled trades, merchants, and administrative officials), Sudras (farmers and unskilled workers), and Pariah or Harijans (outcastes, untouchables, or 'children of God'). Further, within each of the caste divisions were individual, specialized sub-castes. For example, a member of the Vaisyas may have been a member of a particular sub-caste of goldsmiths. The cave temples of Ajanta, Ellora, Badami, Bahubali, Belur and Halebidu and the statue of Shrvanabelagola speak volumes of the superb knowledge these master craftsmen received and exhibited. Similar is the case of skillful mastery of panchaloha images, which were cast from an alloy of five metals, and are visible in innumerable temples of south India. From sandalwood carving and ivory carving to Bidari work, and from Ilkal saris to gold and silver filigree work on silk and brocades, Karnataka has made its name through centuries. One is wonderstruck that, with no mechanical help, such masterpieces— big and small— could be shaped out of sheer manual skill.<sup>3</sup>

An examination of the sources for Vedic India leads to the conclusion that discrimination against women was almost non-existent during this time period. Initiation rituals were held for boys and girls in parity before they started school. Even so, gender disparities existed and mainly restricted which occupations each person could enter and many girls were trained for home life. However, girls attended school and participated in most of the other functions of the community just as boys did; games, sports, and leisure activities were common among boys and girls. Around

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<sup>3</sup> Jyotsna Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages* (Bangalore, India: Mythic Society, 2009), p. 61; Narasimhachar, "The Early Historical Period: Mauryan and Satavahana Settlements", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 99-110; Apte, "Social and Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Wadia, "Geological Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 80-90; Mookerji, Majumdar, and Apte, "Social Condition," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 542-581; Saraswati, "Architecture," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 471-520; Ray, "Sculpture," and "Painting and Other Arts," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 521-559.

the first century C.E., Vatsyayana notes, many leadership roles were instituted for women that included involving children in household chores, farming, bookkeeping, herding, cooking, spinning, weaving, preservation of food, arts, crafts, painting, and a wide array of other activities. Women held much influence over the younger generations by emphasizing certain subjects and encouraging certain activities for children within the household. For over two thousand years, Vatsyayana concludes, women had been heavily involved in the education of the future generations of boys and girls in a variety of occupations. We further learn that experienced nurses, confidantes, old maids, nuns, and even aunts taught various subjects to young girls. This domestic system of education had been handed down and was especially thriving in Karnataka. As noted by Jyotsna Kamat, “Karnataka was no exception, and we have references in old Kannada classics of nuns, nurses and old maids teaching princesses and daughters of nobles. At times father took active interest to educate girls.”<sup>4</sup>

Schooling in the Vedic age was similar to modern times as it started around five years of age with fathers, mothers, and head craftsmen who facilitated the learning processes of all children in their respective skilled industries. The beginning of each school day consisted of taking a bath, putting on fresh clothes, dining, and then taking Puja (a traditional Hindu ritual) to the idols, especially Ganesha and Saraswati who are the two primary gods related to education.

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<sup>4</sup> Jyotsna Burde, “Political History of the Chalukyas of Badami” in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds., *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 197-23; D.H. Koppar, “Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education” in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds., *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 75-90; Apte, “Social and Economic Conditions”, “Political and Legal Institutions”, and “Religion and Philosophy”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 355-406, 429-470, 487-532; Mehendale, “Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, “Political Theory and Administrative System,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, “Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, “Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Sircar, “Deccan in the Gupta Age,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-222; Ghoshal, “Social Condition,” “Economic Conditions,” and “Education” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

Sand was used in order to perform the basic writing functions, where writing was performed with the fingers. Children learned to write letters, names, sentences, pictures, mathematics, and various geometrical shapes. Usually, under the guidance of a family member, a new lesson was taught every day. Students also began to learn their respective trades by, “helping the father and his team in getting the tools like chisel, bodkin, trowel, and thread (measuring tape) ready and help in sculpting, carving, and designing.”<sup>5</sup> At the end of the day the children would do further reading from the *sutras* or treatises pertaining to various subjects for the enrichment of their learning.<sup>6</sup>

Women and girls excelled by composing mantras in which the subjects studied conceptualizations of God that reflected interpretations of the Brahman. Women who excelled composing mantras are known as *brahmavadinis*, and are remembered as visionaries and the composers of mantras. The women involved with the Vedic rituals and mantra compositions became leaders in religious community activities. The female traditions of religious education and composition continued throughout ancient and medieval India and can be found in all major religions and religious factions including Jainism, Buddhism, Vedic, Brahmanic, Hindu, Shakta, Vaishnava, Shaiva, Ganapatya and Virashaiva.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 61-62, 75-90, et al.

<sup>6</sup> Koppa, “Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 75-76; Majumdar, “Sources of Indian History” and “The Geographical Background of Indian History,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65, 91-107; Sircar, “The Satavahanas and the Chedis,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, “Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)”, “Harsha-Vardhana and His Time”, and “Northern India During A.D. 650-750”, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-176; Sircar, “Deccan in the Gupta Age,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, “The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, “The Chalukyas,” and “Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254, 419-430; Sathianathaier, “Dynasties of South India,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, “Political Theory and Administrative Organization,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Apte, “Social and Economic Conditions,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, “Language and

Some young girls were trained in the fine arts in order to be employed at temples. These women, as they became older and progressed in their trades, were some of the most highly respected in ancient and medieval India for they were the chief cultivators and retainers of the various branches of the fine arts, including music, theatre, and dance. Most Royal guests were first received by them. These guests were greeted by dancing, singing, and the performance of various skits. Female courtesans at the temples and royal courts are well-celebrated throughout various Sanskrit and Kannada ancient and medieval texts. From the sixth through the seventeenth centuries writers including the poet Dandin, , Damodaragupta, Raghavānka, and Tirumalarya, speak of the prestige and honor bestowed on the exceptional accomplishments of the female courtesans. These girls were well-rounded and were also taught subjects like philosophy, the natural sciences, literature and mathematics. Concerts and games of chess and dice were commonplace in the temple halls that were headlined and controlled by women.<sup>8</sup>

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Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, “Political Theory and Administrative System,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, “Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, “Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, “Social Condition,” “Economic Conditions,” and “Education” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607; R.S. Pancharukhi, “Social Life and Economic Conditions” in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds., *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 177-196.

<sup>8</sup> Suryanath U. Kamath, *A concise History of Karnataka: From Pre-Historic Times to the Present* (Bangalore: Jupiter Books, 2001), et al; *Manasollasa*, Vol. II, p. 80; *Somanatha Charitra*, II, verse 45; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 85-86; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayagar* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), et al; D.R. Nagaraj, “Critical Tensions in the History of Kannada Literary Culture,” in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, Sheldon I. Pollock, Editor (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), et al; Hi Chi Shanthaveerajah, *Siddarama Charithre* (Bangalore: Sachin Publishers, 2009), et al; *Dasakumaracharitam*, Ch. II, Education of Kamamanjari; P.B. Desai, “Political History of the Rashtrautas of Malkhed” in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds., *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 232-265; D.H. Koppa, “Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education” in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds., *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492; Majumdar, “Sources of Indian History,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, “The Geographical Background of Indian History,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sirkar, “The Satavahanas and the Chedis,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, “Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.),” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, “Harsha-Vardhana and His Time,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, “Northern India During A.D. 650-750,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, “Deccan in the Gupta Age,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, “The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*,

In addition to sand, palm leaves were used in early India for writing purposes. The head teacher, most often called a guru or teacher arranged the school curriculum and also arranged for lodging for those students needing stay for extended periods usually in more advanced centers of learning. The ancient system of Indian education was called Gurukula. This system was maintained and sustained by tuition born in part by the students and also by the creation and sale of various pieces of art and crafts by the students. Gurus were required to not take advantage of the students and were required by law to be punished by the rulers and kings if they broke the laws. In addition to the ancient texts, several ancient carvings and inscriptions still exist, which give evidence of this system in Karnataka such as those of Hampi, Lepakshi, Shravanabelagola, Mysore, Seebi, Mysore, and Srirangapattana.<sup>9</sup>

Education at all levels was funded by the state, by work performed by the students, and through direct tithes by the masses. In its own way, societal structures and cultural values/norms provided instructions to different segments of the population as needed at the time, through different agencies. Education consisted of religious, secular, and on-the-job training for the professions the students would eventually be working in. According to C. Sivaramamurti, “the temple and its precincts provided the meeting place for all religious-social activities... It was the

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vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, “The Chalukyas,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, “Dynasties of South India,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, “Political Theory and Administrative Organization,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Ghatage, “Religion and Philosophy: Jainism,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 408-418; Sircar, “Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Ghoshal, “Economic Conditions,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 590-607.

<sup>9</sup> P. V. Kane, *The History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. II, p. 364-365; Dixit, “Political History of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Science and Education”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 266-390; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 63-66.

hub on which revolved the whole life of the village. The temple provided for the education of the scholars, amusement of the public and for the piety of the worshippers.”<sup>10</sup>

Most temples were considered the central community attractions that performed a variety of activities and functions including education of various kinds and degrees. For example, the Puranabhata was a teacher or learned person who did recitations of the puranas. The Puranabhata's functions included serving as a priest and as a principal teacher for the temple schools. The teachers were usually compensated by granting them land, free room and board, cash settlements, and other gifts. The puranas, which are in verse form, were recited by the Puranadhata and then memorized, mostly orally, by the students. Many of these early teachers traveled throughout the Indian subcontinent and beyond in order to popularize their specific emphases on education and to ensure its spread to the masses. Community discourses and debates were held in the areas where the guru/puranabhata traveled and were widely attended by followers of various religions/ethnicities/castes/classes/gender. Religious discussions sometimes took place at events called a Veda with the primary leader or speaker at the event being known as a Dadi. The local organizers formed councils of educated elites to serve as panel guests who were called vidvatgosthis, panditasabhas, and acharyaparishas and who were involved in the public debates.<sup>11</sup>

The medium for writing in India, from the earliest times, was sand, which was used for letters and figures. The writing technology eventually progressed to palm leaves. In addition, light-colored boards, written upon with charcoal, came to be used in the late ancient/early

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<sup>10</sup> Dixit, “Political History of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Science and Education”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 266-390; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 99.

<sup>11</sup> *SH* XX, no. 72, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Tn no. 133; Dixit, “Political History of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Science and Education”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 266-390; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 100-102.

medieval times. This progress eventually also gave way to regular blackboards and chalk during the medieval period. Many religious schools used board and cloth painted black that were drawn on with light colored limestone or chalk; these writing implements later came to be known as Kadatas or Patas. Schools of Karnataka such as, the Matha of Sringeri used the ancient Kadatas. The Kadatas still contain documents, inscriptions, and other artifacts outlining the curriculum, instruction and use of various writing tools and instruments. Several thousand palm leaf artifacts with inscriptions in folio exist at Mysore University where Google is assisting in digitizing them. These documents will eventually be available for examination by scholars via the internet.<sup>12</sup>

Ancient Indian texts describe and refer to various schools called Tapovana, Shala, Agrahara, Brahmapuri, and Matha. The educational system of Karnataka has continually evolved since pre-historic times in various capacities and dimensions. Because of the complication of source materials that are relevant and contiguous throughout all periods, discovering the complete history of education in Karnataka is complicated. One of the reasons is that various conquering kingdoms have existed in the region that has come to be known as Karnataka. These kingdoms overlap and, at any one given time, each kingdom has controlled it either entirely or only a part of it. Most often each kingdom only controlled a portion of the State. In addition, it is difficult to fully assess where the sphere of influence, beyond the specific territorial boundaries a kingdom held in ancient and medieval India, ends. The sources for reconstructing this history also continually evolve as new discoveries are being made from recent archeological digs, and the finding of new document sources from palm leaves preserved in temples, as well as other discoveries. In addition, many of the new finds concern some aspect of education and have

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<sup>12</sup> Suryanath U. Kamath. Ed. *Karnataka State Gazetteer* I. p. 889; Sitaramiah, "Minor Kingdoms", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 665-748; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 25, 73; Koppa, "Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492.

become a major part of discerning specific literacy and graduation rates, curriculum and instruction, funding, and other matters. What *is* certain is that education existed throughout India and the subcontinent, it was widely available to the masses regardless of caste/class/gender, and it was developed for and by the subaltern for the subaltern. Regional dialects and indigenous native languages were taught in the schools along with Sanskrit, an Indo-European language, which had a profound impact on other languages in India. Sanskrit had its greatest impact on Kannada—the chief language of Karnataka. The impacts of Sanskrit can still be seen today with cross-correlational words in both spoken and written forms. One type of school, Agrharas, are frequently mentioned to exist in every small village and are usually associated with a village temple. Mathas were schools existing throughout Karnataka and were attached to monasteries where students traveled and had room and board provided for them. Mathas were usually used to impart instruction to older students such as secondary and higher education. Brahmanic education also flourished in larger cities and towns which concentrated more on Sanskrit learning and included a large number of persons from middle and upper class backgrounds. Another type of school was known as Shales that were also attached to a temple and existed for the primary purpose of promoting and instilling literacy for the masses.<sup>13</sup>

Mathas, Brahmapuris, and Shales existed in mass numbers all over the State of Karnataka. Another type of school referred to, Tapovanas (meaning hermitages), were forest schools and universities that existed in secluded areas. Famous scholars usually took refuge here and would attract students to their learning centers for higher-level learning. All of these schools imparted religion, theology, and philosophy as its main subjects, but also taught political science/government, law, literature, mathematics, and the natural sciences. During the

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<sup>13</sup> Dixit, “Political History of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Science and Education”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 266-390; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 51-52.

Rashtrakuta Dynasty, which ruled most of Karnataka from the sixth through tenth centuries C.E., the Kartikeya Tapovana flourished in Kollegal in the Bellary District of Karnataka. One guru, Gadadhara, led the school, and “practiced great austerities and was a refuge of learned men as per the inscriptions found at the place.” Much is known about the school from inscriptions and writings left by him over a fifty-year time period when he resided there. Students, if accepted, were able to come and go to school and reside free of charge. Royal grants from the ruling dynasty allowed the school to flourish for over two hundred and fifty years. Three different conquering kingdoms continued to support it including the Rashtrakutas, the Hoysalas and the Chalukyas.<sup>14</sup>

Village temples were dedicated to a specific Hindu god. Temples were open to all persons wishing to worship, become involved in various community activities and education. Some had schools focused on elementary education and others on higher education or both. Higher education was almost completely dominated by Sanskrit as the medium of instruction. One of the most famous Hindu temple schools was located in the Karnataka district of Bijapur at Saloti and was associated with the famous temple of Traipurushadeva. As noted by Kamat, “The school typically included Vedantins who worshipped Brahma, Vaishnavites whose patron deity was Vishnu and Shaivas who were followers of Maheshvara.” The curriculum of the Traipurushadeva was common in all types of schools including Shales, Agrhras, Mathas, and Ghatikas. The Traipurushadeva school flourished for at least two hundred years and was a remnant of several hundred years of education prior to and after its existence. The Shales usually were dominated by the teaching of the Vedas which included various sections on grammar,

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<sup>14</sup> Dixit, “Political History of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Science and Education”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 266-390; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 263-265. *SII*, Vol. IX (1), no. 65; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 52.

philosophy, the sciences, and literature/epics. The various schools differed according to needs, class sizes, and population.<sup>15</sup>

Italian traveler Pietro della Valle travelled throughout India and Karnataka in 1623 C.E. He observed that many communities had part-time teachers. Della Valle observed that one primary school functioned part of the time with older students monitoring younger students when the teacher was away. The students practiced lessons by writing in the sand. He observed that the schools were so numerous across India that they numbered into the thousands and were impossible to actually place a number on as most were undocumented and some even operated informally. Some of the villages in Karnataka that are specifically named as having schools were Seleur, Salegame, and Saloti. Brahmanic education was imparted by legions called Agraharas, which were among the most prominent throughout Karnataka and India. The earliest known settlement on record in the State of Karnataka or that has been identified in medieval Karnataka is one of two in all of India that existed in the Shimoga district Talagunda or Sthanakundur.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. XVI, p. 4 ff; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 60; Dixit, "Political History of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Science and Education", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 266-390; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 53-54; Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sirkar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, "Social and Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, "Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, "Political Theory and Administrative System," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, "Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, "Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, "Social Condition," "Economic Conditions," and "Education" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

During the Kadamba dynasty the ruler Varman brought in thirty-two teachers to participate as part of the Agraharas around 350 C.E. The leadership promoted and supported education throughout the Indian subcontinent including a leading example where Kadamba ruler Mayurasharman gave grants-in-aid to over 144 villages for the support of education.<sup>16</sup>

Inscriptions and artifacts show that the Agrahara in Talagunda existed for at least eight centuries and beyond. One source from 1150 C.E. notes that the Talagunda school consisted of eight teachers and forty-eight students. Subjects taught included all different aspects of literature, philosophy, the classics, mathematics and the fine arts. Kannada was the main medium of instruction. School uniforms were provided for both teachers and students, which continues even to the present day. The education of children in those days included the provision of nutrition or meals for students and teachers. Early sources point to a typical day where the epic literature is read aloud to the children and the remainder of the day was devoted to the study of philosophy, history, science, mathematics, and the fine arts. Students would typically study the traditional subjects in the morning, listening to the epics in early afternoon and embracing the other subjects in later afternoon. In the Kannada language, the teachers in the schools were referred to as an Karnatapandita or an Akkariga and they were those who taught reading, writing, and mathematics in the local communities. In addition, there were also teachers who taught Tamil, Marathi, Sanskrit, and other languages, and most were bilingual or trilingual. For trade, industry, and other purposes, the children were encouraged to learn multiple languages so that they could travel and be successful in all regions of the Indian subcontinent which was replaced by the

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<sup>16</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Sikarpur 186; Dixit, "Political History of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Science and Education", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 266-390; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 53-55.

English language once European imposition came about where English became the standard medium for trade, government, industry, and commerce.<sup>17</sup>

In the Mathas schools there were various specializations in which each teacher concentrated their study. In the Kannada literature the Koolimatha were teachers that taught mathematics, reading, and writing. The Tippani were experts in the study of law and the Teekina were experts on Vedic epic literature. The Shabdamanidarpana were specialized experts on grammar, syntax, and proofreading. The classic Kannada literature speaks of large numbers of students at any one given time who concentrated on editing manuscripts in the various languages. The Matha schools also contained Sanjeya who were evening teachers who were especially helpful for adults and students who worked their prospective occupations during the daytime. Most of them were employed by post-elementary schools. Many leisure activities were

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<sup>17</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V. (new) 238; G.S. Dixit, "Political History of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and Science and Education" in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds., *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 266-390; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 55-58; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Sikarpur, no. 102, Sorab 276, SII XV 32 Muttage, 73 Hombal; Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sirkar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, "Social and Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, "Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, "Political Theory and Administrative System," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, "Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, "Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, "Social Condition," "Economic Conditions," and "Education" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

organized at the Mathas such as games, sports, community forums, and the cultivation of the fine arts, which can even be found in the present day.<sup>18</sup>

The next most ancient religion in India is Jainism and it is a forerunner to almost all other faiths including Buddhism and Islam. The original origins of the Jainistic faith can be traced to persons belonging to the Tirthankars or more commonly referred to as the Jinas tribes. The leaders of the Jainistic faith are commonly referred to as Teerthankaras. Each one was usually appointed at a fairly young age to a lifetime appointment by their successor. Teerthankaras were the leaders of the faith and at least twenty-three of them existed before one of its most prominent members, called Mahaveera. existed prior to his rise. Mahaveera became closely associated with Gautama Buddha in the sixth century BCE in India. The Jainistic faith emphasized making sense of the intelligible world. They acknowledged and observed that many contrasting theories and philosophy existed, but sought to discover truth and the 'right' kind of knowledge. Prior to the arrival of the Jainistic faith in Karnataka the ancient languages of Pali and Sanskrit refer to the

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<sup>18</sup> Koppa, "Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 58-59; Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sircar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, "Social and Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, "Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, "Political Theory and Administrative System," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, "Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, "Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, "Social Condition," "Economic Conditions," and "Education" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

organized 'Sanghas' meaning assembly or group. Sources are vague and limited on the exact specified time that may be attributed to the exact date that the Jainistic faith arrived in South India. Most historians date the arrival of the chief followers of the faith to be around the fourth century BCE when a major famine and drought struck North India and forced the followers into the South. Almost all historians are unanimous on the existence of the famous Jain disciple Bhadrabahu who lead the congregation of Karnataka in the third century BCE. Jainism in Karnataka was concentrated in the Hassan District which received many migrants converting to the faith.<sup>19</sup>

Jainistic education from the earliest days, like other faiths, was dominated by religious instruction and was imparted orally to the students who had to memorize the chanting. In fact, Sravana or Samana, meaning 'to listen', came to be identified with student ascetics who were supposed to be ardent listeners of a guru's teaching. Shravanabelagola and its surroundings are teeming with monuments, inscriptions and epitaphs, which were erected in memory of great gurus and preceptors, who provided life-long spiritual guidance to monks and masses. Similarly, a number of epigraphs on the hillocks of Chikkabetta and Doddabetta bear witness to the continuous tradition of unflinching devotion of the Jaina disciples towards their gurus. The fifty-seven foot-tall statue of Gommata at Shravanabelagola is the very embodiment of the teachings of Mahaveera, who stressed compassion, renunciation, non-violence and readiness to undergo any suffering to achieve the three goals. The life story of Gommata or Bahubali, who outshone the general population in valor, intelligence and good looks, but who sacrificed everything

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<sup>19</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, 'Inscriptions of Shravanabelagola --Introduction', pp. xiii-xv; Panchamukhi, "Jainism", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 164-170; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 13, 59, 83; Narasimhachar, "The Early Historical Period: Mauryan and Satavahana Settlements", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 107-108; *Hadibadeyadharm*, Ch. IX, verse 56; Panchamukhi, "Social Life and Economic Conditions", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 177-199; Sitaramiah, "Minor Kingdoms", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 665-748.

including the huge empire he inherited, is enlightening. Shrvanabelagola boasts of self-inscribed letters or signatures of the great Kannada poet Ranna. Ranna might have engraved it when he visited the sacred place as a devotee. Several well-known Kannada poets like Mallishena, Boppana, Mallinatha, and Nagavarma have composed writings on stone, attesting thereby that the place was renowned for academic excellence and a testing place for seasoned as well as budding poets for centuries.<sup>20</sup>

Great ascetic teachers of the Jainistic faith like Kondakunda, Samantabhadra, Pujoyapada, Jinasena, Puspadanta and Somadeva etc. hailed from Karnataka and their works in Sanskrit and Prakrit are studied throughout India. Jainism, unlike Buddhism, continues to flourish over centuries in this land. Jainism is divided into two sects of Svetambara and Digambara. The Svetambara monks wear white and Digambara ascetics who practice extreme renunciation have to discard even the last piece of cloth or the barest necessity of life, to overcome worldly binding. Similarly, Sallekhana or death by observing religious injunction of fast unto death is not

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 13-14. Koppa, "Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492; Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sircar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, "Social and Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, "Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, "Political Theory and Administrative System," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, "Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, "Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, "Social Condition," "Economic Conditions," and "Education" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

only permitted in Jainism, but also held in high esteem. Individuals who have died observing Sallekhana are remembered in special epitaphs known as Nishidi or Nisadi stones.<sup>21</sup>

The Jainistic achievements in Karnataka have been exceptionally great and prolific. In the early years the most famous writers were of Jainistic origins including Janna, Pampa, Ranna, and Ponna. What has come to be known as the modern Kannada language is filled with scholars of renown who were members of the Jainistic faith. In the fields of architecture, sculpture and painting Jainistic contributions outshines all others. All of this significant cultural, literary, and scientific contributions was possible due to the highly developed cultural influences that reflects mass movements and activities of the populace in the development of civilization. The Jainistic religion traditionally adheres its followers to philosophy and rituals that allow them to better understand their own minds. Community service under Jainism includes the protection of and making available books, and providing the basic needs of every member of the country in the form of food, clothing, and shelter. Therefore an integral piece of this process was inherently the proliferation and development of education. Education flourished informally in many

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<sup>21</sup> Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 14-15; Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sircar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, "Social and Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, "Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, "Political Theory and Administrative System," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, "Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, "Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, "Social Condition," "Economic Conditions," and "Education" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

undocumented places where a small gathering of persons could come and learn – sometimes under a large tree. The Jainistic religion was the oldest documented religion in India to include learning and education as a main part of the religion, however it emerged with all other major religions in India through the ages. The connection of education and religion became widely known throughout India as Granthadaa.<sup>22</sup>

The Buddhistic religion were famous for using and upgrading caves (also called Lenas or Layanas) in ancient times where both Buddhist and Jainistic teachers could reside and live on campus with students in highly developed centers of learning. The cave dwellings were called ‘Jinalayas’ in the Kannada language and serve as religious shrines as well as schools/universities. One particularly famous school, Basadi, originally residential quarters, came to denote a building consisting of a shrine, a place for group worship, and became a shelter for wandering monks as also residence for teachers, scholars and students. The inscriptions on cave wall dwellings documenting Jainistic temple/schools registering grants to Basadis (a sect of the Jainistic faith) run into hundreds throughout the state of Karnataka providing huge amount and land.<sup>23</sup>

Another branch of the Jainistic religion were the Upadhyayas. This group had various specialized scholars in specific well refined disciplines of philosophy, art, science, grammar, etc. The Sramanas/Sadhus were specifically and actively involved with the Labor Education Thesis as it applies to India by moving about and interacting with the populace in order to form unions trades guilds and interactions that coordinated their relationships with schools/education. Sadhvis, Kantis, and Gantis were Jainistic nuns and were primarily responsible for the proliferation and widespread distribution of the principles of the Jainistic religion and for the

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<sup>22</sup> Koppa, “Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Krishna, “Administrative Institutions”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 493-526; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 15-16.

spread of literacy and education to the masses. Jainistic nuns are also responsible for the coordination of traveling teachers/scholars throughout India to move within the masses for the spread of learning when lectures were of increased value and books were much more scarce. Jainistic mathas eventually began to be constructed and could accommodate and house a much larger body of students. They were also able to house many more scholars and students than previous structures could and therefore did much to advance education and learning in Karnataka. The various Jainistic branches including Sadhus, Acharyas, Shramanas, Upadhyas, etc., were hermits that flocked to the mathas as places they could formally reside for most originally did not own property and did not have a residence of their own. They were originally nomadic people. Gypsy philosophy coincided with their lifestyle that said that they could avoid worldly temptations by traveling frequently from village to village. Once Jainistic Mathas emerged as well as the Basadis, various members of the Jainistic branches could now flock to their shelters and take refuge that included food, clothing, and shelter in return for embarking education on the populace. In addition to followers of the Jainistic faith, the Mathas opened their doors to members of the other faiths of India as well. They were completely comprehensive in providing all of its members their basic needs.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Koppa, "Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 16; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 17, 102; Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sirkar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, "Social and

Higher education/collegiate learning in ancient and medieval India was primarily delivered in Sanskrit. All followers of the ancient religions including Vaishnavas Buddhistic, Tantriks, Shaktas, Jainistic, and Shaivas studied the ancient texts of the “Vedas, Upanishads, different Darsanas (schools of philosophy), Shastras (science) and Puranas”. There were a total of sixty-four various different arts and sciences that students had to master. Members of the Jainistic religion included eight additional arts that had to be mastered by its followers. Ancient India had highly developed schools of chemistry, various sciences and a highly developed industry in manufacturing small machines. The Jainistic faith was also dominated by the merchant class and did much to also develop and expand the study of arts and crafts. Subjects were primarily studied by imparting the material orally and with writing on sand, palm leaves, rock, and later blackboards. Rote memorization dominated. The primary textual source for learning even in the Jainistic religion was the study of the Vedas which also serve as the main source for Hindu and other religions as well. Learning and education at this time in India was very similar to the Socratic Method that is the primary form of instruction in Western law schools and other educational settings where learning takes place through oral discussions after students come to class having prepared by reading several texts beforehand. The discussions start off with very basic concepts or by simply introducing the topic and proceeds by different persons asking and answering questions and invoking different arguments. The Jainistic schools also concentrated on Tarkasasatra, which is a science of logic. Various Kings in India gave special titles to scholars/teachers such as Vadikolahala (the provocateur in debates/discussions)

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Economic Conditions,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, “Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, “Political Theory and Administrative System,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, “Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, “Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, “Social Condition,” “Economic Conditions,” and “Education” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

Prativadi bhayankara (very skilled in discussions/debates) Vadi-rajā (king of arguers) Vadibha simha (lion or elephant-like debater). These titles were most prominent among the followers of the Jainistic religion but became more and more common with other religions in the coming centuries.<sup>25</sup>

Paper was made from birch trees in Northern India, by using the bark of the tree called Bhurjapatra and were the first form of paper used there for many centuries before the rise of modern papermaking. South India differed in its use of a 'paper medium' by using palm leaves. Many thousands of these have been collected, preserved, and stored and are mostly now held at Bangalore University and at Mysore University. They have both partnered with Google to digitize these leaves and make them accessible on the internet. Palm trees were and are still in almost unlimited quantities and flourish throughout south India which provided a very useful

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<sup>25</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XI (1), no. 61, p. 61.; Dasgupta, *Jain System of Education*, Calcutta 1942, pp. 74-75; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 17-18; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 26; Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sirkar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, "Social and Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, "Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, "Political Theory and Administrative System," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, "Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, "Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, "Social Condition," "Economic Conditions," and "Education" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

writing medium. The leaves collected and harvested from the trees were made into paper by a fairly sophisticated process involving four steps.<sup>26</sup>

Once the palm leaves were harvested they were immediately put into production in order to prevent them from drying out and producing lower quality paper. The leaves were then boiled in water in order to keep them moist and to make them softer. Next, the leaves were removed and allowed to dry slowly in the shade of a tree. The middle part of the leaf was the best portion for leaf-paper making purposes. Therefore, the edges were trimmed away with a knife and the remaining portion was polished and pressed with heavy stones. Next, they were cut to the specific required size for palm leaf paper and were made into large rolls for distribution/marketing purposes. The result was Talapatras/palm leaf paper of yellow color around eight inches long. This type of paper was much more fragile than that of modern type and therefore required that the transcriptionist be very delicate when writing on its surface. This type of palm leaf paper was most often used by school children. Another type of palm tree called the Shritala was also used for paper making. The Shritala palm has a slight auburn tint, were much larger with leaves that could be cut into paper sizes of 24 to 32 inches, and were much more durable than other type of palm-leaf paper. The Shritala palm is also in less abundance than other strains in India. The Shritala palm-leaf paper was mostly in common use by government, scholars, teachers, etc. The Mathas, Basadis and other institutions of learning were provided with palm-leaf paper by professional full-time paper manufacturers in India. Small shop keepers still in existence in India also marketed paper rolls in their shops in ancient India as well. Once the paper had been transcribed upon, the scholars applied palm oil to the surface, let it dry, and then the palm-leaf paper could be bound into a book. Turmeric, available in large quantities in India

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<sup>26</sup> Koppa, "Political, Cultural, Religion, Society, Music, Science and Education", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 391-492; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 26-27.

and widely used for various purposes including cooking, was applied to the books for decoration. Silk thread was used to sew the leaves together for the final book manuscript. These books were highly durable and some were even stored in various temples throughout India and some are still be found and donated to museums and archives for safe keeping and storage.<sup>27</sup>

An iron, bronze, or steel metal rods were used to make inscriptions on the pal-leaf papers. No ink was used. This style of writing developed uniquely in India and dates at least as far back as there are written records for. Some historians even conclude that this style of writing existed in pre-historic India as well. The end of the metal rod contained a sharp point in which inscription were made on the palm-leaf paper. There were various sizes of points for various purposes in which the writing was done whether it be a sign or a page manuscript. A special art form was needed to be developed in the students so that a legible mark could be made on the palm leaf without it being so hard that it would tear the leaf. Clear legible inscribers were needed in order to transcribe books which predated even the transcriptions of books that took place in medieval Europe by monks. Guru/teachers often dictated the topics/subjects orally while the students inscribed the ideas on palm-leaf paper. Students flourished in an environment culturally enriched with learning where the subaltern hungered and thirsted for knowledge.<sup>28</sup>

Decorated wooden dividers and boxes were made in order to hold and divide completed manuscripts so that they could be properly preserved, organized, and divided so that they would not get mixed up. The wood boxes and dividers were made in various sizes in order to conform to the various manuscripts that they held. Some of these can still be observed in places like the Mysore University Museum and Libraries. Most were beautifully carved and decorated with

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<sup>27</sup> *Shivatattvachintamani of Lakkannadandeshā*, Ch. 38, verse 78; *Shasana Sahityasanchaya*, p. 152; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 27.

<sup>28</sup> Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 27-28.

various figures and floral carvings. And according to Kamat, “The manufacture of wooden holders, wooden boxes and cane baskets to store these manuscripts and books created an ancillary industry. The wooden holders were polished with insecticide oils prepared from lacquer and minerals. Drawings and pictures on the cover board were based on the contents of the book.”<sup>29</sup>

The Buddhistic religion was widely accepted and practiced in India and especially Karnataka in the ancient and medieval periods, as well as Hindu, Jainistic, and other religions. One great Karnataka ruler, Ashoka Maurya is considered the first ruler to consolidate power and to reside over the entire modern state of what is known as Karnataka. He lived from approximately 274 to 236 B.C.E. Modern scholarship refutes the claim that his dynasty’s boundaries lay just before the current state lines on Karnataka and the state was merely in Maurya’s sphere of influence. Instead modern scientists have uncovered relics, writings, carvings, pottery and other artifacts/primary sources that show beyond a reasonable doubt that the kingdom’s direct rule also encompassed all of Karnataka and extended beyond its borders.

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<sup>29</sup> Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 28-29; Majumdar, “Sources of Indian History,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, “The Geographical Background of Indian History,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sircar, “The Satavahanas and the Chedis,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, “Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.),” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, “Harsha-Vardhana and His Time,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, “Northern India During A.D. 650-750,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, “Deccan in the Gupta Age,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, “The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, “The Chalukyas,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, “Dynasties of South India,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, “Political Theory and Administrative Organization,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, “Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, “Social and Economic Conditions,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, “Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, “Political Theory and Administrative System,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, “Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, “Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, “Social Condition,” “Economic Conditions,” and “Education” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

Recent archeological findings sanctioned by the Indian government investigated the Sannati region or Dharma-vijaya area and have concluded through overwhelmingly accepted evidence that most of Karnataka was under the direct rulership of Ashoka. The administration during this period was referred to as Mahamatras and were sanctioned as the chief arbitrators of cultural and educational enrichment. They were especially responsible for extending these activities to the subaltern populations.<sup>30</sup>

The Buddhistic religion vastly influenced what has become known as the Hindu religion and its educational system. The Hindu educational institutions known as the Agraharas and Mathas adopted most of the same practices/principles found in the Buddhistic Chaityas and Viharas village schools. Buddhistic art and cultural centers flourished that included Sannati as well as Banavasi-nadu, also known as Vanavasi. Ashoka dispatched the ancient teacher Rakshita to Banavasi-nadu/Vanavasi and Madeva to Mysore, Karnataka, India in order to proliferate and exacerbate education/learning among the subaltern. Banavasi-nadu encompassed a whole region that included most of what is known as the modern day state of Karnataka. In ancient India it is

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<sup>30</sup> Narasimhachar, "The Early Historical Period: Mauryan and Satavahana Settlements", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 106-107; Majumdar, "Sources of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, "The Geographical Background of Indian History," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sirkar, "The Satavahanas and the Chedis," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, "Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.)," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, "Harsha-Vardhana and His Time," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, "Northern India During A.D. 650-750," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, "Deccan in the Gupta Age," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, "The Chalukyas," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, "Dynasties of South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, "Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, "Social and Economic Conditions," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, "Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, "Political Theory and Administrative System," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, "Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, "Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, "Social Condition," "Economic Conditions," and "Education" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

the most common name used for it until modern times. Idols and artifacts from the Buddhist faith have been found there that date to at least the 1200s C.E. in the area known in ancient times as Banavasi-nadu.<sup>31</sup>

The medieval period in India ushered in the rule of Islam and its various influences including Bahamanis, the Adilshahis, Hyder Ali, and Tippu Sultan before they finally fell to British or British sponsored insurrections. The Islamic factions that ruled Karnataka includes the Bahamanis from 1348 to 1527 C.E., the Adilshahis from 1489 to 1686 C.E., and Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan who ruled Mysore from 1761 to 1799 C.E. As Kamat notes, “In the southern part of the state they may be remembered for the boost they provided to Islamic learning, arts, crafts, and rise of the Urdu language and literature. None of these rulers displayed an inclination towards traditional methods of recording events, such as palm books and stone inscriptions, but they had court historians who recorded important events of the reigns of their respective patrons. In spite of a certain degree of bias and exaggeration, books by these historians provide some

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<sup>31</sup> M. V. Vishweswara. “Inscriptions at Sannati.” *Samshodhana, Dr. Chidananda Murthy Felicitation Volume*, Bangalore, 1991, pp. 723-743; Panchamukhi, “Buddhism”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 171-176; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 1-2, 52. Krishna, “Administrative Institutions”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 493-526; Majumdar, “Sources of Indian History,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 47-65; Majumdar, “The Geographical Background of Indian History,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 91-107; Sirkar, “The Satavahanas and the Chedis,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 191-216; Majumdar, “Northern India After the Break-Up of the Gupta Empire (Sixth Century A.D.),” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 60-95; Majumdar, “Harsha-Vardhana and His Time,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 96-123; Majumdar, “Northern India During A.D. 650-750,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 124-176; Sircar, “Deccan in the Gupta Age,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 177-202; Sastri, “The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 223-226; Sircar, “The Chalukyas,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 227-254; Sathianathaier, “Dynasties of South India,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 255-283; Ghoshal, “Political Theory and Administrative Organization,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 341-361; Sircar, “Religion and Philosophy: Vaishnavism,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 419-430; Apte, “Social and Economic Conditions,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 1, p. 387-406, 453-470, 512-532; Mehendale, “Language and Literature: Sanskrit Language and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 243-286; Prasad and Majumdar, “Political Theory and Administrative System,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 303-334; Iyengar, “Languages and Literature: Dravidian Languages and Literature,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 287-302; Mookerji, “Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 2, p. 582-594; Ghoshal, “Social Condition,” “Economic Conditions,” and “Education” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 3, p. 560-583, 583-589, 590-607.

valuable information. Travelers' accounts, Kaifiats and Bakhairs provide additional glimpses into the educational system prevalent among Muslims.”<sup>32</sup>

Islamic education began ahead of education in the West at “four years, four months, and four days.” Western countries did not catch up to this modernization until many centuries later. The Islamic education began early on with the ‘Bismillah’ which began with children dressing in brand new attire and a huge celebration begins with all extended family, friends, and community members invited. Prayers and initiations were instigated and the children were initiated Bismillah. In the following days the children attended to nearby local school and learns Persian letters, songs, and the classic literary pieces. According to Kamat, “the book of Bustan was the most popular text, along with the Gulistan.” At this period we see the institution of Arabic, Persian and other languages instituted in addition to the other languages that were traditionally uniformly taught in Karnataka including Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi, Tamil, Kannada, etc. The prominent technology was commonly taught during this period under Islamic conquest.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Sitaramiah, “Minor Kingdoms”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 665-748; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 107; Altekar, “The Rashtrakuta Empire,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 1-18; Majumdar, “Rise and Fall of the Pratihara Empire”, “The Palas”, “Eastern India During the Pala Period”, and “Colonial and Cultural Expansion”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 19-82, 412-453; Ganguly, “Central and Western India,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 83-132; Sircar, “The Deccan,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4 (Mumbai: Bhahatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 133-150; Sathianathaier, “South India,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 151-165; Ganguly, “Ghaznavid Invasion”, “Northern India During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries”, “The Age of Prithviraja III”, “Later Chalukyas and Kalachuris of Kalyana”, “The Yadavas of Devagiri”, and “Dynasties of Eastern Deccan”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 1-115, 161-183, 185-185-208; Saran and Majumdar, “The Turkish Conquest of Northern India,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 116-129; Habibullah, “The Mamluk Sultans of Delhi,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 130-160; Ghoshal, “Political Theory and Administrative Organization”, “Law and Legal Institutions”, “Social Condition”, “Education”, and “Economic Condition” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 269-296, 474-529; Mirza, “Islam,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 467-473; R.C. Majumdar, “Colonial and Cultural Expansion”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and A.K. Majumdar, Editors, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, vol. 5 (Mumbai: Bhahatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 730-774.

<sup>33</sup> Sitaramiah, “Minor Kingdoms” in R.R. Diwakar, et al. Eds., *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 665-748; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 109-110; Sitaramiah, “Minor Kingdoms”, *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 665-748; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 107; Altekar, “The Rashtrakuta Empire,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 1-18; Majumdar, “Rise and Fall of the Pratihara Empire”,

Islamic education is known for starting its daily activities early in the morning. This usually included breakfast, rituals, and solid learning. Books in this era before the printing press were scarce and usually had to be shared between students. As is the case in the modern and post-modern ages, students enjoyed pranks and to tease others which resulted in severe consequences for students. Teacher's emphasized self-study and rote memorizations. Gender bias is non-existent during this period with education of the subaltern populations. During the rule of Jamaluddin during 1336 C.E., Arab gypsy Ibn Batuta, visits Honavar in which he concludes that there were "twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen schools for girls, the likes of which he had not seen anywhere. All the women in these schools knew the Koran by heart. In all likelihood they studied in Makhtabs, where learning of the Koran received a priority." This observation is important because he had traveled in not only almost all Islamic nations, but also many other non-Islamic countries of Asia, and many countries in Southeast Asia. He found that girls in India were included more than other countries he visited. Many girls he observed wore nose rings and did not wear any type of veil/Burquaah. This is a departure from what is seen in modern and especially post-modern India and the middle east where exclusion of women and female discrimination is the norm. There were some isolated examples of discrimination against women, however, most of the arts and sciences were allowed to flourish. The exclusion of women were

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"The Palas", "Eastern India During the Pala Period", and "Colonial and Cultural Expansion", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 19-82, 412-453; Ganguly, "Central and Western India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 83-132; Sircar, "The Deccan," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4 (Mumbai: Bhahatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 133-150; Sathianathaier, "South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 151-165; Ganguly, "Ghaznavid Invasion", "Northern India During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", "The Age of Prithviraja III", "Later Chalukyas and Kalachuris of Kalyana", "The Yadavas of Devagiri", and "Dynasties of Eastern Deccan", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 1-115, 161-183, 185-185-208; Saran and Majumdar, "The Turkish Conquest of Northern India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 116-129; Habibullah, "The Mamluk Sultans of Delhi," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 130-160; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization", "Law and Legal Institutions", "Social Condition", "Education", and "Economic Condition" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 269-296, 474-529; Mirza, "Islam," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 467-473; Majumdar, "Colonial and Cultural Expansion", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 730-774.

minimized during ancient and medieval India. Most archival and primary source material would leave the scholar to conclude that India would have developed anyway had not the British arrived.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Sitaramiah, "Minor Kingdoms", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 665-748; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 110-111. Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 110; Sitaramiah, "Minor Kingdoms", *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 665-748; Kamat, *Education in Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 107; Altekar, "The Rashtrakuta Empire," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 1-18; Majumdar, "Rise and Fall of the Pratihara Empire", "The Palas", "Eastern India During the Pala Period", and "Colonial and Cultural Expansion", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 19-82, 412-453; Ganguly, "Central and Western India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 83-132; Sircar, "The Deccan," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4 (Mumbai: Bhahatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 133-150; Sathianathaier, "South India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 4, p. 151-165; Ganguly, "Ghaznavid Invasion", "Northern India During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", "The Age of Prithviraja III", "Later Chalukyas and Kalachuris of Kalyana", "The Yadavas of Devagiri", and "Dynasties of Eastern Deccan", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 1-115, 161-183, 185-185-208; Saran and Majumdar, "The Turkish Conquest of Northern India," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 116-129; Habibullah, "The Mamluk Sultans of Delhi," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 130-160; Ghoshal, "Political Theory and Administrative Organization", "Law and Legal Institutions", "Social Condition", "Education", and "Economic Condition" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 269-296, 474-529; Mirza, "Islam," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 467-473; Majumdar, "Colonial and Cultural Expansion", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5, p. 730-774.

## CHAPTER 8: EDUCATION UNDER BRITISH COLONIALISM AND BEYOND

Vernacular/local indigenous education existed throughout the Indian subcontinent for thousands of years before Western European imposition there. Every single village in India had at least one school for elementary and secondary education, which were almost completely destroyed by the British. The subaltern history of education in India is still developing and further theoretical development is needed in order to place it in its true context. In 1867, Baman Das Basu asserted that, “It should be remembered that in the pre-British period, India was not an illiterate country. This land was far more advanced in education than many a Christian country of the West. Almost every village had its school for the diffusion of not only 3 but 4 R’s the last R being Religion or the Ramayana.” The indigenous classical and ancient cultures of India were preserved after European and British imposition both informally and through their schools, even though the indigenous educational systems were almost completely destroyed by the British. Once the British East India Company gained control of the subcontinent commercial interests dominated and it was debated for at least one hundred years before education of any kind was introduced by them. Even then colonial education was intended to educate a dominant class in order to help them sustain empire. Jawaharlal Nehru observes, “There is no exclusion of women in ancient India except to some extent among royalty and the nobility.....Women of note and learning are frequently mentioned in the old Indian books, and often they took part in public debates. Except in regard to actual image-making no attempt was made by Muslim rulers, apart from a few exceptions, to suppress any art form.” Nehru concluded, “Among the unfortunate developments that took place in India was the growth of *purdah* or the seclusion of women.....But nowhere was there any strict seclusion of women..... Indian history is full of the names of famous women, including thinkers and philosophers, rulers and warriors.....Nearly all

our major problems today have grown up during the British rule as a direct result of British policy.” In *Empire*, Harvard historian Niall Ferguson observes that prostitution was exacerbated, legalized and institutionalized by the British.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 1:

Great Britain-Madras Comparison

	England	Madras Presidency
Population	9,543,610 (1811)	12,850,941 (1823)
Nos attending schools	Approx. 75,000 (note below)	157,195

- Over half of the 75,000 children in British schools were half-day (one day per week) schools.

India was first explored and invaded in 1497 by the Portuguese, French, Dutch, Danish, British, and others. The British East India Company is first given a charter and established in 1600 where it continually gained momentum and dominance. By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Century the British East India Company had acquired almost complete monopoly of international trade in India. In 1805, the London Missionary Society began its work in India, which grew throughout the century and into the twentieth century, not only in India but also throughout the British Empire. In 1833, the British East India Company, by an official Royal Charter, was made a

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<sup>1</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 1-55; C.S. Srinivasachari, “The English, the French and Other European Companies in India, (1700-1763),” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 8, p. 311-338; Gowda, *History of Education in Karnataka*, p. 1-3; Baman Das Basu, *History of Education in India: Under the Rule of the East India Company* (Calcutta: Modern Review Office, 1867), p. iii; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.15-80; Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 159, 166, 260, 288, 333; Ferguson, *Empire*, et al; Schama, *A History of Britain*, vol. 3, p. 262-295, 313-405, 447-542; John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), et al.

political body instead of an exclusively commercial one. In 1857, after the First War of Independence, the British Crown seized control of its Indian colonial possession. Historian Kevin Grant, in *Civilized Savagery*, stated that the humanitarian interests grew and proliferated along with the expansion of the territorial and commercial interests of the British Empire. It was not until the 1850s that Britain became increasingly nervous about the administration and control of India and Reena Tiwari observes that, “Education in India under the British Government. . . . Was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous and finally placed in its present footing.” The British period of Karnataka history is complicated by separate districts in the state that were combined from entire or partial holdings of Mysore, Coorg, Madras, Bombay, and Hyderabad. The battle of Plessey was fought in 1757; and Wood’s Dispatch, commonly called the Educational Charter of India, is dated 1854. Lord Macauley of the Governor General’s Councils Minute 1835 and William Bentinck’s (the Governor General) Resolution – Asserted the English language as the sole medium of instruction. Lord Macauley observed in 1835: “We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern: a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.” On July 31, 1837, Lord Macauley wrote: “We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes of the people of this country. We aim at raising up an educated class who will thereafter, as we hope, by the means of diffusing among their countrymen some portion of knowledge we have imparted to them.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Srinivasachari, “The English, the French and Other European Companies in India, (1700-1763),” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 8, p. 311-338; R.C. Majumdar, K.K. Datta, and V.N. Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, R.C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalker, and A.K. Majumdar, Editors (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2001), p. 31-88; Ferguson, *Empire*, 217-218; Grant, *Civilized Savagery*, et al; Saket Raman Tiwari, *Teaching of English* (New Delhi: S.B. Nangi A.P.H.

Thousands of records and papers in the India Office Collection of the British National Library show that Western education was finally introduced at the last minute to sustain empire to the select few and with much reluctance. Once it was introduced many maintained and complained that any Western education was introduced at all and blamed a rising tide of Indian nationalism ultimately paving the way to independence directly to it. Indian's themselves were responsible for ushering in Western and English education. English became the unifying medium across various dialects and provinces for commerce, government, and industry. Anglo-Vernacular schools were started and maintained indigenously throughout Karnataka and India and after the First War of Independence in 1857 were gradually brought under government control. One example is the Hindu College of Calcutta, which was established long before the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The papers of the early days of the East India Company are dominated by discussions of the extraction of primary raw products and farm materials from the Indian subcontinent without hardly any mention of investments or construction of education or infrastructure. Exploitation of Indian labor was the central position of the Company and almost everyone migrating to the Indian subcontinent went there in order to become rich and retire back in England. Edmund Burke described the British in India as “birds of prey and passage.” Before the British, many schools existed in every village throughout Karnataka and all over India that included every kind of religion and ethnicity. Burke further elaborates that, “Young Magistrates who undertake the

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Publishing House, 2008), p. 33-34; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193; Thomas Babington Macaulay, “Letters Dated Feb. 2, 1835 and Jul. 31, 1837”, in *Bureau of Education: Selections From Educational Records, Part I, 1781 1839*, H. Sharp, Editor (Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965), p. 107-117, et al, [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt\\_minute\\_education\\_1835.html](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html).

<sup>3</sup> A.P. Das Gupta, “Consolidation of British Power in Bengal”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 8, p. 339-386; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Gowda, *History of Education in Karnataka*, p. 1-3; *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, vol. 2 (Madras: Government Press of Madras, 1885), p. 565.

government and spoliation of India. ....roll in one after another, wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetite continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting.”

Policies of the British East India Company and beyond uprooted the ancient and medieval communities and life. The Indian people were exploited and workers alienated, which interfered with intellectual life and education. A plantation economy was established where raw products and farm materials were taken from India, shipped to England for manufacture and then re-exported products were shipped back abroad to India and elsewhere. Labor in India was either forced or coerced; often, natives in a controlled and oppressed economy had no choice but to work for slave wage labor or starve. British merchants, investors, and businessmen amassed large fortunes and this resulted in the enriching of many British institutions for the bourgeoisie. Many members of the bourgeoisie also belonged to the Christian missionary groups who also enjoyed the benefits of empire. They amassed fortunes by dabbling in various activities while simultaneously justifying empire by attempting to Christianize the Indian population and also retiring to England.<sup>4</sup>

The Government of the East India Company founded one of the first schools to train an elite class of Indians for the Company in 1786. This development marks the beginning of any activities in the British Empire toward the development of any type of education. The first

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<sup>4</sup> Das Gupta, “Consolidation of British Power in Bengal”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 8, p. 339-386; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Basu, *History of Education in India*, p. 1-4; Arthur Mee, John Alexander Hammerton, and Arthur D. Innes, Eds., *Harmsworth History of the World*, vol. 4 (London: Carmelite House, 1907-1909), p. 2806-2818; Edmund Burke, “Speech on Mr. Fox’s East India Bill, Dec. 1, 1783”, in *Selected Prose of Edmund Burke*, Philip Magnus, Editor (London: Falcon Press, 1948), p. 25-53, <http://www.ourcivilisation.com/smartboard/shop/burkee/extracts/chap10.htm>; Edmund Burke, *Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, Against Warren Hastings, Esq.: Late Governor General of Bengal; Presented to the House of Commons, On the 4<sup>th</sup> Day of April 1786* (London: J. Debrett, 1786), p. 1-332, et al; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193; Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind: From Burke to Eliot*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition (Chicago: Regnery Books, 1987), p. 12-71.

Superintendent, Dr. Bell, got the idea for education of the masses from the Indian people and exported what became the ‘Monitorial System of Education’ to Great Britain and the United States. This system, for which Dr. Bell took credit, was used into the latter part of the nineteenth century even though it was developed indigenously in India many centuries before the arrival of the British. This system was also known as Dr. Bell’s Madras System. This system used older children as monitors of younger students and one teacher could have large classes and thus proved to be very inexpensive for educating large numbers of students at one time. Within a few years, every public elementary school in Great Britain was based on the Indian monitor system.<sup>5</sup>

As the Empire grew, holdings surmased, and the exploitation of Indian labor increased, it became apparent to the British that their grip on India could not be maintained and sustained unless highly controlled Western education was exerted on the Indian population. In 1793, the Royal Charter for the British East India Company expired and was renewed. Much discourse, debate, and discussions ensued, about which many thought a substantial portion of the Company’s revenue should be spent on education for the Indian people. These proposals from a faction that believed education should be developed was met with overwhelming dismay. It was not included in the provision of the 1793 Charter because of the lack of concern for the people and economic interests that did not want to invest in it and politically from a group who believed the investment in education would have the opposite effect of leading to dissent and rebellion. Twenty years later, in 1813, the Royal Charter for the East India Company was up for renewal again and this time the interests in support of having some provision of education increased and

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<sup>5</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 56-91; N.K. Sinha, “Progress of the British Power, (1785-1798)” and “Consolidation of British Rule in India”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 8, p. 472-485, 521-534; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 455-573; Gowda, *History of Education in Karnataka*, p. 1-3; *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, vol. 1 (Madras: Government Press of Madras, 1885), p. 566-567.

this time resulted in the provision for Christian missionaries to be allowed to introduce education for the purposes of “religious and moral improvement”. The main influences in the renewing of the Charter and introducing this provision had every intention of using the Christian missionaries to help in aiding to sustain and maintain empire by controlling the diffusion of knowledge. Even within Great Britain itself, at this time the Church of England was supported by the government, inherently linked with power structures and responsible for most education of the populace. Therefore, the British Parliament did not really consider extending education without a missionary objective. The missionary provisions were not a requirement but merely a clause in the Charter that opened the country to their imposition to be established at will, as needed, and through private enterprise. Company officials were by no means interested in imparting education for the purposes of benefiting the Indian subaltern, but were, instead, primarily concerned about the missionaries’ ability to sustain and maintain their hold on India. The Company officials were primarily responsible for the inclusion of this clause and almost all the witnesses and documentation provided during the debates that waged on in the British House of Lords and House of Commons opposed opening the doors to missionary work in India.<sup>6</sup>

Sir John Malcolm was a top administrative official of India and was Governor of the Bombay District from 1827-1830. Malcolm became the biographer of Robert Clive who was one of the chief officials responsible for bringing political supremacy of India by the British East India Company. His writings advocate to ‘divide and conquer’ the Indian people along class/race/ethnicity/gender/religious lines as a means of keeping and maintaining control of the

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<sup>6</sup> Brown, *Modern India*, p. 1-89; Sinha, “Progress of the British Power, (1785-1798)” and “Consolidation of British Rule in India”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 8, p. 472-485, 521-534; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 455-573; Henry Holman, *English National Education: A Sketch of the Rise of Public Elementary Schools in England* (Memphis, TN: General Books, 2010), p. 9-27.

Indian populace. This approach was very successful in India with several examples of instigating Hindu/Muslim tensions and caste distinctions that still affect international and national politics and tensions in South Asia today. Testifying before the Select Committee in the British House of Commons he advocated continued restrictions on education in India in order to keep the Indian populace as ignorant as possible on all aspects related to the Empire, administration, and political economy. Whenever he was directly asked if the British Government should aid in the development of education, science, and learning he replied that, "I consider that in a state of so extraordinary a nature as British India, the first consideration of the Government must always be its own safety; and that the political question of governing that country must be paramount to all other considerations: Under that view of the case, I conceive every subordinate measure (and such I conceive that referred to in the question) must be regulated entirely by the superior consideration of political security." When Malcolm was further questioned as to whether the extension of knowledge might strengthen the British colonial interests and serve humanitarian purposes he responded, "I conceive that such knowledge might tend in a considerable degree to increase their own comforts and their enjoyment of life; but I cannot see how it would tend in any shape to strengthen the political security of the English Government in India, which appears to me to rest peculiarly upon their present condition."<sup>7</sup>

Elaborating further, Malcolm reemphasized his advocacy for the 'divide and conquer' philosophy by stating that, "I wish to add, that I mean by stating that the political security of the British Government in India appears to rest peculiarly upon the present condition of the native

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<sup>7</sup> D.N. Banerjee, "Administration in British Territories in India, (1707-1818)", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 8, p. 578-639; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 1-89; R.C. Majumdar, "The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; R.C. Majumdar and K.K. Datta, "Administrative System", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 455-573.

subjects, to refer to their actual division into castes, with particular duties and occupations, and to that reverence and respect which they entertain for Europeans, not only on account of their knowledge of the superior branches of science, but also of their better knowledge of many of the mechanical and more useful arts in life; and therefore, though I conceive that the communication of such knowledge to the natives would add to their comforts, and their enjoyments of life, and would increase their strength as a community, I do not think that the communication of any knowledge, which tended gradually to do away the subsisting distinctions among our native subjects or to diminish that respect which they entertain for Europeans, could be said to add to the political strength of the English Government.” Malcolm clearly speaks for the bourgeoisie interests and the resistance by them to develop education on the subcontinent. Malcolm further qualified the position of the British East India Company on introducing any type of education and its ‘divide and conquer’ strategy by stating, “From all I have ever been able to observe of nations, I do not think we can calculate upon gratitude for benefits of the nature described as an operating motive that would at all balance against the danger of that strength which such a community as that of our Indian subjects might derive from the general diffusion of knowledge and the eventual abolition of its castes, a consciousness of which would naturally incline them to throw off the yoke of a foreign power; and such they always must, consider the British in India; I wish to be understood as alluding in this answer to a danger that is very remote, but yet, in my opinion, worthy of attention.” The British East India Company’s sentiments, as described by Malcolm, clearly indicated that they felt they should continue to keep society highly stratified and divided along class/caste lines.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Banerjee, “Administration in British Territories in India, (1707-1818)”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 8, p. 578-639; Majumdar, “The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 1-89; Majumdar and Datta,

After the renewal of the Royal Charter in 1813, the East India Company was ordered to fund education of the native Indian population with one lakh of rupees, and was required to establish an Ecclesiastical Department that would regulate all missionary activities. In effect, most of the educational activities provided by the missionaries which proceeded from this point forward did more to instigate conflict and problems between the various castes and multiple religions that existed throughout the subcontinent than it did to educate the natives. The specific section of the Royal Charter of 1813 for the provision of education reads, “And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor- General-in-Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other parts of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such Regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General-in-Council, subject, nevertheless, to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries; provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships, and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the

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“Administrative System”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 455-573.

Governments within which the same shall be situated.”<sup>9</sup>

Once the Charter was in place, the administration in India set up the Ecclesiastical Office to regulate missionary activities, but made no effort or investment to establish any schools in India. Instead, all resources were used to make an assessment of all of the indigenous educational institutions that were already in existence in India and were the product of thousands of years of development that were developed by the subaltern populations for the subaltern populations. Although the historiography was traditionally written at the time to support white supremacy and labeled the original Indian inhabitants as heathen, savage, and barbaric, the Indian people were more civilized and cultured than many people in Western countries. The educational institutions for the masses in ancient and medieval India were second to nowhere else in the world in terms of quality and quantity. One piece of evidence that proves this point is the introduction of new systems of tuition into European countries and to a lesser extent the United States that were directly taken from Indian origins. Since ancient times India has used a system of mutual tuition where education for the masses is funded based on a portion of the responsibility divided between the state and individual families.<sup>10</sup>

As for the education of Karnataka, the system of education transformed from the locally

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<sup>9</sup> Majumdar, “The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Majumdar and Datta, “Administrative System”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; “Affairs of the East India Company”, *Journal of the House of Lords*, vols. 60-62 (1830-1832), vol. 1, p. 446-447, et al; *Copy of the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1812* (Charleston, SC: Nab Press, 2011), et al; *Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1832* (Charleston, SC: Nab Press, 2011), et al; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 1-89; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 455-573.

<sup>10</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 56-91; Majumdar, “The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Majumdar and Datta, “Administrative System”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; “Court of Directors Letter to the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal”, (Jun. 3, 1814); Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 455-573; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186.

sponsored and maintained indigenous system, to one that was state controlled and sponsored by the Imperial Government of Great Britain that sought to advance and maintain colonial dominance. Beginning with Mark Cubbon in early nineteenth Century, Mysore State was governed by a series of British rulers for approximately fifty years. Thereafter the Maharaja took the throne and a British officer was assigned to the Royal Court in Mysore who heavily influenced the decision-making. During the nineteenth century many indigenous schools began to teach English as an integral part of the curriculum as it was a unifying language that had now become a standard across India in commerce, industry, and day-to-day activities with the British imposition on the subcontinent. These schools were originally developed and administered privately by the local public. They were most commonly referred to as Anglo-Vernacular schools. They operated independently of government and of government funding. Gradually, these schools were given one-time funding for various purposes from governmental sources that are listed as 'Grants-in-Aid' in the governmental administrative reports. Many of these schools were gradually absorbed and began to be operated and primarily funded by governmental sources in later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The increasing control of these schools by the Government was encouraged by the British after the First War of Independence in 1857 in order to maintain social control of the Indian populace.<sup>11</sup>

Yet, by the turn of the nineteenth century all of the vernacular indigenous education of India had not yet been destroyed. Some were documented to have deteriorated but at least one school was still in existence in every community. The British East India Company official, A. D.

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<sup>11</sup>Majumdar, "The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Majumdar and Datta, "Administrative System", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 455-573; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193.

Campbell reported in 1823 on the Bellary District that “The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools and the system by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserved the imitation it has received in England....But in proceeding further, such as explaining books which are all written in verse, giving the meaning of Sanskrit words, and illustrating the principles of Vernacular languages, such demands are made as exceed the means of most parents. There is, therefore, no alternative but that of leaving their children only partially instructed, and consequently ignorant of the most essential and useful parts of a liberal education: but there are multitudes who cannot even avail themselves of the advantages of the system, defective as it is. It cannot have escaped the government that of nearly a million of souls in this District, not 7,000 are now at school, a proportion which exhibits but too strongly the result above stated. In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none and in many others where there were large schools, now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend, or to pay what is demanded. Of the 533 institutions for education now existing in this District, I am ashamed to say not one now derives any support from the State.”<sup>12</sup>

The local village schools located in Karnataka primarily used Kannada as the primary language of instruction with English being added gradually as the British remained in the country. Temple schools that imparted education rich in the various subjects as well as religious

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<sup>12</sup> Majumdar, “The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Majumdar and Datta, “Administrative System”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186; “Affairs of the East India Company”, *Journal of the House of Lords*, vols. 60-62 (1830-1832), et al; *Copy of the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1812* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2011), et al; *Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1832* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2011), p. 503-504, et al.

education were common. With increased poverty and resources for education under British colonialism, various forms of paper or palm leaves were abandoned for the use of dirt and fingers for learning the various school subjects. Much of the curriculum was articulated orally as it had been done for centuries. It was quite common for symbols and numbers to be presented in table form and then recited orally as a group. Students from the lower three castes and the Dalit often left school after the elementary grades in order to pursue their specific family trade, which had been maintained for centuries. Students belonging to the Brahmin caste usually attended more advanced Matha schools for higher-level learning. A report commissioned by Sir Thomas Monroe, of the Madras Presidency, concluded that a primary school existed in every village and that these schools had already been in existence for at least a thousand years.<sup>13</sup>

The early educational surveys initiated after the Royal Charter renewal of the British East India Company in 1813 take note of schools held in various homes, sheds or places of commerce and industry, and informally held sessions gathering under some large trees. The reports conclude that schools were especially commonplace where weaving industries were established. Almost all skilled trades had children attend school simultaneously with on-the-job learning of their respective trades. Many of the indigenous systems of education in India were supported by undocumented funding, resources, and materials that were not part of the formal economy and became problematic for the early surveyors to assess<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193; Majumdar, "The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Majumdar and Datta, "Administrative System", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672.

<sup>14</sup> Majumdar, "The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186; Majumdar and Datta, "Administrative System", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193.

A report by G.L. Prendergast, the Councilor to the Governor of Bombay, in 1817 asserted, "I hardly mention, ... that there is hardly a village great or small, throughout our territories in which there is not at least one school and in larger cities in every division, where young natives are taught, reading, writing and arithmetic upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain to perhaps a Rupee per month to the schoolmaster, according to the ability of the parents, and at the same time, so simple and effectual that there is hardly a cultivator, or a petty dealer, who is not competent to keep his accounts with a degree of accuracy, in my opinion beyond what we meet with amongst the lower orders in our own country. Whilst the more splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of ease, conciseness and clearness I rather think fully equal to those of any British merchant."<sup>15</sup>

James Keir Hardie, in *India*, observes, "Max Muller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that in every Hindu village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared." In all three of the Presidencies of the British East India Company (Bengal, Madras, and Bombay) education in large magnitudes existed that superseded that of all Western countries. The modern Indian state of Karnataka is a reorganized state with sections that were previously part of the Madras and Bombay Districts. In addition, it also includes the former

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<sup>15</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 56-91; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186; Majumdar, "The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Majumdar and Datta, "Administrative System", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193.

princely state of Mysore, which was heavily dominated by British influence. As a result of colonialism, village life, which had flourished and existed for thousands of years, was destructed due to a new economic system instituted by the British and the Indian people became impoverished. British policies not only destroyed education, but also Indian trades and industries and the infrastructure of the country gradually began to deteriorate. In 1928 Walter Hamilton agreed with other accounts of declining science, education, literacy, and technology by concluding that, “It has long been remarked that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India, the number of learned men being not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, greatly contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned; and no branch of learning cultivated, but what is connected with the peculiar religious sects and doctrines, or with the astrology of the people. The principal cause of this retrograde condition of literature may be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals, under the native governments, now past and gone.”<sup>16</sup>

Even though discussions ensued in the homeland of Great Britain about the extent, scope, and purpose of Indian education, the British administrative officials of India were determined to keep the Indian populace as ignorant as possible and preferred to allow their further descent into

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<sup>16</sup> Majumdar, “The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857)”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Majumdar and Datta, “Administrative System”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; James Keir Hardie, *India: Impressions and Suggestions* (London: Independent Labour Party, 1909), p. 5-6; For Hardie’s socialist and rebellious activities see “Keir Hadie Makes Mischief in India, Charged by His Countrymen with Greatly Increasing Hindu Discontent: Demand for His Expulsion, Chief Danger in the Empire Possibly May Be Strikes by Castes, Which Practically Are Trades Unions”, *The New York Times* (Oct. 6, 1907), p. C1; See also Jonathan Hyslop, “The World Voyage of James Keir Hardie: Indian Nationalism, Zulu Insurgency and the British Labour Diaspora, 1907-1908”, *Journal of Global History*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan., 2006), p. 343-362; *Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1832* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2011), p. 203; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193.

extreme poverty and to allow it education, science, learning, and literacy to further deteriorate. During the educational enquiry of 1831, Company official Lionel Smith states, “The effect of education will be to do away with all the prejudices of sects and religions by which we have hitherto kept the country the Mussulmen’s against Hindus, and so on; the effect of education will be to expand their minds, and show them their vast power.” The original Royal Charter of 1813 intended to make provisions to make an assessment of the indigenous education already in existence in India and then to help establish new schools where there was a need for them. A total of one lac of rupees were to be set-aside for these purposes with the option of requesting additional funds where needed. In application, no schools were established and no funds were actually used for these purposes. An additional report filed by the collector of Bellary in 1822 provides additional support for the labor-education thesis in India by concluding, “The Bellary region was quite prosperous as a cotton-growing and cloth-manufacturing area just before its conquest by the British, and suddenly became impoverished due to the policy of importing cloth manufactured in Britain. Farmers and weavers became destitute, and those who could, migrated to other regions. The removal of many troops from the Madras region (to which Bellary was attached) to other capitals further contributed to the decline in the demand for local produce, and the continuous draining of revenue rendered the people utterly poor. The middle and lower classes, which formed the majority of the population now impoverished, could not secure an education for their children... In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are none,” he wrote. Based on this and other overwhelmingly supportive data for increased funding, the district collector of Kanara stated that there should be no increased funding for schools.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Basu, *History of Education in India*, p. 1-4, et al; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Majumdar, “The Rule of the East India Company, (1818-1857),” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*,

Adding to the discussions and justifications of white supremacy and the continuation of oppressive policies of the bourgeoisie in India were the investigative reports, which were inadequately funded, incomplete and sometimes difficult to assess since many activities were carried out informally and out of compliance with formal economies the administration gave no grants or made no provisions for education in India during the first part of the nineteenth century. The various reports mentioned above were almost exclusively overlooked by the administration and only began to be taken seriously as rebellion and riots broke out in India that culminated in the First War of Independence of 1857. And as Baman Das Basu observes, “Just as in resources, the natives of India grew poorer in literacy as well, under foreign rule.” In order to sustain and maintain empire, the British observed that an Indian elite needed to be recruited to run the political and administrative offices of India. Additional discussions ensued about the scope, context, and extent of British education that should finally be introduced in India. Several leaders including William Bentinck, Lord Macaulay, and Raja Ram Mohan Roy helped introduce some provisions for Western education in India, but these schools were only affordable to the elite and there is some indication that the population became even more illiterate than ever before because of the alienation of the workers, poverty, and peonage, which is defined as a form of slavery. It also became increasingly popular for exceptionally bright students and wealthier families to send their children to the British Isles for their education.<sup>18</sup>

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vol. 9, p. 1-312; 406-466; Majumdar and Datta, “Administrative System”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 313-405; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186.

<sup>18</sup>Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; “Affairs of the East India Company”, *Journal of the House of Lords*, vols. 60-62 (1830-1832), et al; *Copy of the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1812* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2011), et al; *Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1832* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2011), et al; Basu, *History of Education in India*, p. 18-19; Isaiah Azariah, *Lord Bentinck and Indian Education, Crime, and Status of Women* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), et al; R.C. Majumdar, “The Mutiny and Revolt of 1857-8” and “India Under the British Crown, (1858-1905)” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 467-741, 1000-1038; R.C. Majumdar and K.K. Datta,

As is stated in the *Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, “The following statement exhibits the estimated amount of the sums annually chargeable on the revenues of India for the support of native schools, as the same appear upon the Books of Establishments, and by the proceedings of the respective governments last received from India.” Although the funding levels slightly increased during these years and it was intended to benefit the Indian subaltern, they were instead used in order to fund the education of the Indian Civil Service. Even then, the Civil Service was almost completely dominated by persons of European, Arian, or Anglo-Indian (mixed races) descent. Altogether the East India Company Administrative Reports show that the total number educated with Company funds almost never exceeded one hundred persons when the total population of India even in the eighteenth century exceeded two hundred million people. On July 7, 1853, Monteagle Brandon testified before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Government of Indian Territories, and was asked, “When you were at the head of the Council of Public Instruction, did you ever endeavor to obtain the payment of any portion of the arrears of that lac of rupees which had been left unpaid for so many years?” His answer was, “No, we never did.”<sup>19</sup>

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“The Administrative Organization”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 742-880; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186.

<sup>19</sup> Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Majumdar, “The Mutiny and Revolt of 1857-8” and “India Under the British Crown, (1858-1905)” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 467-741, 1000-1038; Majumdar and Datta, “The Administrative Organization”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 742-880; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186.

TABLE 2: EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES OF THE BRITISH EAST INDIA  
COMPANY (1813-1830)

	Bengal £	Madras £	Bombay £	Total £
1813	4,207	480	442	5,129
1814	11,606	480	499	12,585
1815	4,405	480	537	5,422
1816	5,146	480	578	6,204
1817	5,177	480	795	6,452
1818	5,211	480	630	6,321
1819	7,191	480	1,270	8,941
1820	5,807	480	1,401	7,688
1821	6,882	480	594	7,956
1822	9,081	480	594	10,155
1823	6,134	480	594	7,208
1824	19,970	480	1,434	21,884
1825	57,122	480	8,961	66,563
1826	21,623	480	5,309	27,412
1827	30,077	2,140	13,096	45,313
1828	22,797	2,980	10,064	35,841
1829	24,663	3,614	9,799	38,076
1830	28,748	2,946	12,636	44,330

The East India administration also rejected the institution of any kind of knowledge submitted to the Indian populace and also strictly controlled the press and any kind of information that could be made available to the public. The Court of Directors of Bengal are officially on record in their letter dated June 3, 1814, of specifically advocating for the restriction of knowledge and learning in India. They state, “The Clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration; first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country...Neither of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our Universities, because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college; and we doubt whether it would be practicable to devise any specific plan which would promise the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration.” It took the people of India to innovate and use what resources they could find in order to sustain what ancient education still existed and to improve upon the present condition.<sup>20</sup>

The evidence here overwhelmingly supports the hypothesis of the dissertation that the British East India Company took no initiative in the development of Indian education. Only after the First War of Independence in 1857 were some measures taken for educational development and even then it was strictly controlled and limited. As the country moves toward independence,

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<sup>20</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 56-91; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193; *Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1832* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2011), p. 433-434, 483; *Lords Committee’s Second Report on Indian Territories, 1852-1853*, p. 235-236, et al; Basu, *History of Education in India*, p. 26-39; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Majumdar, “The Mutiny and Revolt of 1857-8” and “India Under the British Crown, (1858-1905)” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 467-741, 1000-1038; Majumdar and Datta, “The Administrative Organization”, in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 742-880.

more developments for the masses take shape, however these developments were mostly the result of the collective agency of the populace that placed pressure on the government to develop them. Because of British policies during the Company reign the people became extremely limited in the quality and quantity of education provided for them and had to become increasingly active in petitioning the government for assistance. Upon renewal of the Royal British Charter for the East India Company in 1833 the one-lac provision of Indian currency had now been increased to ten lakhs or one million rupees. Otherwise, there were no additional provisions for the development of education or safeguards that guaranteed the investments and developments would be made in education. Social control was now being exerted by the government thereafter to require the few schools that did receive government funding to use English as the main medium of instruction. By doing so, the content of the classroom could be more easily controlled and transparent in a country where there are over thirty languages, a hundred regional dialects, and few Westerners involved in the administration of the Empire who knew the vernacular languages very well or at all. In 1835, William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, issued a proclamation that permanently and firmly established English as the primary medium of instruction.<sup>21</sup>

One major qualitative change that began to take place around mid-century and the time of the renewal of the Royal Charter in 1833 was the gradual replacement of native Indian school teachers and educational administration with Europeans. The administration began to filter the kinds and types of literature presented in the schools and to train native teachers to diffuse the

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<sup>21</sup> Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; *Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1832* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2011), p. 436; Azariah, *Lord Bentinck and Indian Education, Crime, and Status of Women*, et al; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186.

knowledge that they had deemed appropriate for the order of the Empire. The Court of the State of Science Among the Natives of India, is officially on record of supporting prejudice, racism, white supremacy, and officially restricting learning and education by stating, "... it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or learn the sciences in the state in which they are found in oriental books, is of so comprehensive in nature, that it obviously requires considerable modification, and the different branches of science intended to be included in it, must be particularized before a correct appreciation can be formed of their absolute and comparative value." <sup>22</sup>

William Bentinck, who was Governor-General of India from 1833-1835, saw danger in the spread of knowledge in the country. He was completely in opposition to a liberal press, building and developing libraries or education. Over the course of his service in the administration he came to support the idea of educating an Indian elite, employing the divide and conquer philosophy, instead of allowing them to maintain their own institutions and eventually rallying behind Indian nationalism that might lead to an overthrow of the British. One of his first acts based on this philosophy was to establish and to make English the official language to be administered throughout the Company administration. Under his leadership, the Court of Directors, in their letter dated September 29, 1830, wrote, "With a view to give the natives an additional motive to the acquisition of the English language, you have it in contemplation gradually to introduce English as the language of public business in all its departments." Charles Metcalfe succeeded Bentinck in the Governor-Generalship of India for only one year from March 20, 1835, to March 4, 1836. It is not surprising that he is on record as one of the few Governor-General's paying at least lip service to the possibility in positive diffusion of

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<sup>22</sup> Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186.

knowledge to the Indian people and the development of a Western education system there. His sentiments are expressed in a letter dated, May 16, 1835, that reads, “His Lordship (Bentinck), however, sees further danger in the spread of knowledge and the operations of the press. I do not, for my own part, anticipate danger as a certain consequence from these causes....Men will be better able to appreciate the good and evil of our rule; and if the good predominate, they will know that they may lose by a change. Without reckoning on the affection of any, it seems probable that those of the natives who would most deprecate and least promote our overthrow, would be the best-informed and most enlightened among them, unless they had themselves, individually, ambitious dreams of power.... It is our duty to extend knowledge whatever may be the result; and spread it would, even if we impeded it...”<sup>23</sup>

Macaulay’s now famous Minute on Education, although a reflection of the sentiments of the administration, was kept hidden from most of the populace of Great Britain and in India, as it was not published until 1864. In this Minute Macaulay admits, “We are at present....a Board for Printing Books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank, and for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, and absurd theology.” In an effort to control the diffusion of knowledge in support of Empire, Bentinck issued a general consultation on March 7, 1835, that reads, “The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds

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<sup>23</sup>Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186; William Bentinck, “Minute dated, March 13, 1835”; Kay’s Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe, p. 197; Azariah, *Lord Bentinck and Indian Education, Crime, and Status of Women*, et al; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672.

appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone. But it is not the intention of his Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords.”<sup>24</sup>

The British East India Company began educating an elite group of Indian citizenry in 1835 and only first began to educate the populace in 1854 as the subcontinent approached the First War of Independence and rebellion against increased oppression heightened. Macaulay’s philosophy and sentiments became transformed into official Company, and later British government, policies that proved to embrace specific actions that attempted to almost completely destroy native Indian culture, religion, and everyday life that had existed for thousands of years in order to promote, expand, and enlarge capitalistic dominance of the entire earth. Equality of women almost completely deteriorated under British Colonialism and all dimensions have transmitted itself on post-modern India which has largely fulfilled the prophecies of Jawaharlal Nehru who asserted that the Indian intelligencia only sought to kick out the British and take over their posts without enacting any substantive, solid, permanent change that benefited all of India, including the subaltern classes. The Company’s Royal Charter of 1813 and subsequent renewals specifically included a clause that states, “No portion of the sum of one lac of rupees allotted for the education of natives was to be spent on female education. It is to be left to the people to provide for the education of the fair sex of their country.”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Basu, *History of Education in India*, p. 88-89; Azariah, *Lord Bentinck and Indian Education, Crime, and Status of Women*, et al; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193.

<sup>25</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 92-166; The Lord’s Second Report on Indian Territories, 1853, p. 406-407; Basu, *History of Education in India*, p. 105-118; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 574-672; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 90-186; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193.

It was not a coincidence that legislation was passed specifically authorizing and establishing universities in Kolkata, Chennai, and Mumbai the same year as the First War of Independence of 1857. . Charles Wood’s Dispatch of 1854 observes that, “In Madras where little has yet to be done by the Government to promote the education of the mass of the people, we can only remark with satisfaction that the educational efforts of Christian missionaries have been more successful among the Tamil population than in any other part of India.” ( . The purpose of the legislation dated September 5, 1857 that institutionalized the three universities was, “for the purpose of ascertaining by means of examinations, the persons who have obtained proficiency in different branches of literature, science, and art.” This legislation also observed that it was necessary to set up a system thereafter in order to fund schools, colleges, and universities through the grants-in-aid program. The grants-in-aid program was determined to, “(1) satisfy Government about the stability of their management, (2) impart good secular education, (3) be open to state inspection and (4) agree to any conditions which might be laid down for the regulation of such grants.” As a result, native indigenous schools all over Karnataka and throughout India were gradually given some funding through the program and gradually brought under the control of Empire. They are listed in the Karnataka State Records as ‘Anglo-Vernacular’ schools, which should not be confused with the term Anglo-Indian. Anglo-Indian is usually defined as a person of mixed ancestry of Indian and European descent. These schools for persons of mixed race are categorized and listed separately in the records. Anglo-Vernacular schools were those developed indigenously by the subaltern population in India and used English as a main medium of instruction.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Brown, *Modern India*, p. 187-306; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 673-841; Gowda, *History of Education in Karnataka*, p.3-6; Majumdar, “The Mutiny and Revolt of 1857-8” and “India Under the British

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 reasserted British policy concerning education in India after the 1<sup>st</sup> War of Independence of 1857 and the transition of power to the British Crown. Indian Universities Commission of 1902. The Calcutta Education Commission of 1917 investigated the University of Calcutta's policies, curriculum, etc. Inquiry was extended to all of British India for purposes of expanding higher education access and quality. The Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Bill 1917. The Bengal Primary Education Bill 1917. Bihar & Orissa Primary Education Bill 1918. Punjab Compulsory Education Bill 1918. United Provinces Primary Education Bill 1918. General Provinces Primary Education Bill 1919. Madras Elementary Education Bill 1920. Bombay City Primary Education Bill 1920. Bombay Primary Education (District Boards) Bill 1922. Assam Primary Education Bill 1926. United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill 1926. Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Bill 1930.<sup>27</sup>

During the 1930s through India's Independence in 1947 some minor adjustments were made, but progress was severely limited due to the Great Depression and World War II. Historical evidence shows pressure from the populace that forced British to liberalize institutions. Examples of collective agency on educational developments include: the United League, the Southern Indian Dravidian Associations, the South Indian Liberal Federation, the Non-Brahmin Manifesto, the Backward Classes of Citizens, the Railway Employees Federation, the Oppressed Peoples Movement, the South Indian Teacher's Union, the Teacher's Guild, the

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Crown, (1858-1905)" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 467-741, 1000-1038; Majumdar and Datta, "The Administrative Organization", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 742-880; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p.81-193; *Selections from Educational Records*, National Archives of India, Govt. of India, 1965 p. 194-195; Trevelyan, C.E., *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 189.

<sup>27</sup> Brown, *Modern India*, p. 187-306; R.C. Majumdar, A.K. Majumdar, and D.K. Ghose, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, vols. 10-11 (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2007), et al; Majumdar, "The Mutiny and Revolt of 1857-8" and "India Under the British Crown, (1858-1905)" in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 467-741, 1000-1038; Majumdar and Datta, "The Administrative Organization", in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 9, p. 742-880; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 673-841; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p. 194-270.

Ranebennur Merchants Association, the Forest Labour Societies, the Agricultural Market Produce Society, the Socialist Party and India's two Communist Parties. In addition, the Congress Party and the All-India Association of Trade Unionism was actively engaged in pressing for social reforms and was an integral part of India's independence movement. As a matter of fact, it was around these two latter organizations that Prime Minister Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi mainly organized their activities and much of their recommended social reforms included education.<sup>28</sup>

Individuals and societies are driven by perceived immediate self-interest. Commercial and capitalistic interests drove British interest in India and throughout the British Empire. As a result, the British failed to invest in institutions and infrastructure. Education was developed for a select few, which helped to support and maintain dominance. The world is vastly changing and the universe is in continual expansion. Occupations have dramatically changed, especially over the last one hundred years. New skills are constantly needed that require new curricula, strategies, and techniques for our schools and universities to remain relevant. Further, an increasing number of occupations encompass the “creative sector”. Teaching has grown in increasing complexity due to globalization and new research. Science, learning, literacy, technology, etc. all have ancient origins in India, which dramatically declined under colonialism. In terms of Purchase Power Parity (PPP), India invested more expenditures on schools of engineering in the southern states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. As a result, India has more

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<sup>28</sup> Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p. 194-270; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 187-306; R.C. Majumdar, A.K. Majumdar, and D.K. Ghose, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, vols. 10-11 (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2007), et al; Guha, *India After Gandhi*, et al; Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, “English Education,” in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 842-894.

schools of engineering and turn out more engineers than any country of the world.<sup>29</sup>

Non-Eurocentric sources note that the oldest universities on earth existed in Africa and the Indian subcontinent many centuries before their European counterparts. Many disparities remain between equitable pay and opportunities for men and women in India. The current GDP expenditures are just over 3%, which is far below most developed countries. Much of the increased investment in education that India has achieved thus far has come by way of liberal democracy and collective agency of the populace. Many issues related to colonialism, democracy, and India's development continues to drive contemporary Indian perceptions of organizations like the WTO, World Bank, etc. as extensions of colonialism. Western nations and their institutions have become wealthy as the result of colonialism and slavery. The ancient origins of science, learning, technology and literacy all declined under colonialism. The more diverse groups that are represented in nation-state institutions the better the quality of those institutions will be and the more inclusive they will be of various groups. An increased percentage of a country's GDP devoted to educational expenditures will lead to the establishment of more liberal institutions and policies. Investments in education for the development of Human Capital are consistent with the development of liberal institutions and peaceful domestic and international environments. Since the beginning of civilization the human race has advanced through creation, invention, innovation, and publication. Subaltern studies originally stressed a historiography with an "Orthodox Marxist" methodology that, "History as written by most bourgeois scholars confines itself to these superficial manifestations.... And the

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<sup>29</sup> Majumdar, Datta, and Datta, "English Education," in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 10, p. 31-88; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 842-894; Guha, *India After Gandhi*, et al; R.C. Majumdar, A.K. Majumdar, and D.K. Ghose, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, vols. 10-11 (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2007), et al; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 307-406; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p. 194-270.

bourgeois author's denial of the class struggle within his own society."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, p. 167-304; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 842-894; Guha, *India After Gandhi*, et al; R.C. Majumdar, A.K. Majumdar, and D.K. Ghose, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, vols. 10-11 (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2007), et al; Brown, *Modern India*, p. 307-406; Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, p. 194-270; Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi, *The Oxford India*, Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, Copiler and Editor (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 34-38, et al.

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