

CHANGES IN URBAN BANGKOK 1855 – 1909:  
THE IMPACT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH AND THEIR SUBJECTS

Mrs. Malinee Khumsupha

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Program in Thai Studies

Department of Thai Studies

Faculty of Arts

Chulalongkorn University

Academic year 2011

Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

บทคัดย่อและแฟ้มข้อมูลฉบับเต็มของวิทยานิพนธ์ตั้งแต่ปีการศึกษา 2554 ที่ให้บริการในคลังปัญญาจุฬาฯ (CUIR)  
เป็นแฟ้มข้อมูลของนิสิตเจ้าของวิทยานิพนธ์ที่ส่งผ่านทางบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย

The abstract and full text of theses from the academic year 2011 in Chulalongkorn University Intellectual Repository (CUIR)  
are the thesis authors' files submitted through the Graduate School.

การเปลี่ยนแปลงเมืองกรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2398 – 2452:  
ผลกระทบจากการตั้งถิ่นฐานของชาวอังกฤษและคนในบังคับ

นางมาลินี คุ่มสุภา

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาอักษรศาสตรดุษฎีบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาไทยศึกษา

คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ปีการศึกษา 2554

ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Thesis Title	CHANGES IN URBAN BANGKOK 1855 – 1909: THE IMPACT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH AND THEIR SUBJECTS
By	Mrs. Malinee Khumsupha
Field of Study	Thai Studies
Thesis Advisor	Associate Professor Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D.

---

Accepted by the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Doctoral Degree

..... Dean of the Faculty of Arts  
(Assistant Professor Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, Ph.D.)

#### THESIS COMMITTEE

..... Chairman  
(Professor Siraporn Nathalang, Ph.D.)

..... Thesis Advisor  
(Associate Professor Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D.)

..... Examiner  
(Associate Professor Suchitra Chongstitvatana, Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner  
(Assistant Professor Sukunya Bumroongsook, Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner  
(Associate Professor Wutdichai Moolsilpa)

มาลินี คุ้มสุภา : การเปลี่ยนแปลงกรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ.2398-2452: ผลกระทบจากการตั้งถิ่นฐาน  
ของชาวอังกฤษและคนในบังคับ (CHANGES IN URBAN BANGKOK 1855-1909: THE  
IMPACT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH AND THEIR SUBJECTS)

อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก : รศ.ดร.สุนทร ชุตินทรานนท์ 319 หน้า.

สนธิสัญญาเบาริงมีผลบังคับใช้ในปี พ.ศ. 2398 สภาพบังคับของสนธิสัญญามีผล  
หลายประการที่ทำให้เกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงกรุงเทพฯ โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งการตั้งชุมชนของคนอังกฤษ  
และคนในบังคับอังกฤษ พวกเขาได้รับสิทธิพิเศษทั้งทางกฎหมาย การค้า และการถือครองที่ดิน การ  
ได้รับประโยชน์ของคนเหล่านี้ทำให้เกิดการตั้งถิ่นฐานในกรุงเทพฯ ต่อมา

จากเงื่อนไของสนธิสัญญาข้างต้น ก่อให้เกิดผลเปลี่ยนแปลงสามประการ ประการ  
แรก การเปลี่ยนแปลงในเชิงกายภาพ อันเกี่ยวเนื่องจากการตั้งถิ่นฐานและการสร้างชุมชน โดยเฉพาะ  
บริเวณตอนใต้ของกรุงเทพฯ การเปลี่ยนแปลงที่สำคัญ เกิดจากการสร้างถนนและตึกแถวจำนวนมาก  
ชุมชนคนในบังคับอังกฤษเติบโตมากขึ้นตามลำดับในเวลาต่อมา ที่ดินได้กลายเป็นแหล่งแสวงหา  
รายได้ของรัฐและขุนนางนักลงทุนที่ดิน เกิดการจัดสรรที่ดินเพื่อทำกำไร และกรรมสิทธิ์ที่ดินได้ถูก  
รับรองด้วยการออกโฉนดที่ดิน ทำให้ชาวอังกฤษและคนในบังคับอังกฤษถือครองที่ดินและสามารถตั้ง  
ถิ่นฐานในกรุงเทพฯ ได้อย่างถาวร

ประการที่สอง ชาวอังกฤษและคนในบังคับอังกฤษมีส่วนร่วมในการกระตุ้นการ  
เติบโตทางเศรษฐกิจภาครัฐและเศรษฐกิจของกรุงเทพฯ ชาวอังกฤษในกรุงเทพฯ เป็นเจ้าของบริษัท  
ขนาดใหญ่และได้รับผลประโยชน์จากการส่งออกข้าว ไม้สักและการขนส่งทางเรือ โดยมีผู้ช่วยใน  
กิจการเป็นคนในบังคับเชื้อสายเอเชีย จีน และอินเดีย คนในบังคับเหล่านี้ มีส่วนสนับสนุน  
ผลประโยชน์ของชาวอังกฤษในรูปแบบของการเป็นพ่อค้าปลีก นายทุนนายหน้า ซึ่งต่อมาได้สะสมทุน  
และกลายเป็นนายทุนดำเนินธุรกิจตนในที่สุด

ประการที่สาม การตั้งถิ่นฐานของชาวอังกฤษและคนในบังคับ ได้ก่อให้เกิดการ  
บริหารจัดการเมืองที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไป อาทิเช่น การรักษาความสงบเรียบร้อย การจัดสรรที่ดิน การ  
จัดเก็บภาษี การรักษาความสะอาด และการสาธารณสุข ทำให้เกิดการปฏิรูปและก่อตั้งหน่วยงาน  
ใหม่ๆ ในกรุงเทพฯ การพัฒนาและปฏิรูประบบบริหารราชการเหล่านี้ ได้รับการสนับสนุนและมีส่วน  
ร่วมจากที่ปรึกษาชาวอังกฤษและเจ้าหน้าที่คนในบังคับอังกฤษในการปฏิรูปและบริหารงานอย่างดี  
ชุมชนคนอังกฤษและคนในบังคับอังกฤษ ได้มีส่วนร่วมในการสร้างความคิดริเริ่มการบริหารจัดการเมือง  
ในรูปแบบ “สุขาภิบาล” ซึ่งแนวคิดนี้ได้ถูกนำไปปรับใช้ในการปกครองส่วนท้องถิ่นของไทยในเวลา  
ต่อมา

สาขาวิชา.....ไทยศึกษา..... ลายมือชื่อนิสิต .....

ปีการศึกษา...2554..... ลายมือชื่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา.....

## 4980927922: MAJOR THAI STUDIES

KEYWORDS: BRITISH SUBJECT / BANGKOK ADMINISTRATION / MUNICIPALITY

MALINEE KHUMSUPHA : CHANGES IN URBAN BANGKOK, 1855-1909:

THE IMPACT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH AND THEIR SUBJECTS

ADVISOR : ASSOC.PROF. SUNAIT CHUTINTARANOND, Ph.D., 319 pp.

The Bowring Treaty came into effect in 1855. Its provisions established several conditions for the settlement of British and their subjects in Bangkok; privileged judicial status, advantages regarding settlement and especially fixed taxation.

These conditions led to three significant changes in Bangkok. Firstly, landscape changes; the British and their subjects were located in specific geographically recognizable communities. The government and noble investors opened land for sale and the state issued title-deeds leading to the permanent settlement of new settlers. Secondly, the British subjects significantly stimulated the economy of the state and the economy of urban Bangkok. Large companies owned by the British reaped benefits assisted by Asiatic subjects. These subjects also were involved in business i.e. as retailers or compradors. Some of British subjects learned and became experienced in British companies including accumulation their own capital. They separated and established their own businesses in Bangkok after that. Thirdly, the impact of new settlers effected some service changes such as revenue, security and surveillance, public work, public health and sanitation. Some departments were reformed and created. British and their subjects also played crucial roles in the development of several principle departments and ministries in Bangkok, both as advisors and officials such as the Police Department, Royal Survey Department, Land Register Office and the Ministry of Finance. Most importantly, the settlement of these British subjects in foreign community introduced the new term of local self-government "Municipality". This new administrative unit is developed to function in provincial unit of Siam known as Sukhapiban (สุขาภิบาล) significantly thereafter.

Filed of Study: Thai Studies.....

Student's signature .....

Academic Year: 2011.....

Advisor's signature.....

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was a highly rewarding time in my life to study at the Thai Studies Department, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Associate Professor Dr. Sunait Chutintaranond who always gave me insightful criticism and warmhearted encouragement. My thesis would never have been completed without my thesis committees who assisted, advised, and guided me: Professor Dr. Siraporn Nathalang, Associate Professor Dr. Suchitra Chongstitvatana, Assistant Professor Dr. Sukanya Bumroongsook and Associate Professor Wutdichai Moolsilpa.

This thesis was made possible through financial support from Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, Chiang Mai University and The Project of Empowering Network for International Thai Studies (ENITS), Institute of Thai Studies, Chulalongkorn University with support from the Thai Research Fund (TRF).

Special appreciation must be made to Professor Emeritus Lae Dilokvidhyarat and his son, Tamthai Dilokvidhyarat for their continually warm conversation and providing much appreciated intellectual guidance over the finer points of my work.

Also, I would like to acknowledge Assistant Professor Dr. Pirasri Povatong who rendered invaluable help and support materials including advice and guidance.

I owe a special debt of thanks to Dr. Wannapa Leerasiri, Prayuth Hattakitjumboen and Bungon Saikate for their extremely endless help and assistance.

For this opportunity, I would like to specially thank Associate Professor Dr. Pannee Bualek, Dr. Kanitha Chitchang, Kannikar Chuthamas Sumali, Nawaporn Ruengsakun.

Furthermore, I would like to thank many people who helped and provided me with a lot of support; Pinai Sirikiatikul, Leenavat Teerapongramkul, Nithi Lisnund, Jirawat Sangtong, Chutatip Phromkul, Waraporn Suwatchotikul, Sasithorn Towinas and Banana Co.Ltd. and staffs, Vrasakti Kirativorananda, Kanokwan Chongchareonyingyong. Many thanks and appreciations are extended to Thai Studies staffs, Weena Selakun and Pornthep Tochayangkoon including staffs of National Archives of Thailand.

In the process of research and writing I am also greatly in debt to Anon Unhasooat, Nattawit Wongkeeree, Pongpan Chumjai, Nedchanok Dangchart, Palid Patomtus, Supatsorn Suengtaworn, Tikumporn Rodkhunmuang.

Most of all, I would like to thank my parents, my sisters and brother for always giving me great pleasure and endlessly support. It is my pleasure dedicate this thesis to them.

## CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT (THAI) .....	iv
ABSTRACT (ENGLISH) .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	vi
CONTENTS .....	vii
LIST OF TABLES .....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xiii
LIST OF MAPS .....	xiv
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 Background and importance of the research problem	1
1.2 Previous studies .....	16
1.2.1 City's landscape changes .....	18
1.2.2 The financial reform and illicit economic in Bangkok .....	21
1.2.3 The administrative reformation .....	24
1.2.4 Municipality .....	26
1.3 Data Sources .....	27
1.4 Research Objectives .....	27
1.5 Methodology .....	28
1.6 Hypothesis .....	28
1.7 Definition .....	31
CHAPTER 2 TRADE, TREATIES, BANGKOK'S URBANIZATION .....	34
2.1 Monopoly Trade and Urbanization .....	36
2.1.1 Ayutthaya monopoly trade and urbanization .....	36
2.1.2 Treaties and extraterritoriality .....	37
2.1.3 The settlement of Foreigners in Ayutthaya urban ..	40

	Page
2.2 Free trade under Treaty and Urbanization .....	41
2.2.1 The Anglo-Siamese Treaty 1826 .....	41
2.2.2 The Anglo-Siamese Treaty 1855 .....	72
 CHAPTER 3 CITY'S LANDSCAPE, COMMUNITIES AND SOCIETIES .....	 101
The development of extraterritoriality since Ayutthaya .....	103
3.1 British subject .....	106
3.1.1 Natural Born Subject .....	106
3.1.2 Naturalized subject .....	107
3.1.3 Asiatic subject .....	108
3.1.4 British protected person .....	109
3.1.5 The Valid Marriage of British subject .....	117
3.1.6 The Notification of British subject in 1886 ...	118
3.1.7 A decree on the valid celebration of marriages in Siam and the proofs of such celebration by foreign resident .....	119
3.1.8 An Agreement between Siam and Great Britain on the registration of British Subject in Siam 1899 ...	122
3.1.9 The Prevention of the Wrongful Use of the Personal Registration Certificate .....	128
3.2 Road Construction and the formulation communities .....	132
3.2.1 The Foreign Community in Early Bangkok .....	132
3.2.2 The Assigned Boundaries to settle for British Subject .....	137



	Page
3.3 The settlement community, land ownership, and social relations .....	142
3.3.1 The British Church in Bangkok .....	142
3.3.2 Harbor Master and Custom House .....	146
3.3.3 British and British subject in Bangkok .....	148
3.3.4 The population of Bangkok in 1882 .....	152
3.3.5 The rental Shop houses .....	153
3.3.6 Roads operated by the nobles in the Southern Bangkok .....	155
3.3.7 Row houses in Southern Quarter .....	157
3.3.8 Land Compensation .....	158
3.3.9 The British and British subject communities in Bangkok .....	163
3.3.10 Club and association .....	166
 CHAPTER 4 STATE ECONOMY AND BANGKOK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT .....	   172
4.1 British economy, City's business; British and British subject business .....	173
4.1.1 British Business and Interest in Bangkok ....	173
4.1.2 The establishment of British Banking in Bangkok .....	189
4.1.3 British Department store and dispensary in Bangkok .....	197
4.1.4 The British Dispensary .....	203
4.2 British subject trading activities and business .....	205
4.2.1 Indians .....	210
4.2.2 Chinese.....	212

	Page
CHAPTER 5 THE ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS AND ADMINISTRATIONS ...	224
5.1 The Bowring Treaty: Conditions of Bangkok Administration Changes .....	225
5.2 Chinese immigrant in Bangkok .....	226
5.3 The Administration responding to Bangkok's changes .....	237
5.3.1 Bangkok Police Constable .....	237
5.3.2 Financial Ministry .....	252
5.3.3 Royal Survey Department .....	262
5.4 Land taxation and the closing of gambling dens in Bangkok .....	264
5.5 Bangkok administration changes and the creation of "Municipality" term in Bangkok .....	270
CHAPTER 6 THE CONCLUSION .....	280
REFERENCES .....	287
APPENDICES .....	304
BIOGRAPHY .....	319

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Annual Revenue obtained by the Government of Siam from Farms and Duties in 1832 .....	86
Table 2: Revenue of the Kingdom of Siam from 1898 to 1904 .....	90
Table 3: Passports issuing by Ministry of Interior, 1894 - 1897.....	122
Table 4: Household Heads by Ethnic Group in Bangkok Postal Census of 1883 .....	149
Table 5: The foreign subjects in Bangkok according to Postal Census of 1883 .....	150
Table 6: The population of Bangkok in 1882 .....	152
Table 7: Ethnic Distribution along Various Roads in Bangkok in 1883 .....	153
Table 8: Roads in Southern Bangkok organized by Siamese noble ranks, 1888-1906 .....	157
Table 9: Land owners in southern part of Bangkok urban, 1899-1901 .....	159
Table 10: The amount of overall lands in Bangkok, 1899 - 1901 .....	160
Table 11: Number of subjects of Treaty Powers in Bangkok, 1899 .....	164
Table 12: Number of Foreign vessels entering Bangkok, 1848-1873 .....	175
Table 13: Nationality of ships arriving in Bangkok, 1861-86 .....	179
Table 14: Rice Production and Exports, 1850s – 1890s .....	180
Table 15: The Numbers of Rice Mills in Bangkok, 1858-1903 .....	182
Table 16: Annual teak output sent to Bangkok in 1902 .....	186
Table 17: Business Activity Major of British Trading Houses in Thailand, 1850s – 1930s .....	188
Table 18: The Example of Compradores in Bangkok, 1870-1900s .....	216
Table 19: British subject in the field of retailing and export-import in Bangkok, 1870-1900s .....	219
Table 20: Pawnbrokers' shop in Bangkok from 1901- 1904 .....	223

	Page
Table 21: Size of Chinese population of Bangkok	
from various observers, 1820s – 1850s .....	227
Table 22: Siamese Revenue from opium tax revenue, 1890-1892 .....	231
Table 23: Revenue from gambling houses in Bangkok	
and associated districts, 1852-1874 .....	233
Table 24: Revenue from Spirit Tax Farming from 1894-1909 .....	234
Table 25: Main Revenues of Siamese Government from 1851-1868 .....	235
Table 26: Numbers of Pawnshops in Bangkok from 1902-1906 .....	236
Table 27: The percentage of the cases in Bangkok town, 1898-1899 .....	244
Table 28: The Example Number of officers	
in Police Department, 1899-1900 .....	251
Table 29: The Example Number of officers in Police Department, 1904 ....	251
Table 30: Comparison of gambling tax farming revenue, 1887-1917 .....	268

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: The example form of passport for individual British subject in 1899 .....	116
Figure 2: The example form of Collective passport 1904 .....	117
Figure 3: The example of British certificate .....	127

## LIST OF MAPS

	Page
Map 1: Sketch of the town of Bang-kok .....	53
Map 2: Assigned Boundaries of 24 hours' circus .....	138
Map 3: Thang Thanon Trong (ทางถนนตรง) and Khlong Thanon Trong (คลองถนนตรง) .....	140
Map 4: Granted Land for Bangkok Protestant Church .....	144
Map 5: Bangkok Protestant Church Territory .....	145
Map 6: British subject residences in Bangkok according to Postal census 1883 .....	151
Map 7: British's Sharing Space in Southern Bangkok (1902) .....	169

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background and importance of the research problem

The conclusion of the Bowring Treaty between Siam and Britain in 1855 is a remarkable turn in Thai history because it was explained as the origin of many preceding changes, such as transforming the country to an absolutist state, connecting with the world market, moving towards modernization of bureaucracy and adapting cultural practices. One of the primary positions of this dissertation is the study of the most noticeable changes of the growth and development of southern Bangkok resulting from the Bowring Treaty.

Three articles of the provisions became significant conditions of Bangkok's changes. The first is Article 2 which stated that *"Any disputes arising between Siamese and British subjects shall be heard and determined by the Consul, in conjunction with the proper Siamese officers; and criminal offences will be punished, in the case of English offenders, by the Consul, according to English laws, and in the case of Siamese offenders, by their own laws."* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 38)

The second article, Article 4, stated that *"British subjects are permitted to trade freely in all the seaports of Siam, but may reside permanently only at Bangkok, or within the limits assigned by this Treaty. British subjects coming to reside at Bangkok may rent land, buy, or built houses, but cannot purchase lands within a circuit of 200 sen<sup>1</sup> (not more than four miles English) from the city walls, until they shall have lived in Siam for 10 years, or shall obtain special authority from the Siamese government."* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:38-39)

---

<sup>1</sup> Sen (เส้น) is Thai measurement of length equivalent to 40 metres.

Article 8 stipulates that; *“The measurement duty ....British shipping and trade will thenceforth be only subject to the payment of import and export duties on the goods landed or shipped. On all articles of import the duties shall be 3 per cent... English merchants are to be allowed to purchase directly from the producer the articles in which they trade, and in like manner to sell their goods directly to the parties wishing to purchase the same, without the interference...”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:40-41)

The underlining meaning of these three articles was to establish extraterritorial rights, land ownership and commercial privilege for the British and their subjects since the Treaty took affect.

Significantly, both British newcomers and Asiatic subjects started to settle down particularly in the southern part of Bangkok near the port. These newcomers influenced Bangkok rulers to change their views on various issues including public work, public security, surveillance system and public health in Bangkok. Such requirements demanded new forms of urban administrations. The settlement of British and their subjects influenced landscape changes. Accordingly the first road was built across foreign communities along the Chao Phraya River linking Bangkok Harbor to the core of the city. As a result, this area known as foreign quarter grew rather rapidly both geographically and in terms of trading activities. These newcomers established new commercial places, their religious places, and many new other public places such as consuls, churches, schools, hospitals, cemeteries, banks, hotels, manufacturing offices, mills, department stores and clubs.

Focusing on the considerable amounts of land ownership of these expatriates, the Siamese government issued the Title-Deed Act in 1901. Consequently, the issue of land ownership of British subject was modified later by the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909. This treaty extended the rights for the British and their subjects as equal to Siamese. So, the expansion of foreigners' rights under following treaties interestingly affected the land ownership in Bangkok. It is very important to investigate the effects of



these conditions for the significant changes in Bangkok since Siam officially bond with the Britain counterpart from 1855 to 1909.

As stated earlier, the settlement of foreigners under the privilege of extraterritorial rights influenced Bangkok local government to formulate an appropriate form of administration and tools to deal with new public problems and changes. The Ministry of Urban Affairs (or the Ministry of Capital) was established in 1892. Additionally, the government had to promulgate the additional Royal Decrees to become single-handedly responsible for Bangkok metropolitan area, especially on public security, sanitary and public works soon after. These new departments with peculiar responsibilities worked together within this Ministry.

It is clear that Bangkok had several new formulated branches of responsibilities after that. Therefore, it can be said that since the Bowring Treaty took effect in 1855 it conditioned the Bangkok Metropolitan area as tremendous changes regarding to the British force Siam to integrate into the world economy under formal treaty. That means it is fascinating to investigate the process of these developing changes relating the Bangkok changes in depth further.

This research aims to study the growth and development of Bangkok since the Bowring Treaty took effect, under the three important articles of the Treaty, focusing on the Article 2, 4 and 8 guide this research study to explore how Bangkok transformed physically, economically, and administratively. This research study aims to answer three main questions: 1. How British settlers and their Asiatic subjects settled communities into southern Bangkok under Bowring treaty's articles and following treaties? 2. How this quarter changed physically? and; 3. How the government of Bangkok local administration transformed as a result of these new comers both directly and indirectly? Briefly, the purpose of this work is to examine the new pattern of Siam's economy in the second half of nineteenth century, based on the consequences of Bowring Treaty for Bangkok's change focusing on the settlement of British and their subjects. Specifically, how the treaty impacted the definition of the new settlers from

European and their Asiatic subject to settle down in Bangkok. The foreign new comers influenced physical landscape change, economic activity changes and the creation of the “Municipality” term known as Sukhapiban (สุขาภิบาล) in urban Bangkok.

This study focuses in the year that Bowring Treaty came into force (1855) up until the 1909 when the new Treaties satisfied the Siam legislative force in some level. Therefore, this work tries to study the Bangkok changes starting from 1855 entirely to 1909 for 54 years. First of all, before going further in depth of examination in this topic, it is necessary to understand the Bowring Treaty provisions as in following details in the first place.

According to the conclusion of the Anglo-Siamese Treaty also known as the Bowring Treaty. It was concluded between Siam and Britain in 1855 and bounded Siam with several complicated conditions such as non-specification of the final date of its expiration and lack of a “termination clause” in the place of a “revision clause” (Vikrom, 1972:59). Moreover, the Treaty subsequently stipulated most-favored-nation status (in article 10) (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:42). Consequently, it had also set the system of joint jurisdiction thereafter (Sayre, n.d.:9). This treaty became the pattern for all later Siam’s treaties with other thirteen foreign countries, namely United States (1856), France (1856), Denmark (1858), Portugal (1859), the Netherlands (1860), Germany (1862), Sweden and Norway<sup>2</sup> (1868), Belgium (1868). Italy (1868), Austria-Hungary (1869), Spain (1870), Japan (1898) and Russia (1899) (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968. and Treaty Series Vol.II, 1968)

For Siam, these treaties were very complicated to enforce and full of challenges. In order to understand the effects of these treaties in Siam, it is useful to review carefully each specific clause. Particularly, this study will focus only on the terms

---

<sup>2</sup> The treaty bounded between Siam and the United Kingdom of Sweden and Norway in 1868. At that time Norway was in the union under a Swedish king. Until 1905, the 1905 referendum led Norway as independent nation.

implemented by Siamese government and the Great Britain in official treaty and agreement that the understanding of these particular clauses will assist to see the origin of preliminary conditions for Bangkok changes significantly. Regarding the following section will review the specific clauses of the Anglo-Siamese Treaty (1855) and its effects on Bangkok in details of its clauses of several significant articles.

Firstly, in Article 4 of the 1855 Treaty stipulates the assigned boundaries for British subjects to reside in Bangkok with the land ownership:

*“British subjects are permitted to trade freely in all the seaports of Siam, but may reside permanently only at Bangkok, or within the limits assigned by this Treaty. British subjects coming to reside at Bangkok may rent land, and buy or build houses, but cannot purchase lands within a circuit of 200 sen (not more than 4 miles English) from the city walls, until they shall have lived in Siam for 10 years, or shall obtain special authority from the Siamese Government to enable them to do so. But with the exception of his limitation, British residents in Siam may at time buy or rent house, land, or plantations situated anywhere within a distance of 24 hours’ journey from the city of Bangkok, to be computed by the area at which boats of the country can travel.”*  
(Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:38-39)

This article explicitly granted permission for British subjects to reside and to settle down in Bangkok or within the limits of assigned boundaries. Granting the right to settle down in the country implies granting land ownership to the British and her subjects as well. According to this provision, the Siamese government officially permitted the settlement of British and their subjects with the certification right on land

ownership. As a result, this provision, undoubtedly, attracted new comers recently arriving at Bangkok port.

Secondly, Article 1 and 2 also granted the extraterritorial rights for the British subjects upon these clauses:

Article 1: *“There shall henceforward be perpetual peace and friendship between Their Majesties the First and Second Kings of Siam and their successors, and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and her successors. All British subjects coming to Siam shall receive from the Siamese Government full protection and assistance to enable them to reside in Siam in all security, and trade with every facility, from oppression or injury on the part of the Siamese; and all Siamese subjects going to an English country shall receive from the British Government the same complete protection and assistance that shall be granted to British subjects by the Government of Siam.”*  
(Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 37-38)

Article 2: *“The interests of all British subjects coming to Siam shall be placed under the regulation and control of a Consul, who will be appointed to reside at Bangkok. He will himself conform to, and will enforce the observance by British subjects of all the provisions of this Treaty, and such of the former Treaty negotiated by Captain Burney in 1826 as shall still remain in operation. He shall also give effect to all rules or regulations that are now or may hereafter be enacted for the government of British subjects in Siam, the*

*conduction of their trade, and for the prevention of violations of the laws of Siam. Any disputes arising between Siamese and British subjects shall be heard and determined by the Consul, in conjunction with the proper Siamese officers; and criminal offences will be punished, in the case of English offenders, by the Consul, according to English laws, and in the case of Siamese offenders, by their own laws, through the Siamese authorities. But the Consul shall not interfere in any matters referring solely to Siamese; neither will the Siamese authorities interfere in questions which only concern the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 38).*

As we can see from the aforementioned articles under these conditions British subjects can settle in Bangkok with the right to hold land and the protection of rights under British laws. However, the treaty is very concerned with identifying the British subjects using the identification. The Treaty stipulated careful details of the process to obtain and use passports. The mentioned clauses appear in Article 5:

*“All British subjects intending to reside in Siam shall be registered at the British Consulate. They shall not go out to sea, nor proceed beyond the limits assigned by this Treaty for the residence of British subjects, without a passport from the Siamese authorities, to be applied for by the British Consul; nor shall they leave Siam if the Siamese authorities show to the British Consul that legitimate objections exist to their quitting the country. But within the limits appointed under the preceding Article, British subjects are at liberty to travel to and from under the protection of a*

*pass, to be furnished them by the British Consul, and counter-sealed by the proper Siamese officer, stating, in the Siamese character, their names, calling, and description. The Siamese officers at the Government stations in the interior may at any time, call for the production of this pass, and immediately on its being exhibited, they must allow the parties to proceed; but it will be their duty to detain these persons who, by travelling without a pass from the Consul, render themselves liable to the suspicion of their being deserters; and such detention shall be immediately reported to the Consul.” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 39)*

Therefore, the first thing the British subjects should do when they arrived in Bangkok is to present themselves at the Consul in order to obtain a certificate and passport for traveling over the assigned boundaries. It is very important to stress that Britain gave significant emphasis on the privileges her subjects would gain from this Treaty including issuing passport and certificate for their subjects to ensure protection under the British laws and right to hold land.

The third effect from this Anglo-Siamese Treaty concerns international trade. The Treaty fixed import tariff of goods from Britain at three percent which was significantly less than other countries. More importantly, three percent import duty proved to be the lowest rate throughout Asia. For example, in India import duties on cotton fabrics was set at the level of five percent, and in case of China and Japan the duties were also set at five percent as consequences of Nanking Treaty of China in 1842 and British- Japanese Commercial treaty of 1858 (Suehiro, 1989 :21).

Article 8 stipulates that:

*“The measurement duty hitherto paid by English vessels trading to Bangkok under the treaty of 1826, shall be abolished from the date of this Treaty coming into operation, and British shipping and trade will thenceforth be only subject to the payment of import and export duties on the goods landed or shipped. On all articles of import the duties shall be 3 per cent., payable at the option of the importer, either in kind or money, calculated upon the marked value of the goods ... Opium may be imported free of duty, but can only be sold to the opium farmer or his agents. In the event of no arrangement being effected with them for the sale of the opium, it shall be re-exported, and no impost or duty shall be levied thereon. Any infringement of this regulation shall subject the opium to seizure and confiscation. ...Articles of export, from the time of production to the date of shipment shall pay impost only, whether this be levied under the name of inland tax, transit duty, or duty on exportation. The tax or duty to be paid on each article of Siamese produce previous to or upon exportation is specified in the Tariff attached to this Treaty; and it is distinctly agreed that goods or produce which pay any description of tax in the interior, shall be exempted from any further payment of duty on exportation. ...English merchants are to be allowed to purchase directly from the producer the articles in which they trade, and in like manner to sell their goods directly to the parties wishing to purchase the same, without the*

interference, in either case, of any other person ...  
*Whenever a scarcity may be apprehended, of salt, rice and fish, the Siamese Government reserve to themselves the right of prohibiting, by public proclamation, the exportation of these articles. Bullion, or personal effects, may be imported or exported free of charge.*" (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 40-41)

This article clearly stipulated the details of beneficial conditions on trade between two the countries and their subjects. First, the Treaty fixed import tariff at three percent as well as fixed the export tariffs as exhibited thereafter by Schedule of Taxes on Garden-ground, Plantations or other Lands (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 53-56) in the Agreement supplementary to the Treaty of 1856 (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 45). That means this Treaty required that trade must be done directly between merchants and producers. Most importantly, it set a new requirement for opium trade, there will be no tax for the opium traffic and will be monopolized by opium farmer. Finally, this Treaty provided room for Siam in case of food shortages and allowed Siamese government to prohibit exportation of rice, salt and fish in case of scarcity occur in the country.

From the above articles, it can be seen that this Anglo-Siamese Treaty generally known as the Bowring Treaty provided three main privileges for British subjects that were land ownership, judicial privileges, and beneficial trade conditions. Almost all aforesaid articles contained in the Treaty articles which concluded between Siam and Britain in 1855 and was ratified later for twelve articles on April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1856. Nevertheless, when this treaty was ratified in the following year of May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1856, several additional clauses were added again for the clear of the ambiguities to the Treaty by the Agreement supplementary of twelve articles and the attachment of schedule of Taxes on Garden-ground, Plantations or other Lands.

For the reason of the Agreement, it was initiated "in order to prevent future controversy and any clause of which is not sufficiently clear should be fully



explained.” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 46). The example of the important point in the Treaty is the concerning of the British subject, this term of British subject was carefully defined the meaning of their Asiatic subjects by specify races and concerning of certificate renewal for each journey as stated in Article 1 of the 1856 Treaty as followed:

*“All British subjects, without exception, shall be allowed to participate in this overland trade.... All traders, under British rule, may cross from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenassarim, Pegu, or other places, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may trade there with facility, on the condition that they shall be provided by the British authorities with proper certificates, which must be renewed for each journey.”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 47)

Additional details also stipulated in Article 5 of the Agreement in 1856 for how to obtain the passport as follows:

*“The Treaty provides that passports shall be grant to travelers. ,, the passports to be given to British subjects traveling beyond the limits assigned by the treaty for the residence of British subjects, together with the pass for cargo-boats and the port-clearances of British ships, shall be issued within 24 hours after formal application for the same shall have been made to the proper Siamese authorities; but if reasonable cause should at any time exist for delaying or withholding the issue of any of these papers, the Siamese authorities must at once communicate it to the Consul.”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 49)

According to the Agreement Supplementary to the Treaty in 1856, it stipulated these clauses regarding the annexed schedule of which became the main problem for Siamese revenue for a long period of time because it provided for the payment on the land held or purchased by British subjects, of “the same taxation that is levied on Siamese subjects”, but the taxes alluded to are those set forth in the annexed schedule according to Article 8 of the Treaty which it stipulated that “British subjects are to pay import and export duties according to duties of annexed schedule mentioned to the treaty.”

For the sake of greater distinctness, the following explanation was added to these two clauses, namely land tax and the import and export duties. “...no additional charge or tax of any kind may be imposed upon the British subjects, unless it obtain the sanction both of the supreme Siamese authorities and the British Consul” (Treaty series vol. I: 1617 – 1869, 1968: 49) That means this article stipulated the limits of taxation in three kinds of taxes which are import tax fixed at three percent, land taxes and exportation levied shown in the annexed schedule.

Concerning the settlement sites, the Agreement of 1856 specified both permitted and forbidden boundaries that can be purchased and only residences without the ownership. The permission to own land was mentioned in two articles, specifically in Article 10 and 11. Article 10 regards the boundaries of a four miles “circuit” within which foreigners could own land after have lived there for 10 years. The point which this circuit extends due north, south, east and west of the city, and the spot where it crossed the river below Bangkok accordingly has been measured by officers on the part of Siamese and English; and the measurements, having been examined and agreed upon. They boundaries were marked by stone pillars placed at the under-mentioned localities, vitz.:

Article 10: *“On the North:- One sen North of Wat  
Kemabhirataram. On the East:- Six sen and 7 fathoms  
south-west of Wat Bangkapi...On the South:- About 19*

*sen south of the village of Bangpakeo,.. On the West:- About 2 sen south-west of the village of Bangphrom The pillar marking the spot where the circuit line crosses the river below Bangkok are placed on the left bank, 3 sen below the village of Bangmanau, and on the right bank about 1 sen below the village of Banflampulen”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 51).

The pillar marking the spot where the circuit lines crosses the river below Bangkok were placed. The boundaries as shown by the map on page 138.

Additionally, the Article 11 of the 1856 Treaty stipulated “the boundaries of 24 hours’ journey” that British subject may at anytime buy or lent houses, land, or plantations. The agreement of both sides about the boundaries of 24 hours’ journey shall be briefed as follows: “On the North:- The Bangputsa Canal, from its mouth on the Chaophraya River to the old city walls of Lobpuray (Lopburi) ... on the east:- A straight line drawn from the landing-place of Tha Phrangam to the junction of Klongkut Canal with the Bangpakong River...on the South:- The Isle of Srimaharajah and the Island of Se Chang...on the West:- The western coast of the Gulf to the mouth of the Mekong River...” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 52)

It can be seen that this treaty clearly identify the assigned boundaries nearby Bangkok for rent or purchase as stated in Article 10 and 11. Furthermore, this treaty also stipulated the necessity of Custom-House regulations which specified that it should be located close to the port of Bangkok. The clauses appeared as follows:

On the establishment of a Custom-House “... at the requested of Mr. Parkes<sup>3</sup>, and in conformity with the intent of Article 8 of the ratified treaty Agreement, agree to the immediate establishment of a Custom-House under the superintendence of

---

<sup>3</sup> He is a secretary of John Bowring during the ratification of the Bowring Treaty.

a high Government functionary for the examination of all goods landed or shipped and the receipt of the import and export duties due. They further agree that the business of the Custom-House shall be conducted under the regulations annexed to this agreement.” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:51)

#### Custom-House Regulations

1. A Custom-House is to be built at Bangkok, near to the anchorage, and officers must be in attendance there between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. The business of the Custom-House must be carried on between those hours. The tide-waiters, required to superintend the landing or shipment of goods, will remain in waiting for that purpose from daylight until park.

2. Subordinate Custom-House officers shall be appointed to each ship; their number shall not be limited, they may remain on board the vessel or in boats along side. The Custom-House officers appointed to the vessels outside the bar will have the option of residing on board the ships, or of accompanying the cargo-boats on their passage to and fro (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:56).

Therefore, the treaty specified certain clauses for changes in Bangkok, particularly establishing a new office of Custom-House in Bangkok. In addition, in Article 2 of Treaty 1856 it also discussed measure for conflict settlement between Siamese and British subjects. In Article 2 the significant clauses appeared as followed:

“Any disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects shall be heard and determined by the Consul in conjunction with the proper Siamese officers; by the Consul according to English laws, and in the case of Siamese offenders, by their own laws, through the Siamese authorities; but the Consul shall not interfere in any matters referring solely to Siamese, neither will the Siamese authorities interfere in questions which only concern the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 47). “All criminal cases in which both parties are British subjects, or in which the defendant is a British subject, shall be tried and determined by the British Consul alone.

All civil cases in which both parties are British subjects, or in which defendant is a British subject, shall be heard and determined by the British Consul alone. ... British subjects, their persons, houses, premises, lands, ships, or property of any kind, shall not be seized, injured, or in anyway interfered with by the English, and the British Consul shall investigate and punish any breach of this stipulation” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:48). Considering the location of the consular court, in the Article 2 of the Treaty these following clauses were appeared;

*“ It is understood, however, that the arrival of the British Consul in Bangkok shall not take place before the ratification of this Treaty, nor until 10 vessels owned by British subjects, sailing under British colors, and with British papers, shall have entered the port of Bangkok for purposes of trade, subsequent to the signing of This Treaty.”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:38)

These clauses clearly point to the establishment of the Consular Court that should be situated nearby the British communities located in Bangkok. In brief, considering the Bowring Treaty of 1855 that was ratified in 1856 and the Agreement supplementary to the Treaty. Significantly, this Agreement had the additional attachment of the Schedule of Taxes on Garden-ground, Plantations or other Lands. To consider them carefully, it can be see the Bowring Treaty provisions were the preliminary conditions for Bangkok changes in several areas, such as allocation of space for British subjects settlement coupled with landownership; legal protection of British subject under the privilege of extraterritoriality; fixed the taxes and tariff for importation, exportation, and land tax; and establishment of the Consular court and Custom- House in Bangkok especially the consular court for the service of British and their subjects of the registration and issuing passports.

Therefore, it is interestingly to see how these requirement produced by the provisions of the Bowring Treaty gradually changed Bangkok in order to match with

such requirement as well as result from enforcement of the Treaty. Hence, the main question arising from this Treaty is what kind of changes occurred as consequences of these conditions or what kind of impacts of the settlement of the British and their subjects on Bangkok.

## 1.2 Previous studies

Bangkok changes during 1855-1909. There are four significant groups of literature emphasized different and varied interests and aspects of this period of Thai history that they can be helped to construct the understanding of Bangkok changes as a results of the British and their subject's settlement in Bangkok. The first are the works relating to the understanding of Bangkok city's landscape changes; the second is the growth of revenue of tax farms in Bangkok including the evil consequences of these illicit businesses. The third group of work is interested in the reform of administration and service in Bangkok. The last group focuses on the development of self government in Bangkok known as Sukhaphiban.

According to the four points above, there are four significant works that construct background and knowledge concerning the Bowring Treaty and the context of the origin of treaty and the policy of Siam. The first is Neon Snidvongs conducted her thesis in 1961 "The development of Siam's Relations with Britain and France in the Reign of King Mongkut, 1851-1868," The relation of Modern Siam with the West and the impact of the development of relations brought Siam to establish treaties with almost every western powers. This is the beginning of commercial relations which increasingly play an important role with significant political characteristics. The Anglo-Siamese Treaty 1855 or the Bowring Treaty is the most strongly effected Siam.

Another work of significance is the dissertation of Vikrom Kooompirochana: "Siam in British Foreign Policy 1855-1938: The Acquisition and the Relinquishment of British Extraterritorial rights" (1972), his work developed an

understanding of the relinquishment of British extraterritorial rights from 1855 to 1909. He examined the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1874 and the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1883, the agreement of Registration of British subjects in 1899, the Agreement between Britain and Siam relating to the abolition of land tax in 1900. In Addition, he examined primary source of facts and details for the conclusion treaty 1909 which the benefits of both parties settle with satisfaction. He examined how British extraterritoriality originated in Siam and how it was relinquished from Siam. He investigated the process of the modification of extraterritorial system. He concentrated on the relations between Siam and Britain in terms of the Agreement and treaties which reflected the negotiations that resulted in appropriate satisfaction for both parties. His work scrutinizes all engagements between Siam and Britain from 1855 to 1909, such as the agreement of registration British subjects in 1899, the Agreement to abolition of Land tax schedules attached to the agreement 1856 in 1900 including the Anglo Siamese treaty 1909. His wok is very significant to see the relations between Siamese and British through the treaty relation and agreement. Most of these engagements are useful to trace back the development of relations and the negotiations of both countries in particular the crucial points which are the conditions of later consequences.

Likewise, Richard Shaw Stetson fulfilled his dissertation titled "Siam's Diplomacy of Independence, 1855-1909, in the context of Anglo-French Interests in 1969. He was interested in the concept of Siam as a buffer state, Anglo-Siamese Secret convention in 1897, the railway construction, the administrative reformation, and the lift burden of extraterritoriality with France in 1907 and British in 1909. The last is Francis Bowes Sayre who wrote "Siam's Cases for the Revision of Obsolete Treaty Obligations Admittedly Inapplicable to Present Conditions". He studied British policy with regards to the question of extraterritoriality and fiscal problems in Siam. He points out the inapplicable of treaties in present conditions and to constitute a grave injustice for Siam (Sayre, n.d.:16-17). He examines the inapplicable points which are composed of the extraterritoriality, the fiscal limitations and the perpetuation illicit revenue maintained by

the Government including the trying to abolition the illicit revenue sources (Sayre, n.d.:24-27).

Apart from the consequences and invading jurisdiction and fiscal sovereignty, there are many works highlighted the changes as the results of Bowring Treaty provisions in Bangkok. These changes can be grouped into four categories of changes in Bangkok. The first is the city's landscape changes. The second is the growth of the state economy. The third is economic activities in urban area and the landscape. The last concerns the centralized reformation into Bangkok as well as initiated first service in Bangkok at the same time.

#### 1.2.1 City's landscape changes

The significant work which focuses on road construction appeared in 1983 was conducted by Sayomporn Tongasari (สยามพร ทองสารี): "The Impact of the Building of Roads in Bangkok during the Reign of King Rama V (1868-1910). The finding reveals a significant amount of road construction. More than 110 roads appeared in the reign of King Rama V which transformed the urban Bangkok in particular the city's landscape changes and the transferring of land and property ownership from the individuals to Royal Repository. Significantly, the Royal Treasury finally became the major land owner. Many roads obtain revenue from road development by renting of roadside shop-houses to the government in particular in southern part of the city where the foreigners reside. The noblemen constructed many roads in order to sell the land along roads. The transferring of land ownership from noblemen who are major land owners allocated lands to minor possessors or foreigners. It stimulates the expansion of trade in this quarter. Another relevant work subsequently appeared in 1999, titled "Land and Property Management in the city of Bangkok A.D. 1901-1932" written by Porntawee Supunnanon (พรทวี สุป้อนานนท์). It focused on the state policies which undertook the property management. Business expanded markedly by the government during the reign of King Chulalongkorn.



According to a combination of factors, ranging from the expansion of foreign influence, the state was committed to the policy of modernization, the on-going economic growth, the investment of elites who possessed capital and land. They developed such land in Bangkok, in particular developing residential areas or building shop houses in commercial areas since the beginning of roads construction in Bangkok. This made the price of land increase, and attracted the Privy Purse Bureau and nobles to invest in land and land-related business such as the business of markets and row-houses. The role of Privy Purse Bureau established and occupied many plots of land in good locations and commercial centers. The Privy Purse Bureau could control both prime commercial land and become the largest and most important land holding in Bangkok.

These details were examined and investigated by Porphant Ouyyanont in the article "The Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925" (1999). The operation of road construction brought to the particular governmental unit of responsibility concentrated by KromYothathikarn (กรมโยธาธิการ) or Public Works Department which initiated first time in Bangkok. Warunee Oasatharom (วารุณี โอสถารมย์) details the development of the department until the formulation of the ministry appears in celebrated book titled "109 years of Department of Public Works" (หนึ่งร้อยเก้าปีกรมโยธาธิการ) (1999). It concentrated the public works function which developed Bangkok to modernize similar to western urban or colonized cities.

Due to the problems of the borders in the North, the formulation of Royal Survey Department was formulated. It had surveyed the borders of Siam and Bangkok city's boundaries at the same time. In this respect the first Director of the Royal Survey Department was an Englishman, James McCarthy. He had the responsibility to vigorously map and survey. Prior to 1908, R.W. Giblin, later English Director wrote about the development of task, responsibilities of persons and units appeared in the edited book of Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear. The book titled "Twentieth Century Impressions of Siam: Its History, People, Commerce, industries, resources". His writing is

a very useful source because it concerns the development of mapping border, mapping Bangkok city, and the development the cadastral map to produce the tile-deed. Land register is possible and title deed is issued by the Land office thereafter. Consequently, title-deed can help to solve two problems of the effective income of land taxation and land ownership and conflicts finally. According to Land ownership and title-deed, there are two significant following works.

Oratip Tessiri (อรทิพย์ เทสสิริ) conducted “Land Holding in Thailand from 1901 to 1932: A Case Study of Monthon Krungthep” appeared in 1980. Another topic, Noparat Nussatom (นพรัตน์ นุสสัตรวม) wrote “Land Law Reform in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn (1977). Noparat discussed in detail on land ownership conflict and the development of Act of Reformed Title-Deeds of 1901. Noparat concentrated the cause that led to land law reform which issued to increase the revenue income from land taxation and cease the conflicts of the land ownership. Additionally, Noparat clarifies the process of issuing title deed and process of land register by Land register office. According to Oratip Tessiri, her work analyzes the cause of the promulgation of the Act of Reformed Title-Deeds of 1901 on the ground of disputes over the land ownership among Thai citizens and between Thai citizens and foreign residents. She also analyzed the increased revenue from land tax, and the impact of the Act on royal lands, monastery lands, citizens’ land and foreign residents land.

Apart from land ownership the Bowring Treaty welcomed the new community to settle. Later, the significant groups of British subjects arrived to settle after Bowring Treaty. Inthira Sashe (อินทิรา ซาฮีร์) also first studied British Indians group according to Indian textile merchants. Her dissertation published in 2003 titled “The Network of Indian Textile Merchants in Thai Society from 1857 to 1947. The development of trading networks among the Indian cloth merchants rather plays the crucial role in urban market of Bangkok by conducting trading networks among the Indian cloth merchants. Another work studied another group of British subject community in Bangkok, Straits-born Chinese commonly known as Baba. Nawaporn Ruengsakul (นภาพร

เว็องสกุล) wrote “Silom Nonya and Cookbook” in 2008. Her work examined the development of Baba community, social -family relation and association in Bangkok interestingly. Focusing on the relations between new settlers in Bangkok, Sawitree Dabbasuta (สาวิตรี ทัฬพะสุด) studied the relationship among the three important communities in Bangkok; in Bangkok in 1983: Thai, Chinese and western. She titled her work “The Relations Between Thai, Chinese and Western Communities in Bangkok 1855-1910”. At the same time, the Settlement of Foreign Company gradually came into Bangkok. Many British large companies begin to run the businesses. In 1984, Sanan Ratanasopa (สนั่น รัตนโสภา) studied these companies in “Evolution of Foreign Companies in Thailand (1855-1941)”.

As a result of the Bowring Treaty, It was an important factor which led to the arrival of foreign firms and the establishment of trading houses, later developed into large companies and influenced to the Thai economy. He considered how the growth of foreign companies effects and what the nature of the company growth seemed to be.

### 1.2.2 The financial reform and illicit economics in Bangkok

Concerning financial reform which related to the illicit business in Bangkok and the formulation of the Ministry of Finance, Ian Brown wrote “the Creation of the Ministry of Finance in Siam, 1885-1910” in 1992. He is interested in the formulation of the Ministry that is the result of imperial threat. In the early reign of King Chulalongkorn, the reform concerns the necessity of how to create a system of financial accountability for both revenue and expenditure. His work examined the evidences in terms of financial reformation. Particularly, he pointed out the influence of English financial advisers since the early reform started. Particularly, in 1890 government’s General Adviser advised that financial expertise and European Financial adviser could assist to the reform of the administrative procedures of the Ministry of Finance and to the publication of the government’s annual budget (Brown, 1992:39). The first English financial adviser, Mitchell-Innes was appointed to reorganize the financial orders and positions in the Ministry of Finance. Additionally, on the task of the expenditure estimates for the budget,

the second English financial adviser, Charles James Rivett-Carnac arrived in 1898. He cooperated with Siamese committee and Financial Ministry. The Siamese government finally published the annual budget and statement of financial position which helped to raise a loan in Europe to continue construction of the railway at that time (Brown, 1992:57).

It is interesting that both financial advisers in the Financial Ministry are Englishmen since the Ministry was founded. Interestingly, the three main revenue farms came from spirit, gambling, and opium monopolies, all of which were collected in Bangkok. In the early reign of King Chulalongkorn, the king needed to strengthen the administration's control over these farms in 1880s. However, the reformation later abolished revenue of tax farming because it caused the dangerous and insecurity of living in Bangkok. He described the endeavor of controlling and eliminating illicit in Bangkok related to the development of financial unit in the Ministry of Finance clearly.

The treaty limited the revenue increase, the Government tried to substitute the loss by the income of illicit monopoly tax farming, largely imposed in Bangkok, especially on the gambling and spirit houses, opium den or pawn shops. Most of tax farmers are Chinese who thereafter naturalized as foreign subject or protected person. The following work describes the development of these illicit businesses and substitute revenue income since King Rama Third reign. The interesting work is YaovapaYansuphap (เขาวงกต ญาณสุภาพ) (1989): "Spirit Industry in Thailand between B.E.2367" 2428. Another work is "Opium Revenue and Fiscal Policy of Thailand 1824 – 1925" studied by Supaporn Jarunpattana (สุภาพภรณ์ จรัลพัฒน์). She is interested in opium revenue which was first collected in the reign of King Mongkut (1851-1868). Formerly, due to the British merchants' demand of opium trade and the unsuccessful measures on the part of the government to stop opium smuggling into the country, Siam was compelled to allow legal selling and smoking of opium. Opium revenue was first collected by tax-farmers and became one of the important sources of government income. She analyzes the government's policies concerning opium revenue, the

process of monopolizing collection by tax-farmers, the middlemen, opium markets and the effect on opium revenue to fiscal policy of the government.

This work points out that after signing treaties with Britain in 1855 and with other following countries, the benefits from royal trade monopoly were abolished, and consequently decreased the national income. The government, therefore, had to find other sources of income to substitute them. As opium revenue tended to increase successively, the government showed great interest in formulating policies with the aim of increasing this kind of revenue. Hence, opium revenue reached its peak toward the end of King Chulalongkorn's reign. It was very difficult for the government of King Vajiravudh's reign to face with fiscal problems and to abolish opium revenue because the government was not able to seek other incomes to replace.

Concerning illicit trading activities, which first appeared in Bangkok, Nanthana Chotivetthamrong (นันทนา โชติเวทธีารง) wrote "Pawn-Shops and Some Socio – Economic Aspects of the Thai Society, 1895 -1955" in 1985. Regarding pawn-shops, the business from the beginning was solely in private hands, and later the government saw it fit to set up its first pawn-shops. Government intervention in pawn-shops was managed without restrictions and, as a result, they mushroomed in Bangkok. This is a study based on primary and secondary sources as well as information derived from interviews. With government control imposed, the result reveals that the pawn-shops at first had to comply with a number of government regulations regarding management, location, the number of pawn-shops in a specific area, and the qualifications of a would-be licensee. In general, the number of pawn-shops increased in the areas where gambling dens, markets, and a railway station clustered. Certainly, pawn-shop transformed into a finance house: in what way it engendered crime, and in what manner it did play a positive role in crime prevention.

Another work concentrates on the out number of foreign subjects. Based on most-favored-nation clause, treaty condition clearly welcomes new settlers in Bangkok. There are several relevant works on this topic, in particular Chariyavan

Apornratana (จริยาบรรณ อภรณ์รัตน์) who is interested in the problems of British and French subjects in “The Problems of Thai Government Concerning The Asian British and The Asian French Subject During The reign of King Rama V.” in 1981. Concerning the protection of extraterritoriality, the subject of both powers is outnumbered and causes the jurisdiction difficulties and reformation in the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

### 1.2.3 The administrative reformation

The role of the General Adviser is the very crucial in Thai history. Particularly, his works and advices interestingly appeared in Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns and the Making of Modern Siam: The Diaries and Letters of King Chulalongkorn's General Adviser in which Walter E.J. Tips collected and edited dairies and letters in 1996. Due to the necessity of administrative reformation, Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns who came into Siam in 1892 was appointed as the General-Adviser of the government. He was involved with many important projects for Siamese administrative reformation such as recommendation to issue the necessary basic laws and regulation, endeavor to negotiate for the treaty modification, or advice to government units and functions. His dairy reveals some details of his works that he took charge of duty. Particularly, services and units in Bangkok were considered in the first place for example the Department of Justice. Regarding to what has to do with the Local Government and the Governor of Bangkok -- namely, the Departments of Criminal Investigation and Public Prosecution.

To allocate the duties between the Local Government and the Governor of Bangkok - i.e. the former will receive from the Public Works Department, the making of roads and buildings. They are several laws that appeared as follows, Law against the Chinese Secret Societies. – Law on Marriage, defining the conditions under which a marriage could be considered valid according to Siamese legislation and the manner of recording the marriage celebrated in Siamese legislation and the manner of recording the marriage celebrated in Siam between foreigners who did not seek the protection of their consuls.

On November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1897, the draft of sanitary administration of the capital rules was issued for inquests on dead bodies of persons whose demise is supposed [assumed] to be due to some crime or accident. These rules were proposed on the October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1897, drafting rules on the duties of Amphurs (อำเภอ)[District Heads], and on their working in conjunction with the police as regards crime and the prevention of offenses - proposed on the November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1897; 3. Draft Police Act, proposed on the November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1897; Hackney Carriage Act, proposed on the February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1898; Jinriksha Act, proposed on the March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1898; Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, proposed on the February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1899; Arms Act proposed on the March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1899. Along the lines of centralization to the administrative branches of each Ministry and departments particularly in Bangkok he made the following reforms such as gardening, Surveying and Mining departments (on the ground that the Gardening, Surveying and Mining Departments transferring to the Finance Department. However, the construction of canals and irrigation will be given to the Public Works Department instead of the works in town which are to be given to the Governor of Bangkok. The administration of forests should have the protection of young trees.

According to tax on rice land it should establish the Ministry of Agriculture and transfer them to other Departments, the Ministry of Finance. Moreover, the Ministry of Finance should have to give orders directly to the Ministries of the Interior and Local Government. Focusing on the necessary service in Bangkok when the settlement of foreigner and their subject settle in Bangkok, the administrative unit needed to transform deserving urban security. The police are the first unit of service in Bangkok which faced with the difficulties; in particular, there are many consular courts of many countries which concluded treaties with Siam. According to this issue, Taweesak Suphasa (ท้าวศักดิ์ สุภษษา) wrote "The role and management of Police Force in Bangkok in the reign of King Chulalongkorn" in 1977. He considered the initial reform of the police constable in Bangkok as the result of the Bowring Treaty which made King Rama IV employ the Englishman who came from Burma. He first organized the police constables in a western style with the assistant of their staffs from Malays and

Indians who are British subjects. The constable unit was pressured to further reform when the number of foreign subjects in Bangkok increased and the number of the illicit businesses soared.

Rosukon Charasri (รสสุคนธ์ จรัสศรี) had studied the role of English Assistants in this service significantly. In 1977, her work appeared in the title of “The Role of Foreign Officials in the Thai Police Department under Absolute Monarchy”. She considers the reason that led the Government to employ foreign officials as Inspectors, notably Englishmen Mr. A.J.A. Jardine and Mr. Eric St. J. Lawson. Both of them worked and made the reform for the department since the early reign of King Chulalongkorn. Some of the activities reform which they initiate to improve the Police’s task finally helped to deal with the crime and murder investigation efficiently. Even the public works department and police department are the main concern of services in Bangkok since the Bowring Treaty came into force. However, there are many new challenges which need to tackle and solve.

#### 1.2.4. Municipality

Afterward when Bangkok learned how to deal with some problems, it initiated the constructive unit and service. For instance, it originated the concept of Municipality in Bangkok. Two significant works were studied to prove that this concept first appeared in Bangkok. In respect to Prapatsorn Indhisan (ประภัสสร อินธิแสน): “The Role of Sanitary Administration in the Establishment of Local Self-Government During B.E. 2441 – 2476” was written in 1980. He states the concept of local self – government had been first introduced during the local self-government role of the sanitary districts function during B.E. 2441 – 2476. Consequently, the first sanitary district was established in B.E. 2448 at Tha-Chalom, Samutsakorn province. The district learned the lesson from Bangkok in particular the revenue collecting, the police, public health and sanitation. In addition Maetheepat Jeongwarotai (เมธีพัชญ์ จงวโรทัย) wrote “Sukhaphiban: Local Administration in Siam, 1897 – 1933” in 2006 about the influence



and the circulation of the foreign thoughts in public on the commencement of the municipal system in urban Bangkok.

### 1.3 Data sources

There are several works that relate to the examination and analysis of the changes in Bangkok after the Bowring Treaty took effect and after the settlement of British and their subjects. The significant sources of data are composed of the primary source and secondary source. The primary sources compose of archival documents or first hand records, document of Ministries, the reports of foreign advisers or consular report. Secondary sources include books, dissertations, journals or articles. According to the primary sources they can be shown in details as follows:

- Royal chronicle, government activities, ministry documents and letters, laws, decrees, proclamations, announcements.
- Directory, statistic, annual report, postal census 1883 (สารบาญชี จ.ศ. 1245 ส่วนที่ 1-2).
- Maps, city plans, and photos
- Journal of British envoys
- The report of Diplomatic and Consular Reports (1897-1909)
- The Report on the Police Administration (1898-1904)
- The Report of the Financial Adviser (1901-1905)

### 1.4 Research Objectives

1.) To study the settlement of the British and their subjects in urban southern Bangkok from 1855-1909.

2.) To analyze the impact of the settlement of the British and their subjects on changes in landscape and urban administration.

3.) To study the conditions of Bangkok changes as results of Anglo-Siamese treaties.

### **1.5 Methodology**

For this research the methodology used relied on an historical approach to investigate the social history of foreign communities in southern Bangkok, 1855-1909 from interdisciplinary approaches, including history, political science, political economy, and anthropology. It examines the settlement of foreign communities, British and their Asiatic subjects in Bangkok as a result of the effective of the Bowring Treaty provisions until the conclusion of the later Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909. This study focuses mainly on landscape change, economic changes and municipal administration changes, it adopts qualitative methodology using both documentary research and field study from multi-disciplinary approach.

### **1.6 Hypothesis**

The conclusion of the Bowring Treaty between Siam and Britain in 1855 is a remarkable turn of Thai history in several aspects. The underlining meaning of the treaty is the settlement of the British and their subjects resulting in the growth and development of urban southern Bangkok. The new settlement of British settlers and their subjects influenced landscape change and land ownership including the development of commercial activities and public spheres. Moreover, the treaty also brought significant change in the area of urban administration such as public security, revenue, land register office, public health and sanitation. Some significant conditions of the Bowring Treaty included extraterritorial rights, the limitation of exported taxation, and the privilege of assigned boundaries in Bangkok vicinity including fixed land taxation. These conditions were changed thereafter in satisfied level by the conclusion of the later

Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909. The Bowring Treaty provisions set many conditions on Bangkok changes; in the first place; it termed the definition of British subject and the privileged judicial status on their certificates and passports, the advantage on the settlement of British and their subjects in Bangkok, especially the fixed taxation. These conditions led to three significant changes in Bangkok.

Firstly, the Bangkok landscape changed because these new settlers could settle and locate their communities and influence the construction of roads and shop houses. The government turned to invest in shop-house renting along the many new roads which assisted for the possibility for the settlement of the new comers. Afterward, the noble investors opened some pieces of land for sale and the state issued title deed; these ones could settle and become the settlers in Bangkok permanently.

Secondly, the British and British subjects significantly stimulated the economy of the state and economic activity of urban Bangkok. The large companies of British in Bangkok reaped benefits from rice and teak exportation and shipping. The British businesses were assisted significantly by their Indians and Chinese subjects. Their subjects performed business in Bangkok, mostly as compradors, retailers or colliers. Particularly some of their subjects learned experience from British companies and accumulated their own capital at the same time; consequently, they later could separate and start to settle their own businesses and becoming the prominent capitalist in Bangkok after that.

Thirdly, changes in Bangkok after Bowring Treaty included the gradual introduction of new services and administrative reformations. The reformation of services and functions relatively impacted both level of the government and Bangkok city's services. Some services were developed abruptly such as police, public work, sanitary and public health including the revenue. In particular Bangkok Revenue Department or Krom Sanphakon Nai (สรรพากรใน), it specifically levied its own taxes in Bangkok urban areas. Remarkably, financial reform of the state also related to some economic activities in Bangkok. For example, the monopoly tax farms were the main source of state revenue

and are mostly collected in Bangkok such as farm businesses of opium, spirit, gambling, and pawn shop. Later, the government tried to abolish or decrease these illicit incomes by the initiation scheme of financial reformation. The scheme planned to abandon farm businesses located in Bangkok and replaced them by other source of income in particular land tax.

Importantly, they were difficult tasks for Financial Ministry and Local Government Ministry at that time. These farm businesses severely affected the people living with a sense of insecurity from crime; particularly the foreigners or foreign subjects who were granted extraterritoriality. However, expressing thanks to the Siamese government and the assistance of British and British subjects, several principle departments and ministries in Bangkok were assisted by the British officials and their staffs such as police department, royal survey department, land register office, Ministry of Finance, ministry of Local government for the solution of the problems. In addition a new term of self-government known as "Municipality" appeared to tackle problems and control its own taxes independently. The concept of municipality gradually formulated and circulated in public sphere in Bangkok. Even this term of local self-governing cannot be settled in Bangkok, but it finally developed as a model of local government in another place of the provincial self-governing unit in Siam known as Sukhaphiban thereafter.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one is composed of an introduction, background, methodology and data source of dissertation. The following chapter focuses on the history of the development of trade and treaties between Britain and Siam since Ayutthaya to the Rattanakosin period. Concerning the development of the conclusion of the two Anglo-Siamese Treaties, the Burney treaty (1826) and the Bowring Treaty (1855). The treaty conditions had caused significant changes to Bangkok's urban landscape. Chapter three explores the transforming of the city's landscape, the settlement of British and their subject communities within their societies in Bangkok. Additionally, it also examines the relation between the settlement of the

British subjects and the road and shop house construction including studying transmitting land ownership of Bangkok inhabitants to the new settlers of British subjects. Chapter four concentrates on the roles of British and British subjects relating to the development of state Economy and Bangkok's Economic Development. In particular the role of both groups conducting trade in Bangkok with the assistance of each other. Concerning the roles of the British subjects as compradors and retailers in Bangkok's economy. The following chapter in chapter five turns to stress on the administrative units reforms. Studying the roles of British, British subjects and Siamese officials who joined together to reform and improve the administrative units and services. Some significant similarities could be found systematically and orderly since then. Particularly, within the foreign community in Bangkok the term of "Municipality" was circulated that it contributed to the adoption in provincial self- governing in Siam later known as Sukhaphiban. For the final chapter six is the conclusion of the dissertation.

## 1.7 Definition

### **The Bowring treaty**

The treaty is the Anglo –Siamese treaty which concluded between Siam and Britain in 1855 for twelve articles. The official name of the treaty is "the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Siam and Great Britain", signed in Bangkok on April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1855. Then in 1856 the treaty ratification was exchanged at Bangkok on April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1856.

### **The Agreement supplementary to the Bowring treaty**

The agreement was signed at Bangkok on May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1856 in order to prevent future controversy under conditions of the Bowring Treaty. Some significant clauses were sufficiently explained upon twelve articles. Additionally, another two parts

of the annexation of the Agreement are the five sections of schedule of taxes on garden-ground, plantations or other lands and the Custom-House regulations.

#### **British subject**

Europeans who are natural born British; sometimes called European British subjects. These people are born within their parents country and their nationalities as same as their parent.

#### **Asiatic Subject**

The people who became British subjects under colonial control outside the jurisdiction of Siamese authority such as Indians, Burmese, Malays, Chinese, Tongsoos and Shans.

#### **Comprador**

Chinese merchants who are educated and have command good English-speaking. They have the ability to be intermediaries between European firms, local suppliers and customer based on Western training and standing in the Chinese community to serve as the firm's contact person.

#### **Retailer**

Merchant who sell piece- goods or merchandise from a fixed location such as floating shop or shop house sometimes piled the river or lived one story brick as dealers in piece goods. They are mainly Indians or Chinese.

#### **Tax farmer**

Tax collectors who were given out for the collection of taxes on the manufacture and sale of opium, liquor, on gambling institutions, and on shops. He had to guarantee the delivery of an agreed-upon amount of tax revenue. In some cases the tax farmer had a monopoly control over certain products and services; in others, he controlled

only a part. Sometime he was given authority to market produce as well as collect taxes on it.

### **Municipality**

A governing body which is primarily an urban political unit having corporate status and usually powers of self-government.

## CHAPTER 2

### TRADE, TREATIES AND BANGKOK'S URBANIZATION

The relationship between commerce and urbanization in general can be noticed through several of the city's changes, such as the number of trading activities, the development of architecture and buildings, the expansion of communication and transportation and the increased rate of immigration including the different functions of the municipal administrations. When the economy of the city prospers the number and frequency of changes and transformations subsequently increases. As such, the city which sustains its economy by commerce actually becomes essentially a marketplace. Regarding the cities in Southeast Asia, commerce has always been vital because of their location is uniquely accessible to seaborne traffic commanding the maritime routes between China, India, the Middle East and Europe. All the cities in the region, known as the lands below the winds, naturally respond to seaborne trade. The cities are actually the hubs of commerce (Reid, 1993:1). The advantage of the Southeast Asia locations situated at the cross-roads of world trading routes allows the traders to stay in the ports and wait for their trading partners during the cyclone periods or the changing monsoon seasons. That means the cities act like boats or vessels loaded by people, goods, activities, rituals, and symbols of civilizations sailing across the history from the past heading towards the future. In particular, capital cities become a place of exchange for different goods, commodities, values, cultures, or religions from many trading ship passengers or immigrants (Widodo, 2004:2-3). Consequently it can be seen that the trade patterns seemingly relate to urbanization very closely. Noticeably, at the same time, when trade pattern diverge, it brings different trading activities, growth and development, and of course, these effects inevitably appear in the city and impact the pattern of urbanization. Consequences can be seen in the exchange for goods and commodities, the state policy and diplomacy, law and regulation including the expansion of city's physical and financial landscape.



Covering the long period of commercial expansion through maritime commerce, Southeast Asian cities naturally coped with changes in values and political influences from other regions beginning significantly during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. This period of time is familiarly known as “the age of commerce”, gradually formulated the emergence of the port cities. This period was marked by urban growth which mostly shifted the port cities in power to trade-based cities (Reid, 1993:62). Most ports or port cities in the region played a crucial role as marketplaces that opened their markets through the exchange of goods, commodities and resources. They opened their city's space for the interrelation of materials and abstracts from many places all the time, particularly some differences, challenges, difficulties or even development occurred as a direct consequence. Therefore, urban spaces became places where traders and consumers integrated into tight social relations both inside and outside the market economy. Consequently, these markets or port cities are linked to the social creativity of the people (Evers and Koff, 2000:13-14).

Therefore, the study of these port cities regarding the framework of municipal adaptation and transformation can presumably reflect a trade pattern, the development of state formulation, the settlement of mixed- race settlers, expatriates or indigenous including the employment of experienced foreign officials and governmental services.

Among the many countries coming to trade with Southeast Asia, European influence in the region was far greater than the others even considering the large geographical distance separating the countries. During the period of colonization, they sailed across the oceans to trade with the Southeast Asia port cities with the monopoly licensed companies since the fifteenth century. In general, at the beginning of relations with commerce or religious mission it seemed to be the first priority of their arrival to these ports. These new comers were composed of adventurers, missionaries, traders, or company licensed employees who experienced and left lessons for followers to continue to develop relations and networks after they had left.

## 2.1 Monopoly Trade and Urbanization

### 2.1.1 Ayutthaya monopoly trade and urbanization

Between 1351 and 1767 Ayutthaya was one of the prosperous ports in the region and was also the capital and port city of Siam. Its strategic location was also significant as it was situated between the sea and inland trading networks. It reached its height during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries as an international port (Charnvit and Wright, 2007:268). Trading in Ayutthaya was primarily negotiated through the creation of monopolies with private traders that could export goods; however goods and commodities could only be purchased from the Royal warehouse. Commodities such as rice and sugar were traded freely in the marketplaces. Charnvit (1999:73) stated that imported monopoly goods had to be sold only to the royal warehouse. A significant proportion of trade was conducted through the king, his port officials and crown treasurers usually through Phraklang Sinkha (พระคลังสินค้า) (Dhiravat, 1998: 66). Minister known as Phraklang in Ayutthaya held the main duties to manage the kingdom's external affairs, both commercial and diplomatic. Most important economic functions were under the management of the royal warehouse and the importing and exporting of monopoly goods. Sometimes he was responsible for official communications with foreign governments and exchange ambassadors (Charnvit, 1999: 74). Overseas trade accounted for a relatively small share of overall economic activities in the kingdom and comprised mostly an exchange of local raw natural products for luxury manufactured goods from China, South Asia, and eventually Europe. Royal overseas trade accounted for 36 percent of the state's total cash (Charnvit, 1999: 77).

Commodities were sold by foreigners to the Phra Klang or sometimes directly to the markets. They were mostly luxury or rare items such as cotton fabric (painted and printed) from India, silk from China and Persia, glass from Holland and France, and ceramics from China. Imported goods commonly found in the city included ceramics and steel work from China and fabrics from India and Cambodia. A significant import in the 16th century was firearms from Europe such as cannons and matchlocks.

Portugal was the first country to sell these items in Siam. Ayutthaya did not consume all the commodities that it imported. Another distinctive feature of the port city was that it also served as a transit center for goods. For example around the 17th century, Chinese traders were bringing in raw silk, finished silk and ceramics. It was well known to regional traders that ports such as Ayutthaya and Pattani were market centers for Chinese products. Thus, European traders with no opportunity to trade directly with China would come to Siam to examine the tariff and measurement, Ayutthaya collected taxes on goods, imported and exported duties (Charnvit and Wright, 2007: 269). According to Chinese imports, duty was thus in a favorable position at 16.7 percent while other foreign traders paid around 22.2 percent. The tariff had been levied at different rates over time and was only 3 percent by the end of Ayutthaya period.

By the mid 1500s Ayutthaya's government began to impose a second type of tax adopted from the Chinese taxation system which varied according to the size of the vessel. This anchorage fee was determined by measuring the size of the vessel docked in the port. The part of the deck was calculated according to fixed formula. This tax tended to put Chinese junks and various sailing vessels, in a favorable position. They were usually narrower than ships that came from the west (Charnvit, 1999: 17).

The seventeenth century, particularly 1605-1688, was considered as the "golden age" of Siamese Crown trade (Dhiravat, 1998: 64). Two major issues confirm the extent of Siamese Crown trade and the role of the Europeans in the international trade and involvement in Siam early modern era (Dhiravat, 1998: 65-6).

### 2.1.2 Treaties and extraterritoriality

In 1608 a Siamese embassy was dispatched by King Ekathotrot (พระเจ้าเอกาทศรถ) to The Hague along with the first ever Siamese diplomatic mission to Europe (Dhiravat, 1998:68). Following this in 1613, the royal message was introduced between the king of Ayutthaya and Britain, (Nathabanja, 1924: 28); The following Treaty concluded with the Dutch in August 1664 that favored the Dutch with the extra-

territoriality clauses (Dhiravat, 1998: 72-3). Subsequently, the following Treaty with Britain occurred when Siam sent its mission to King Louis XIV of France, and one of its ambassadors proceeded to London and opened negotiations with the English court in 1683. A treaty concluded with King Charles II (Wright, 1993:37) (ทรงศรี, มปป:21-22).

Another Treaty concluded with the king of Siam and France in 1687 also granted extraterritoriality for the French Company. The special privileges and jurisdiction granted to the Dutch and French as mentioned were in existence only for a short time they came to an end before the beginning of the eighteenth century (Nathabanja, 1924: 31). Therefore, it is interestingly that the relation between Ayutthaya and Europeans appeared in the form of treaties, but some treaties only granted extraterritoriality for a short period of time. However, the treaty appeared in terms of the royal message or judicial contract in both ways.

The outward-looking policies of King Narai (สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช) (1656-1688) transcended any political changes in the realm (Dhiravat, 1998: 66). According to the relationship with Britain, based on an analysis between trading partners the deal was considered unsatisfactory. During the king's reign, many Englishmen and Scotsmen were employed by the king in the role of captain on his ships, to act as his trading agents, and even to serve as officials of the realm. He even recruited a group of foreigners with particular commercial and navigational knowledge to help conduct trade. The most notable among the Englishmen in King Narai's service was Samuel White an Englishman who was appointed as Harbor Master of Mergui through the auspices of his friend, Phaulkon. These "interlopers" caused so much friction with the Siamese Court when a state of war existed in the year 1687-1688 (Dhiravat, 1998: 75).

With regards to Britain, in 1612 the British East India Company<sup>1</sup> presented King Song Tham (พระเจ้าทรงธรรม) with a letter from King James I; the king granted them a large building on the bank of the Chao Phraya nearby the Dutch settlement (Charnvit & Wright, 2007: 176). The Company did not fare very well even though the king himself supported the English trading venture. For example, he gave them a large loan of one of the Company's officers. Other support was also received from King Narai, however severe difficulties continued primarily because some British agents tended to trade on their own account undermining the Company's business. The Company suffered great losses (Charnvit & Wright, 2007: 176). Significantly, at that time, the British East India Company officers recommended Phaulkon to the Siamese service as a commercial interpreter and later promoted as the Superintendent of Foreign Trade for King Narai's titled in Thai as Chaophraya Wit Yen (เจ้าพระยาวิชเยนทร์) (ทรงศรี, มปป: 21). Another Englishman assisted work at Mergui as the governor. (Manich a, 1970: 19). At that time King Narai declared war against the British East India Company, but not Britain (ทรงศรี, มปป: 23). Finally, the Company's permanently withdrew from Ayutthaya before it was being destroyed by the Burmese in 1767 (Charnvit & Wright, 2007: 176).

---

<sup>1</sup> The British East India Company (also known as the East India Trading Company or the English East India Company).The Company was formed initially for pursuing trade with the East Indies, but that ended up trading mainly with the Indian subcontinent and China. It was granted an English Royal Charter, under the name Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies, by Queen Elizabeth I on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1600. The Company long held a privileged position in relation to the British Government. As a result, it was frequently granted special rights and privileges, including trade monopolies and exemptions.

The East India Company traded mainly in cotton, silk, indigo dye, saltpetre, tea, and opium. The Company also came to rule large areas of India, exercising military power and assuming administrative functions, to the exclusion, gradually, of its commercial pursuits; it effectively functioned as a megacorporation for over 250 years.

### 2.1.3 The settlement of Foreigners in Ayutthaya urban

During the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, Ayutthaya in terms of size and administrative commercial strength, favorable natural conditions and government policies along with state and private trading activities made the city a powerful kingdom. Because of these factors it grew rapidly and endured for a long time more than four centuries (Charnvit, 1999:78). At the time Ayutthaya's space was developed in an outstanding pattern particularly fortification, network of rivers and canals going to the sea, many markets including the settlement of different foreign communities. The city was surrounded by canals and rivers reinforced by the defensive walls and fortresses. The city's fortification was divided into two primary zones: the area outside and within the city walls. Both areas were interconnected by the market and were close to the harbor and shipyard. The markets played a crucial role in commerce as meeting places for different people forming the heart of the cosmopolitan society (Widodo, 2004:42). More than forty markets were inside the city wall and more than thirty were outside including four large floating markets (Charnvit and Wright, 2007: 24). Foreign residential areas were carefully allocated. For example, Europeans such as Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, and Spanish were permitted to settle outside the city walls to the south of the city (Charnvit and Wright, 2007: 145). During the fifteenth to the eighteenth century particular emphasis was placed on the roles of the permanent floating market and land markets, provided protection by the city's fortification with forts and city walls including a link to city by the network of canals and rivers, and finally an open city's space for some foreign communities to settle down.

In summary, Ayutthaya was located in the advantageous geographical and trading position and was developed to be an international port for a long period of time. Royal revenue came from the monopoly of overseas trade. Trade relations with Europeans (Portugal, Netherland, England) were developed with China, Vietnam, Japan, Arab states, Persia, India, Sri Lanka, and Maldive (Breazeale, 1999: 8-10). Trade and diplomacy developed in term of treaty conclusion and granting extraterritoriality for a

short period of time. Some foreigners were trusted to post in important positions including trading agents. Regarding British, Siamese even employed Englishmen as trading agents which eventually led to the declaration of war in 1688. Some foreign descendants were settled their communities up to the present.

## 2.2 Free trade under Treaty and Urbanization

### 2.2.1 The Anglo-Siamese Treaty 1826

#### 2.2.1.1 Early Bangkok tributary trade with China

When Rama I came to the throne he transferred his capital to Bangkok across the Chaophraya River from Thonburi (ธนบุรี). The new palace was to be on the site of a large Chinese settlement. The Chakri Kings were familiar with trade from the beginning. This reflects the prior experience of leading nobles in early Bangkok. They had been involved in the royal trade since the Ayutthaya period. Similar to Ayutthaya, Bangkok's revenue benefits from the overseas trade with a legacy of involvement in trade over several generations and active participation in the opportunities from foreign trade. Tributary trade was considered within the official tributary by the frequency with tribute missions to make obeisance to the Peking court. Both China and Siam shared the belief that tributary and trade relations were essentially complementary. Tribute and trade formed an integral whole as a basic divergence of official attitudes vis-à-vis the manner and extent of such interaction. Trade, of course, as a secondary consideration conformed strictly to the general political principle to bring trade within the framework of politics. The Siamese court traditionally regarded overseas trade as one important means of enrichment. The tribute missions were just one form of commercial investment (Sarasin, 1977:1-2). Tributary relations between Siam and China were maintained at a satisfactory level, in particular for a long time (Sarasin, 1977:4).

Sino-Siamese trade, the Krom-Ta (กรมท่า) in the Praklang department was the main body through which many Chinese individuals ascended in the Siamese bureaucratic hierarchy (Sarasin, 1977: 247). One product can be singled out as the main contribution to the Sino-Siamese trade; Siamese rice. The rice trade that developed from the second decade of the eighteenth century was significant for both Siam and China (Sarasin, 1977: 247). Prior to 1720s, this movement by Qing authorities and subsequent encouragement of local merchants toward sizable Siamese rice imports ensured a period of vigorous trade (Sarasin, 1977:248). The impact of the Sino- Siamese trade marked Bangkok as the main trading port outside China proper after the fall of Ayutthaya (Sarasin, 1977:251). In the reign of King Rama I since 1784, Siam had sent missions to China including nobles and princes following this junk trade were in prosperity including private junks. Teak was the most needed commodity for shipbuilding, in particular Chinese immigrants were loaded by the Royal junks (สี่ปแสดง, 2525: 160-1). Bangkok became an important port during 1782-1808; there were 22 missions to China which accounted for one mission per year on average (สี่ปแสดง, 2525, 160-1). Private vessels were prosperous when the European powers intervened; the number of vessels gradually decreased, particularly in the reign of King Rama III under conditions of the Treaty. King Rama III turned to secure revenue through the monopoly tax farming. Then the tributary trade finally ceased in the reign of King Rama IV (สี่ปแสดง, 2525, 166-7). The decline of tributary trade was the result of the square-rigged vessels and pirates including the decline of this system with little profit (เจนนีเฟอร์, 2528: 51). Siam loaded sugar, salt and rice. At the time rice was the most important good from Siam (เจนนีเฟอร์, 2528: 61,77). Prior to 1820-60, rice was at a high price until the nineteenth century (เจนนีเฟอร์, 2528: 79-80). Sugar, salt and rice were extensively grown throughout Siam. In the later stages of King Rama III reign, Singapore became the port of Siamese goods (วราภรณ์, 2522: 50) that had high numbers of vessel during 1829-1851 totaling between 31-63 (วราภรณ์, 2522: 51). Although the Burney Treaty abandoned monopolies, Siam turned revenue to the monopoly of tax farming. Following this sugar became the royal monopoly.



### 2.2.1.2 British territorial acquisition and economic domination in Asia

According to European trade after the fall of Ayutthaya pattern gradually turned to free trade in the nineteenth century particularly in Britain. In this period, known as the period of colonization, the economic domination and territorial acquisition were simultaneously used to control the colonies. During this period Britain was the most powerful nation strongly formulating the terms of trade in practice particularly under terms of treaty provisions. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, three significant phenomena occurred simultaneously. For example, the need of exchanged profit returned by exporting cotton and opium to China; the British expansion of territorial acquisition in several ports along the coast between India and China, particularly in Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Arakan<sup>2</sup>; and the declination of monopoly turned by a support of theoretical terms of free trade. These facts appeared through the mechanisms of territorial acquisition.

After 1785, British company's absorption of authority increasingly gained authority over principal ports in India to supply cotton and opium to China. At that time, commercial interest focused on cotton and opium trade from India which mostly exchanged items including tea, silks, and porcelains to China (Cady, 1964: 303). Supported by the territorial acquisitions, the trading control of the British company when viewed in the larger geographical context extended from India to China occurred. The company acquired Penang Island in 1786 and Malacca in 1795, Province Wellesley opposite Penang in 1800, Singapore during 1819 -1824, Arakan and Tenassarim in 1826 (Cady, 1964,304). Two supporters of free trade in British East India Company are Crawfurd and Raffle (Cady, 1964:314, 320), who together formulated Singapore as a possible alternative site for a final free-trade (Cady, 1964:320). Thereafter, Singapore became the real port of free trade significantly.

---

<sup>2</sup> Arakan is currently known as Rakhine State of Myanmar situated on the western coast, it is bordered by the Bay of Bengal to the west, and the Chittagong Division of Bangladesh to the northwest.

Interestingly, Britain extensively expanded her influential power to control her interests through the treaty. Britain's territorial acquisition and economic hegemony emerged together along with the expansion on a large scale by the threats to local states. Almost all states in Southeast Asia finally had been invaded by British dominions such as Burma, Singapore, Malay, or concession ports in China as networks of the British Empire.

The finding of exporting raw cotton from Bombay to China, by taking Indian's wares notably Coromandel Coast piece-goods and Bengal opium delivered to Malaya, Indonesia, Canton and Macao on the trade route between India and China. Under these circumstances the clear need of Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century was for a harbor which would combine the advantages of a repair station with a trading center for the Malay Archipelago, and at the same time on the main sea route to China (Hall, 1970: 492). To solve the naval problem for the defense of British interests in the Indian Ocean: it had assisted the China trade and provided an entrepot for the trade of the Malay world.

In 1769, one enterprising "country" vessel of the British East Company captained by Francis Light explored the possibilities of both Aceh and Kedah<sup>3</sup> and preferred Penang (Hall, 1970: 497-8). In 1786 the same captain negotiated with the Sultan of Kedah for a lease of Penang Island a few miles off the Kedah coast. A vague kind of lease agreement was arranged with the Sultan, and he became the first British East Company official placed by Bengal in control of Penang (Cady, 1964:309).

Though accepting the island in the doctrine of non-intervention the directors in London had high concerns about the place's potential value in the sphere of maritime commerce and strategy. With concerning deny involving internal politics of Malay Peninsula the non-intervention was stress (Hall, 1974: 4). The British

---

<sup>3</sup> Kedah was a vassal state of Siamese Kingdom known as Syburi (ไซบุรี). Another Vassal states of Siamese Kingdom in Malay peninsular were Perlis (ปะลิส) Kelantan (กัลันตัน) and Terengganu.

policy laid down Malay states Peninsula to set upon political implications that would not increase British territories. The Sultan of Kedah had hoped for the assistance of the British East India Company to maintain his independence, and encouraged in that hope by Francis Light had permitted the Company in 1786 to occupy the island of Penang. The first treaty with the Company was concluded and the Sultan was regarded as an independent ruler. The directors in London accepted the island as the holding potential strategic and commercial value in the sphere of maritime commerce. It was treated under non-intervention doctrine (Hall, 1974:4). Penang was in the Company's undisputed possession of this area for thirty-six years, and Siam had never challenged the Company's right to it (Hall, 1974: 17). However, later in 1797 there was skepticism as to the Penang potential naval base. It did not satisfy the needs of British interests either as a trading post or as a naval base and as it was too far north to attract trade through the straits or to control pirate-infected waters including too distant from Burma's teakwood supplies to become a shipbuilding center (Cady, 1964:309).

Instead of being abandoned, in 1897 the settlement of British interest was strengthened by the acquisition of the strip of territory opposite to it on the mainland from the Sultan of Kedah. The new agreement between British and Sultan of Kedah was concluded. The Company agreed to pay ten thousand dollars a year in the respect of its occupation of Penang and Province Wellesley as the newly acquired mainland territories. The objective of this additional acquisition was to secure Penang's food supply which was dangerously dependent upon Kedah. The exaggerated belief in Penang's importance reached its climax in 1805. The hope was that it would become a trading center for the island of the Malay Archipelago, and even that spices and pepper could be grown there to free the British from independence upon the Dutch. (Hall, 1974: 5-6). However, Singapore was the choice to replace Penang.

In the year before the outbreak of the French Revolution an Anglo-Dutch Treaty was signed which provided that should a European war break out either party might occupy the colonies of the other as a defense against a common

enemy. It was in accordance with this agreement authorized the Dutch colonies to admit British forces to prevent them from falling into French hands. Consequently, British occupied of Malacca, the Dutch governors and troops left (Hall, 1970:506).

The fall of Java to the British came in 1811 and occupied Batavia in the same year. British conquest was facilitated by the successful subversive efforts of Stamford Raffles from Malacca to turn the native princes against French-Dutch control. Later, Java was destined to reform under a British proconsul. Thomas Stamford Raffles, who was the English Company's selection as governor of Java. He introduced several major reforms in Java such as centralized the governmental administration in attempt to free the villagers from the tyranny of their native rulers, introducing jury trial and introduction of the system of land settlement and taxation (Cady, 317-318). Java was under British rules for five years (1811-1816).

Raffle wanted to see the emergence of a more liberal system of trade in the straits area and he thought that the island of Singapore was a possible alternative site for a free-trade entrepot. He began to negotiate in 1819 with the local chief of Johore for the lease and his proposal was favored by the British Company for the need to provide a place where Asians could get a proper price for their produce. Singapore started functioned as a trading center after that and in 1820 the population reached ten thousand. The Asiatic crafts alone did a four million dollar in the first year (Cady, 1964:320-321).

During the first two and a half years 383 European ships with cargo valued at nearly 4.5 million dollar passed through its ports. In the succeeding two years the total value of Singapore's trade well exceeded 4.5 million dollars. Better located to meet the needs of China and archipelago trade, Singapore soon replaced Penang as a port of call and as the center of government of the British Straits Settlements (Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley) (Bastin and Benda, 1977:32). By mid-century the position had changed radically with the influx of large

numbers of immigrants from southeastern China attracted by the expansion of tin mining in the western states of Malay Peninsula (Bastin and Benda, 1977: 32).

After the foundation of Singapore in 1819, Singapore wanted a fair share of Siam's trade (Neon, 1961: 116). The Penang Council therefore wanted to send a mission to Bangkok to negotiate for better conditions of trade. With permission from India letters and presents were sent to Bangkok in 1818-1819 expressing friendly sentiments and suggesting a conclusion of commercial regulations. In July of 1820, the Penang council asked for a permission to send an official to Bangkok to strengthen commercial ties. The Indian government<sup>4</sup> agreed but emphasized that the mission must be purely commercial (Neon, 1961: 117). Taking into consideration of the suspicion of the Asian countries against the west, the government of India advised Penang to be cautious in their approach. Following this advice the Penang Council decided to send John Morgan, a Singapore merchant to collect information and sound the Siamese ministers on the possibility of improving commercial relations. Penang had paid Morgan \$3,662 for losses and \$1,200 for personal expenses (Neon, 1961: 117). He arrived in 1821 as a private trader and well received a warm welcome by court. Freedom to trade, his trading venture was not successful with interference of Portuguese about firearms. He turned in an adverse report on Siam. In his opinion, although Siam agreed to make a treaty with the foreign trader, businesses could not be carried out unless there was somebody on the spot to protect their interests. He failed to make any headway at all (Neon, 1961:119).

In 1818, a Portuguese envoy arrived in Bangkok bearing presents and letters from the governor of Macao, expressing the wish to renew the cordial relations which had existed in the older days (Neon, 1961: 114). Envoy Carlos Manuel Silveira was permitted to stay in Bangkok to carry on trade helping to supply the Siamese with the much needed firearm. He returned in 1820 from the viceroy at Goa

---

<sup>4</sup> The Indian subcontinent was ruled by the British East India Company from 1757. In 1858, the rule of the British East India Company was transferred to the Crown in the person of Queen Victoria.

with the request to conclude a commercial treaty. He brought with him the draft treaty but the Siamese were invited to make alterations they considered necessary. Twenty-three articles were provided for a Portuguese consul general to reside in Bangkok. The proposed treaty which was not concluded, but it was sent to Goa. A document bearing only the seal of Phra Klang Permitting the Portuguese to come and trade. It was not an official treaty. Consequently, the later events showed that the trade between Portugal and Siam was not large enough to justify elaborate agreements. Moreover, Silveira stayed in Bangkok known by European as Portuguese consul. He was more like a trader engaged in shipbuilding and received the title of Luang Aphai Pha Nit (หลวงอภัยพานิช) acknowledged as the chief of the native Christian who claimed Portuguese descent (Neon, 1961:115).

Bangkok invaded Kedah in 1818, before the invasion, the Penang Council had repeatedly urged the Indian government to preserve the independence of Kedah. The Sultan of Kedah had been dreading it and had several times asked the Company for friendly interference with Bangkok. The Company had steadily refused because it feared that British mediation might lead to a more direct participation in Malayan affairs (Neon, 1961:115). However, Siamese claimed control over Kedah induced the Indian Government to abandon its policy of avoiding all political relations with Bangkok for two decades. The Siamese forces conquered Kedah, the Raja of Ligor<sup>5</sup> laid claim to the annual subsidy of ten thousand dollars paid by the Company in respect of Penang and Province Wellesley (Hall, 1974:17).

At this point the policy of non-intervention was unrealistic in terms of the actual situation in the Malay world because the threat of Siamese attempts was to expand their control southwards. The method they used created disorder and chaos in the Malay lands within Penang's commercial orbit. Wars between Sultans and piracy flourished on a large scale indicating a widespread breakdown of political authority.

---

<sup>5</sup> Ligor is a city in southern Thailand currently named Nakhon Sri Thammarat Province. It was known by European as Ligor.

These events horrified Europeans who came into contact with them. There was an intervention to the furtherance of peaceful conditions of trade. (Hall, 1974: 10-11).

After serious depredations by the Liquor troops, the British officials at Penang were thus brought into a potentially confrontational relationship with Siam. Before Morgan's report was received in India, the Crawford's mission to Bangkok was instructed to negotiate with Siam (Neon, 1961:119).

However, the development of the Sino-Siamese trade parallel to this phenomenon was a direct casualty of western penetration into East Asia because this trade flourished under the "closed" system in both Siam and China. It became incompatible and anachronistic in the light of growing western pressures for free and open trade under treaty obligations. Moreover, superior Western-style ships ensured the decline of the junk, and their presence led directly to the opening of large ports along Southeast China coasts which could service large vessels, and to the corresponding decline of smaller ports hitherto smaller size junks. In the reign of King Rama II, the royal monopoly system was developed on an unprecedented scale (Sarasin, 1977: 182). The exclusion of westerners from Siam's trade continued. In the reign of King Rama II, partly due to the Chinese traders who told the court that all of Siam's needs could be supplied by Chinese junk trading from Singapore, Java, and China. Later, it is to be noted that the importance of goods from the west in the third reign carried on indirectly through the port of Singapore (Sarasin, 1977: 229).

#### 2.2.1.3 English East India conducting negotiations with Bangkok

During the first British mission to Siam, John Crawford was sent to Bangkok in 1822 he was largely concerned with resolving the legal status of Penang (Farrington, 2007:vii). After an unsatisfactory attempt to open relations with Bangkok in 1821, when a merchant, John Morgan, visited at the request of Penang, the East India Company resolved to send a formal mission to Bangkok and Hue' (in Vietnam). One of the missions was to seek out whatever commercial advantages might be available and

to investigate the activities of the French (Crawfurd, 1987: introduction). Company officers in Penang similarly were concerned with the improvement of commercial relations with Siam and more acutely interested in securing Siamese recognition of their claims over the island, especially after the Siamese invasion of neighboring Kedah in 1821.

Siam's policy in the Peninsula took a new turn, one of increasing control over existing Malay vassals and of asserting it over hitherto independent Malay rulers (Neon, 1961:13). Malay rulers believed that a British guarantee would be enough to assure their independence of Siam, and successive sultans of Kedah ever ceased pressing for the defensive alliance which they held to be the price owed to them by the British for the cession of Penang and Province Wellesley (Hall, 1974:13). Penang had been pressing for the deputation of a mission to the Siamese Court as early as 1818. The Indian Government desired two things. The first regarded the belief that trade did not depend on special privileges or presence of an agent, but on the freedom of trade (Neon, 1961:120). Crawfurd was instructed to refrain from demanding or even hinting at the establishment trading factories, exemption from jurisdiction and custom imposition, monopoly of favorite article (Neon, 1961: 120). The second was the preference to have an official written record of all the concessions granted in the form of a letter either from the king to the Governor-General, or from a Siamese minister to Crawfurd himself (Neon, 1961:121).

Crawfurd's two missions discussed the politics and commercial engagement. According to a political mission the invasion of Malay state of Kedah by the Siamese and the flight of Raja to Prince of Wales's Island, the invasions were concerned carefully because it might interfere as little as possible with the principal object of the mission. Siamese stated about the flight of Prince of Wales that instead of seeking the asylum at Prince's of Wales's Island, he should come to the capital, and represent his grievances to the king which would be done with the ample justice because it was tributary of Siam (Crawfurd, 1987:163). Regarding commerce, he



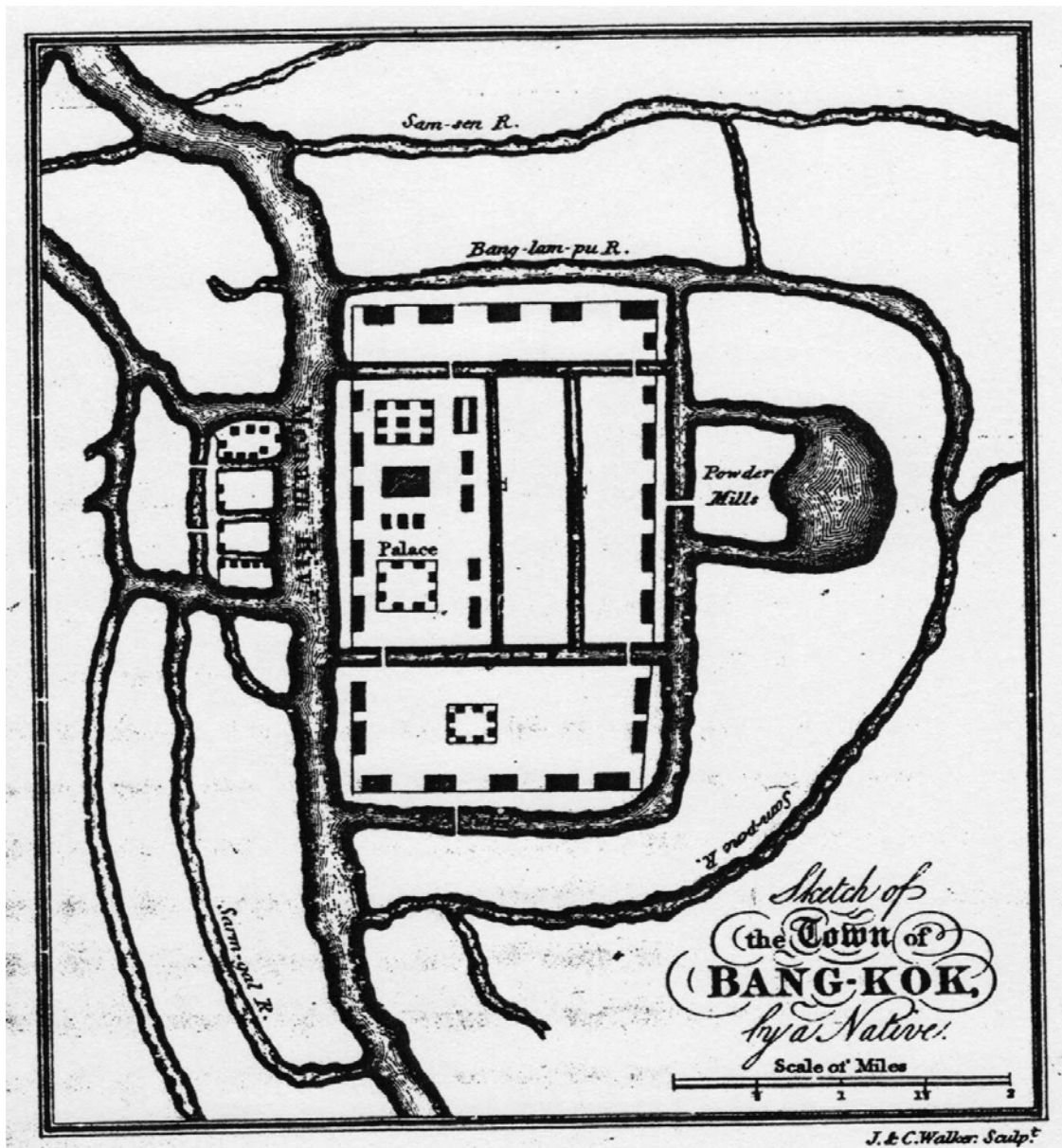
conveyed a desire to strengthen and to increase the existing friendship (Crawfurd, 1987:173). His negotiation for import duty would be reduced from eight to six percent including allowing the disposal of cargo freely without any interference. Siam answered that the reduction of duties should take place only for the English ships arriving in five vessels. As a result of Crawfurd's mission, the official interference in form of monopoly and right of pre-emption was the main obstacle in the development of foreign trade. However, this attempt was unsuccessful. That point benefited Siam because it was the main revenue for the government, so it was certainly refused (Neon, 1961:127).

Finally, the commercial document appeared in terms of a letter of agreement on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1822. The agreements were composed of an opening to friendship and commerce including a request of permission for English ships to trade within the capital. To buy and sell with the merchants of Siam the superintendent of customs shall afford all assistance as soon as the English ships anchored and the duties and charges shall not be overrated (Crawfurd, 1987: 174). However, his attempt was successful when King Rama III accessed to the throne. He issued a decree that the government would no longer be engaged in trade. In particular, when Crawfurd came to be a Resident in Singapore, he reported that King Rama III declared freedom of foreign merchants from official interference. English traders who visited Bangkok received marked attention and three loaded ships of Siam were expected at Singapore (Neon, 1961:128).

With regards to Crawfurd, the main objective of this mission was to lay the foundation of a friendly intercourse which may prepare the way for the establishment of commercial relations. In all instructions that Crawfurd received, the commercial angle was stressed at the expense of the politics; he was directed to avoid "any appearance that may countenance the erroneous belief. He was directed to collect as much information about Siam as he would not alarm the Siamese (Vikrom, 1972 :22-23).

Significantly, Crawford's mission had gained beneficial results. Prior to his departure the commercial document promised that the amount of Siamese duties and charges would not be increased and that the Siamese Superintendent of Customs would render all assistance in buying and selling British goods. As he was a keen observer, he collected valuable information about the geography, population and resources of Siam, the character of the government and weaknesses in power. These were of great value for later British envoys in their negotiations. In spite of his failure to achieve his main objectives, the mission resulted in an increase of trade between Siam and British dominions. Consequently, an English merchant, Robert Hunter, came to trade with Siam in 1824 (Vikrom, 1972 : 24).

According to Crawford's profile, it was outstanding. He lived three years in Penang from 1808-1811. These brought him an extensive acquaintance with Malay language and culture, and prepare him admirably for a series of civil and political posts. During the British occupation of Java from 1811-1816, he was appointed as a British Resident. His abilities appeared as a person eminently qualified for the successful conduct of this delicate and important duty. He was thus prepared for the task by the full and accurate knowledge and had previously acquired with regard to connection with Siam and Cochin China. Crawford's mission was reported to the British Government as a useful exploratory probe in which others might later follow with more substantial results. Particularly, Henry Burney later used it as a diplomatic record and as a guide to Siam policies and practices during his negotiations in Bangkok during 1825 -1826. In addition, John Bowring used it for the same purposes in 1855 (Crawford, 1987: introduction). Additionally, he also produced the first map of Bangkok known as "sketch of the town of Bang-kok". It was the one of earliest maps of Bangkok, showing the town as a fortified rectangle, surrounded by a network of city moats and canals.



Map 1: Sketch of the town of Bang-kok

Source: (Crawford, 1987: 447)

As mentioned, in 1818 Siam took a new turn, one of increasing Bangkok's control over existing Malay vassals and of asserting it over independent Malay rulers. Siam ordered the Sultan of Kedah to invade the neighboring state of Perak and force its sultan to send the *bunga mas*<sup>6</sup> to Bangkok. Perak was an independent state owing alliance to Siam; yet for some years previously Siam had sent repeated demands, transmitted through the Sultan of Kedah, for an acknowledgement of her suzerainty. These had all been rejected by the Sultan of Perak. He argued that his authority as an independent ruler was of long standing longer than that of any neighboring Malay ruler. The Sultan of Kedah, however, feared Siam anger upon his own state if Perak persisted in rejecting the Siamese demands; consequently, she invaded Perak finally (Hall, 1974:11-12). Two years after Crawford, the Anglo-Burmese War I<sup>7</sup> broke out and the Supreme Council urged Penang to approach Siam as a possible ally, especially in the early stages of the war when English troops were making headway. In 1824, Lieutenant Low<sup>8</sup> was sent to Ligor to persuade the Raja to dispatch a Siamese's contingent against Burma. The mission was a failure, but he acquired useful information that the Raja of Ligor was no semi-independent but merely a powerful Siamese official who was unable to detail forces under his command without the Bangkok's consent (Thomson, 1967:150).

Considering Low's mission in detail British East India Company conducted simultaneous missions with James Low who enlisted the aid of the Governor of Ligor in gathering boats for the projected British push up the Irrawaddy River from

---

<sup>6</sup> Traditional tribute from vessel states to the Kingdom of Siam before 19th century.

<sup>7</sup> The Anglo-Burmese Wars are the wars between Burma with Britain. These wars occurred three times. The First war occurred during 1824-1826, the second war during 1853-1878 and the third war during 1878-1885.

<sup>8</sup> He was born on April, 4<sup>th</sup>, 1791 at Causland and educated at Edidburgh College. He worked for East India Company since 1812 and moved to settle in Penang in 1818. When the British at Penang were brought into confrontational relationship with Siam. Low was trusted from the Company for aid of the Governor of Ligor in gathering the first war between British and Burma in 1824.

Rangoon (Farington, 2007:viii). On the April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1824 Low submitted to the Penang government his manuscript “the map of Siam, Cambodia, and Laos” which he had previously surveyed and produced. He was rewarded with the handsome bonus of 2,000 Spanish dollars (about \$500) and was then nominated for the Ligor Mission. Low sailed first for the Kedah River where he had an audience with the Siamese chief on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1824 and was refused permission to travel overland to Ligor. He sent a letter requesting a personal interview with the governor and while awaiting a reply made an exploratory cruise along the Siamese coast, entering the Trang (ตรัง) River on May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1824 from where another letter was sent. Leaving Trang on May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1824. He was received at Tha Rua Phuket (ท่าเรือภูเก็ต) by the Siamese officer in charge of the island and then Moved over to Phang-nga (พังงา) River and Trang. Finally, He could not meet the Governor of Ligor. He continued to meet the Governor’s young son although he still realized the ultimate mission was over. Before leaving Trang, he wrote a summary report and two days before a submission to the government after his return to Penang (Farington, 2007: ix). His two documents demonstrate a growing understanding that the Governor of Ligor commanded extensive territories and resources in Southern Siam. He was a high-ranking Siamese official holding his post at royal pleasure and incapable of any interaction with the British without permission from Bangkok (Farington, 2007: ix). During September 1824 and October 1825, Low was on field service in Tenassarim and produced maps of Martaban, Tavoy, and Ye. Later, he was promoted to be a captain on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1826, in the following September. Thereafter, he was sent on another mission to “warn” invading Siamese forces to leave the Malay State of Perak.

The Siamese had withdrawn before Low arrived, but he remained at Perak’s capital for a month and was considered to have exceeded his authority by signing a treaty that committed the British to aid the Sultan in any future disputes (Farington, 2007:ix). He was certainly eager to learn many things in Siam. For example, he struggled with the language in the early 1820s, without a benefit of textbooks, however in 1828 he produced, “A Grammar of Thai or Siamese Language” in 1828”. His later articles drew heavily on his personal contacts with native speakers. In the unfolding

diplomatic relationships between the British and Siam after the first Burma War, he was, despite his linguistic abilities, soon sidelined by Henry Burney, who went to Bangkok in December 1825 to negotiate the first treaty and commercial agreement (Farington, 2007:x). Significantly, similar to Crawford, he produced a western sense-map of the Bangkok city titled "A Geological Map of the Past of Klong, Wat,...of Bangkok in Siam" in 1835 (Pirasri, 2008).

#### 2.2.1.4 Henry Burney's mission

In the same year of Low's mission when Siam expanded into Salangor and Perak Governor Robert Fullerton of British East India arrived in Malaya outlined the Malaya Policy. This modest program included the restoration of the Sultan of Kedah and the forced renunciation of Siamese claims to sovereignty over the Malay States south of Kedah and Pattani on the grounds that a Siamese conquest of these places would destroy British trade with the peninsula. In its reply the Supreme Council hesitated to sanction any attempt to make a formal treaty with Siam lest the latter, by breaking its agreement, might compel the company to resort to a force of arms. Nevertheless, in view of Siam's conquest of Kedah in 1821 and the increasing importance of Siamese trade, the Supreme Council regretfully decided to abandon its principle of no political treaties and to advocate the reconstruction of Kedah as an independent buffer State under the ex-Sultan (Thomson, 1967:150). In 1825 Henry Burney ascertained the Siam's attitude towards the Anglo-Burmese wars and the British conquests resulted in an attempt to negotiate a commercial treaty. He had been dispatched to Kedah and Ligor. He confirmed Low's appraisal of the status of the Raja of Ligor and the necessity for dealing directly with Bangkok. He had signed a preliminary treaty persuading Kedah to give up an idea to attack Salangor (Thomson, 1967:151). The object of the treaty was mainly to counteract the disposition by the Siamese to co-operate with the Burmese in the first war with the latter power, and to remove the disquiet occasion to the settlement of Penang by the Siamese occupation of the territories. These motives, rather than any commercial or general objects, comprised

of fourteen articles, seven of which may be said to be of politics and the others of a commercial character (Bowring, 1977: 201).

The negotiations proceeded rapidly and Burney presented his first treaty draft on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1826. By June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1826 he had succeeded in concluding the first modern treaty of friendship and alliance and the first commercial agreement between a Western nation and Siam (Vella, 1957:120). In the other thirteen articles: item by item, the pledges were mutual, the responsibilities equal, and the advantages the same for both parties. A treaty are composed of an explicit denial of extraterritoriality, an agreement to trade freely according to the “customs of the place,” an explicit denial of any right to rent land or establish factories without permission including denial of the right to import opium. In one article of a commercial agreement, the British explicitly agreed to the Siamese ban on an export of rice. The ability of Burney to conclude negotiations with the Siamese and obtain a treaty was undoubtedly due principally to the Siamese fear of Britain. But other factors are the moderateness of Burney’s requests, Burney’s concession in exchange for Siamese. Burney was well informed on Siam before he arrived in Bangkok and remained long enough in the country to establish close relationships with a number of Siamese officials as well as learned and used the Siamese language in his negotiations on July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1826 (Vella, 1957:121).

#### 2.2.1.5 The First Anglo-Siamese Treaty (The Burney Treaty) (1826)

The following topics are raised in several articles in the Burney Treaty. Extraterritoriality is not permitted to establish in Siam as appeared in Article 2 which it denied of extraterritoriality to English:

*“Should any place or Country subject to English do anything that may offend the Siamese, the Siamese shall not go and injure such place or Country, but first report the matter to the English, who will examine into it*

*with truth and sincerity; and if the fault lie with the English, the English shall punish according to the fault. Should any place or Country subject to the Siamese do any thing that may offend the English, the English shall not go and injure such place or country, but first report the matter to the Siamese, who will examine into it with truth and sincerity; and if the fault lie with the Siamese, Siamese shall punish according to fault...”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:24)

In Article 5 English people must conduct themselves under Siamese Laws upon these clauses:

*“... The Siamese desiring to go to an English Country, or the English desiring to go to a Siamese Country, must conform to the customs of the place of Country, on the either side; should they be ignorant of the customs, the Siamese or English officers must explain them. Siamese subjects who visit an English Country, must conduct themselves according to the established Laws of the English Country, in every particular. The English subjects who visit a Siamese Country, must conduct themselves according to the established Laws of the Siamese Country, in every particular.”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:25)

In Article 6 it allowed the subject of one country to trade in other countries. He must pay duties upon commerce. As to any controversies arising among them, it was provided that: paying the duty upon commerce, the established law as follows:



*“Merchants subject to Siamese or English, going to trade either in Bengal, or any other Country subject to the English, or at Bangkok, or in any Country subject to the Siamese, must pay the duties upon commerce according to the customs of the place or Country, on either side; and such merchants and the inhabitants of the country shall be allowed to buy and sell without the intervention of other persons in such Countries shall be allowed to buy and sell without the intervention of other persons in such Countries. Should a Siamese or English merchant have any complaint or suit, he must complain to the Officers and Governors, on either side; and they will examine and settle the same, according to established Law of the place or Country, on either side”*  
(Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:25)

In Article 7 it is stated that the permission to reside was set upon each term as follows:

*“A merchant subject to the Siamese or English, going to trade in any English or Siamese Country, and applying to build godowns or houses, or to buy or hire shops or houses, in which to place his merchandize, the Siamese or English Officers and Rulers shall be at liberty to deny him a permission to stay. If they permit him to stay, he shall land and take up his residence according to such terms as may be mutually agreed on.”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:25-26).

Article 10 specifically clarified the term of her subject into their Asiatic colonizers categories:

“The English and Siamese mutually agreed, that there shall be an unrestricted trade between them in the English Countries of Prince of Wales’ Island, Malacca, and Singapore, and the Siamese Countries of Ligore, Merdilony, Singora, Patam, Junkceylon, Queda, and other Siamese Provinces. Asiatic merchants of the English Countries, not being Burmese, Peguers, or descendants of Europeans, shall be allowed to trade freely overland, and by means of the rivers. Asiatic merchants, not being Burmese, Peguers, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter into and trade with the Siamese Dominions, from the countries of Mergni, Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Ye, which are now subject to the English, will be allowed to do so freely, overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates; but merchants are forbidden to bring opium, which is positively a contraband article in the Territories of Siam; and should a merchant introduce any, the Government shall seize, burn, and destroy the whole of it” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:26).

It is interesting that during this period and even much earlier the system of judicial extraterritoriality began its life in neighboring China. Foreign merchants were clamoring for such rights, and the factory system had already had its foundation there. Fortunately, conditions in Siam were the opposite. Foreigners were satisfied with local law and with the conduct and treatment of the local officers. This treaty is an equal treatment of subjects. Britain had no objection whatsoever to the local law or to any conduct of the local authorities. On the contrary, Britain placed their subjects in Siam under local law and jurisdiction. There was not the least sign of any

infringement upon the sovereignty of Siam, and her supremacy within her territory was fully respected (Nathabanja, 1924: 35).

The United States were keen to have increase trade relations in the Far East, on January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1832 Edmund Roberts was a special agent of the United States to negotiate trade treaties with Muscat, Siam and Cochin-China (Robert, 1998: 11). He went to Siam in February of 1833, securing a treaty of amity and commerce, which in fact gave no more than Burney had obtained, and on the trade side, since the export of rice was prohibited, the number of British and American ships arriving to Bangkok increased significantly (Robert, 1998:12). Prince Chetsadabodin (เชษฐา บดินทร์) (King Rama III) now reigned as Phre Nangklao (พระนั่งเกล้า) delivered marginally better than before, eliminating a host of taxes and imposts by fixing a single duty based on measurement of a ship's size; an arrangement was made for defining the British Burmese and Siamese boundaries and settling disputes, the Siamese position in the Malay state was recognized, but the British was not given the right to establish a consular resident in Bangkok, one which the Portuguese had obtained, though his position was closer to a trade representative than a consul (Robert,1998:11). So Robert left Siam on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1833.

Siam signed the friendship and relation of the two nations between equals, on the basis which is very similar to that of the treaty with Britain as may be seen in Article 9 appeared that "Merchants of the United States trading in the Kingdom of Siam, shall respect and follow the laws and customs of the country in all points" (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:35). Americans, as well as the English in Siam, were under Siamese laws and Siamese customs. The treaties did not specifically provide who would enforce these laws and customs upon the subject of these two nations; but those treaties left no question or any doubt as to the understanding of all the parties, because they provided for respect, without reserving to the territorial sovereignty of Siam. According to the customs in Siam since the earlier days, all aliens and natives alike were not only subjected to the Siamese Law and customs throughout the realm, but there

were no foreign consul or representative who exercised judicial functions within the Siamese territories during the period under consideration. Soon later, the American was stated to obtain the passport as appeared in Article 2 as right of buying and selling in Siam; munitions of war and opium excepted among imports, and rice among exports; liberty of United States subjects to obtain passports authorizing them to quit the country when no legal objection exists (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 33-34).

Article 4 stated the terms of the most-favored-nation in case of a duty. Diminution duties, if granted to vassals of other nations, were to be equally granted to vessels of the United States. This term appeared in case of the permission for consul establishment for another country except Portugal in Article 10 any [country] but the Portuguese obtain the right to nominate a consul to reside in Siam, that right shall be given to the United States' government (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:34). It is interesting that the American treaty closely followed the model set by the Burney treaty. There are indications that the Siamese were more willing to reach an Agreement with the Americans. John Shellaber, the United States Consul at Batavia, some years before Robert's arrival in Siam had written that the King of Siam had expressed wishes to increase the American trade with Siam and a willingness to yield all facilities to that end (Vella, 1957:122). Previously, earlier trade with the United States, the American ships brought much desired firearms to Siam. The cordial reception of the Americans also appeared to have been political in nature. It was believed that Siam feared the political implications of exclusive relations with Britain and may have wished to use the United States to counterbalance the British power because there is no proof of the Siamese willingness to trade with Americans. It seemed to be the foundation of the later Siamese policy of playing of one power against another (Vella, 1957:124). Siam did not fear the United States and knew the country only through the merchant ships that had arrived between 1818 and 1821 and the few American missionaries who had come after 1828 (Vella, 1957:122). In brief, the Burney Treaty and the American-Siamese Treaty stipulated three points of changes in Siam:

1. They stressed the need for free trade to exist in Siam as direct trade on either side as mentioned in the American–Siamese Treaties of 1833 as merchants and the inhabitants of the country shall be allowed to buy and sell without the intervention of other persons in other countries, but they needed to conduct themselves under Siamese Laws. They had to be granted permission to reside and duties could be placed to comply with the customs of the place or country. Instead of import and export duties, ships had to pay a tonnage duty of one thousand seven hundred ticals<sup>9</sup> per Siamese fathom and a vessel arriving in ballast had to pay one thousand five hundred ticals per fathom. Tonnage-duty was not to be charged where a vessel only called to refit, to victual, or to obtain information (Smithies, 2002: 15).

2. The provision points to the abandonment of royal monopoly which Siam familiarly and gained more profits. It also caused the serious consequences of the substitution of revenue. The tax framing introduced since the reign of King Rama II was then developed to replace revenue loss.

3. The Burney Treaty settled understandings that the treaty bounded the status of two kinds of persons of British subjects. The first is European and the second is Asiatic subject as appeared in Article 10 as mentioned earlier. Moreover, these persons also need to obtain a certificate or passport.

The two treaties combined the conditions together by the American treaty following the Burney treaty principles; moreover, it also set the terms of most-favored-nation in the American-Siamese treaty for the further joint treaty later in case of the establishment of another consul except the Portuguese consul. Additionally, these clauses stated as the same point “Domination duties, if granted to vessels of other nations, to be equally granted to vessels of the United States” (Smithies, 2002: 15). To

---

<sup>9</sup> Tical is the silver currency of Siam. It is divided into four salungs (สลึง), and each salung into two fuangs (เฟื้อง), flat silver coins being issued each of these values. These coins were originally about two shilling in value, but later sharing the fate of the rupee and the dollar.

facilitate the handling of the men's service and collection of taxes, the population was marked and registered at the beginning of the reign and periodically thereafter. The government of Rama III conducted a general marking of the population and compiled new census rolls in 1826. The direct taxes on croup lands, paddy fields, orchards, and plantation (sugar, tobacco, etc.) were among the most important taxes in Siam. These were levied on the basis of areas or number of trees. Lands were periodically surveyed in 1829 (Vella, 1957:21). However, there are significant changes in this reign as a result of treaty's effects that brought the following consequences.

Introduction of tax farming deemed as the principle change in the revenue structure in Siam during the Third Reign was the replacement of the royal monopoly system of tax farming. Tax farming had been introduced during the reign of King Rama II when leases were given out for the collection of taxes on the manufacture and sale of liquor, on gambling institutions. The system had its greatest growth, however during the third Reign, replacing direct collection of many duties and also entirely replaced the royal monopolies. It was applied to thirty-eight types of enterprises during the reign most of them in the field of production for export. There were two reasons for the phenomenal growth of the tax farming system. First, the system was profitable; the tax farm was largely responsible for the marked increase in revenue during the reign.

Second, it was seized upon as a means of circumventing the provisions disallowing royal monopolies in the trade treaties Siam signed with the British and Americans during the reign. The inspiration and operation of the tax farming system came from China (Vella, 1957:23). The farms were operated similar to tax farms in China; the majority of tax farmers in Siam were Chinese; even the name of the taxes obtained from the farms, Phasi (ภาษี), is said to have been derived from Chinese. The tax farmer bid for the office he had to guarantee the delivery of an agreed upon amount of tax revenue. They paid two months of tax in advance and the rest in monthly installments. The farmer was left to his own devices to collect the tax, although he could call for official support if required. In some cases the tax farmer had a monopoly control

over certain products and services; in other words, he controlled only a part. Sometimes he was given the authority to market the produce as well as to collect taxes on it. The tax farmer was ordered not to oppress the people in collecting taxes, but, since the profit in the position depended on how much the farmer could obtain in addition of the tax, he frequently abused his power (Vella, 1957:23).

Reliance on the tax farming system may be said to be a continuation of the traditional pattern predicated on the concept of state intervention in economic development, somewhat like the mercantilist orientation inherent in the former trading monopolies (Smithies, 2002:53). The prolific farming system was to nullify whatever advantages the westerners received in the treaties with the British and Americans in 1826 and 1833 respectively (Sarasin,1977:228). The monopoly system based on their inefficient mechanisms of government became unsustainable. Government found it could increase its revenues by abandoning monopolies and instead levying taxes on domestic production through the tax farming system (Nidhi, 2005: 108).

A new method of deriving revenue from foreign trade was soon applied to satisfy the needs of both the king and his officers. The business of obtaining revenue from the country's products was farmed out to various officials and merchants, chiefly the Chinese. The tax farming system had been in operation for a several types of enterprises at the beginning of the reign, but its rapid growth began after the conclusion of the first treaty, which had outlawed royal trading. The system in theory removed the king from trade operations. In fact, however, the new system operated in much the same way as royal monopolies. Its effects were the same in that the king and his officers still imposed a stranglehold on trade now through the medium of the tax farmer. All the principal exports of the country, for example sugar, sapanwood, pepper, dried meat and fish, and birds' nests, continued to be taxed heavily. An American merchant described the commercial situation in 1849 as following situation.

*“the Siamese government and farmers, together, have been going on, little by little, for the last ten years, to get the trade of this place into their own hands, and which they have pretty well accomplished, from the fact that both the American and British governments have, for many years past, neglected to visit this port, and to see that their respective treaties have been abided by.”*  
(Vella, 1957:127-128)

These tax farmers became a monopoly in buying and selling the goods they farmed. This was a new form of monopoly which differed from that earlier imposed by the Royal Warehouse Department. The consequences after Burney Treaty can be concluded as follows:

1. The development of Bangkok as a thriving port of exportation and physical changes of Suai (สำเภา) and canal networks.

The expansion of exports gave an increased role to the port of Bangkok. Foreign trade expanded as more and more Chinese were increasingly engaged in it. The clear significance of trade for Bangkok's development of the importance of waterways as in the process control of Suai and manpower was obvious. The feature to note is the impact of Suai or tribute taxes in kind on Bangkok's development. Suai is commonly understood as a substitution of corvee labor obligation levied and collected in kind. But the fact that those products levied and collected as สำเภา supplied a part of the commodities for the royal trade up until the middle of 19th century the Suai system is a mere sub-set the corvee system; in other words, Suai can be seen as a point of intersection where the foreign trade and economic system touched each other. Therefore, it is to suppose that the relation between two economic spheres is reflected in the Suai system in one way or another (Phorphant, 1994; 10).



Analyzed together, these figures illustrate a lively and overall growing foreign trade in the first half of the 19th century. Three points are worth an emphasis. Firstly, the foreign trade was a significant part of Bangkok's commercial development long before 1855, which "geared" Siam to trade with the West. Secondly, through growing contact with Singapore, Bangkok was open to products and ideas from the West long before the formal Treaty of 1855. Thirdly, Bangkok developed as an Asian commercial port, with a dominant part played by Chinese products, merchants and ships. This strong Chinese influence on the Bangkok's character and development was to remain as a legacy long after the Chinese trade itself declined in importance (Phorphant, 1994: 15).

Sugar was cultivated extensively in a belt running from Nakhon Chaisri (นครไชยศรี) west of Bangkok to Chachoengsao (ฉะเชิงเทรา) to the east, as well as along the eastern seaboard, particularly in ChonBuri (ชลบุรี) and Chanthaburi (จันทบุรี) the cultivators of the cane were mostly Siamese, while pepper was cultivated by the Chinese in Chanthaburi and parts of Peninsular Siam (Phorphant, 1994: 17).

## 2. The settlement of foreigners and missionaries in Bangkok.

The new development in the field of religion during the third reign was the establishment of permanent Christian missions in Siam. The first Protestant missionaries came to Siam in 1828, but they stayed only a short time. Continuous Protestant missionaries endeavors in Siam dated from June 1833 when the American Board of Commissioners established a Protestant mission for Foreign Missions. By the end of the reign, three Protestant missionary organizations, all American, were active in Siam by 1850 and there were approximately ten missionaries altogether.

The Protestant missionaries were extremely active in many fields. They preached, translated religious tracts and portions of the Bible into Siamese, printed and distributed their translations practiced medicine, and conducted schooling. The Catholics had established their first mission since Ayutthaya until 1830 the missions was

revitalized and expanded. The mission began operating on a permanent basis. By 1849, the Catholic mission had a Bishop, eight European priests and some nuns. The missionary's activities of the Catholics were more limited than those of the Protestants (Vella, 1957: 35-36). However, despite commercial accords signed in the 1820s (with Captain Henry Burney in 1826) and the 1830s (with Edmund Roberts in 1833). As of 1832, the British still rarely visited Bangkok because of the heavy duties they had to pay, contrast to smaller Chinese junks which paid little or none. In the 1820s and 1830s, very few British did their business in Bangkok; the only merchants were Robert Hunter and J. Hayes.

By 1843 there was only one western firm conducting a trade there - Mr. Hunter, Hayes, and Company (Sarasin, 1977: 228). Later the British East India; tried to find another way to trade with Siam through overland trade. The important mission was instructed to Richardson<sup>10</sup> for cross border trade which would be encouraged, slave-raiding and cattle stealing would be suppressed and there would be regular exchanges of official representatives (Farrington, 2004:x). After the first Anglo-Burmese war, territorial borders in the North, possession of Tenassarim brought the British India a 400 mile long border with Siam proper and the southern reaches of the Lan Na states centered in Chiangmai. The East India Company's administration now set out to assure the Court of Bangkok, firstly, to secure regular supplies of beef and draught cattle from the northern Siam. Moulmein was being developed as a forward-post garrison against any future hostilities with Burma. Beef was needed to feed the troops, and military mobilization depended upon thousands of bullocks. Secondly, it was to stimulate trade in British manufactured goods at Moulmein by persuading the annual Chinese caravans into the northern Siam to extend them down to the coast. Thirdly, it was to explore possibilities for exploiting natural resources, especially timber, on both sides of the border (Farrington, 2004: x). At the beginning of 1829 to 1839, during a stay of almost six weeks Richardson established friendly relations in a round of visits and

---

<sup>10</sup> Richardson is British envoy of the British East India Company.

dinners with Phraklang Dit Bunnag (ดิศ บุนนาค), his son Chuang (ช่วง บุนนาค), and the Prince Chutamani (สมเด็จพระปิ่นเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว). He saw the sights of the city and was granted an audience by King Rama III on February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1839 (Farrington, 2004:xvi).

According to tax farming system, it had been in operation for a few types of enterprises at the beginning of the reign of King Rama III, but its amazing growth began after the conclusion of the two mentioned treaties, which had outlawed royal trading. The system in theory removed the king from trade operations. In fact, however, the new system operated in much the same way as had the royal monopolies. Its effects were the same in that the king and his officers still imposed taxes on trade through the medium of tax farmer. All the principle exports of the country i. e. sugar, suppanwood, pepper, dried meat and fish, and bird's nest, continued to be heavily taxed (Vella, 1957:127).

However, Siam had to turn the monopoly again, going back to the royal monopoly system in the 1840s king monopolized the production of sugar, then the most important export of the country and a commodity much sought after by British merchants. The monopoly was fully reinstated by 1842 and the price of sugar jumped by 40 percent. It meant that the government once again had the right of pre-emption on any quantity of sugar produced and at an arbitrary price. In addition it demanded cash for sugar, instead of the usual barter negotiation system. Hence, the expanding tax farming system and the partial reversion to the former royal trade monopolies enhanced (Srasin, 1977: 228). The return to monopolistic trade practices preceded gradually at first as the new system was new and perhaps also because the Siamese were not sure how circumvention of their commercial treaties would be received by Great Britain and the United States (Vella, 1957:128). Another reason for this apparent reversal in foreign policy was in the large part economic in nature. King Rama III had granted trade concessions in the Burney and Robert treaties because he believed it was politically expedient to do so; there was no desire to change the economic structure of the kingdom.

Much of the government's revenue was obtained in the produce rather than the money, such as in rice rather than gold. The produce had to be marketed by the government; hence the tax structure of the country was intimately connected with trade and the royal monopoly system. Termination of all government participation in trade implied in the commercial provisions of the treaties would have placed a severe financial burden on the government. In addition the high Siamese officials who had derived substantial personal profits from the royal monopolies were anxious not to lose this income (Vella, 1957:127). However, the most immediate western triumph in the third reign was not in the form of treaties, but in the introduction of squared rigged vessels through the Siamese initiative in 1830s. King Rama III had resumed his earlier interest in building a Siamese merchant fleet. In 1835 two square-rigged vessels, the first ones built after the European model was presented to the king by the Siamese officials responsible for their construction. The king was pleased and ordered that more be built and that docks and dry docks be constructed near Bangkok for this purpose. By 1847 the king possessed a fleet of some eleven to thirteen European style ships and for his nobles another six. The effects of the competition of these tax-free western style Siamese ships on European shipping, heavily burdened with various taxes, can be detected in the few figures available. Of the nine ship arrivals in Bangkok in 1838, six were of British ships and three were Siamese; thirteen in 1846, nine were British and four Siamese; of the nineteen in 1849, five were British and fourteen Siamese (Vella, 1957:128). The heavy taxes levied on export goods were the problem for trade of foreign vessels, so the number of them decreased as shown by above evidence.

### 2.2.1.6 James Brook's mission

Sir James Brooke<sup>11</sup> being charged with plenipotentiary powers from the Queen to negotiate with Siam arrived on board on August 9<sup>th</sup>. 1850 from the first meeting till September 4<sup>th</sup> 1850 (Bowring, 1977:209). Brooke submitted five statements to the Siamese Ministers detailing his aim; he also enclosed the proposed Treaty and a draft commercial agreement (Vikrom, 1972:41). Phraklang said that since the treaty made with Captain Burney there had already existed good friendship between Siam and England, and that British merchants had already been allowed to come to trade for the past 24 years without the treaty being annulled, he could therefore not see why a new treaty should be made (Manich a, 1970:21). Regarding the proposed treaty Brooke explained in his correspondence stated that, "it is not to annul, but to ratify a new the Treaty of 1826".

Brooke showed how Britain desired to strengthen peace and increase trade with Siam. To these ends drastic revisions of the former treaty were

---

<sup>11</sup> James Brooke was born on April 29, 1803, in Benares, India, son of Thomas Brooke, a judge of the High Court of India. James was sent to England for his schooling since 15 years old, and in 1819 he joined the armed forces of the East India Company. He was seriously wounded in the First Burmese War of 1824 and returned to England to recuperate. Upon his return to India in 1829, he resigned from the East India Company, and en route home again to England he visited China and Malaya. After that, he returned to the Malay Archipelago; he invested in a yacht, the *Royalist*, and a trained crew, and in 1839 he arrived in northern Borneo to carry out scientific research and exploration. In Sarawak he met Pangeran and Muda Hashim, to whom he gave assistance in crushing a rebellion, thereby winning the allegiance of the Malays and Dayaks. In 1841 Muda Hashim offered Brooke the governorship of Sarawak in return for his help. He became Raja or known as "white Raja" of Sarawak, when he was highly successful in suppressing the widespread piracy of the region. After travelling to Penang and Singapore in 1847, he wrote about these places. The East India Company trusted and appointed him to be an envoy to negotiate about the obstacles of trade with Siam in 1850.

required and the main points of his proposed treaty were the granting of the rights of residence and purchase of land, guarantee of freedom of worship, guarantee not to obstruct merchants, and permission to appoint consuls with extraterritorial rights. Additionally, he asked for drastic reforms in the reduction of the 'measurement duty' from 1,700 baht per Siamese fathom to 500; the removal of the ban on the export of rice; the removal of the prohibition to import opium; the fixation of duty on articles in ways which had the effect of a monopoly; he also demanded free trade in Bangkok and other Siamese ports without any intervention. Brooke had been instructed to request both a consular establishment and the granting of extraterritorial rights to a British consul. This was an indication of the new approach of British Government towards its subjects abroad, especially in Siam, for Crawford and Burney in their earlier missions. Regarding the demand of an appointment of a British consul in Siam, the Ministers returned a refusal, stating that it was not their custom to send consuls to any other country and that they would not do so even if invited. The demand for the granting of extraterritorial rights was completely denied on the grounds that Siamese government could not "perceive a single advantage ... accruing from it," and that those who came to Siam should conform to the Siamese laws" (Vikrom, 1972:43). The negotiations were broken off. Brooks left Siam on September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1850. After that, he left unfavorable impression.

### 2.2.2 The Anglo-Siamese Treaty 1855

After Britain tried to negotiate with Siam in both cases the problem of vassal states of Siam in the south and the conclusion of commercial treaty with Bangkok was unsuccessful. Britain continued to developed diplomatic relations and treaty provisions, particularly the good qualities of envoys of each mission, the endeavor for collecting data and joining alliances. Finally, the Bowring treaty became an outstanding treaty that had taken effect from 1855 to 1938 a total of the enforcement for 82 years. The successful achievement of this treaty is the result of the following reasons.

Firstly, the qualifications of John Bowring, he was a master of six European languages and received the Doctor of Law from Groningen University in the

Netherlands. He was also an ardent admirer of Jeremy Bentham<sup>12</sup> and had edited Bentham's life and works in eleven volumes. In 1824 he helped found the Westminster Review<sup>13</sup> and was a member of parliament from 1829-1837 and again from 1841-1849. In 1847 he served as a member of a parliamentary commission inquiring into the affairs of Hong Kong (Neon, 2009:5). Unlike his predecessors, Bowring bore credentials directly from Queen Victoria. This gave the Siamese Court great satisfaction, more than Captain Henry Burney who was sent by the Governor-General of India (Vikrom, 1972:51). Secondly, the treaty was informed before conclusion which Bowring had tried and negotiated for favorable conditions for British interest. Bowring wrote to King Mongkut on April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1854, from Singapore on his way to China informing the king of his appointment, and at the king's suggestion he also gave a formal notification to the Phra Klang in September, fixing the date of the mission in February 1855. Thirdly, the mission was a joint venture from other countries. Bowring told Phra Klang that his visit to Bangkok was conditional upon developments in China and learning of the success of the United States in forcing open two Japanese ports (Neon, 2009: 2). The mission to Bangkok was originally planned as a joint venture of the American, the British and the French negotiators (Neon, 2009: 3). Before arriving, King Rama IV had written a letter to Bowring to come and make a treaty as soon as he could (Manich b, 1970: 31), then when he stayed in Bangkok, the King had written letters to him and permitted Bowring for audiences as well as meetings at various occasions (Manich b, 1970:73).

The second treaty is the Bowring treaty. It was concluded between the British and Siam in 1855, after the first treaty for twenty nine years. The treaty's

---

<sup>12</sup> Jeremy Bentham was an English jurist, philosopher, legal and social reformer. He became a leading theorist in Anglo-American philosophy of law, and a political radical whose ideas influenced the development of welfare. He is best known for his advocacy of utilitarianism

<sup>13</sup> Westminster Review is the most important organ for expression of the views of the Philosophical Radicals. In this journal appeared many radical articles of John Bowring the subject of prison reform, slavery, and free trade. Later, he also wrote about public health, education, peace, and the decimal system.

provisions caused many consequences, in particular the purposes of rice exporting which affected the extension area of agricultural cultivation near Bangkok, or another two major provisions, the extraterritoriality and the right to reside and settle close-by Bangkok. Concerning free trade, Britain was certainly in the best position of interest, so the monopolistic trade port of Siam became a problem for British trade that needed to open markets. In this respect, the Bowring treaty therefore was concluded to serve all above purposes. Finally, the Bowring treaty came to exist by the negotiation of the conclusion eventually based on the Burney Treaty, but some points were new consideration together.

An outstanding difference between the Bowring mission and other western mission to Bangkok was the readiness of both sides to come to a compromise and on the British side a great deal of credit must go to Harry Parkes who acted as Bowring's secretary. Parkes was Chinese interpreter at the British consulate at Amoy. After the success of the Siamese mission Parkes was appointed as British consul at Canton (Neon, 1961:270). The mission arrived Bangkok on April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1855. The commissioners were appointed on April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1855 (Neon, 1961:275). It was stated as the threat in the course of negotiations (Crawford, 1987:x).

From the beginning Bowring made it clear that he came to "negotiate" and such important provisions could be made only after full discussion. The proposals for consular jurisdiction and interpretation by the English text encountered very strong objections.

"Consular jurisdiction was objected to on the ground that other nations would follow the example of Britain and not only would Siam's judicial independence have been seriously threatened but this concession could have been used for purpose other than commercial." (Neon, 1961:281) Bowring proposed that the British consul wanted to arrive in Bangkok 12 months after the treaty conclusion which it was agreed upon 10 British ships as a condition coming to Bangkok for the appointment of a British consul (Neon, 1961:282).



The provision in the 12 articles of the Bowring treaty was a real improvement on the existing Burney Treaty of 1826. Three significant points were concluded. The first is about the British subject, British subject in Siam now came under the jurisdiction of the British consul instead of being subjected to Siamese laws as was expressly stated in the Burney Treaty. They now had the right to buy and rent land and house in the specified areas in Bangkok and its immediate vicinity, whereas the Burney Treaty stipulated that this right of settlement was dependent on the will of the Siamese authority. (Neon, 1961:285)

The second point regarding commercial affairs the measurement duty on ships was replaced by fixed export import duties with the guarantee that a single duty was to be levied on articles of trade from cultivation to shipping and in many cases the heavy inland duty was replaced by export duty. The monopolies were abolished except in the one of import of firearms and opium when the merchants had to sell only to the Siamese government in one case and to the opium farmer in the other. Although the right of settlement was restricted to the Bangkok area British merchants had free access to all other Siamese ports and also to the interior of the country whereas formerly this right of entry was made dependent on the will of the provincial governors concerned. Finally, British shipping was to have the same privilege as Siamese and Chinese ships (Neon, 1961:285)

The third point composed of two significant conditions stressed by the British government; the most favored nation treatment for British subjects and provision for the revision of the terms of the treaty, were also agreed upon in Article 10 as stipulated as follows:

“The British Government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in any privileges that may have been, or may hereafter be, granted by the Siamese Government to the Government or subjects of any other nation.” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 42)

In Article 11, the treaty was to be revised after 10 years if desired by either party as stated by these clauses

*“After the lapse of 10 years from the date of the ratification of this Treaty, upon the desire of either the Siamese or British Governments, and on 12 months notice given by either party...”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 42)

The Treaty included General Regulations for British commerce, dealing with the entry of British vessels, provision for pilots for the river navigation, report of arrival, port clearance, etc., and as mentioned earlier, the provision that the English version was to be the standard text of this Treaty (Neon, 1961:286).

According to Article 10, it is the most-favored-nation<sup>14</sup> term similarly at present. Significantly, it brought to the system of joint jurisdiction thereafter (Sayre, 1967:9) of European powers thereafter. Particularly, there are thirteen nations as mentioned earlier. In fact, the term of most-favored- nation appeared before the Bowring Treaty since China had to conclude with Britain known as the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 after the first Opium war<sup>15</sup> (Pan, 1998:55). The first Opium war occurred during 1839 to 1842 as a result of the disputes over the traffic trade of opium and diplomatic relation between Britain and China under the Qing dynasty. This treaty concluded by granting

---

<sup>14</sup> Most-favored-nations means the country, which is the recipient of this treatment, must, nominally, receive equal trade advantages as the "most favored nation" by the country granting such treatment.

<sup>15</sup> Opium Wars were also known as the Anglo-Chinese Wars. They are divided into two wars. The first Opium War (1839- 1842) was the climax of disputes over trade and diplomatic relations between China under the Qing Dynasty and the British Empire. After the end of war China and Britain concluded the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842. The Second Opium War (1856-1860) ended by the Convention of Beijing brought the Britain the southern tip of the Kowloon Peninsular. These colonies were included with Hong Kong so-called later by Britain as New territories. The new territories were leased by China to Britain for period of 99 years, ending in 1997.

three significant terms of the most-favored-nation, the extraterritoriality, and fixed import and export taxes (ฉั่มมาร์, 2552:127).

Taking into consideration the term of most-favored-nation and extraterritoriality (วุฒิชัย, 2534:21), they are significant terms of the diplomatic relation between western powers in the second half of nineteenth century. The treaty forced China to cede Hong Kong to Britain and opened five ports Amoy (Xiamen), Canton (Guangzhou), Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai.

Moreover, in Article 11, “After the lapse of 10 years from the date of the ratification of this Treaty, upon the desire of either the Siamese or British Governments, and on 12 months’ notice given by either party...” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 42) It implied “the non-specification of the final date of its expiration. This was a heavy burden for the Siamese government in the ensuing years when it tried to abrogate the Treaty. Article 11 indicated only the right of revision of the Treaty after the lapse of 10 years from the date of ratification. It could be done upon the desire of either the British or Siamese Governments on 12 months’ notice. The lack of a “termination clause” in the place of a “revision clause” had to be regarded as a grave mistake of the Siamese Government for they could not revoke the Treaty within a certain limit of time. It was agreed also that the English text was to be taken as conveying the true text and meaning of the Treaty. This agreement at the special request of the king was transformed to the Regulation annexed to the Treaty. (Vikrom, 1985:39)

In order to understand the effects of these treaties in Siam the most significant effect of the treaty was the condition of the settlement of British and their subjects in Bangkok in several articles at the same time. The articles conditioned for the settlement in Bangkok are as follows.

Firstly, the boundaries assigned for settlement in Bangkok with land ownership appeared in Article 4. This article explicitly granted permission for British subjects to reside and to settle down in Bangkok or within the limits of assigned

boundaries nearby Bangkok's vicinity. Granting a right to settle down in the country implies granting land ownership to the British and her subjects as well. According to this provision the Siamese government officially permitted the settlement of British and their subjects with the certification right on land ownership.

Secondly, Articles 1 and 2 also granted the extraterritorial rights to British and their subjects for the protection of rights under British laws. In addition, the treaty is concerned to identify British subjects under obtaining certificates and passports. Moreover, Article 5 of the treaty also concerns in details the process to obtain and use passports. Therefore, British subjects were required to register at the Consul in the first place after that they should obtain a passport for travelling over the assigned boundaries.

Thirdly, the effect from the Anglo-Siamese Treaty concerns the trade privileges that in Article 8 stipulate clearly the details of beneficial conditions on trade between two countries and their subjects by fixing import tariff at three percent. Furthermore, the treaty stipulated that trade must be conducted directly between merchants and producers. Most importantly, it set a new requirement for opium trade, stating that there will be no tax for the opium traffic and will monopolize the opium farmer. Last but not least, this treaty provided room for Siam in case of food shortages. It allowed Siamese government to prohibit exportation of rice, salt and fish in case of scarcity in the country.

From the Articles discussed above it can be seen that the Anglo-Siamese Treaty gave three main privileges to British subjects that included land ownership, judicial privileges and beneficial trade conditions. Almost all aforesaid Articles remained in the following Treaty between Siam and Britain until its conclusion in 1855. However, when this treaty was ratified the following year several additional clauses were added to the Treaty by the Supplementary Agreement in 1856 which distinctly specified any clauses of clear explanations.

Firstly, concerning British subjects, the British carefully defines the meaning of their Asiatic subjects by specifying races and concerning a certificate renewal for each journey which appears in Article 1 about the nationalities of colonies which the treaty's concern which. The British subjects should obtain, "proper certificates which must be renewed for each journey" (Treaty Series Vol. I, 1968: 47) and in Article 5 it also details how to obtain passport granted to travelers in case of traveling beyond the limits assigned boundaries (Treaty Series Vol. I, 1968: 49).

Secondary, in Article 4 of the Supplementary Agreement it stipulates a very important clause regarding the annexed schedule of which became the main problem for Siamese revenue for long period of time thereafter. This article allowed for the payment on the lands held or purchased by British subjects. It also stated the levied tax as in Article 8 that. "British subjects are to pay import and export duties according to duties of the annexed schedule mentioned to the treaty", the Supplementary Agreement in 1856 in Article 4 as follows:

*"British subjects are to pay import and export duties according to the tariff annexed to the Treaty". For the sake of greater distinctiveness, it is necessary to add to these two clauses with the following explanation, namely, that besides the land tax and the import and export duties, ... no additional charge or tax of any kind may be imposed upon a British subject, unless it obtain the sanction both of the Supreme Siamese authorities and the British Consul."* (Treaty Series Vol. I, 1968:49).

It should be noted that this annexed Supplementary Agreement of 1856 severely affected the Siamese revenue since it came into effect because this article strictly stipulated the limits of Siamese taxation in three kinds of taxes relating to importation with the fixed rate at three percent, fixed land taxes and export tax

according to the schedule. The attachment composed of five sections of tax rates on ground-garden, plantations, or other lands (Treaty Series Vol. I, 1968: 53-57).

Thirdly, considering the settlement sites the Supplementary Agreement of 1856 specifies both permitted and forbidden boundaries that could be purchased and only residences without the ownership.

The permission to own land was mentioned in two Articles, Article 10 and 11. In Article 10 the boundaries of four-miles circuit that they could own land after having lived for 10 years is outlined. The point which this circuit extends due north, south, east and west of the city, and the spot where it crosses the river below Bangkok accordingly has been measured by officers on the part of Siamese and British and their measurements, having been examined and agreed.

This treaty clearly identifies the assigned boundaries for rent or purchase as stated in Article 11, lands, or plantations computed by the rate at which boats of the country can travel (Treaty Series Vol. I, 1968:52). Both assigned boundaries are marked by stone pillars placed at the under-mentioned localities nearby Bangkok terrains.

Furthermore, this treaty also stipulated the necessity of Custom-House regulations that specified the specific location should be established close to the port of Bangkok. The clauses appeared with the intent of Article 8 of the Supplementary Agreement. According to Consular Court, it should be situated nearby the British subject communities meaning that the Consular Court shall be located in Bangkok.

Considering the Treaty of 1855 and the Supplementary Agreement Treaty of 1856 carefully, it can be said that the Bowring Treaty provisions are preliminary conditions for changes that occurred in Bangkok in several areas such as the allocation of space for British subjects settlement coupled with landownership; legal protection of British subject under the privilege of extraterritoriality; fixed taxes and tariff for importation, exportation, and land tax; and establishment of the Consular Court and

Custom House in Bangkok for the service of British and their subjects such as registration and issuing passports.

The impacts of this Treaty provisions which conditions directly and indirectly to such changes explicitly in Bangkok according to three main following aspects. Particularly, these topics will highlight in details for understanding the background of preliminary changes in Bangkok which will describe the development of treaty modifications of these following terms according to Three main topics are described below.

#### 2.2.2.1 Extraterritoriality

#### 2.2.2.2 Fixed taxation (import, export, and land tax)

2.2.2.3 Assigned boundaries to settle within the vicinity of Bangkok with land ownership

Regarding these topics in the treaty provisions they were modified to abrogate the former terms during 1855-1909 by the Agreement in 1900 and the Treaty of 1909. What terms had been changed and what consequences had occurred will be discussed next. After the settlement of British and British subjects appeared under the treaty provisions, the following topics should be placed in the first place to project the conditions and consequences of the treaty effects in Bangkok. In addition, these issues illustrate the relation of each impact and other consequences including the development of modification of treaty conditions which occurred during 1855-1909. The Treaty between Siam and Britain in 1909 seems to be a significant year that Siam and Britain could move towards mutually beneficial negotiations, particularly regarding several conditions that impacted changes in Bangkok. Therefore, it is necessary to project the macro illustration of the related circumstances for the primary understanding before going to examine in depth further. The main topics that are necessary to project are the treaty conditions affect Bangkok's changes, for example, extraterritoriality, the supplementary agreement about the fixed taxation, and the land ownership within the

assigned boundaries of Bangkok's vicinity. Three points will be explained within the context of Bangkok's changes and the modification of the Supplementary Agreement and the modification of treaty provisions.

#### 2.2.2.1 Extraterritoriality

The threat had two major; the complication of enforcement in the courts and the implication of the ones who should be privileged by the treaty provisions. The treaty created a new type of judicial protection for both groups; European and Asiatic. As mentioned earlier, the Asiatic subject was concerned since the Burney Treaty, in particular several groups of her subjects in colonies in Asia. Under the extraterritorial rights, it introduced another level of legal complexity to national and racial hierarchies in Siam (Loos, 2002:4). Siam was definitely deprived the right to administer even-handed justice throughout her domains; particularly; when the later thirteen treaties were concluded that brought the system of joint jurisdiction (Sayre, n.d.:8-9). Consequently, there are plural legal systems (Loos, 2002: 42-43) in which all consular courts situated in Bangkok. That meant difficulties were handled by the police force in Bangkok that the Police report in 1901 reported that:

*“Complicated and difficult the work of the Police here must always be. Having to deal, as they have, with 11 Consular Courts, all propounding different systems of law, Military Courts, Naval Courts, Ecclesiastical Court and Palace Courts, in addition to the Criminal Courts of the land, the occasions for mistakes are infinitely more numerous, than they are in any other place in the world. There are no less than 16 Courts in Bangkok claiming separate jurisdiction over various people, and using the distinct law system, it is obvious that the work is complicated enough... the Police had no powers of*



*arrest or search without a Magistrate's warrant"* (Police Report, 1901:2).

According to this new challenge, since the beginning of the treaty effect, King Rama IV definitely concerned this point very well.

Reform of the police force in Bangkok was initiated by seven years after the Bowring Treaty. Samuel Joseph Bird Ames was appointed Captain to be the Superintendent of police after that the Police Constable department was founded in 1862 (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:24-25). The main reason to appoint him was for convenience to deal with foreigners and the cases in Consular Courts. The department as a small unit employed the Malayan who had ever worked in Singapore and worked with Captain Ames (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:25). The department was set in compliance with the British police and was responsible only for the Chinese quarter, Sampheng (ลำเพ็ง) (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:27). Later on, in the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the committee responsible for the public affairs in Bangkok known as Krom Phra Nakhonban (กรมพระนครบาล) was founded in 1886, had decided to improve the police department like Britain and changed its name to Kong Trawen (กองตระเวน) (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:43). It was established in 1887. The government contacted the British government to recruit the appropriate person for the chief commissioner, then Arthur John Alexander Jardine was appointed in this position on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1879. He was British and had previously worked with police force of the British government in Burma. In 1897, Jardine reorganized the police force by employing experienced European officers and 200 natives of Indian as well as raising their salary (Police Report, 1898-1899:1). Regarding to the difficulties in services the police manual was published to guide the police duties. In the topic of extraterritoriality, examples of difficulties are as follows:

All subjects of treaties have the right to be tried in their own courts, and then the certificates were an important means of identification. To deal with the certificates, complicated problems occurred;

*“It was the custom to register the person enjoyed privileges and issued certificates. However, if a person had not got such a certificate in his possession that it did not prove that he did not enjoy the privileges or if they possessed a certificate, it did not prove that he was the holder. It might be produced with a wrongful process.”* (Lawson, 1906:56-57)

Another problem also occurred when the descendants or a person enjoying these rights ceased to enjoy them and became Siamese subjects with the different Treaties under each individual case (Lawson, 1906: 59).

The questions of extraterritoriality are those which most frequently cause troubles for the police. The majority of foreign residents have very hazy ideas as to what their rights really are and are very frequently in the habit of asserting what they think are their rights in an aggressive and bumptious manner (Lawson, 1906: 61).

Therefore, when the extraterritoriality was granted to foreigners in Bangkok it may be seen that the police force faced many problems and difficulties. In Bangkok where the treaty assigned foreigners to live and enjoy certain privileges of extraterritorial rights became a place of confusions and difficulties under the judicial system. The extraterritoriality was the main condition of Bangkok changes in judicial system and justice at the time.

#### 2.2.2.2 Fixed taxation (import, export, and land tax)

The fixed taxation according to the Bowring Treaty was established upon schedule of taxes annexed with the Supplementary Agreement of the Bowring treaty 1856 in particular Article 4. This article was bounded with the fixed import tax, export tax, and land tax; additionally, it was bounded with the mutual agreement from both parties of Britain and Siam which caused two unpleasant circumstances. Firstly, it limited an increase of the Siam’s revenue until an abrogation of this term in

1900. Secondly, it brought about several negative impacts on the development of Bangkok. Regarding the first point about the limitation of revenue increase, it can be traced to the Burney Treaty's conclusion to see the development of consequences after the Bowring Treaty. As mentioned earlier, the Burney Treaty resulted in replacing the loss of revenue by the tax farming. The revenue farm occurred to safeguard the state revenue in form of the monopolist tax farming in buying and selling goods and farms. This phenomenon is different from past monopolies on all goods and taxes were imposed by Royal Warehouse Department (Kullada, 2004:26). Tax farming was established and implemented continually since the reign of King Rama II to the reign of King Rama IV. In the reign of King Rama IV; it was explained that:

“Farm” system; that is to put up a “farm” for auction and sell it to the highest bidder, who thereby becomes the “farmer” for that class of revenue. The government has then no further concern with the actual collections, but has merely to see that the amount of the bid is duty paid in by the farmer, whom authority, carefully limited and regulated, is delegated for collecting the revenue. (Williamson, 1994:112).

In fact, even tax farming was introduced since the reign of King Rama II, but in the reign of King Rama III was developed and used to replace the royal monopoly system. The leases were given out for the collection of taxes on the manufacture for the sale of liquor, on gambling institutions. The system had its greatest growth since then. It was applied to thirty-eight types of enterprises during the reign, most of them in the field of production for export. The farms monopolized the revenue of the government which they were reported by the American envoy, Edmund Robert who arrived to conclude the treaty with King Rama III in 1833. They are shown by the table next page.

Table 1: Annual Revenue obtained by the Government of Siam from Farms and Duties in 1832

Names	Revenues (Ticals)
Paddy and rice	862,358
Orchards	545,880
Vegetables	17,800
Samsoo or spirit Shop (Bang-kok)	104,900
Samsoo or spirit Shop (Sieuthaja)	16,000
Samsoo or spirit Shop (Bangxang)	8,000
Samsoo or spirit Shop (Suraburi)	4,000
Samsoo or spirit Shop (Krungtaphan)	4,000
Samsoo or spirit Bazars (Bang-kok)	39,200
Samsoo or spirit Bazars (Sieuthaja)	12,800
Samsoo or spirit Bazars (Suraburi)	1,600
Samsoo or spirit Bazars (Bangxang)	1,600
Duty on floating house	36,000
Chinese Gambling	64,000
Siamese, dtto	58,000
Teak wood	56,000
Sapan wood	84,000
Coconut oil	56,000
Sugar	40,000
Jaggery	8,000
Salt	32,000
Pepper	23,200
Bastard cardamums	16,000
Cardamums	5,400
Sticles	9,500

Table 1 (Continued): Annual Revenue obtained by the Government of Siam from Farms and Duties

Names	Revenues (Ticals)
Tin	18,200
Iron	54,000
Ivory Gamboge	1,200
Rhinoceros horns Benjamin Bird's-nests	32,000
Young deers'	3,600
Old, ditto, ditto buffalo, ditto deers' nerves Rhinoceros skin, Tigers' bones, Buffalo hides, Deers' ditto, White dried fish Black, ditto Small dried fish	1,600
Dried shrimp	4,600
Balachang, Wood old, Pitch, Torches, Rattans, Firewood, Wooden posts	8,000
Bamboos	3,000
Attaps	3,000
Rose wood, Bark	1,600

Source: (Smithies, 2002:121-122)

Therefore, after the Burney treaty (1826) and the American-Siamese Treaty (1833) were concluded the treaties provision abandoned the monopoly of the government swiftly to replace the loss of income of and by taxing the farmer instead. The thirty-eight types of tax farming were then introduced. According to the table above, it can be seen that the revenue from gambling and spirits are considerable. In the early reign of King Rama III, gambling was legalized and introduced to monopolize for the first time in Siam, 1824 (กาญจนนา, 2530: 32). Additionally, the expenditure in the reign was quiet a large amount of money to construct and reconstruct temples and fighting wars (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:12-13). The King improved the system of tax farming which had been introduced since King Rama II, particularly an improvement on

the efficiency of gambling taxation. Soon after the first government gambling house in Bangkok was established in 1832 (กาญจนา, 2530:45). After that, Chinese gambling was created and included as one type and of thirty–eight new taxes. This large amount of income depended on the increasing number of Chinese immigrants who arrived to Siam. When the income from gambling increased to a significant amount, King Rama III established Phrakhlung Sinkha (พระคลังสินค้า) to be responsible particularly for the gambling revenue collection (สุภาภรณ์, 2523: 52).

Alcohol tax farm occurred long in the past, it was introduced to levy since the reign of King Rama I (เขาวงกต, 2532: ๓). It became the main source until the reign of King Rama III as the Edmund Robert's reported above. According to details in the table, it can be seen that the amount of spirit shop and gambling house are the considerable amount of revenue in 1833.

Focusing on opium tax, another main source of revenue, it was not legalized since the reign of King Rama II. In 1819 King Rama II issued a decree to forbid the sale of opium with a heavy penalty. Later in 1824, in the reign of King Rama III, opium was still forbidden both smuggling and trading, the significant events in his reign appeared that the king ordered to burn and eliminate the opium traffic throughout Bangkok and neighboring provinces (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:22). He did not permit the import of opium. Significantly, resistance of the opium traffic appeared in the proclamation published in sum of 9,000 copies and sent to press in Singapore free press on June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1839. The thirty eight types of taxes were not included opium to levy because it was contraband. However, prior to the reign of King Mongkut, the number of Chinese that migrated to the South of Siam increased. (Skinner, 1956:43). The opium–smuggling coolies were also arriving in large numbers (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:31). The king knew the opium situation very well. He legalized the opium traffic and monopolized taxes on the farmer since the early reign, in 1851. The primary reason to permit opium traffic probably derived from his understanding about the need of the British acquiring for the opium trade (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:38).

Therefore, the schedule fixed the rate of land taxation and fixed the tariff of exportation rates for British subjects making the agreement worse for Siam because they could not benefit from inevitable increasing revenues (Sayre, n.d.:20). In line with this provision, Siam was forbidden to impose charges for passports or even to collect any of fines, penalties etc. levied on British subjects” (Sayre, n.d.:14). Furthermore, Siam had concluded treaties with thirteen mentioned countries with only slight modifications (Sayre, n.d.:14). “Far worse than this it has placed Siam in the unenviable position of being forced to rely for a large proportion of her revenues upon the objectionable opium and gambling monopolies, with all the evil consequences to the people which this involves” (Sayre, n.d.:20). This monopoly farm was the main revenue of Siam until 1900s as it can be seen in the table on the following page.

Table 2: Revenue of the Kingdom of Siam from 1898 to 1904

Revenue Heads / Year	Actual Receipts 1898-1899 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1899-1900 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1900-1901 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1901-1902 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1902-1903 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1903-1904 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1904-1905 (Ticals)
Gambling farms	4,676,977	4,678,173.35	5,794,101	5,503,206	4,528,941	5,757,383	7,533,269
Spirit farms	3,680,057	3,730,059.56	4,506,850	3,472,642	3,735,104	4,158,583	4,908,772
Opium Farms	2,935,248	4,568,622.51	5,121,282	5,219,052	7,111,501	7,113,396	7,114,296
Lottery Farm	-	-	-	-	-	2,136,225	2,420,411
Chinese Lottery Farm	1,460,779	1,621,082.00	1,580,215	1,791,930	1,833,790	-	-
Boats and Shop Farm	74,702	74,324.16	89,435	87,319	89,193	110,720	102,400
Pig and Poultry Farm	333,194	341,187.50	363,714	45,202	8,040	6,727	-
Chinese Cake Farm	211,157	195,135.18	209,341	-	225,341	222,345	294,124
Birds' Nest Farm	142,408	230,281.32	295,837	295,837	299,190	285,103	278,600
Miscellaneous Farms	131,003	63,780.38	33,850	127,385	255,039	13,275	13,867
Land and Fishery Taxes	3,067,985	3,007,145.46	3,026,157	4,061,336	4,369,702	4,376,478	4,394,149
Customs	2,638,099	3,154,967.32	3,222,461	4,008,369	4,841,697	4,384,913	5,405,340
Octroi	1,583,051	1,435,062.26	1,437,190	1,467,795	1,574,643	1,552,313	1,558,629
Ministry of Agriculture	-	-	480,240	115,000	95,000	254,877	316,731
Forests	1,067,791	783,356.23	1,167,291	1,383,059	1,153,647	1,137,322	1,527,192



Table 2 (Continued): Revenue of the Kingdom of Siam from 1898 to 1904

Revenue Heads / Year	Actual Receipts 1898-1899 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1899-1900 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1900-1901 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1901-1902 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1902-1903 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1903-1904 (Ticals)	Actual Receipts 1904-1905 (Ticals)
Mines	321,173	626,046.06	684,988	794,268	930,358	1,037,345	1,252,128
Chinese Poll Tax	91,271	14,846.21	601,502	-	-	792,411	500
Capitation Taxes	1,052,262	1,664,402.32	2,050,176	3,250,846	3,980,844	3,386,937	3,353,033
Revenue & Rents of Government Property	132,873	241,975.07	172,154	171,290	192,224	179,943	175,038
Sale Proceeds of Government Property	87,976	101,181.03	147,652	160,424	122,550	127,633	103,370
Miscellaneous and Others	4,808,027	3,491,011.67	3,011,898	4,211,772	4,146,196	8,846,764	6,912,338
Total	28,496,033	30,022,639.59	33,996,334	36,166,732	39,493,000	45,880,693	47,664,187

Sources: (1. หจข. กค. 0301.1.38B/1, 1901-1902: 20, 2. หจข. กค. 0301.1.38B/2, 1902-1903: 18, 3. หจข. กค. 0301.1.38B/3, 1903-04: 20, 4. หจข. กค. 0301.1.38B/4, 1904-05: 21)

From the above table, it can be seen that the main source of income of the Siamese government was from the monopolized farms of gambling, spirit, opium and lottery. That means they were difficult to abandon until the government can find appropriate methods and alternatives to replace the loss of income. Therefore, as mentioned these farms were concentrated in Bangkok and formulated the atmosphere of Bangkok as a center of illicit business activity. Concerning the direct taxation, it was impossible to expand because the form of land was tax upon the use of land and such taxes have already been developed to the detriment of productivity (Sayre, n.d.:23). Siam had to look for benefit from monopoly licenses and only ones of any productivity were the licenses to gamble and to carry on the opium traffic were concerned (Sayre, n.d.:23). Then significantly, Bangkok became a place of the farm business growth and it brought to the sense of insecurity and danger for the Bangkok inhabitants including many foreigners.

Particularly, the occupations of the Chinese migrants in Bangkok were largely determined to remain in the city due to the demand for labor, which considerably increased after 1850s. In the 1880s, on the eve of the large-scale inflow of Chinese, the Bangkok Postal Directory saw that Chinese played an important role in marketing, commerce and trading. The substantial influx of Chinese migrants to Bangkok from 1890s follows the growth of the rice trade. The total passenger traffics at the Bangkok port showed 65,000 a year (Porphant, 1994:136-142). Bangkok finally was the destination of Chinese coolie labor arriving owing to the highest wage earnings (Porphant, 1994:140). Noticeably, the number of rice mills in Bangkok since 1867-1898 reached thirty-seven. Most of Chinese coolie immigrants were addicted to opium; therefore it caused large opium traffic to grow rapidly in Bangkok (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:110).

In 1888, the small gambling dens were 277 with 126 large dens found in Bangkok (Brown, 1992:23). The police in Bangkok reported that:

*“the majority of cases and shows the difficulties the Police have to contend against. The numerous gambling, dens, opium dens, and many drinking shop and public brothels, especially in the Chinese quarter of Sempeng, are the cause of many violent crimes. Again, there is no Arms Act, every man can possess firearms and arms and ammunition can be purchased freely, for nearly every pawn-shop has arms and ammunition for sale.”* (Police report, 1898-1899:41)

To compare with other cities; Bombay, Calcutta, and Rangoon;

*“...no gambling houses are allowed, but in Bangkok gambling goes on day and night. In Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon, the consumption of opium is kept down as much as possible. In contrast, Bangkok has more than 500 opium dens which are open day and night instead of Bombay, Calcutta, and Rangoon drink is kept down as much as possible, and drinking saloons have to close at a reasonable hour. The drinking saloons are innumerable in Bangkok and there are always open.”* (Police report, 1903:1)

Therefore, it can be seen that the revenue from opium is very high after the Bowring treaty permitted it for free traffic, for example, during 1896-1898 Bangkok was the top province of monopolized opium tax (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:90). According to spirit dens, the factory monopolized for Bangkok for one place then income was a large amount (เขาวงกต, 2532:67). That means Bangkok became known for spirit, opium and gambling houses as well a pawnshops. Therefore, to substitute the absence of revenue in the past, Bangkok initiated the monopolized income of tax farms. The more income came from these farms the difficulty of abandonment these taxes is

impossible. As a result, these farms caused several crimes and thieves in Bangkok and formulated a sense of insecurity for foreigners all the time.

Consequently, in the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the gradual abolition of the system of revenue farming and the expansion of tax collection by government officials were brought to the term (Brown, 1992: 24). In early 1870s, in the early reign of King Chulalongkorn, it was much stronger to increase the volume of revenues, in 1886 the Kalakhom (กลาโหม) agreed to remit its revenues in full to the treasury (Brown, 1992: 21-22). Prince Narathip (พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระนราธิปประพันธ์พงศ์) also introduced a number of measures to strengthen the administration's control over and thus its income from the three main revenue farms in the kingdom; spirit, gambling, and opium monopolies the administration was particularly concerned with the opium farm in the first place. It was the most profitable of the three main monopolies. In 1889-90, it yielded 2 million bath, approximately 15 per cent of the government's total revenue (Brown, 1992: 22).

Therefore, land tax was another source that could be applied to replace lost revenue. The Siamese had tried to negotiate with the British for the way to modify the attached schedule.

According to the pawn business associated with illicit farm monopolies the first pawnshop was introduced in Bangkok in 1866 during the reign of King Mongkut. It was situated at Samran Rat (Pratuphi) [สำราญราษฎร์ (ประตูผี)] near the palace. The growing number of pawnshops related to the development the currency by cash and the coming of Treaties brought a sound economic development. Guns and ammunitions actually circulated in pawnshops (นันทนา, 2528:36). During 1866-1900, pawnshops were not controlled by the government, but later the government had to control their number and location. On March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1901, there were 432 pawn-brokers' shops. The proprietors of the following nationalities "Siamese 249, Portuguese 81, French 51, British 42, Dutch 9. The gambling house, opium shops, and spirit shops then took to receiving the stolen property and other property in penalty" (Police Report, 1901:

22). The total value of the property stolen was about 239,382 ticles” (Police Report, 1901: 24).

*“it is a declared policy of the Government to gradually reduce the number of Gambling Farms and to foster other and more legitimate source of revenue. A step has just been taken, namely the passing of the pawn shop regulations, which though it will not involve the reduction in number of Gambling Houses, will undoubtedly have a far reaching influence in the future both upon the Gambling farms revenue and upon the morality of a section of the population. It has long been known that a large number of the pawnshop of the capital have been little other than houses for the reception of stolen property. A thief could always rely upon an immediate market for any property that he could lay his hands upon and sale proceeds were usually invested at the nearest gambling house.”* (Financial Report, 1901-1902:3)

This annexed schedule of fixed taxation affected the limitation of the revenue and brought to the bad circumstances in Bangkok. Until 1900, this point was abrogated by mutual agreement. Regarding the land taxation schedule of Supplementary Agreement of 1856, it was concerned since 1893, when Prince Damrong and Roland Jaequemym<sup>16</sup> consulted to find the way of land tax increases or negotiate

---

<sup>16</sup> He was born on September 1804 in Courtrai, Belgium. He studied at the Faculty of Law in Ghent and received a doctoral diploma in Roman and Contemporary Law in 1827. He took charge Ministry of Interior in the Cabinet since 1874 for six years. His reputation as an expert on international law was widely recognized. He became a member of several national academies thereafter. He was the prominent adviser of Siam in the reign of King Chulalongkorn during the period of transition known as the period of “Chakri reformation”. He took charge of a position as General-Adviser of Siam during 1892-1902.

with Britain for the abrogation (Tips,1996:217-8). On In 1899, Rivett-Carnac, an English financial adviser, after some studies of the Siamese problems, set forth strong arguments in support of the Siamese request for the abrogation of the Taxation Schedule (Vikrom, 1972: 129). Finally, the Anglo-Siamese Taxation Agreement was signed on September 20, 1900 whereby the Schedule of Taxation attached to the Agreement of 1856 was abrogated; and the Siamese Government agreed not to collect further taxation on land rented, held, or owned by British subjects than levied on similar land in "Lower Burma". According to Agreement between Great Britain and Siam, relative to Taxation on Land held or owned by British Subjects in Siam signed at Bangkok, September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1900:

*"In order to facilitate the financial arrangements of the Siamese Government, and on condition that taxation on land rented, held, or owned by British subjects, shall nowhere exceed taxation levied on similar land in Lower Burmah, Her Britannic Majesty's Government consent to the abrogation of the schedule of taxes in five sections annexed to the Supplementary Agreement between Great Britain and Siam."* (Treaty Series Vol.II, 1968: 173)

These following clauses appeared in Article 2:

*"The Schedule, in five sections, of taxes on garden ground, plantations, and other lands, annexed to the above-mentioned Agreement, shall be and is hereby abrogated"* (Treaty Series Vol.II, 1968: 173)

By virtue of the most-favored-nation treatment, the Taxation Agreement of 1900 automatically limited the rights of any other treaty powers to the some extents as those granted to British subjects. With the abrogation of the 1856

Taxation Schedule, the Siamese government was given some freedom in the matter of taxation on the landed property, and therefore enabled to add another source of revenue of the country, which had been mostly dependent on revenues from gambling, spirits, and opium farms as the first step of fiscal autonomy (Vikrom, 1972: 132).

#### 2.2.2.3 Assigned boundaries to settle within the vicinity of Bangkok with land ownership

According to the right to hold land within the limitation of Bangkok and land taxation under the schedule attachment with the Bowring Treaty, the two terms became the issues that Siam used to negotiate in an exchange with the modification of some points of the Bowring Treaty with Britain. However, the fixed land taxation of Siam for the British subject was abrogated for first time with the condition rate of not more than was levied in Lower Burma in 1900 as mentioned earlier, however, the right to hold land of British subject within the Bangkok's vicinity which limited since 1855 was abrogated by the Treaty of 1909. Therefore, these points were negotiated and exchanged for the fixed land taxation of British subject to equal Siamese subjects and no strict boundaries for the land ownership of British subject for all over the country under the Treaty between Britain and Siam in 1909. The Treaty was signed on July 9<sup>th</sup>. 1909 and it was the remarkable point of the modification of two unpleasant conditions, extraterritoriality and the land and property taxation of British subject to the satisfied level.

Regarding the extraterritoriality the treaty modification, this term accepted by the International Court in the North which conditioned for the coming of Siamese judicial reformation to be established. The importance of judicial structure of Siamese codes, namely, the Penal Codes, the Civil and commercial Codes, the Codes of Procedure, and the Law for organization of Courts were the condition to be established. The modification term of extraterritoriality appeared in Article 5 as follows:

*“The jurisdiction of the Siamese International Courts, established by Article 8 of the Treaty of 3rd September 1883, shall, under the conditions defined in the Jurisdiction Protocol annexed hereto, be extended to all British subjects in Siam registered at the British Consulates before the date of the present Treaty...this system shall come to an end, and the jurisdiction of the International Courts shall be transferred to the Ordinary Siamese Courts after the promulgation and the coming into force of the Siamese Codes, namely, the Penal Codes, the Civil and commercial Codes, the Codes of Procedure, and the Law for organization of Courts. All other British subjects in Siam shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Siamese Courts under the conditions defined in the Jurisdiction Protocol.”* (Treaty Series Vol. II:, 1968:218).

Concerning treaty provision, in Section I of the jurisdiction Protocol annexed to the Treaty of 1909, The International Court was established. British subjects were divided into two classes “pre-registered” and “post-registered,” and the jurisdiction of the International Court primarily applied to the pre-registered class. The system was declared to be transitory in as much as it came to an end with the promulgation of certain Siamese codes. This International Court system remained for all cases until all the Codes mentioned came into force or until there were no more pre-registered subjects (Vikrom, 1972:192). Another point in the treaty according to the right to hold land and taxation on land and property of British subjects was modified in particular the right to hold land ever within the assigned boundaries in Bangkok, extended to all countries including with the levied taxation on land and properties on land similar to Siamese subjects in every respect. These terms appeared in Article 6 of the Treaty as follows:



*“British subjects shall enjoy throughout the whole extent of Siam the rights and privileges enjoyed by the natives of the country, notably the right of property, the right of residence and travel. They and their property shall be subject to all taxes and services, but these shall not be other or higher than the taxes and services which are or may be imposed by law on Siamese subjects. It is particularly understood that the limitation in the Agreement of September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1900, by which the taxation of land shall not exceed that on similar land in lower Burma, is hereby removed. British subjects in Siam shall be exempt from all military service in the Army or Navy, and from all forced loans or military exactions or contributions.”* (Treaty Series Vol.II, 1968 :218-219).

According to this provision the Treaty abrogated the injustice taxation conditions from Siam definitely. In return the British subjects can own land all over the kingdom, then they will pay taxes as equal Siamese citizen.

In summary, from the explanation above, it can be seen that the main topic which impacted changes in Bangkok are the extraterritorial terms which were bounded within the settlement of British subjects in Bangkok (including thirteen concluded-treaty countries). This term brought Bangkok into the international community to own land and be protected with the extraterritoriality. Focusing on fixed land taxation and exportation term in the schedule annexed with the Bowring Treaty, it caused limitation of revenue increase that brought the revenue income gaining from the improper sources such as gambling, opium, spirit and pawn shops. Significantly, these farm businesses were located mostly in Bangkok. Subsequently, this schedule was modified later by an agreement between Siam and Britain in 1900 which conditioned the land tax not exceeding the land tax in Lower Burma.

Prior to 1909, the Treaty between Britain and Siamese was concluded it modified significant changes of two important points of extraterritoriality and right to hold land and property of British subject. Finally, British subjects could enjoy taxation of land and property similarly to all the right of Siamese subjects including to hold land over the assigned Bangkok's vicinity. Therefore, from the background of the treaty provisions, it caused the changes in Bangkok and the modification of these conditions during 1855-1909.

According the conditions of treaty provision, it points out some primary background and changes in Bangkok that the British government and British officials together engaging in the development of the problems, conflicts and solutions. Some assistants from British advisers and officials including their subjects were able to settle the problems and difficulties, for example the security of livelihood and property in Bangkok, the settlement of efficiency on land taxation and right on land property by the title deed including the cooperation of treaty modification to abandon those unsatisfied conditions as well.

Therefore, form the background of circumstances above, it reveals some significant changes in Bangkok in three parts; the community's settlement, the economic growth and the administrative reformation whereas the changes will be examined in details in the next following chapters.

Firstly, change in Bangkok landscape and the settlement of new communities of British and British subjects in Bangkok. When they arrived to settle down and where they situated their communities including how they owned land or residences are important factors; moreover; studying how they interacted within their group or another groups to settle as settler in Bangkok permanently. Secondly, these new comers generated the macro economy and the growth of economic activities in Bangkok by injecting large amounts of capital in big companies. Thirdly, it illustrates administrative changes in Bangkok as the new challenges or problems in the city including a creation of new departments and services assisted by the British officials and staffs.

## CHAPTER 3

### City's Landscape, Communities and Societies

Chapter 2 described the Bowring Treaty provisions instigating changes to Bangkok in several aspects. The treaty stipulated Bangkok as a place of settlement of British and British subjects and thereafter affected other treaties which Siam was involved in. These conditions privileged extraterritoriality for British subjects providing them with privileged access of land ownership, trade privilege of fixed taxation including granting the protection for their individual subjects. The explicit changes in Bangkok after the treaty took effect on the settlement of British subjects could be seen through changes in the city's landscape. The Bowring Treaty provided them with opportunities to settle in Bangkok, of course, several groups of traders, entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, coolie laborers and etc. immigrated to reside there. Consequently, Bangkok attracted many nationalities and diversities of cultures, knowledge and values which transformed Siam's landscape significantly from the past. The free market and privileges under English law and land ownership attracted new comers for settlement.

The city's landscape seems to be very clear when new comers chose to settle in the southern part of the city. They petitioned for the first roads in Bangkok. Specifically, treaty privileged their subjects who were subjects of her colonies or treaty ports in Asia such as Indians, Burmese, Malays, Chinese, Tongsoos, and Shans. These immigrants arrived and gradually formulated their communities in Bangkok. Noticeably, they came to Bangkok with privileged rights. Their relatives and families also gradually settled in Bangkok. Changes they brought to Bangkok included the emergence of the new communities; moreover, land transmitting changes, including the sharing of land ownership. Therefore, this chapter will explore the benefits brought by the Bowring Treaty to their subjects to settle in Bangkok. The questions will focus on the consequences after the conclusion of the Bowring Treaty regarding the dimensions of

developments consistence with permanent settlements in Bangkok after the arrival of the British and her subjects.

In brief, this Chapter will further discuss three significant points. Firstly, it considers the status of British subjects as related to several races and nationalities of Asiatic subjects and British protection when they arrived in Bangkok before settling as migrants. Several decrees and agreements were issued to solve the difficulties and conflicts, for example the decree on the valid celebration of marriages in Siam and the proofs of such celebration by foreign residents (1898), the Agreement between Siam and Great Britain on the registration of British Subjects in Siam (1899), and Act Preventing Frauds in Reference to Certificates of Registration (1906).

Secondly, it will examine how British and British subject located their communities in Bangkok which were mostly situated in the southern quarter along the Chao Phahya River situated close to the old Chinese and Indian communities. When these new comers arrived and began to settle they simultaneously participated in petitioning for road infrastructure to facilitate convenient transportation. The government then agreed to construct roads and grant land ownership. Road construction became one of the core projects of state revenue by allowing shop house rental, simultaneous British subjects were able to inhabit in these residences, or purchase land, and some established manufacturing premises in Bangkok.

The final part of chapter will explain when these people settled in Bangkok by the ownership of land of title deed. Consequently, they moved their communities inland along several newly constructed roads in the southern part of the city and created social association such as clubs, hospitals and churches. Finally, they became settlers in Bangkok and their society retained their identities, while having relation with each other and other societies as the permanent citizen of Siam in Bangkok.

Before examining how British and British subjects settled in Bangkok, it is necessary to understand the status of these persons clearly through the issuing of decrees and agreements in each time period. There were different kinds of British subjects such as natural born British, nationalized subject such as Asiatic subject or the British protected person. These different kinds of persons appeared as a result of extraterritoriality. They needed particular judicial treatments and enforcements. Therefore, the following explanation will detail the development of each decree and agreement.

#### **The development of extraterritoriality since Ayutthaya**

The special privileges and jurisdiction granted to the Dutch and the French were in existence only for a short time in 1684 and 1687 in Ayutthaya period as mentioned in Chapter 2. These treaties came to effect and ended before the beginning of the eighteenth century (Nathabanja, 1924:31). All persons within the realm were under Siamese Courts and practically under the same rules and laws, whether natives or aliens, European or Oriental, except during only a short period of the latter part of the seventeenth century when special privileges were given to the Dutch and French as aforesaid. Since equal treatment and liberty to travel and trade with aliens in the country was not a matter of their rights, but that of courtesy and favor it was accorded by a liberal monarch who might easily have placed them under restrictions and even under unfair conditions. All foreigners were therefore, at that time, at their own risks, while the King gave them not only ample protection and other benefits of the citizen's rights, but they were also welcome in public offices. Constantine Phaulkon, Greek by birth, was raised to a title of the highest official, and to the rank of the first Minister of King Narai. Many Europeans were employed in many departments of the government and aliens were treated by the government as their own people (Nathabanja, 1924:31-2). That means in earlier days, aliens in Siam enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the Siamese in almost all sectors. They could buy and sell freely and travel and trade anywhere they liked. They could practice, profess and preach any religions they

pleased. It was the land of free. All the liberal allowances to foreigners belonged to Siamese traditions of non-discrimination between them and the country's citizens. They were not bound by any treaties or obligations to give such privileges. There were no discrimination and no prejudice for foreigners to create ever much felt (Nathabanja, 1924:33).

The first treaty concluded between Siam and Britain in the nineteenth century on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1826. In Article 5 of the Burney Treaty stated "*...Siamese subjects who visit an English country, must conduct themselves according to the established law of the English country in every particular. English subject who visit a Siamese country must conduct themselves according to the established law of the Siamese country in every particular.*" (Nathabanja, 1924:34) Then for any controversies arising among them, it was stated that :- "Should a Siamese or English merchant have any complaint or suit, he must complain to the officers and Governors on either side; and they will examine and settle the same, according to the established laws of the place or country on either side (Nathabanja,1924:34). In Addition in Article 7 of this Treaty also provided that in the case of "a merchant or subject of the Siamese or English, going to trade in an English or Siamese country and applying to build godowns or houses, or to buy or hire shops, or houses in which to place his merchandise, the Siamese or English Officers and rulers shall be at liberty to deny him permission to stay" (Nathabanja, 1924:34)

Foreigners were satisfied with local laws and with the conduct and treatment of the local officers. In this treaty Great Britain did not ask for more than a mere guarantee of equal treatment of her subjects. Britain had no objection to the local laws or to the conduct of the local authorities. On the contrary, she placed her subjects in Siam under the local law and jurisdiction as well (Nathabanja, 1924:35). Some western powers felt the political advantages of the dignity of their countries and commercially regarding their merchants and subjects doing business in that land, deriving from such special privileges. The Bowring Treaty concluded on April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1855

this date marked the beginning of a series of humiliating events in the annals of the history of Siam with Western powers during the nineteenth century. From 1855 to 1899 thirteen countries concluded treaties with Siam. Each of the governments on the list secured itself by expressing stipulations including separate jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters over its subjects and citizens (Nathabanja, 1924:38-9). Thereafter, it is clear that without some uniform systems to enforce the rules to be observed the different treaties Powers in the exercise of the jurisdiction upon them.

The most serious conflicts inevitably came at the expense of justice and the well-being of the country. Besides, a want of uniformity in this matter can only constitute a standing obstacle to international good feeling and a constant stumbling block in the way of friendly intercourse. Thus, the crude and conflicting notions of extraterritoriality have steadily increased and often been introduced into practices in Siam (Nathabanja, 1924:39-40). Consequently, when extraterritorial rights were enforced, the simultaneous question arises of who fall under foreign jurisdiction and which persons are under foreign jurisdiction in Siam is important to understand. So, it is very necessary to understand who foreign subjects are.

### 3.1 British Subject

In general, treaties between Siam with "Treaty Powers" do not enumerate such persons. They generally use the word "subject" as in "British subject", "French subject", "Dutch subject" and so on. However, the Treaties did not define the word "subject" and whom it refers to (Nathabanja, 1924:110). Particularly, all foreigners are not under Siamese jurisdiction, they must be subject to its certain jurisdiction of each Treaty Powers. Certainly, foreigners who are not subjects of such Treaty Powers must generally subject themselves to the local law. A close scrutiny of any such claim of special privilege is, therefore, necessary for the purpose of the effective exercise of territorial authority. However, when the right of extraterritoriality was first granted there

were only a few Europeans in the country. Their appearances were different from that of the Siamese, so they could easily be distinguished. Local authorities had no trouble differentiating them. However after the colonization of Britain and France was extended to large neighboring territories of Siam such as Burma, Malay States, Anam Cambodia, and Cochin China this process of differentiating "subjects" became more complicated. The subjects of these countries poured into Siam in large numbers. Two countries began to claim the rights of these colonists coming to Siam to have the same special privileges accorded to European subjects. Conflicts and great difficulties to the Siamese authority arose as a consequence.

The former method of distinguishing between the native and alien by a mere method of distinguishing by an appearance became practically impossible. Local authorities were often unable to tell an alien from a Siamese (Nathabanja, 1924:31-2). Particularly, they are protected with the level of hierarchy of extraterritoriality enforcement. So, it will be necessary to know each of British protection to their subjects carefully at first. They can be divided into four kinds of privileges according to British protection. Firstly, natural born subject, secondly naturalized subjects and Asiatic subjects including the last group referring to the British protected persons mostly Chinese.

### 3.1.1 Natural Born Subjects

In general, there is no question in the case of such persons coming to Siam as to their nationality (Nathabanja, 1924:112). Britain, as well as some other European countries, regards a person born within her domain of foreign parents as her subject and she also regards her own subjects all persons born of British parents abroad (Nathabanja, 1924:112). Regarding illegitimate children, their nationality generally follows that of their mother (Nathabanja, 1924:113) in particular the English law provides illegitimate children of English women abroad to have the nationality of the place of birth because it is certifies children born beyond the Kingdom admitted as to



the British subjects. Additionally, the illegitimate children of foreigners born in England are British subjects in virtue of the soil (Nathabanja, 1924:113).

### 3.1.2 Naturalized subject

Naturalization is primarily a personal matter for each individual who wishes to divest themselves of his present nationality in favor of a new one. But the desire to change his nationality cannot generally be accomplished without the consent of the government whose nationality he desires to acquire or the consent of both governments involved. Each state has the inherent right to regulate the matter by her own municipal laws to suit her own ideal domestic interest, not inconsistently with the general rule of the law of the nation (Nathabanja, 1924:113).

English law for English subjects was based until 1870 upon the principles of the indelibility of natural allegiance and of liberty of emigration. "Everyone was free to leave his country; but whatever way he want and whatever, therefore, English law could run, he had the privileges as well as the liabilities, of a British subject" (Nathabanja,1924:114).

In 1870 an Act was passed providing British subjects on becoming naturalized in a foreign state shall lose his British national character, but persons naturalized in a states before the passing of the Act were permitted to make declaration within two years stating their wish to remain British subjects (Nathabanja, 1924:114). As to the status of naturalized subjects in their new status, many countries, including England, the United States, and Russia received them into the new communities on a perfect equality with their natural-born subjects. When they travel to the third state they will have the same rights there and receive the same protection. As to the person naturalized in a colony, an eminent English jurist considers that a person naturalized in a British colony is not invested with the equality of a British subject in a foreign land (Nathabanja, 1924:115).

### 3.1.3 Asiatic subject

There is no uncertainty as to the law according to British law aliens naturalized in British colonies have the privileges of British subjects only within the colony in which they are colonized. It could not, therefore, be contended that they come within identification of British subject in the order in Council” (Nathabanja, 1924:116). That means they are treated under protection of the British law on condition of identification.

In case of the two treaties bounded between Siam and Britain, Asiatic subjects are mentioned in both treaties. The clause that concerns Asiatic subjects appears since the first Treaty in 1826 that the extraterritoriality is not certified. The system of registration and passport protection their subjects are initiated according to Article 10 stipulated that:

*“Asiatic merchants of the English Countries, not being Burmese, Peguers, or descendants of Europeans, shall be allowed to trade freely overland, and by means of the rivers. Asiatic merchants, not being Burmese, Peguers, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter into and trade with the Siamese Dominions from the countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenassarim, and Ye, which are now subject to the English, will be allowed to do so freely, overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates; but merchants are forbidden to bring opium, which is positively a contraband article in the Territories of Siam...”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 27)

Considering this point, John Bowring mentioned the treaty provision in 1826 that it should be modified because in the Malayan peninsula in particular Peguans

who have since become our subject (Bowring, 1977:203). Following this the Bowring Treaty concluded in 1855. Article 5 stressed again the process to obtain identification including certificates and passports.

Certainly, it is clear that the British government was, at the time, concerned to protect her subjects since the 1820s. Particularly, Britain specified in detail to obtain of certificates and passports in both treaties. Consequently, in the second treaty, the Bowring Treaty stipulated the rights pertaining to extraterritoriality is significant. The British government recognized their subjects under the certified documents very carefully according to the treaty's provisions.

#### 3.1.4 British protected person

It is not only Asiatic subjects who the British government paid greater attention to in the Treaty provisions. There are other significant actors who Britain also wanted to protect as the same. This group was the Chinese. They were protected by British law through registration. The rule to protect Chinese stipulated in Article 3 of the Bowring Treaty 1855 about that;

*"...Chinese, not able to prove themselves to be British subjects, shall not be considered as such by the British Consul, nor be entitled to his protection."* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:38)

Therefore, Chinese can be considered as another group which British government seriously concern since the first time of the Bowring Treaty conclusion.

However, when the treaty was ratified, the certain clauses regarding Asiatic subjects are stressed and discussed until these clauses appeared in the Article 1:

*"... on the part of the Siamese, that all traders, under British rule, may cross from the British territories*

*of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenassarim, Pegu, or other places, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may trade there with facility, on the condition that they shall be provided by the British authorities with proper certificates, which must be renewed for each journey.”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 47)

It can be seen that Chinese and Asiatic subjects are the ones who British government needed to protect and already mentioned clearly in the Bowring Treaty agreement. Particularly, the protection given to Chinese was specified as a group that was “entitled to his protection”. Concerning the protection for Chinese by the British government, it is developed relating to the relation between China and Britain under the following circumstances. Since the first opium war between Britain and China occurred in 1840-42 and ended by the conclusion of the Treaty of Nanjing. This first war ceded the Hong Kong Island outright to Britain, opened five treaty ports: Amoy, Canton, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai to foreign consuls, traders, and missionaries. The Treaty enforced the adoption to China of most-favored-nation principle in diplomatic agreements with western countries. A decade later, the second war occurred in 1856-60 and ended by the Convention of Beijing. Britain dominated the Southern tip of the Kowloon Peninsula. Later the Britain was able to acquire extensions to their colony at Hong Kong and Kowloon; called the New Territories, these were leased by China to British for a period of 99 years ending in 1997, as mentioned.

Significantly, this convention also stipulated that the Chinese emperor would allow any Chinese wishing to work in British colonies or other foreign parts to do so, and to take a ship with their families at any of the open ports of China. The terms were secured by France and Spain as well, and by the United States eight years later. The agreement signed with the latter provided for the emperors recognition of the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects

respectively from one country to the other for the purposes of curiosity trade or permanent resident (Pan, 1998: 55-56). Consequently, this convention brought Chinese who immigrated to other places can be protected by the British government as the one under British protection.

The effects of this significant evidence was felt in Siam when the Chinese immigrated to Siam after the second Opium war or after 1860s. After the opening of Hong Kong and five treaty ports in 1842 other the treaty ports opened for foreign shipping in 1858. Shortly after the rise of deep-water ocean ports in south China steamships began offering serious competition to both square-rigged vessels and junks. Steamers were used first on the main world routes, including that between Hong Kong and Singapore; the subsequent chronology of introducing regular steam traffic between various south China ports and Siam (and Malaya) is extremely important in the history of Chinese immigration to Siam (Skinner, 1956: 42-43).

By the 1860s there was the regularly scheduled steamer traffic between Hong Kong and the three main south China ports of Canton, Swatow (Shantou) and Amoy. The immigrants from these ports could travel entirely by steamer via Hong Kong as far as Singapore and Penang. This facilitated immigration to South Siam in particular, but traveling all the way by steamer from the south China ports to the rest of Siam was only feasible when in 1860's regularly scheduled steamer traffic began between Bangkok and Singapore. During the late 1860's and early 1870's, unscheduled steamers plied with increasing frequency between Bangkok and Hong Kong, and to a lesser extent directly between Bangkok and the south China treaty ports. Over the decade, however, direct passenger traffic by steamer was underway from Amoy to Manila and Singapore, and from Swatow to Singapore, and by 1870, such traffic was scheduled and regularized in Siam (Skinner, 1956:43).

Interestingly, the Bowring Treaty in 1855 naturally altered the settlement patterns of the Chinese in Siam. Bangkok absorbed an ever increasing number of Chinese, while the greater number was estimated in the Chinese population in 1875 in

Bangkok reaching 80,000-100,000 (Skinner, 1956: 87). According to this evidence, it can be assumed the number of Chinese immigrants who arrived in Bangkok and certainly some of them should travel by concerning about the protection of their right from the British government as appeared that the Foreign Office had consulted the Law officers in May 1867 as to whether the Chinese were under British protection. Law officers were of the opinion that Chinese resident in Hong Kong and Kowloon at the time of the concession to Britain were entitled to British protection everywhere, even in China itself according to the rules and principle of International Law, and the British Government was to afford the same protection to the children of these persons (Vikrom, 1972: 110). Therefore, it is difficult to see the amount of British subjects separately from Chinese who emigrated from the port treaty and were under British Protection. However, it can be assumed that some of them probably migrated from ports of China as sojourners from China. According to the records of Chinese immigrants in Siam, it is rarely revealed Chinese British subject separately from the Chinese immigrants.

However, in general, it should be noted that the Chinese who were British subjects should be concerned separately from the Chinese coolie in Bangkok. Chinese immigrants who wanted to be a British subject; they had to register at the British consul in Bangkok for their own certificates. If they did not register; they could not claim to be the British subjects. Therefore, the number of Chinese British subjects were less in number than the Chinese coolie in general in Bangkok. Instead of register as British subjects, Chinese coolie actually registered to be the member of their Chinese secret society for the protection. That means there were not everyone who emigrated from China or even from the treaty ports of China would be the British subjects.

In case of the British registration, although the registration clause was asserted in the Treaty the enforcement was not effective and the registration of the British subjects at their consulate was made voluntarily. The other mean of identification was passports, but they were inadequate. Later on, in 1880 a complaint of the difficulties owing to the claim to British protection among those who did not possess any

identification appeared. The inconvenience was caused by the granting of collective passports by the Indian officials to Burmese subjects who crossed over to Siam, would break up and disperse over the country, still laying claim to British protection under the original collective passport. In such circumstances it became practically impossible for the British consular as well as the Siamese authorities to achieve verification in each case. The problem became more complex when Britain annexed the Upper Burma after 1855 (Britain entirely controlled Upper Burma in 1886). The question was whether the Burmese of Upper Burma had immigrated to Siam before or after British annexation; if before, they would be subject to Siamese jurisdiction (Vikrom, 1972: 109).

The production of a passport mentioned in the Bowring treaty was detailed in Article 5 of the Bowring Treaty, as mentioned that:

*“British subjects are at liberty to travel to and from under the protection of a pass to be furnished them by the British Consul, and counter-sealed by the proper Siamese officer, stating, in the Siamese character, their names, calling, and description. The Siamese officers at the Government stations in the interior may at any time, call for the production of this pass, and immediately on its being exhibited, they must allow the parties to proceed; but it will be their duty to detain those persons who, by traveling without a pass from the Consul, render themselves liable to the suspicion of their being deserters; and such detention shall be immediately reported to Consul”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:39).

Additionally, the Agreement Supplementary to the Bowring Treaty in 1856 stated once again in detail the process of passport use in Article 5 as followed:

*“...Royal Commissioner, at the request of Mr. Parkes, agree that the passports to be given to British subjects travelling beyond limits assigned by the treaty for the residence of British subjects, together with the passes for cargo-boats and the port-clearances of British ships, shall be issued within 24 hours after formal application for the same shall have been made to the proper Siamese authorities; but if reasonable cause should at any time exist for delaying or withholding the issue of any of these papers, the Siamese authorities must at once communicate it to the Consul.” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 49)*

The next pages illustrate an example of the passport form in two types as the individual and collective passport.



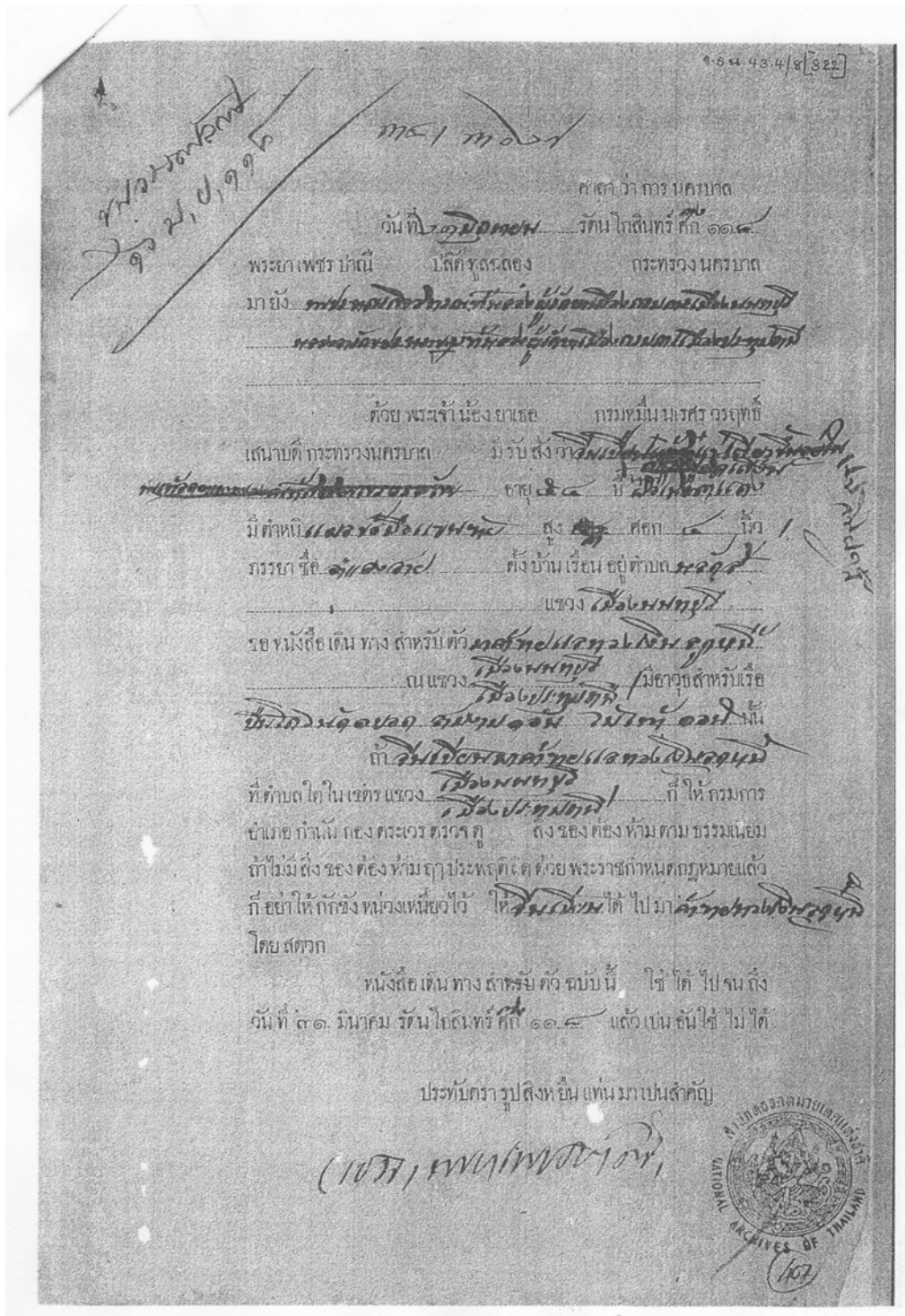


Figure 1: The example form of passport for individual persons of British subjects in 1899

Source: (พ.ร.บ. ๒๕๓๑)

molv

กระทรวงมหาดไทย  
ที่ ๒๓๑  
ฉบับที่ ๔๖๕๗

นำ เบอร์..... ๑๒๓/๑๕๐๘  
ที่ ว่า การ กงสุต เชียงราย อังกฤษ  
วันที่ ๕ สิงหาคม..... รัตนโกสินทร ศก ๒๒๓๗  
ที่..... กงสุต อังกฤษ  
เจ้า ความ มา ณี่ พระ ยา พิพัฒ โภชา ปดด้ ทุด ดตอง กระ ทรง ค่าง ประ เทศ  
ด้วย..... คน ใน บัง กับ อังกฤษ  
เกิด เมือง..... ชาย ๑ มี บิดา หนึ่ง  
มี ค้า ทมิฬ..... สูง ๕ ฟุต ๑ นิ้ว สด เพียบ  
ผิว.....  
.....  
ชื่อ..... รวม ๕ คน  
ชื่อ.....  
ขอ ไป ชื่อ ราย..... อัน ก้า ค่าง ๆ ทาง.....  
มี.....  
มี อาวุธ ด้า หนึ่ง กับ.....  
ตาม..... อัน มี.....  
เพราะ ฉนั้น ขอ ท่าน ได้ ขอ กระ ทรง ท้า หนึ่ง ดื้อ เค็ม ทาง ให้  
แก่..... ฉบับ หนึ่ง  
ที่ ดุค นี้ ขอ ท่าน ได้ รับ คำ แด่กระ ความ นับ ถือ อย่าง สูง ของ ข้าพเจ้า ด้วย

J. J. Barbier






Figure 2: The example form of Collective passport 1904

Source: (ทจข.กต.34/55)

### 3.1.5 The valid marriage of British subject

When British subjects came to reside in Siam they often came and settled with their family. The first problem that was faced by this arrangement was the question of what kind of valid marriage was certified by the British government. It was important to solve the problem of marriage certification. This issue appeared on January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1885 in Chiangmai according to the matters of dispute that had arisen in reference to whether certain persons were or were not the wives of British subjects. These questions had not yet been decided at that time.

Ernest Satow, Consul General of Britain explained this question to the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Siam in 1885 that the disputes occurred in Chiangmai. Consul General sent a letter to clarify the dispute of what was recognized as a valid marriage by the British government, more specifically it stated with reference to certain persons who were or were not the wives of British subjects. Finally, the regulation declared that persons who are to be recognized as the lawful wives of foreign subjects as depending on following provisions:-

*“a) That the couple becomes a husband and wife by the consent of the parents or guardians of the woman.*

*b) The couple must be married in accordance with the customs of the country of the country to which the man or the woman belongs.*

*c) The married couple must be registered by the authorities of the country, and in the consulate of the country of which the husband belongs.*

*If any one of these provisions is not complied with, the couple cannot be recognized as lawfully.” (กต. 34.1/5[4].1)*

### 3.1.6 The Notification of British subject in 1886

As the British subjects in Siam grew in number it was natural that abuse of extraterritorial privileges should correspondingly grow; those desirous to avoid police interference or arrest often resorted to foreign papers as a wise measure of protection. Therefore, the need for strict rules for obtaining identification of these subjects became apparent. In 1884, Earnest Satow, British Minister Resident and Consul General submitted to the Foreign Office a draft regulation on the registration of British subjects in Siam, which was approved later by the British Government. As a result, a notification was issued on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1886 (subsequently confirmed by the Order in Council in 1887, requiring that “all British subjects living in Bangkok and Chiangmai, or within 24 hours’ journey from those place, register themselves either at the British Consulate General at Bangkok or at the Vice Consulate at Chiangmai, and the registered persons would be furnished with the registration certificate. Those who failed to register would be subject to a fine (Vikrom, 1972:110).

Regarding the number of Asiatic British subjects in Siam including Indians, Burmese, Malays, Chinese, Tongsoos, and Shans, it was not possible to ascertain with any approach to accuracy, but probably between 30,000- 40,000. There were no regular census of the population of the Siamese kingdom had yet been taken. The estimated total exceeded 6,000,000 (Diplomatic and Consular Report, 1889: 20). According to the registration of British subjects, even there was a notification enforcing a British subject to register in 1886, but no rules were imposed to deal with the more important question of identifying the persons who were or were not entitled to the British protection. The question of who should be considered as British subjects and entitled to full extraterritorial privileges became important in the disputes between Siam and France over the registration of French subjects, breaking out into conflict on several occasions

after 1893. France wanted to extend its registration to all Asiatic subjects (Vikrom, 1972: 110). However, it also appeared that some foreign residents had encountered difficulties for the celebration and for legal proof of their marriage. It demanded the authoritative interpretation about regarding the conditions required for the valid celebration of marriages and what forms the legal celebration of such marriages should be prepared when both parties or one of them were a foreigner. Additionally, according to the reformation sketch presented to the King by the General Adviser, Rolin-Jaequemyn after an arrival of King Chulalongkorn from the first tour of Europe. Finally, the legislative council issued Marriage Law on January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1898. It defined the conditions under which a marriage could be considered valid according to Siamese registration and the manner of the marriage recording celebrated in Siam among foreigners who did not seek the protection of their consuls (Tips, 1996:256). Finally, a decree was issued on January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1898.

3.1.7 A decree on the valid celebration of marriages in Siam and the proof of such celebration by foreign resident.

The problems arose in practices when the British subjects needed to settle with their lovers. The decree was necessarily to cease the ambiguous status of their waives. These clauses below are the reason to issue the decree that:

*“Whereas it has been reported to us by our Minister of Foreign Affair, that some foreign residents are encountering difficulties for the celebration and for legal proof of their marriage, whenever they have contracted, or intend to contact it according to the law of this country, and that there authoritative interpretation, what are the conditions required for the valid celebration of marriages according to Siamese Law, and then to decree in what from the legal celebration of such*

*marriages shall be proof of when both parties or one of them are foreigners.” (พฉพ.น.2/31)*

Additionally, all clauses in the decree on the valid celebration of marriages in Siam and the proof of such celebration by foreign residents stipulated as follows:

*“Sect. 1 Marriage, according to Siamese law and Customs, is a contract between man and wife, to which the ordinary principles which attach to other contracts are applicable, and it is consequently validly celebrated whenever it cleanly results from the words exchanged or from the rites observed that both parties freely consent to take each other as man and wife, provided he or she does not labor under some particular disability.*

*Sect. 2 Whenever both parties or one of such are residents in Siam, then mutual and simultaneous or at a later time, by a declaration to that effect made in the presence of at least four well-known witnesses, before the Minister of Local Government or his substitute, if the marriage is or has been contracted in Bangkok, or before the Governor of the Province where the parties or one of them are living at the time.*

*Sect. 3 A written deed of such declaration, as mentioned in Section 2, shall be drawn either in Siamese only or if parties so require, in Siamese and English, both versions having the same meaning and intention, in two original documents, by the official before when it is made, mentioning the date of the marriage, the respective names, age and place of birth*

*of each party, in confirmation of which date all satisfactory evidences shall be produced if so requested by the said official, and each of these copies shall be signed by the said official, by both parties, by the four witnesses, as also eventually by such of the parents of one or both parties who may be present. One of these two originals shall be carefully kept and registered in the archives of the office where it has been drawn, and the other copy shall be forwarded without any delay to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to be carefully kept and registered in the archives of his department.*

*Sect. 4 True certified extracts or all copies of the deed, as mentioned in Section 3, shall be delivered to many persons applying for it, at the cost of four ticals for each extract or copy, if the document is executed in Siam only or of eight ticals if the document is executed in Siamese and English.” (พ.ร.บ. 2/31 )*

With regards to the woman, “the nationality of a woman is the nationality of her husband. Thus, a Siamese woman married to a European would immediately become the nationality of that European, and so, remain unless she, subsequently becoming a widow again” and “the nationality is not affected unless the marriage is lawful (Lawson, 1906:60). To make a marriage lawful, the ceremony must be fulfilled according to the marriage law of the husband. Accordingly, “a Siamese woman who lives with a European as his concubine does not become of his nationality but remains a Siamese subject” (Lawson, 1906:60). However, questions about extraterritoriality are the hazy ideas which most residents have as to what their rights really are. It is frequent in the habit of asserting what they think are their rights in an aggressive manner. In such cases, Police Officers should remain perfectly calm and polite (Lawson, 1906:61)

### 3.1.8 An Agreement between Siam and Britain on the registration of British Subject in Siam 1899

In 1898, the same year the Ministry of Interior sent a letter to all the city governors in the provinces to report that the increasing numbers of passports issued to foreigners should be a cause for concern and could lead to insecurity for the government regarding the illegal use of these passports by someone probably escape from taxation or someone escape from the police.

Therefore, it should be inspected unofficially by the official before issuing a passport. Their individual record should be collected for the following information secretly; where they were born, who their descendants were, and where their residences were located, what their careers and etc. in compliance with the letter no. 349/25404 of Ministry of Interior on September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1898. By the attached letter, the Ministry of Interior reported the number of issued passports by the table below:

**Table 3: Passports issuing by Ministry of Interior, 1894 - 1897**

Nationalities/Year	1894	1895	1896	1897
English	85	267	234	246
Portuguese	14	60	55	87
Dutch	10	32	7	12
French	15	37	15	29
American	6	24	6	6
German	2	2	3	1
Italian	1	4	4	2
Australian	-	2	2	-
Dutch	-	2	2	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>328</b>	<b>386</b>

Source: (พฉพ.ร.5 ต.46/8)



However, since the proposed registration of British subjects for the purpose of British protection was a new departure from the usual practice of British Consulate in Siam. The Foreign Office immediately consulted the India office, as to who should be entitled to British protection and to which generation of the British protected persons such protection should be extended (Vikrom, 1972: 111). Considering the case of Asiatic subjects provided with passports from a British colony or dependency, the matter of registration was as simple as for Europeans: the British consulate just assumed that the passports were being issued to the British subject. However, in the absence of a passport, there were no definite rules for the British Consulate to follow (Vikrom, 1972: 113).

According to the Chinese who failed to occupy the passport, in order to avoid further disputes with the Siamese government, the Draft rules refused to register the Chinese without a passport except upon the production of convincing proofs of their birth within the Queen's domains. Additionally, the consul ought not to register natives of Upper Burma or British Shan state if they had lived in Siam before 1886. Likewise, it also applied to the children of British subjects if they were born before the father's registration (Vikrom, 1972: 114).

In 1896 the discussion raised the procedure of registration of a British subject having more than one wife. It was referred to in Article 94 of the Order Council of 1889 stating that the name of wife should be endorsed on her husband's certificate. To consider this point carefully, it is important for the registration of her children (Vikrom, 1972: 117). In August 1897, King Chulalongkorn left Siam for a European tour in April and later arrived in London. One of his objectives in England was to negotiate with the British Government regarding a registration of British subjects in Siam (Vikrom, 1972: 119). The negotiation in London between British Foreign Office and the Siamese legation solved other additional questions such as the question of how to register the wives and children of polygamous marriage. Prince Devavongse (สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาเทวะวงศ์วโรปการ) suggested that only children of the first or chief wife should be

registered (Vikrom, 1972: 121). In April 1899 it was affirmed that the wife or wives of British subjects be endorsed on her husband's certificate, and that all their children be registered for the purpose of British protection. Nevertheless, the third generation of Asiatic was not to be granted entitling them for protection outside Siam whereas the Law Officers recommended that they be registered as the British protected persons, to be distinguished from natural-born British subjects (Vikrom, 1972: 122). Finally, the Governments of Siam and Great Britain recognized the necessity of having a satisfactory arrangement for the Registration of British subjects in Siam as follows:-

*“Agreement between Siam and Britain on the Registration of British Subjects in Siam. Signed at Bangkok, November 29, 1899.*

*The Government of both countries recognized the necessity of having a satisfactory arrangement for the Registration of British Subjects in Siam. The registration according to Article V. of the Treaty of April 18 1855 of British subjects residing in Siam shall comprise of the following categories.*

*1. - All British natural born or naturalized subjects, other than those of Asiatic descents.*

*2. - All children and grandchildren born in Siam of persons entitled to be registered under the first category, which are entitled to the status of British subjects in contemplation of English law.*

*Neither great-grandchildren nor illegitimate children born in Siam of persons mentioned in the first category are entitled to be registered.*

3. - *All persons of Asiatic descents born within the Queen's Dominions or naturalized within the United kingdom or born within the territory of any Prince or State in India under the suzerainty of or in alliance with the Queen.*

*Except natives of Upper Burma or the British Shan States who became domiciled in Siam before January 1, 1886.*

4. - *All children born in Siam of persons entitled to be registered under the third category.*

*No grandchildren born in Siam of persons mentioned in the third category are entitled to be registered for protection in Siam.*


5. - *The wives and widows of any persons who are entitled to be registered under the foregoing categories.” (พฉช.กต. 34.1/4)*


The above agreement decreased the number of British protected persons since the grandchildren or third generation born in Siam whose fathers and grandfathers had likewise been born in Siam of natural born British subjects would come under the Siamese jurisdiction. This agreement was followed by somewhat similar agreements between Siam and the Netherlands in 1901, France in 1904, Denmark and Italy in 1905 (Vikrom, 1972: 124). In general, every person within their own state is amenable to all the laws and under the jurisdiction of the courts of that state, the matter of registration of foreigners with their respective consul does not seem to be very important. However, when the extraterritoriality comes to effect in a state where there are many nationalities and each or most of them are under the jurisdiction of their own respective Consular Courts it becomes essential to their Consuls to know the persons

under their protection. There would be considerable confusion for the local authorities whose business is to maintain peace and good order if they did not know who the persons enjoying special privileges (Lawson, 1906:56-57). The identification of these foreign subjects is, in fact, very necessary. Therefore, there were any persons who might dishonestly claim the enjoyment of extraterritorial right, affecting a great deal of injustice to others and be injurious to the welfare of the community. A wide field would be open to such abuse. To avoid potential confusion, a method of identification of foreign subjects by way of registration by their respective Consulates in Siam was generally provided in almost all the Treaties made with the Powers (individual countries). The duty was imposed of foreign Consuls to communicate or furnish a copy of the registration list to the Siamese authority, or to keep the list of such registration open to the inspection of a properly authorized representative of the Siamese Government on proper notice being given, within a fixed period of time, once a year.

The general method of registration is that persons who have a legal claim as foreign subjects must go to register at their respective Consulates when they are persons of certain age. The Consular offices will issue them certificates of their registration that they have to renew either every year within the time provided by the Consul or the law of their countries. Such a certificate generally contains full names of the subjects, the place and date of his birth, age, complexion, height, size, marks of recognition, profession, his quality as single or married, widow or widower, the name of his wife and minor children, the date of issue of the certificate and the signature under seal of the Consul or proper officer of the Consulate.

No. 153

 HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S  
LEGATION &  
CONSULATE GENERAL,  
BANGKOK.



**CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION**  
For the Year 1889.

I hereby Certify That *Jasper Young*  
is duly registered in this Consulate  
as a *British subject*

Dated this *8* day of *May* 1889

*J.A. Green* <sup>at</sup> Consul.

*153* Number.  
Page in Foil.

Signature of Party registered,  
*Jasper Young*

NOTE—This Certificate of Registration must be carefully kept by the party in whose favour it is issued.

Figure 3: The example of British certificate

Source: (Certificate of registration, 1889: online)

### 3.1.9 The Prevention of the Wrongful Use of the Personal Registration Certificate

The number of British subjects increased continually in Bangkok particularly in 1902, Asiatic subjects 2,198, European 300 (Lysa, 2004: 333). It had become custom to register persons enjoying these privileges and to issue to them certificates stating who they were, and to what nationality they belonged. It must, however, be clearly understood that;

*“if a person has not got such a certificate in his possession that is not proof that he does not enjoy these privileges. The certificate merely certifies to fact, viz; that a person belongs to a certain nationality. It must be remembered that the possession of a certificate does not, necessarily, prove that the person who holds it is a subject of the nationality to which he lays claim. He may have bought or borrowed it, in which case the possession does not, of course, confer on him any rights at all but, on the contrary, renders him liable to punishment for endeavoring to deceive.”* (Lawson, 1906:56)

The rule of the police;

*“If the Police arrest a person who produces a certificate showing that he belong to a nationality enjoying extra-territorial privilege, or, if the Police know for certain of their own knowledge that the accused does belong to a nationality enjoying these privileges, it is their duty to send such accused to the Court of that nationality for trial, instead of to the Siamese Court. But*

*not merely does the person who enjoys these privileges have the right to be tried by his own Court but also by his own law. The procedure, practice, and law, in each of the Courts is very different and this certainly makes it very difficult for the Police to work satisfactorily. It is, therefore, incumbent on officers to acquaint themselves as far as possible with the procedure in the many different Courts. This is a tiresome and wearying duty.”*  
(Lawson, 1906:57)

*“The only one circumstance is under which the Police would be justified in disregarding a certificate and that will be a case when it was perfectly obvious the person producing it was not the person referred to in the certificate.”* (Lawson,1906:56)

All these below are the complaints that the police refer when the enforcement of extraterritoriality affected.

*“If the Police arrest a person who produces a certificate showing that he belong to a nationality enjoying extraterritorial privilege, or, if the Police know for certain of their own knowledge that the accused does belong to a nationality enjoying these privileges, it is their duty to send such accused to the Court of that nationality for trial, instead of to the Siamese Court.”*  
(Lawson, 1906:57)

*“It is not merely does the person who enjoys these privileges have the right to be tried by his own Court but also by his own law. The procedure, practice, and law, in each of the Courts is very different and this*

*certainly makes it very difficult for the Police to work satisfactorily. It is, therefore, incumbent on officers to acquaint themselves as far as possible with the procedure in the many different Courts.”* (Lawson, 1906:57)

This is a tiresome and wearying duty, but at least it has this advantage, that the study of many different systems, must widen an Officer's mind, and therefore, make him a more efficient Policeman. In this connection, it is very necessary for Officers to remember. The problem of the wrongful use of passport appeared in severely when the General –Adviser wrote to Minister of Foreign Affairs on April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1906 according to these clauses

*” I had reported by Siamese police that the British subject had been for sometime engaged in diligently collecting the certificates of registration of deceased British subjects from their families; that he had now... as much as dozen of these certificates, and that he was offering them for sale...such business was being carried on... it was founded that there was no law which would make cases of this kind a crime... it is a crime in English law to obtain money by false pretences...”* (พจข.กต.2/115)

Concerning certificates of registration, the provisions of the laws on these and analogous offences would be severely punished when there are cases relating to certificate of registration which have not yet been clearly defined for their due punishment. It was necessarily to issue the law and declared on May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1906. The decree of this topic can be shown in details as follows;



*“An Act Preventing Frauds in Reference to Certificates of Registration.*

*1. Whoever causes a foreign official to issue a certificate of registration to a person who is not entitled under treaties to receive it, by making to such official any statement which he knows to be false in any point material to the registration, shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding three years or a fine not exceeding one thousand ticals, or both.*

*Whoever knowingly makes use of any such certificates shall be liable to the same punishment.*

*2. Whoever fraudulently buys, sells, transfers, procures or otherwise makes use of any genuine certificates of registration not belonging to him, shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or a fine not exceeding five hundred ticals, or both.*

*Whoever is found in possession of such certificate for the purpose of fraudulently selling, transferring or making use of the same shall be liable to the same punishment.*

*3. Whoever in order to obtain foreign protection falsely represents himself as being so related to such person that he would if the representation were true be entitled to the protection of Foreign power, shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or fine not exceeding five hundred ticals, or both.*

*4. The provision of the existing laws which have not been expressly modified by three foregoing sections shall remain in full force.” (พ.ร.บ. ๒/๑๑๕)*

In summary, the protection of British subjects according to the Bowring Treaty provision conditions brought consequences of at least two decrees and one agreement for the practices to use and produce identification of their subjects. The effects of these decrees or agreements reflect the new types of persons in Bangkok. They are the descendants of the British subjects who have arrived and reside in Bangkok. The explicit changes in Bangkok should be noticed from these people who are of mixed of nationalities and protected their right under another law and jurisdiction not Siamese law. Because of this diversity confusion and difficulties occurred regularly when conflict appeared. In particular the British and their subjects, the more they come to settle in Bangkok, the more of confusions, conflicts, and difficulties occurred. The next section explains these issues further by examining how the British and their subjects settled in Bangkok and where they located their communities.

### **3.2 Road Construction and the formulation of communities**

#### **3.2.1 The Foreign Community in Early Bangkok**

The previous section examined who are British subjects in Bangkok. The next section examines changes in Bangkok according to the changes of city landscape. It began by the developing old community of American and European which were originally occupied by British and their subjects at Portuguese consul for the major places of British settlers. These places are cemetery, church, consul, and custom house. The development of each place will be presented further.

### 3.2.1.1 British Factory at Kudi Chin (กุฎีจีน)

In 1818 a Portuguese envoy arrived in Bangkok bearing presents and letters from the governor of Magao, expressing a wish to renew cordial relations. Envoy Carlos Manuel Silveira was then permitted to stay in Bangkok. The Siamese government was provided with much needed firearms. Silveira left Bangkok in 1819, but was sent back in 1820 bringing him with a draft treaty, but the Siamese were invited to make alterations they considered necessary. One of the 23 articles provided a Portuguese consul general to reside in Bangkok. The proposed treaty was not concluded. The Siamese sent back a document bearing only the seal of Phraklang permitting to come and trade. Silveira stayed in Bangkok known by European as Portuguese consul and king titled Tipakornwong (ทิพากรวงศ์) (ทิพากรวงศ์, 2548:151-3). Traditionally, in Ayutthaya, the foreign communities were actually permitted to settle to the south of the capital city close to the sea. (แน่น้อย, 2534: 93). As mentioned in Chapter two, the communities of foreigners in Ayutthaya mostly situated outside the city walls in the southward direction to the sea. According to the Portuguese Consul, it was established outside the city walls of Bangkok, at the same river bank of the Grand palace.

The location of the Consul was situated opposite the old communities of their ancestor in Ayutthaya known as Kudi Chin. After that, the Portuguese Consul had been established in Bangkok since 1820 in the reign of King Rama II. Later, in the reign of King Rama III when the conclusion of the Burney treaty stipulated trade without intervention by state in Article 6, “such merchants and the inhabitants of the Country shall be allowed to buy and sell without intervention..” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:25) and in Article 7 “..going to trade ...and applying to build godowns or houses, or to buy or hire shops or houses, in which to place his merchandize, the Siamese or English Officers and Rulers shall be at liberty to deny him permission to stay...” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:26). Therefore, the foreigners could not settle in Siam without the permission ... However, two years before the conclusion of the Burney Treaty

the first Scottish merchant Robert Hunter arrived in Bangkok in 1824. Having the permission, he had settled in Bangkok and traveled for trade between Bangkok, Singapore, Pattani, and Tranganoo (นันทนา (แปล), 2538: 48-49). Robert Hunter conducted Messrs. with J. Hayes (Sarasin,1977:228). He established a company in Bangkok shortly after the beginning of the Third reign known as British Factory (สาวิตรี, 2527:46). By 1835 he built “an immense amount of business” in that year he also brought over a co-partner and a clerk from England. Hunter held a position with the Siamese Government and exerted a considerable influence at the court later. He had four vessels working for him (Vella, 1957:126). He built the three-storey building as the factory known as Hang Huntraa (ห้างหันตรา). It was constructed by the white brick in rectangular form with the British flag on the roof. This factory became the place of European to meet and talk including hospitality. A European traveler, F.A. Neale, who visited Bangkok in 1840, described Hunter as follows:

*“Hunter talked about after a great deal of difficulty and persuasion, induced the Siamese Government to permit the Europeans residing at Bangkok to build a house. The Portuguese Consul, Signor Marsinello de Rosa, the French bishop and missionaries, the Americans and Mr. Hunter, had all gladly availed themselves of this permission. Mr. Hunter’s was very fine large prominent house, opposite to which the British ensign proudly floated on feast days and high days, and here every stranger found home, for a very prince of hospitality.”* (Neal, 1996:30)

*“..before Mr. Hunter gained permission for Europeans to build on the banks of the Menam, this privilege was entirely confined to the members of the*

*royal family, and for the building of wats, or places of worship.”* (Neal, 1996:31)

This factory was the first Building constructed with brick in Bangkok. It was called Tuk Farang (ตึกฝรั่ง) (นันทนา (แปล), 2538: 53). The similar building at that time did not appear so much except some places such as the palace of the second king (Phra PinKlao สมเด็จพระปิ่นเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว), or Mr. Chandler's house (นันทนา (แปล), 2538: 54-55). The Portuguese was respected as the one of foreign Consul in Bangkok, at that time. Even it was opened officially in 1820, but the trade between Siam and Portugal was not prosperous as much.

### 3.2.1.2 Portuguese Consul: before the Bowring Treaty

In 1828, the Portuguese Consul ever received Rev. Carl Augustus Friderich Gutzlaff and Rev. Jacob Tomlin with kindness and took them into a house on his own premises about three rods above the landing of the Portuguese Consulate. After the interview with the authorities, the missionaries were granted permission to reside in Bangkok and to labor among the Chinese. After that when the Catholic instigated the PhaKlang requested Mr. Hunter to tell them to get out of the country (McFarland, 1999:2). However, they returned to Siam again in 1830; after that; they had devoted to study Siamese and translate the Bible in Siamese, Lao, and Cambodian. On February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1831, Mrs. Gutzlaff gave birth to twin daughters; they later died. One child died at birth and the other lived about four months. A burial was made by a special permit at the upper side of the Portuguese Consulate gate. This plot of ground continued to be the burial ground of the missionaries and other until King Mongkut made a grant for this purpose in 1853 (McFarland,1999:4). Mr. Abeel rented this house adjoining the Consulate and established the public worship in their own house and this was conducted in Chinese every Sunday (McFarland, 1999:6). Therefore, the location adjoining Portuguese Consul became the place of worship and burial ground of Protestant missionaries since then and it was interestingly favored by British Consul to establish her consulate nearby thereafter (McFarland, 1999:9).

### 3.2.1.3 The British consul: the result of the Bowring Treaty

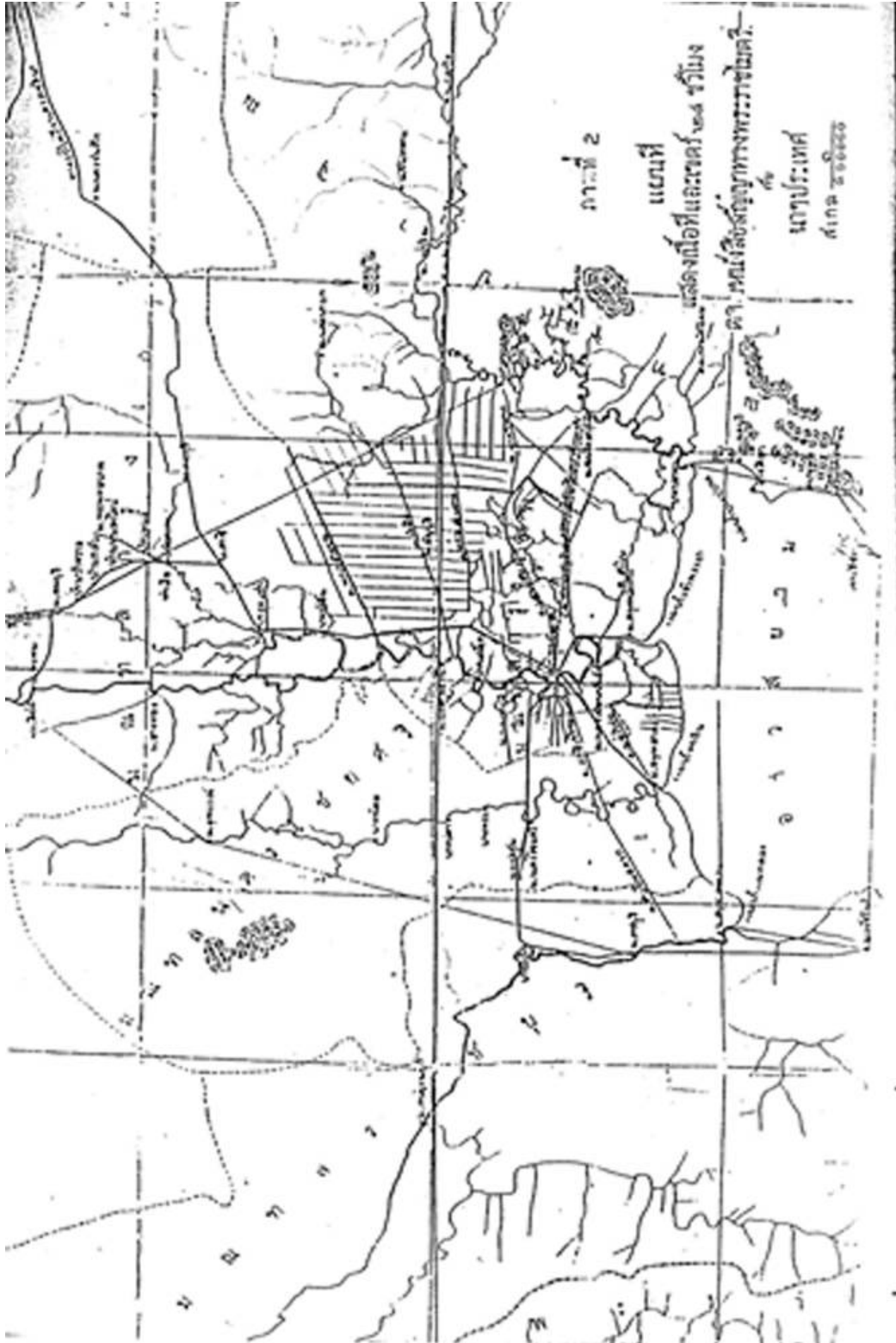
Concerning Article 2 of the Agreement Supplementary to the Bowring Treaty 1855 regarding the Consul, it stated these: “Any disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects shall be heard and determined by the Consul in conjunction with the proper Siamese officers... although the Siamese may interfere so far with British subjects as to call upon the Consul, ...” (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:48). According to these above clauses, the British and Siamese government agreed to establish British Consulate in Bangkok. Following this agreement Mr. Charles Batten Hillier came to Bangkok in 1856 as the first British Consul. Bowring had already left two men, Mr. Bell and Mr. Forrest, these two men joined the staff of the Consulate when it was set up. Mr. Alabaster also came to join the Consulate at this time. Hillier fell seriously ill and died on October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1856 (Manich a, 1970:89). He was buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok as the burial ground that King Mongkut granted in 1853. In 1855, this plot of land was developed to the Protestant Cemetery; thereafter it became the cemetery of Protestant in Bangkok (including British); it appeared the letter of John Bowring written to thank King Mongkut for his kind to grant the land for the burial and some money for the development of the Protestant cemetery. The entire budget to develop the cemetery was donated by British subjects, the British government and King Mongkut (ศิวัะลีย์ (แปล), 2541:9, 86, 142).

The first religious place of the British in Bangkok was the shared cemetery with the American Protestant cemetery. According to the construction of Consul, the first British Consul appointed to Siam rented premises in the Bang Kholaem (บางคอกแหลม) (District of Southern Bangkok), but Mr. Gingell looked for more permanent quarters. As a gesture of generosity, King Mongkut assisted in the appropriation of land (on a piece of ground adjacent to the Portuguese Consulate on the bank of the river,) as a site for the British Consulate and presented it to Mr. Gingell. As a further mark of generosity King Mongkut made a loan of 1,000 pound or 8,000 bath (พรพรธณ (แปล), 2542 :122) to enable Mr. Gingell to construct a building on the new site while waiting for

the transfer of funds from the Foreign Office in London. So, it is clear that after the Bowring treaty was in effect, the new places in particular for British in Bangkok the Consul and cemetery were established. Both places were located close to each other nearby the site of Portuguese Consul. Of course, they were all situated along the Chao Phraya River, next to the Chinese community, Sampheng. They were on the same river bank of the palace.

### 3.2.2 The Assigned Boundaries to settle for British Subject

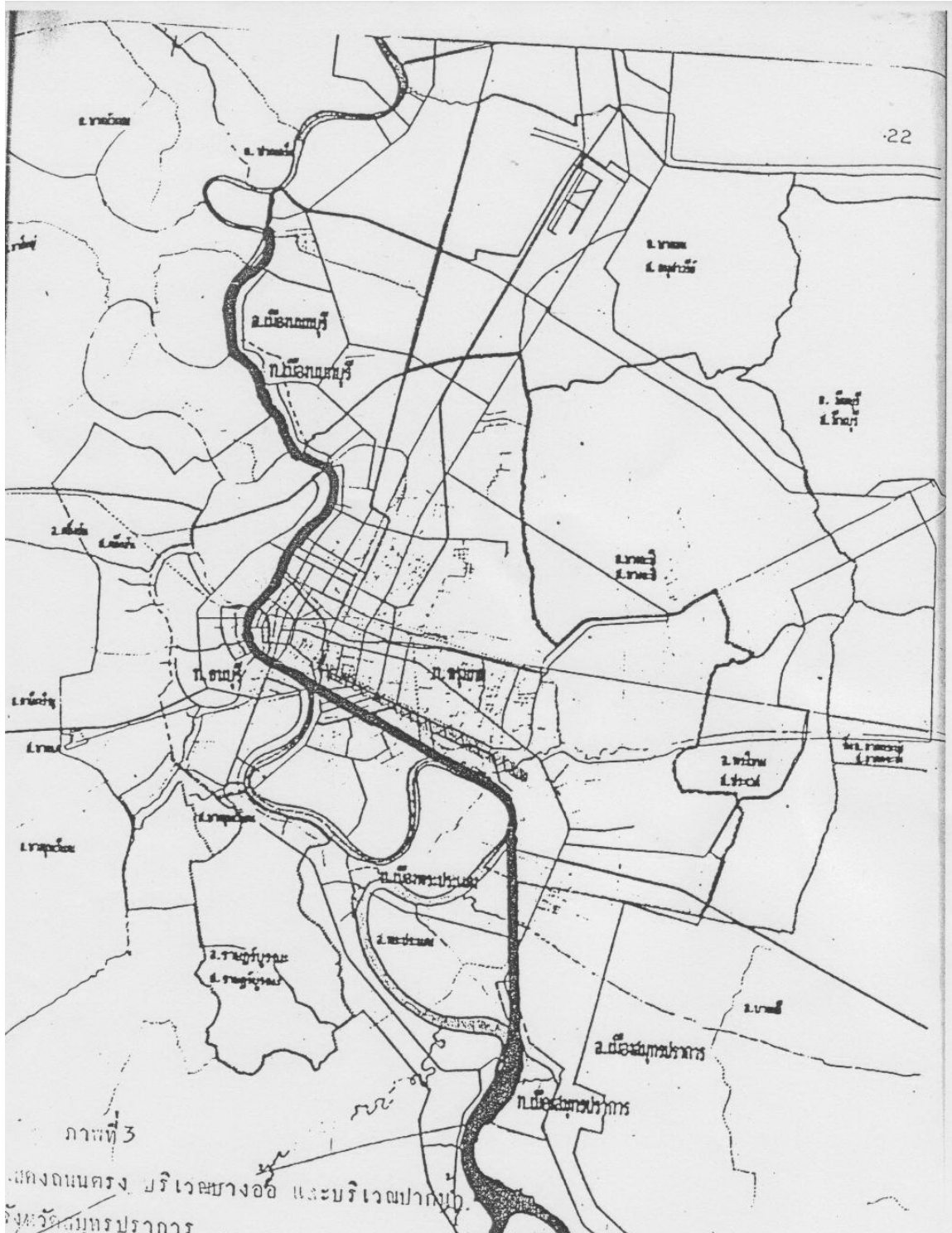
As mentioned earlier, the Bowring Treaty was significant for establishing the boundaries to reside without land ownership and the areas where land ownership was permitted. According to the Agreement Supplementary to the Bowring Treaty 1855 in Article 10 concerning boundaries, British subjects were unable to purchase land within a four-mile circuit. Pillars marked the spot where the circuit ran. Article 11 assigned the boundaries "...may at any time buy or rent houses, lands, or plantations, settlements anywhere within a distance of 24 hours' journey from the city of Bangkok..." (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968:52). These assigned the boundaries for them to purchase lands with the ownership, situated within a distance of 24 hours' journey. These boundaries can see on the geographical map on the following page. The enforcement of treaty mainly concerned very much, noticeably from several cases of British subjects was subject to refuse because the period of time for residing in Bangkok included the distance from the city walls. Many cases were refused because they were not qualified under conditions of the Treaty.





Nonetheless, when British subjects arrived in Bangkok, they did not choose to reside all around the assigned boundaries. They were mainly interested in settling in the south of the city, particularly close to the Chinese and near to the port. The significant proof of this fact appeared when Robert Hunter and Samuel John wrote to King Mongkut in 1856 that under the Treaty conditions the foreigners could not purchase lands within 200 sen distance from the city wall. Therefore, the King permitted them to settle at Bangna (บางนา) [(Kokkabeo) (คอกกระบือ)] instead of dwelling within the Chinese and Indians quarters that caused conflict (สยามพม, 2525:18-19). Soon after, the managers of the Borneo Company and other trading houses also signed a petition for the lands at Bangna to establish a warehouse and located a community there. Moreover; they asked for the road and canal parallel to this quarter. Consequently, King Mongkut agreed to construct the road and dug a canal with Chinese hired labor for a budget of 16,633 baht in 1857. The basic reason for the construction of this road resulted from the king belief that there should be an appropriate place outside the city for all settlement of these Europeans (ทิพากรวงศ์, 2548:125). It then was connected to the south of the city along Chao Phraya River linking new foreign community with the city and the southernmost. The canal was dug first and named Khlong Thanon Trong (คลองถนนตรึง), the road was followed and was called: Thang Thanon Trong (ทางถนนตรึง). This is highlighted on the map on the following page (สยามพม, 2525:20-22).

At that time the road was actually built in parallel with canal excavation because the existing canal provided the concentration of settlement and the major routes of transportation (Porphant, 1999:443). However, this quarter after the road already constructed, it was not developed to be a foreign quarter; in contrast; there were only few passengers passing through (สยามพม, 2525:23). It can be seen Khlong Thanon Trong and Thang Thanon Trong on the next page.



Map 3: Thang Thanon Trong (ทางถนนตรง) and Khlong Thanon Trong (คลองถนนตรง)

Source : (สยามพร, 2526: 22)

Later, in 1861 the Western consuls complained of ill health because there were no roads for making excursions in their horse-drawn coaches, and put pressure on the government to construct a road in the capital (สยามพร, 2526:27-29). The necessity to construct road was supported by the tour of Somdet ChaoPhaya (สมเด็จพระเจ้าพระยาบรมมหาศรีสุริยวงศ์) to Singapore in 1861. He was taken on a sight seeing tour of the city plan of the road and shop houses there. Therefore, to serve the need of these foreigners, the King agreed to construct roads and shop houses along the road like Singapore (สยามพร, 2526:27-30). Concerning the shop house, it was kept in mind of the king because previously he began to build some shop houses in his patronage temples near the palace for the benefits of the temple, such as Wat Rat Pradit (วัดราชประดิษฐ), Wat Bawon Niwet (วัดบวรนิเวศน์) (อุทิศ,2525:170).

King Mongkut had initiated the construction of shop houses within temple boundaries to provide the commercial place for people and making the interests for the temple. Wat Bawon Niwet was the first place of the project (อุทิศ,2525:133-134). In addition, the shop house lined the building in the outer part of the palace for the residences of the palace teachers and some Chinese traders who sell a foreign luxury and strange piece-good (สยามพร, 2526:27-31). By this year, in 1861, the three parts of short roads was constructed; firstly Rama IV (พระราม4), Dao Khanong (ดาวคะนอง) road, and Silom road (linking Bangrak canal and Trong road) (สยามพร, 2526:27,31-32). In addition, the following year, another road was constructed to link to the previous inner roads near the palace and the construction of shop houses for granting to the King's sons (สาวิตรี, 2526:27-32). Later, in 1863, the King ordered to construct another two roads, Bamrung Mueang (บำรุงเมือง) and Fuea Nong Nakhon (เฟื่องนคร) that linked the former roads; they were already planned to line with the shop houses along the road since the beginning of the project (สยามพร, 2526:33). In 1864, all the projects of roads construction were completed. King Mongkut went to a celebration of all roads by himself (ทิพากรวงศ์, 2548:205). It was known as Charoen Krung (เจริญกรุง) or New Road.

### 3.3 The settlement community, land ownership, and social relations

#### 3.3.1 The British Church in Bangkok

In 1861, the number of the committees of the Bangkok Protestant Church submitted a petition to the king for the construction of their church. The British expatriate became to be a part of them.

*“This community represents all sections of Protestants in Bangkok members of the Church of England, Scotch Presbyterians, American Protestants of all denominations, German Lutherans, Danish Protestants and Siamese Christians. In 1861 Your Majesty’s father was pleased to grant a piece of land adjoining the Borneo Company for a site on which to build a Church for the use of the Protestant Community of Bangkok. A church was erected by the donations of the charitable, but it was not till a few years ago that the community was in a financial position to support a clergyman. On account of the extension of commerce in this city and in many other ways to pastors and missionaries from Europe and American to Christians and to Mohammedans and indeed to all who wish to have the privilege of worshipping in their own fashion.”*  
(พฉฐ.ร.5.ค.4.4.ง/4)

So, it is significant that in the same year which the European petitioned for roads in Bangkok, they enthusiastically needed their religious place for their worship. This interest was stated in the Article 6 of the Bowring Treaty as follows:

*“All British subjects visiting or residing in Siam shall be allowed the free exercise of the Christian*

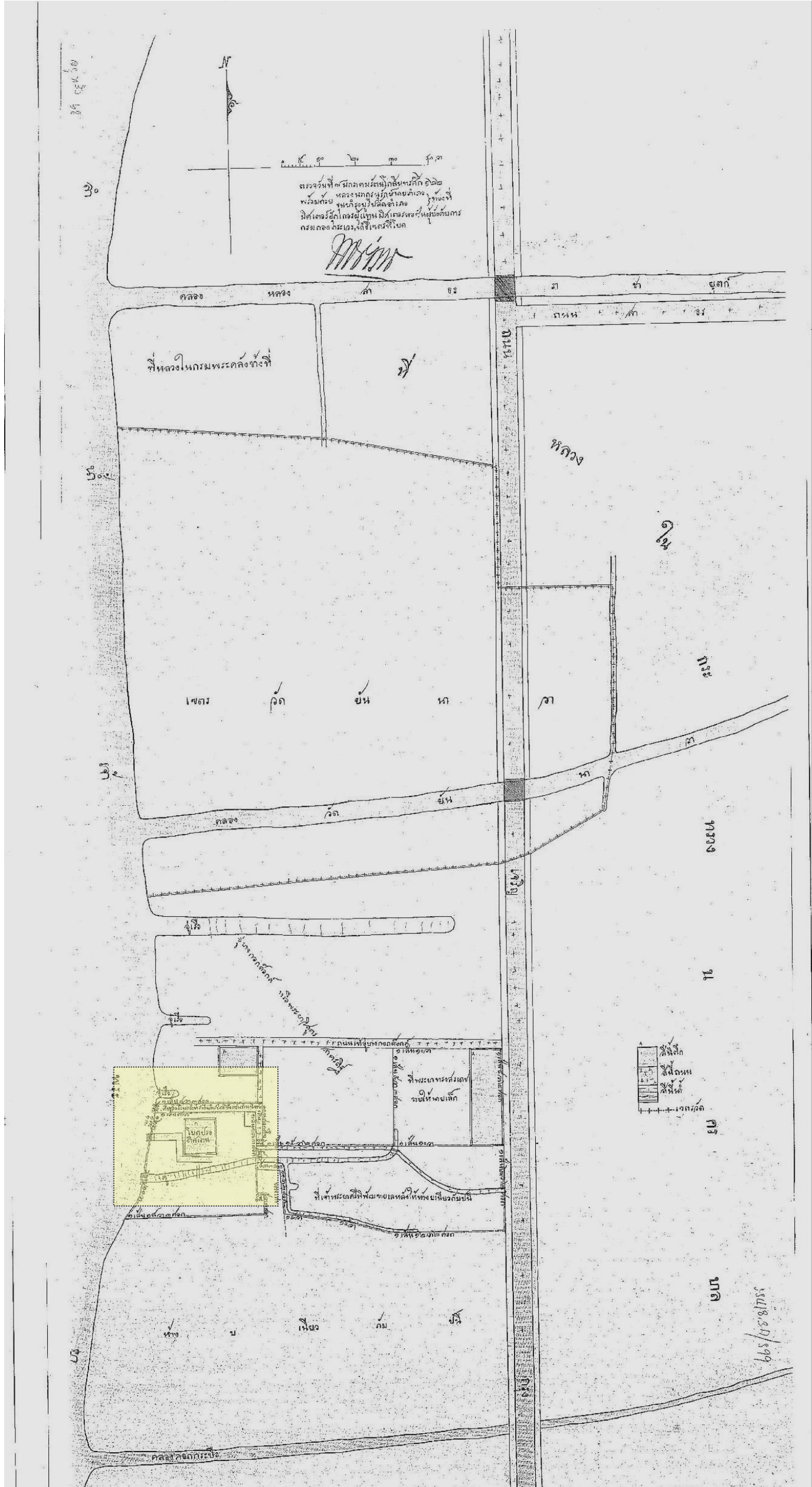
*religion, and liberty to build churches in such localities  
as shall be consented to by the Siamese authorities.”*

(Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 40)

Therefore, after the Treaty took effects for five years, the British Church which was different from the former Church of American missionaries was erected. It was known as Protestant Chapel. Previously, the new comers of Europeans including British had joined with the Presbyterian missionaries for their worship. British expatriate gradually joined with these foreigners. They had the habit of the missionaries of all denominations to meet together weekly for Divine Worship. At first, the meetings were in homes of the missionaries while they were attended only by missionaries: subsequently other foreigners came to Bangkok and joined in this worship. Later, the Presbyterian chapel at Samre (สำเหร่) was the place of meeting whereas the foreign community of Bangkok had grown greatly. Then they initiated a petition for a chapel for its own use (McFarland, 1999:54). This church was supported with additional amounts on condition that the church edifice should be under the control of Consulate. The first service held in the new chapel was conducted by the Rev. S. Mattoon on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1864.

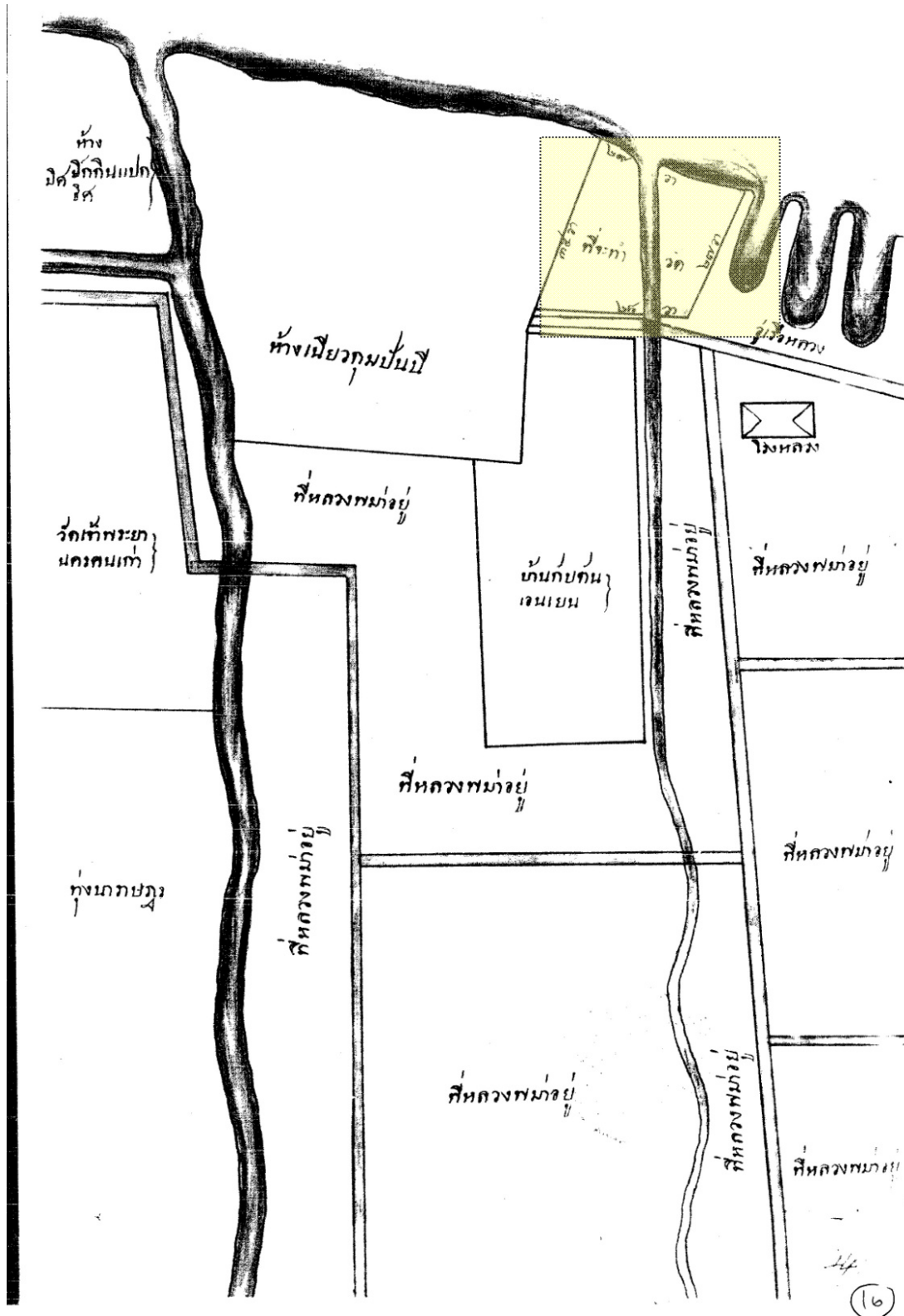
There was a general attendance of the Protestant community at this service (McFarland, 1999:55). At the same time, this year that the new road was opened to traffic on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1864 (McFarland, 1999:62). It paved the way to generate the capital city with the new community of new comers after the Bowring treaty. Therefore, British community was able to establish particular their own religious places separately from the former European or American community.

In 1868 the English service began to be presented in this Union Protestant Chapel. In the following year, at the annual meeting of the Protestant community held at the British Consulate, it was decided to suspend the American service for one year. The American missionaries continued to conduct the service until it was finally decided that the Protestant community could support a Chaplain of its own (McFarland, 1999:55).



Map 4: Granted Land for Bangkok Protestant Church

Source: (ที่ ๑๘๓.๓.๖/๕๙๙)



Map 5: Bangkok Protestant Church Territory

Source: (พจข.ร.5.ค.4.4.ง/4)

### 3.3.2 Harbor Master and Custom House

In the Agreement Supplementary of the Bowring Treaty of 1855, the Custom-House regulations stated;

*“A Custom-House is to be built at Bangkok, near to the anchorage, and officers must be attendance there between 9.a.m. and 3 p.m.”* (Treaty Series Vol.I, 1968: 56)

It is clearly seen that the Custom-House is the most important need of the British government. After lengthy discussions, Siam created the position of Harbor Master to meet the demand of the British Consul. The need for such a position was first pointed out by the British Consul in 1858. Since the suggestion was not acted on at that time, Sir Robert Schomburgh, British Consul repeated it in a letter to the Phraklang (พระคลัง) on March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1869. Kromluang Wongsa (กรมหลวงวงษาธิราชสนิท) replied that if the foreign merchants were willing to pay the necessary fees, the Siamese would be willing to appoint a man to the position. The Harbor Master should be a Siamese, “as this is a Siamese country and it would not be right that a foreigner should hold this office. Schomburgh was not satisfied with this response and so informed Krommaluang Wongsa that the consul’s suggestion was supported by the foreign community, Lloyd’s and the other consuls, with the exception of the French consul, wrote letters to the Siamese government requesting the creation of the new position and the appointment of European in this post. In his reply to Krommaluang Wongsa, Schomburgh stated that he had no objection to the Siam Harbor Master if he could speak English. The British merchants, however, should not have to pay his salary. In August, 1869, Schomburgh informed the Foreign Office that the position of Harbor Master had been created and Mr. John Bush had been appointed to the post (Wilson, 1970:379-380). However, regarding this position, Captain Bush, he was employed to this post since the reign of King Rama Fourth as Harbor Master or in Thai known as Chaotha (เจ้าท่า) or Hanpramasataen (หันประมาสะเตน) (นันทนา แปล), 2539:24). He presumably was appointed as Harbor



Master since 1862, his name was changed later in 1864 by the attachment of titled in Thai as Luang Wisut Sakhon Dit (หลวงวิสุตราชครดิษฐ์) (นันทนา (แปล), 2539:27).

The Foreign Office approved Bush's appointment and informed the Siamese that they could, if they desired, levy a modest tax on shipping to cover his salary (Wilson, 1970:379-380). In case of the move of custom house, Schomburgh's action was exerted to prevent the removal of the custom house to a location of the foreign community found inconvenient. Kromluang Wongsa, the official in charge of revenue collection for the Siamese had changed its location and placed it beside his own residence. The foreign community, after much protest, was able to move the custom house to the residence of Captain Bush, the Harbor Master (Wilson, 1970:380). Custom House was finally situated at the linking area of Phadung Krung Kasem (ผดุงกรุงเกษม) canal close to the (Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank established later which there is Royal Orchid Hotel at the present). It was then moved to close the ChaoPhraya River in the Western style building known as ศาลากลาง (Sunlaka Sathan) or Custom House in 1888 (กรมศิลปากร, 2539:41).

Therefore, in the beginning of settlement in Bangkok of the British, according to the conditions of the Bowring Treaty, they could negotiate to establish the consul, custom house, church and cemetery completely. Significantly, they are all situated closely to each other in the southern quarter next to the old Chinese community, Sampheng and close to the port of Bangkok. The new premises of British places were located along the river by beginning from Portuguese Consul upward and downward not too far from this spot. Particularly, the Consul, church, and cemetery almost settled very close to the other; therefore; they became the center of the community of the new comers of British who would like to settle in Bangkok as well.

### 3.3.3 British and British subject in Bangkok

After the Bowring Treaty took effect for six years, there were a small number of Europeans and Americans arrived in Bangkok, in particular the Bangkok Calendar published in 1862 recorded a numbers of European residents were 102 and American 40 (Bangkok Calendar, 1962:112). That meant at that time, foreigners in Bangkok were small in numbers. According to British subjects in Bangkok, it is impossible to assume the direct numbers of them. Even British subjects were required to register at Consul but it did not appear in the official record. Until the significant official first census of Bangkok population appeared in 1883, it was known as The 1883 Bangkok Postal Census (Sarabanchi) (สารบาญชี). This Census recorded the names of the residents (household heads) and their occupations and economic activities, social relation of masters and their corvee labor, ethnicity, types of houses, owner or renter status, payment of Chinese head tax, and addresses classified by roads, irrigation canals, and clustered villages along the river, the departments to which household heads were attached, the title and rank of household heads (Porphant, 2001:384). It was published by Department of Post and Telegraph to expedite the postal service. To facilitate the mail service, a register of the population was needed. To this end, the Postal Census was completed in 1883. A publication of The Census was divided into four Volumes. According to the Volume 2, it recorded the residences in “roads and lanes” (ถนน แลตรอก). This classification covered many residences in the central districts, especially along roads as Charoen Krung (เจริญกรุง), Bamrung Mueang (บำรุงเมือง), and Fueang Nakhon (เฟื่องนคร) (Porphant, 2001:385). The significant of four Volumes showed the data of Bangkok Population exactly as helping to see the composition of the population at that time clearly. According to each ethnicity, it can be observed through this table below:

Table 4: Household Heads by Ethnic Group in Bangkok Postal Census of 1883

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Thai	22,089	69.8
Chinese	8,531	25.9
Kaek <sup>1</sup>	583	1.8
Westerners	324	1.0
Burmese	76	Less than 1
Vietnamese	38	Less than 1
Lao	0	Less than 1
Mon	8	Less than 1
<b>Total</b>	<b>31,658</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: (Porphant and Yoshihiro, 2001:386)

The Census indicated the total Households in Bangkok are composed of many nationalities. Save for Siamese, Chinese are outnumbered in Bangkok, Kaek (แขก) is second and westerners third. Certainly, British who lived in Bangkok are included as westerners. For British subjects, they cannot be classified from other nationalities clearly. However, when taking into consideration the Vol.2 of the Census carefully, it found that the numbers of British subjects appeared as follows:

---

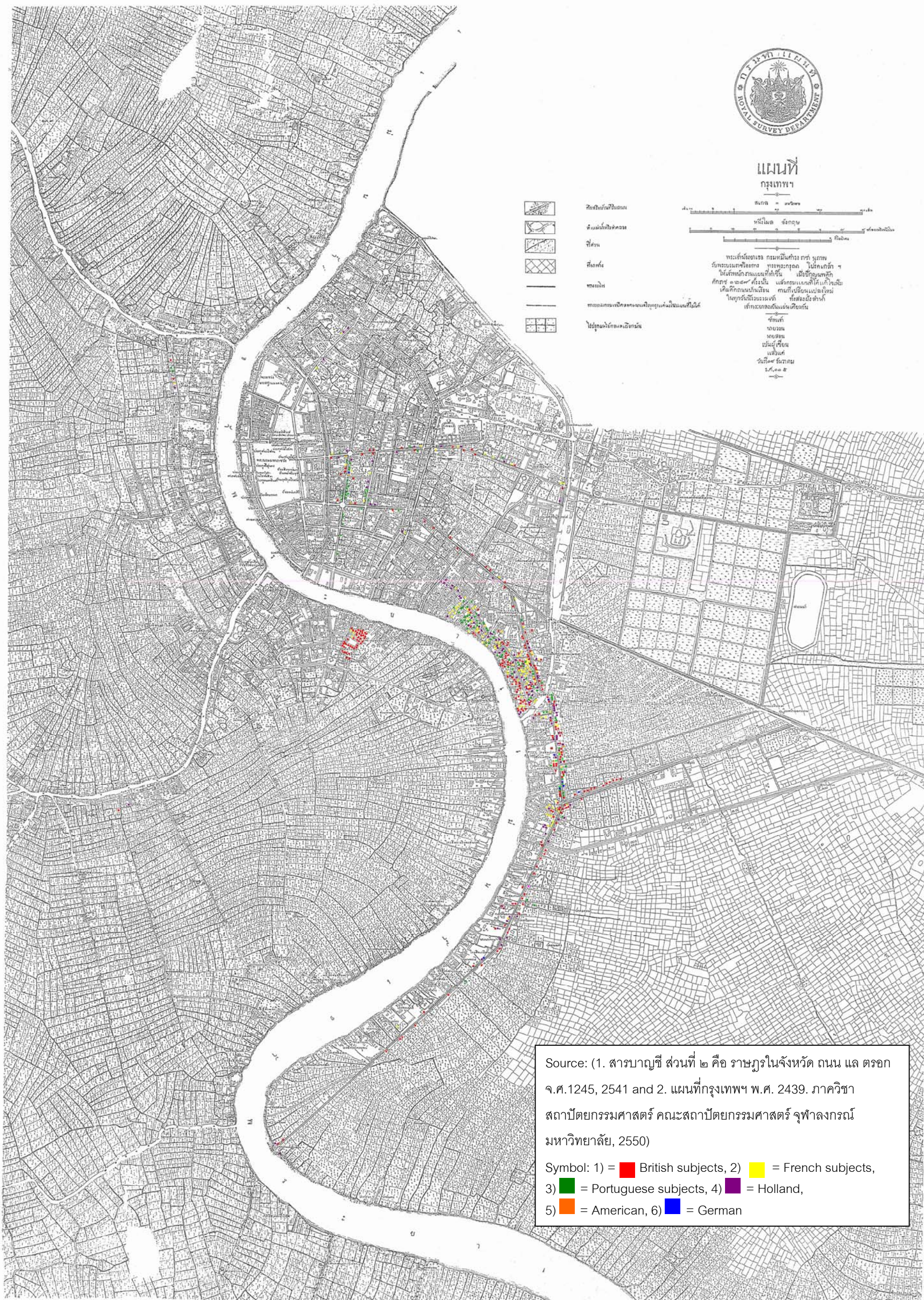
<sup>1</sup> The Thai term kaek (แขก) means Indian or Arab descent.

Table 5: The foreign subjects in Bangkok according to Postal Census 1883

Foreign subjects	Numbers
British	277
Netherlands	127
French	120
Portuguese	106
American	11
German	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>694</b>

Source: (สารบาญชี ส่วนที่ ๒ คือ ราษฎรในจังหวัด ถนน แล ตรอก จ.ศ.1245, 2541)

The above table shows an example of foreign subjects according to their residences in Vol. 2 of Postal census 1883. The significant numbers of British subjects residing in Bangkok appeared in these following quarters. The British subjects who represented in the table almost composed of Chinese and Indians as noticeably seen from their names. They were settled in these sites. Firstly, they settled along the Charoen Krung road for all both quarters close to the city or distant from the city, however; they dwelled along the road. Secondly, it found that a lot of them lived at Sampheng (สำเพ็ง). The last quarter that some British subjects inhabited was the quarter opposite to Thon Buri (ธนบุรี) known as Tuek Khao (ตึกขาว) (close to Wat Anong Kha Ram [วัดอนงคาราม]). These residences can be plotted into this map below.



Source: (1. สารบาณชี ส่วนที่ ๒ คือ ราษฎรในจังหวัด ถนน แล ตรอก จ.ศ.1245, 2541 and 2. แผนที่กรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2439. ภาควิชา สถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์ มหาวิทยาลัย, 2550)

Symbol: 1) = ■ British subjects, 2) ■ = French subjects, 3) ■ = Portuguese subjects, 4) ■ = Holland, 5) ■ = American, 6) ■ = German

Map 6: British subject residences in Bangkok according to Postal census 1883

As mentioned earlier, the British subjects in Siam could refer to all persons of Asiatic subjects or their descendants born within the Queen's Dominions, naturalized within the United Kingdom or born within the territory of any Prince or State in India or in alliance with the Queen. This was the case with the exception of natives of Upper Burma or the British Shan States who resided in Siam before January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1886. It also included a group of Chinese, who came from Treaty ports under British dominions for the British protection such as Kowloon, Hong Kong including the subjects from Singapore and Malays. In brief, the colonists in the British colonies in Asia regarded as the British subjects that they may be counted including with these populations. Their residences appeared in general in Bangkok within these groups; Chinese, Indians, and Malays Burmese.

#### 3.3.4 The population of Bangkok in 1882

**Table 6: The population of Bangkok in 1882**

Thai	93,000
Chinese	23,000
Malays	1,800
Indians	700
Other Asians	900
Westerners	300
Total	119,700

Source: (Sternstein, 1982: 80)

Concerning the number of Bangkok's population from the early and mid-1800s, it was broken down into nationalities, the non-Thai fraction strayed fractionally

from two-thirds and the Chinese were outnumbered (Sternstein, 1982:80). The Chinese resided immediately to the east of the Chao Phraya River; less than third were in Sampheng. The area is along the river between Ong Ang (โถ่งช้าง) canal and Phadung Krung Kasem (ผดุงกรุงเกษม) canal. Some of them were within the walls of the citadel adjacent to the Grand Palace or lined the river south of Sampheng in front of the roadways and waterways particularly on the river bank. Malays, Indians and Westerners inhabited these more accessible parts of the city. The largest concentrations of them were found along the river to the south of Sampheng. Along the left bank opposite and south of the Grand Palace, were Indians and Malays including some Vietnamese. The pure ethnic groups were few and small and the gathering of members of different groups was closely concerned with trade (Sternstein, 1982:82).

### 3.3.5 The rental shop houses

The composition of Bangkok's population with regards to nationality can be illustrated by the road they inhabited. The distribution of population in 1883 as follows:

**Table 7: Ethnic Distribution along Various Roads in Bangkok in 1883**

<i>Roads</i>	<i>Thai</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Westerner</i>	<i>Other</i>	<b>Total</b>
Charoen Krung	322	866	85	38	16	1,327
Bamrung Mueang	114	210	23	1	6	354
Bang Khamin	152	49	4	-	-	205
Fueang Nakhon	163	145	7	5	-	320
Rop Phra Nakhon	578	174	2	5	3	762
Sampheng	12	483	24	1	-	520
<b>Total</b>	1,342	1,927	145	50	25	3,488

Source: (Porphant, 1989:54)

From the information above, the highest density of population is on Charoen Krung (เจริญกรุง), whereas the lower density areas is on Rop Phra Nakhon (รอป

พระนคร), Sampheng (สำเพ็ง), Bamrung Mueang (บำรุงเมือง), Fueang Nakhon (เฟื่องนคร) and Bang Khamin (บางขมิ้น). The possibility for these nationalities to reside along the roads inevitably depended on habitation in shop houses. Particularly from a reading of the census more than 60 percent of the employed population was engaged in “commerce and manufacturing,” “marketing,” and “professional’ occupation in the city of Bangkok. The “shop-house” appears to have been a characteristic of communities particularly the areas of Chinese settlements (Porphant, 2001:390). Many of the brick buildings were constructed on Bamrung Mueang, Charoen Krung and Fueang Nakhon running from the areas of the Grand Palace. The expansion of brick buildings produced other fine buildings outside the city wall and accelerated the change in the city’s character from water-based to land settlements toward commercial areas extending to the suburbs since 1870s.

Brick building investment, usually two-story shop houses was closely related to land investment by the Privy Purse Bureau undertaken along the major roads: Charoen Krung, Bamrung Mueang, and Fueang Nakhon. After the introduction of several roads by the petitions of some Europeans led by British merchants and consul, roads appeared in the reign of King Mongkut together with shop houses along the new roads for rental benefits. The economic activities grew along Bamrung Mueang, Fueang Nakhon and Charoen Krung (สยามพร, 2526:181) noticeably from the postal census 1883. In the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the Privy Purse had operated shop houses along the roads in the core city of the adjacent area around the grand palace. There were thirty nine roads within the closest area of city walls near the grand palace and fifty–seven roads constructed in Sampheng (สยามพร, 2526:187). A lot of shop houses operated by Privy Purse in the reign of King Chulalongkorn, for example a lot of small trading houses run by Indians , Chinese, and Europeans grew along three main roads; Charoen Krung, Bamrung Mueang, Fueang Nakhon. Some princes invested for 120 rooms or 109 rooms in shop houses on Atsa Tang (อัษฎางค์) road. At Sampheng, eighteen roads could organize shop houses with almost 99 rooms or 52 rooms. The total of shop houses operated by Privy Purse and Princes within the core city concentrated on the roads



totally fifty-seven roads (สยามพม, 2526:181-187). The Privy Purse Bureau was anxious to find profitable investment opportunities.

Commercial activities in the 1880s resulted in a high price for prime land, which attracted investment. The Privy Purse Bureau was a major source of capital for the king the largest landowner in Bangkok. Some of its major commercial activities included rent collection from market places and row houses. In this respect, the expansion of investment in capital was certainly a factor in the physical as well as commercial growth of Bangkok, for investment by the Privy Purse Bureau to accommodate the swelling population (Porphant, 1999:449).

The Chinese accounted for a significant portion of house rental in Bangkok: almost eight percent of total renters were Chinese (Porphant, 2001:392). The impact of road construction within the city walls and in the main commercial districts stimulated the growth of brick shop-houses while construction of shop houses played an important part in shaping the landscape of Bangkok (Porphant, 2001:394). Therefore, it is probably that the residents in the Bangkok's urban mostly resided in the Shop houses. For the convenient way to reside in Bangkok, the new settler inevitable to reside in shop houses, located all around the core city. This is cheaper than to build a house on a vacant land plot. British subjects who could not see the amount of them separately from Chinese, Indians, or Malays probably settled in these shop houses in Bangkok.

### 3.3.6 Roads operated by the nobles in the Southern Bangkok

Most of Rama V new roads were constructed not to serve existing traffic but rather to open up new areas. To this extent they were the beginning a process of development: the development of building, branching lanes, and so on (Porphant, 1999:453).

Regarding the growing economic activities in Bangkok from the 1880s onwards, several important developments took place. Above all, the international rice trade was developed on a large scale. This was a crucial factor in attracting a

substantial influx of immigrants. Trade brought a range of economic activities to Bangkok, such as rice mills, shipping, warehousing, banks, manufacturing production, and distribution of imports and exports. Centers of trade and commerce such as Bang Rak (บางรัก) and Sampheng (สำเพ็ง) felt the growing demand for transport. The growth of trade and business in Bangkok resulted in the rising price of land (Porphant, 1999:445-446). These new businesses encouraged nobles' interest to build roads as a new form of business investments. For example, the first private road building was undertaken by Luang Sa Thon Racha Yutta (หลวงสาทรราชายุทธก์) around 1888, a road named "Sa Thon" (สาทร). He developed his land southeast of Silom (สีลม) road and constructed another road and canal running parallel it. He divided the land into a small plot and sold them. The construction of Sa Thon road helped to turn the entire area into a residential center noted for the many fine homes belonging to the residents of foreign community. His real estate project became the pioneer for other projects in the southern part of Bangkok (พรทวี, 2542:112). Afterwards, the building of roads and capital investments in real estate stimulating the development of the suburbs nearby the city at the same time. The process continued rapidly when two more roads parallel to Silom were built in the northeast. Around 1897-8, Phraya Siharat Dechochai (พระยาสีหราชเดโชชัย) or To Bunnak (โต บุนนาค) ordered the construction of Sura Wong (สุรวงศ์) road, and Decho (เดโช) road joining to the Silom road. Another road appeared known as Si Phraya (สี่พระยา) was built in 1903-1906 parallel to the northeast by the petition of five nobles to construct a road for their benefits from small lands for purchase. (พรทวี, 2542:112). These noble investors are shown in the table in the next page.

Table 8: Roads in Southern Bangkok organized by Siamese noble ranks, 1888-1906

Years	Roads	Road Operators
1888	Sa Thon (สาทร)	Luang Sa Thon Racha Yutta (หลวงสารราชายุทธ์)
1897	Sura Wong (สุรวงศ์)	Phraya Siharat Dechochai (พระยาสี่หาราชเดโชชัย) or To Bunnag (โต บุนนาค)
1898	Decho (เดโช)	Phraya Siharat Dechochai (พระยาสี่หาราชเดโชชัย) or To Bunnag (โต บุนนาค)
1899	Pramuan (ประมวญ)	Chaophraya Sura Sak Montri (เจ้าพระยาสุรศักดิ์มนตรี)
1903-1906	Si Phraya (สี่พระยา)	Phraya In Thra Thi Bodi Siharat Rong Mueang (พระยาอินทราธิบดีสี่หาราชรองเมือง) Phraya Phiphatkosa (พระยาพิพัฒน์โกษา) or Louis Celestino Xavia (หลุยส์ ดีโนซาเวีย) Phraya Non Rit Tharat Hat (พระยานรฤทธราชหัต) or Thong Di Cho Tik Sathian (ทองดี โชติกเสถียร) Phraya Non Nat Phakdi (พระยานนารถภักดี) or Sut Bunnak (สุด บุนนาค) Phraya Sunthon Phimon (พระยาสุนทรพิมล) or Phle Wasu Wat (เปลล์ วสุวัต)

Sources: (1.สยามพร, 2526: 176-180 and 2.พรทิว, 2542:112)

### 3.3.7 Row houses in Southern Quarter

The foreigners and Europeans needed to settle closely together in the south (พรทิว, 2542:111). Noticeably, Europeans and their subjects gradually located their communities in the south of the Bangkok's urban areas. The supporting factors to settle here were the growth of the economic activities by European and Chinese investors located nearby Sampheng (สำเพ็ง) and Bang Rak (บางรัก), the construction of several roads by the private noble investors including the real estate investment by cutting small pieces of lands for purchasing. Lands along new roads in the southern quarter became the new residences and provided the opportunity to settle. Many of new

land owners were the Europeans and their subjects who could have the right to hold land according to the conditions of the Bowring Treaty stipulated. Moreover, there were also more shop house investors interested to construct shop houses for rent there, for example Luang Sap Sat Suppha Kit (หลวงสรรพศาสตร์ศุภกิจ), Krom Muen Phutharet Thamrong Sak (กรมหมื่นภูเวศธำรงศักดิ์), Phra Chinda Chak Rattana (พระจินดาจักรรัตน), Phra Prasitthi San Kan (พระประสิทธิ์ศีลการ), Amdaeng Charoen (อำแดงเจริญ), Nang Luean (นางเลื่อน), Chin Cho Thian Po (จีนโชเทียนโปะ) (ทวีพร, 2542:115-118).

### 3.3.8 Land Compensation

According to road construction, when the Ministry of Local Government was founded in 1892, Prince Naresworarit (พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระนเรศวรวรฤทธิ) was the Minister, he commented that the lands adjacent of road at that time did not bring too many problems because land was lost by road cutting; in turn, the owner of the land could gain in terms of a rise in the price of land. Even though the land owners were not compensated, benefit was gained when the price of land increased (สยามพร, 2526:66). However, problems would occur when the road construction project was involved with the foreign subjects whose land was totally lost by road cutting, the land owners would ask to be fully compensated at market price according to the Municipal law. This law granted the right to receive compensation for the land owner who lost lands for road construction (สยามพร, 2526:67). This issue was brought to the discussion in the committee, and then waited for the issuing of Municipal laws further (สยามพร, 2526:69). However, the compensation of land lost according to the road construction was issued in 1904 after that (ปิยะนารถ, 2518:49-50).

Regarding the British subjects who were protected by the privilege of extraterritoriality, they were engaged with the difficulty of losing their land with the British consul protection. The Consul would take the responsibility to fight for the compensation by negotiations (สยามพร, 2526:75). Therefore, in the case of British subjects, they were able to settle in Bangkok without any difficulty when they were protected with the right to hold land and land lost. Additionally, if they wanted to settle in Bangkok temporarily,

there were a lot of shop houses for rent including the small pieces of lands already available for ownership. As a result, the south of Bangkok became the appropriate place of new comers. The information of land transmitted by the British subjects can be seen from the attached table in appendix showing the movement of British subjects as land purchasers or sellers in southern quarter in considerable number. When the need to own land in the Bangkok urban is challenged by the rights of foreigners under the Bowring Treaty provisions condition, the British subjects had occupied large amount of lands based on this condition continually. It found that a lot of land they owned appeared particularly in the southern quarter significantly. The numbers of their land ownership can be seen through the table below according to the Ministry of Local government reported as follows:

**Table 9: Land owners in southern part of Bangkok urban, 1899-1901**

Land Owner	Area
The Ministry of Local Government	95 ไร่ 1 งาน <sup>2</sup>
Chaophraya Sura Sak Montri (เจ้าพระยาสุรศักดิ์มนตรี)	80 ไร่ 2 งาน 84 ตารางวา
Mr.Thom Ya (นายถมยา)	80 ไร่ 2 งาน 84 ตารางวา
Chaophraya Su Wong Wat Sak ( To Bunnag ) (เจ้าพระยาสุวงษ์วัฒนศักดิ์ [โต บุนนาค])	52 ไร่ งาน 92 ตารางวา
Privy Purse Bureau	28 ไร่ 2 งาน 6 ตารางวา
The Ministry of Finance (กระทรวงพระคลังมหาสมบัติ)	17 ไร่ 1 งาน 72 ตารางวา
Westerners and Foreign subjects (76 owners)	421 ไร่ 82 ตารางวา
Other nobles	210 ไร่ 3 งาน 68 ตารางวา
Roads and railways	140 ไร่ 1 งาน 52 ตารางวา

Source: (สยามพร, 2526:149-150)

<sup>2</sup>ไร่ (rai), งาน (ngan) and ตารางวา (tarangwa or square wa) are in Thai's land measurement system. ไร่ is unit of area equal to 1,600 square meters. งาน is unit of area equal to 400 square meters, and ตารางวา is unit of area equal to 4 square meters

From the list of land owners' names of 1899-1901, the Ministry of Local Government divided the ownership into three categories by the table below. The number of each group showed its own amount compared with the amount of overall lands in Bangkok.

Table 10: The amount of overall lands in Bangkok, 1899 - 1901

Nationalities	Amount of land occupation	Percentage
Thai	3,796 ไร่ 3 งาน 342 ตารางวา	69.94%
Chinese, Indians, Westerner	1,631 ไร่ 2 งาน 225 ตารางวา	32.67%

Source: (นิติ, 2551)

In summary, it was clear that when the Bowring Treaty took effect the landscape's of the city changed drastically. The three main roads were formed in the reign of King Mongkut: Charoen Krung (เจริญกรุง), Bamrung Mueang (บำรุงเมือง), Fueang Nakhon (เฟื่องนคร). As a result, the projects of shop house construction appeared at the same time along these roads for the benefit of temples and the properties of King's Children. In the reign of King Chulalongkorn, 110 roads were constructed (สยามพร, 2526:204). The major numbers of roads were found in the core city and in the north operated by the government; however, in the southern part of the city, there were some significant roads operated by the private nobles land investors who organized roads and opened land along the roads for small businesses and residences. The roads were named according to these nobles such as Sa Thon (สารทน์), Sura Wong (สุวรรณค์), Decho (เดโช), Pramuan (ประมวณ), and Si Phraya (สี่พระยา). The land along the roads was divided into small pieces for the purchasers. The significant number of land owners in the southern quarter belonging to the foreigners in particular Chinese, Indians and Westerners was almost thirty percent of the land in Bangkok in 1901. Therefore, it can be assumed that the number of British and their subjects who were entitled to occupy lands in Bangkok included in this 32.67percent.

The table attached in the Appendix 1 confirms that British subjects mainly purchased land along these new roads in the south of Bangkok. Their settlement in Bangkok finally completed when the government issued the Land Title deed Act in 1901, certifying their rights permanently as the legally land holding in Bangkok. It is presumed that they settled in Bangkok permanently after that.

Therefore, it is interesting to understand how many groups of British subjects settled in Bangkok and the locations where they lived. The next section will examine the communities of these British subjects and explore the development of their societies in Bangkok. The rough categories of British subjects in Bangkok, the main groups of British subjects can be divided into three groups as follows:-

#### 3.3.8.1 Chinese

The first group of Chinese subjected to British in Bangkok can be divided into two groups:

3.3.8.1.1 Chinese who immigrated from the treaty ports in China who had privileged the protection from Britain as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. They might come from Hong Kong, Kowloon and other places. Their residences were associated with the older Chinese from China at Sampheng (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:281-287)

3.3.8.1.2 Chinese who came from Singapore were sometimes known as Strait-born Chinese or Baba. They might come from Malacca, Penang, or Singapore (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:281-290). They settled at Silom and Bang Rak (นพพร, 2551:151-161).

#### 3.3.8.2 Indians

This group includes British Indian subjects who came from India after being colonized by British since 1849 (อินทิรา, 2546:94). These ones came to settle and trade in Bangkok particularly cotton and cattle. They settled in the core city at Bang

Rak (บางรัก), Phahurat (พาหุรัด) and ธนบุรี (ตึกขาว) (Thon Buri [Tuek Khao]) (อินทรี, 2546:27-32).

### 3.3.8.3 Malays

They are the third group who are the subjects of Malaya after the country was dominated by British, but they are different from the Chinese who came from Strait settlement because they are Muslim. Their communities fragmented closely to the Java who came from Indonesia because they are same religion. Their residences at Hua Lamphong (หัวลำโพง), Sa Thon (สาทร), Bang Rak (บางรัก), Ban Thawai (บ้านทวาย) (กรรณิการ์, 2528:65-69).

They played the crucial role in the following issues;

### 3.3.8.4 Trading activities

Concerning the first group of Chinese, they gradually settled their communities associated with the British. They were agents of British to conduct other trading activities such as compradors, retailers, or shopkeepers (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:281-290). Accordingly Indians were mainly the suppliers of the cotton from British India (อินทรี, 2546:52-55). A large trade in chowls<sup>3</sup>, however, is still carried on as before by British Indian merchants from Bombay and Surat (Diplomatic and Consular report of 1889). An increase of cattle export brought a very profitable business form the receivers in Bangkok that were nearly all British subjects, low-class Hindoos. (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1887) "The greater portions of the imports consumed in this country come from Bangkok. This trade is certainly prosperous, although owing to the competition of the Chinese traders, the principal British importers of Manchester goods have been obliged to make considerable reduction the price. Of foreign good there is little to be found in the market and British goods and British trade practically hold undisputed sway so far." (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1895: 3).

---

<sup>3</sup> Chowls is Indian name of "ผ้าลาย" in Thai



#### 3.3.8.5 Government offices

In addition, Strait-born Chinese mostly had a command of good English; therefore, they were employed in Government offices, in particular, the Custom House (Rajdhon, 1996: 254). Malays and Indians who also could speak English were employed in the office of Police Force (Police Report, 1898-1899:18).

#### 3.3.9 The British and British subject communities in Bangkok

The landscape changed as the results of the British and British subjects partly because of the residences in Bangkok holding the rights of land ownership and settling with their careers in trading activities and as government officials. The last illustration of their community developments can be explained further. According to the number of British and British subjects in Bangkok, it is very difficult to find the exact number of reports. As seen from the Postal Census of 1883, it can be assumed that the European British subjects are not over three hundreds in Bangkok and the British subjects are minimal. The Census counted as not more than three hundreds as mentioned earlier. However, the official report about subjects of Treaty Powers in Bangkok and British subjects in Siam appeared in Diplomatic and Consular reports on trade and Finance on the year 1899 reporting that the number of the subjects of the principal Treaty Powers now in Siam and reside mostly in Bangkok, exclusive of Asiatic, may be estimated roughly as follows:-

Table 11: Number of subjects of Treaty Powers in Bangkok, 1899

Treaty powers	Number of subjects
Great Britain	160
America	40
Germany	60
France	50
Denmark	40
Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Norway and Sweden, Australia (10 each)	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>

Source: (Diplomatic and Consular report, 1889:20)

*“The British Community thus number about 40 per cent. of the total. Wives, and Children under 21 years of age, are excluded from this list. The number of Asiatic British subjects in Siam, including Indians, Burmese, Malays, Chinese, Tongsoos, and Shans ,it is not possible to ascertain with any approach to accuracy, but it is probably between 30,000-40,000”* (Diplomatic and Consular report, 1889: 20).

From the above report, it is difficult to estimate the numbers of British subjects in Bangkok and elsewhere in the country. The significant information mentioned the exact numbers of British subjects in Bangkok for the first time as follow: “In 1892-1895, the British Asiatic in Siam are 11,800 separated into these regions: Northeast (3,300), Nan (400), Chiangmai and Lakhon (Lampang) (5,000), Ping River 800) and Bangkok (1,900)” (วรรณชสิทธิ์, 2520:101).

This means the number of British subjects in Bangkok between 1892 and 1895 were approximately two thousands in total. They increased 1623 to 1883.

By 1902 there were 2,198 Asiatic British subjects and not more than 350 Europeans registered at the British Consulate in Bangkok, and with all allowances for non-registration not more than 6,000 (Hong, 2004:332-333). In 1907, Bangkok population was about 400,000 the capital and the number of British subjects in Bangkok was approximately 6,000 (Diplomatic and consular report of 1907:4). The number of British subjects was estimated at this number until the report of the year 1909. Therefore, by 1907, the numbers of British subjects increased from 3,802 in 1902 to 6,000. Reading from the information above, it can be observed that the number of British subjects in the year 1880s were in the hundreds, but in the 1890s the numbers reached to thousand and to six thousands for almost two decades. So, even the numbers of European British subjects had not changed much, the number of Asiatic subjects were gradually increased. Therefore, the crucial question appeared where and how the Asiatic subjects settled in Bangkok.

By the 1890s foreign settlements were certainly more stable. The Bangkok expatriate communities took shape with the availability of increased economic opportunities. "A new class of citizens" had begun to populate the city after the opening of trade relations with the west (Hong, 2004:332). The British community in Bangkok could establish its own newspaper the "Bangkok Times" in 1887 (Hong, 2004:331). The reformation of the government created after 1893 regarding to employ the European Advisers who were mainly the British in particular, Financial, police, education, Custom House, Royal survey, or sanitation (Hong, 2004:332). Other groups contributed to Bangkok's cosmopolitanism were 'several tens of thousands of "British subjects" whose numbers grew with the western economic penetration, as was the case in the colonies themselves: Indian, Burman, Shan, Malay, Chinese from the Straits Settlement and Hong Kong. By this time, these expatriates could develop a sense of community to make their livelihood in the city (Hong, 2004:333). It is the symptom of the settlement in Bangkok as well. The following phenomenon will be a proof of this assumption by seeing the following request to establish several associations as follows:

### 3.3.10 Club and association

#### 3.3.10.1 British

##### 3.3.10.1.1 Bangkok Chamber of Commerce (1898).

The merchants, bankers, and others interested in commerce wrote the letter on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1898 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to form the Chamber to “watch over and further the general interests of commerce and for the commercial prosperity of Siam”. They were composed of English (9), French (2), German (3), Danish and Swiss (1). The chief aim of this was related to the protection of general interests of the trade of the port, for collecting and classifying mercantile information...establishing a court of arbitration to adjust commercial differences which may be referred to it...” (พช.ร.5ต.2.12/10)

##### 3.3.10.1.2 Bangkok Nursing Home

On August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1897, the British community convened a meeting at the British Legation when Mr. George Greville CMG, then British Minister Resident and Consul General, took the Chair. The meeting concluded that a medical facility should be established in Bangkok and the Committee proposed the project to H.M. King Chulalongkorn who approved and assigned the Ministry of Education to oversee the establishment of a Nursing Home. King Chulalongkorn provided supporting funds of 960 baht per year to make the nursing home a non-profit organization where foreigners who came to Thailand could seek medical care when they were ill. The first task for the Committee was to rent temporary premises on Decho Road (เดโช) to provide a small non-profit nursing home to see to the immediate medical needs among the residents of the foreign community. The first Matron, Miss Cawley, and the Nursing Sister, Miss Hitchens, arrived in Bangkok in the middle of 1898 and the Nursing Home was in operation by August 1898. (BNH Hospital History, Online). In 1908, it was situated near the Protestant Church supported by all the large firms.

#### 3.3.10.1.3 Royal Bangkok Sport Club (1901).

The first step began in 1890 when Franklin Hurst, an Englishman who wrote to King Chulalongkorn, requesting the official permission to set up a race track and a sport field in Bangkok. He proposed to rent the land where occasional horse races, gymkhanas, cycle races, tennis, polo matches and various other sports similar to that already existed in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Rangoon (Warren, 2001:28). Later, the Hurst's original lease was renewed in 1901 by a committee headed by A. E. Oroloffsky. This club seemed to serve the needs of English who wanted a sport club following in every British colony, particularly in 1898, Chiengmai Gymkhana Clubs was founded primarily by the British residents living in the North (Warren, 2001:31).

#### 3.3.10.1.4 The British Club (1903)

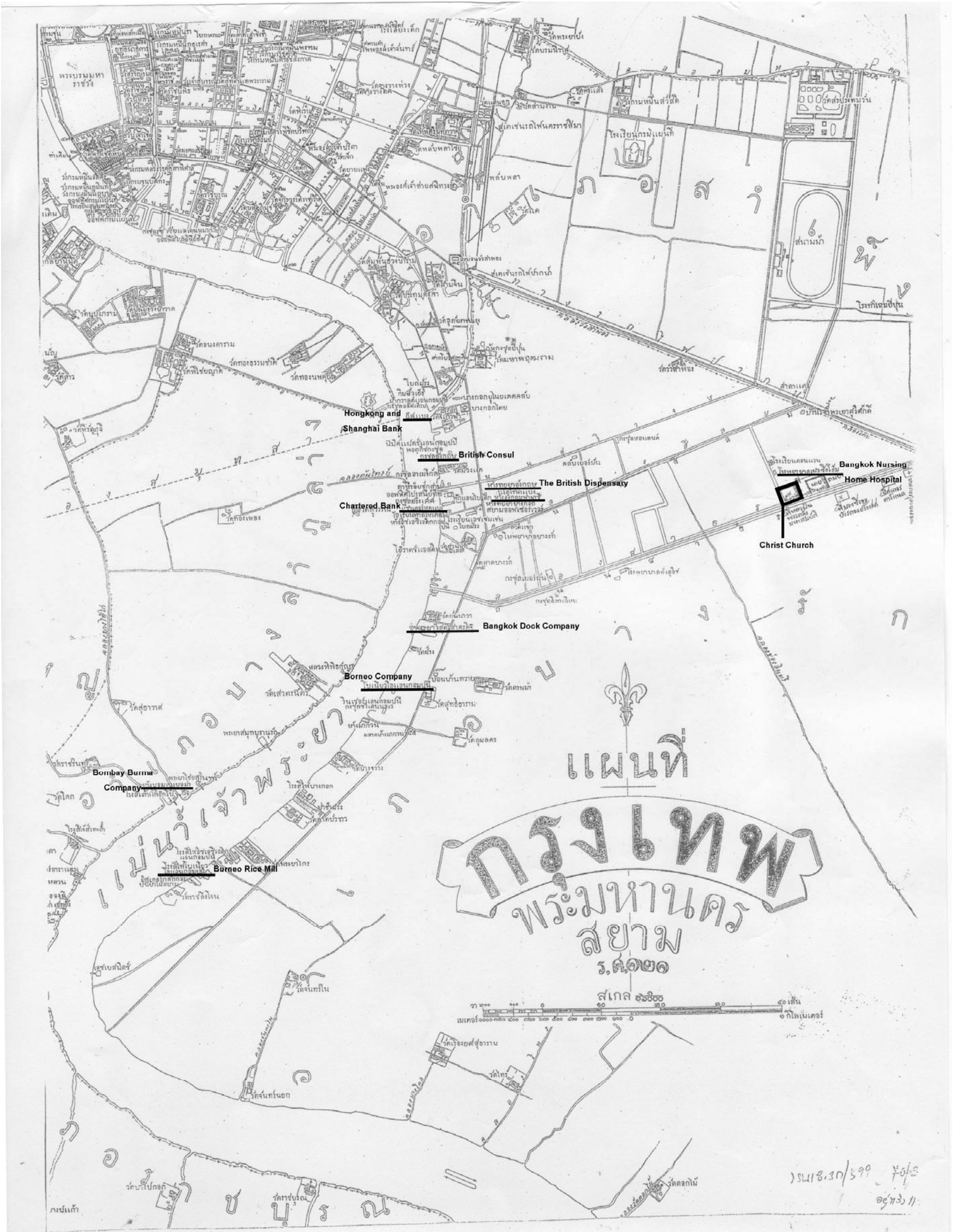
It was started in 1903 by a number of residents in Bangkok. The constitution of the club was passed at a meeting of debenture-holders. The membership consisted of ordinary and honorary members. The ordinary members must be British residents in Siam. The honorary members comprised of residents of Siam other than British. The club was under the control of the debenture-holders, who annually elected ladies belonging to the families of members who were entitled to the use of such rooms in the club. The club launched its membership in 1908 for 90-85 ordinary members and 5 honorary members (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:252).

#### 3.3.10.2 British subject

The first club of British subjects appeared on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1900, the Malays who subjected to British wrote the letter to establish Darul Mowhaybah Club. It consisted of one unlimited member of subscribing members all of British subjects for the advancement and recreation of the Malays, British subject residents in Siam. The club offered cricket, football, reading-room, lectures, recitations (หจข.ร.5น. 20/9). The second appeared on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1900, the British subjects (Muslim) sent the

letter to take care of the funeral and burial of members by establishment the office at Silom road (พฉท.ร.5.น. 20/8). Another the letter was sent by Indian British subjects to police force in Bangkok on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1908 to ask for the organization to take care of the burial and cremation within their members.

Therefore, reading from the issue above, it is clear that after the 1890s the communities of British and their subjects in Bangkok probably settled with security. It can be noticed from the organizations attempting to be established in Bangkok to take care of their members such as sport, recreation, burial and cremation, medical and health care. However, it reveals that they moved to establish their places along the roads instead of the river. The significant example is the petition of Bangkok Protestant Church sent to King Chulalongkorn for granting a new place for the church in June 1903. The reasons were claimed that “the extension of commerce, the disturbance of solemnity of the services by noises from the adjacent factories and the river traffic and the scattered situation of the Protestant Community”. As a result, the present place is no longer suitable for a place of worship and playing. Finally, the king granted a new piece of land at Sa Thon. The condition is that they shall not be used as the burial ground (พฉท.ร.5.ค.4.4.ง/4). It can be seen from the map on the following page.



Map 7: British's Sharing Space in Southern Bangkok (1902)

Source: (พจข.น.18.3น/599)

In conclusion, this chapter illustrates the period since the Bowring Treaty took effect in Siam. During this period Bangkok had to reserve new kinds of people privileged by extraterritoriality with nationalities. They emigrated to settle in Bangkok on the conditions permitted by the Treaty. However, these inhabitants caused many problems and difficulties as the government had to issue several decrees and agreement for everyone's well being. These people brought changes in mixed- races and mix-nationalities of population in Bangkok. After that, the community of British in Bangkok gradually formed with the assistant of old European and American community without difficulty because they used the same language and followed the same religion. The community of British settled not long after the settlement of important places by the petitions and negotiations. These changes can be seen clearly before the communities of British subjects had emerged. The British community assimilated into the old European and American community by the beginning of the settlement of religious places such as church and cemetery. They initiated a petition for the construction of roads in Bangkok, and then after that many roads and shop-houses had grown increasingly as following in the core city and southern quarter of Bangkok. Significantly, in the reign of king Chulalongkorn, roads and shop houses became the general appearances in Bangkok which they could bring the benefits for the government and granting the private properties for royal family at the same time. Shop houses became the places that assisted the settlement for British subjects who arrived to trade and find the good opportunity in Bangkok thereafter. The European community fortunately settled by the growth of trade as well as the assistant of the good skills of their subjects, Chinese and Indians to conduct trading activities. The consequences of the new activities such as trading houses, residences, companies, warehouses, manufacturing premises, foreign consuls, clubs and hospital appeared rapidly along the river bank in the south of Bangkok within the communities of British and British subject settlements . The city's landscape changes clearly differently from the past by new residences and buildings including the new communities. The British community settled during 1890s. Their community gradually developed enthusiastically with the circulation of their own



newspaper, thoughts and comments. Additionally they established their own places such as new places of association and recreation, such as churches, social and sport clubs. At the same time, British subjects gradually formulated their communities relating to other older communities. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, British subjects who are Chinese, Indians, or Malays can reside in the rental shop houses in case of low class people, but the wealthy and middle class settled with European business or Chinese and Indian merchants. Some British subject communities located their communities closely to European society, for example British subjects who came from Straits Settlement or treaty ports of China because they all can communicate in English. Other British subjects are closely related races with Chinese or Indians settled relating to the old Chinese and Indian communities within the core and south of the Bangkok urban areas. The communities gradually grew and settled when they could own land with the title deeds in 1901. (Please see the plots of lands in the Appendix 2.1 and 2.2)

Therefore it can be seen that the crucial points that reflect the communities of British and their subjects settle in Bangkok permanently is based on two points. Firstly, it can be seen by the amount of land ownerships which they own in Bangkok mostly in southern quarter. The numbers of land ownership by foreigners reached thirty percent in comparison with the overall land owners in Bangkok. Large amounts of land in southern Bangkok belonged to British subjects. This reflected that British subjects became major land owners in the southern quarter of Bangkok. Secondly, another significant phenomenon of the permanent settlement of British and their subjects can be seen through the establishment of social organizations and social functions of the British and British subject in Bangkok urban areas such as social organization and social recreation since that time and up to the present.

## CHAPTER 4

### State Economy and Bangkok Economic Development

This Chapter explores economic development in Bangkok. Firstly, concentration is given to the development of the British interests in Bangkok, and secondly focus is placed on the economic activities of British subjects in Bangkok. Part one stresses the development of three types of economic activities which British companies, trading houses, and merchants bringing economic changes to Bangkok. The first group of British businesses appeared in Bangkok between 1850-1880. They concentrated their interests in shipping, production, trade and commerce. The enterprise dealt mainly with import-export business of trading houses in shipping, rice and teak manufacturing, and insurance since Bangkok was the only port in the country for their businesses.

Bangkok became the chief port in the region as well as the economy of the country stressing on crop exportation. Prior to the 1880s, the second business of Britain established a banking business in Bangkok engaging in a new currency system using bank notes. The last business of British concentrated on the civilized consumer in Bangkok's cosmopolitan districts. With regard to the selling of imported goods from the west, British department stores played a crucial role in 1890s to serve the luxurious lifestyle of high-class consumption. The department store appeared specifically in Bangkok around 1890s. Additionally, the advent of British drug stores or dispensaries emerged at the same time. These British businesses brought changes to Bangkok at a macro level of the development of the economy as the mechanism of economic growth including the individual taste of Bangkok settlers. Regarding part two, this of chapter is to study the economic activities of British subjects in Bangkok, particularly the British subjects who sojourned for the opportunities in Bangkok as the assistants in British company as comprador, retailer of British commodities, products, or goods. These British subjects assisted and were trained in the British company while gradually

formulating their own businesses. Some of them became leading capitalist of Bangkok, but some became prominent competitors in business with the British companies such as the owner of rice and saw mills. Consequently, the changes that they brought to Bangkok are not only the growth of economic activities, but also the settlements of them as permanent settlers.

#### 4.1 British economy, city's business; British and British subject business

##### 4.1.1 British Business and Interest in Bangkok

Britain was the first country that came to trade with Siam soon after the Treaty took effect. The first groups of companies to come to the capital were British. The role of British business in Siam continually increased and gradually shaped the Siamese economy to be attached to the British Empire and British colonies in Asia. Regardless of British companies' influences in different fields, this work focuses only on British interests that caused specific changes in Bangkok. Foreign trades actually directly effected the changes in Bangkok because Bangkok was the most crucial port in Siam. More than 80 percent of the export and import were conducted at Bangkok port (พอพันธ์, 2539:26). D.E. Malloch wrote about "Siam: Some General Remarks on its production and particularly on its imports and exports and the mode of Transacting Business of the people" in 1852, before the Bowring Treaty was concluded in the beginning of King Rama Fourth reign. He wrote that

*"there are almost one hundred and fifty junks arrived Bangkok port from Guangdong, Chochin China Singapore and Malaya Peninsula loads 25,000 tons and increasingly to 60,000 annually per year. Additionally, rice and teak are permitted to export including opium. Moreover, English vessels also arrived Bangkok port for 50 vessels and when they arrived, Thai and Chinese*

*merchants mostly attend to purchase English commodities with enthusiastically because these commodities are cheaper than the market price at that time.*" (เสาวลักษณ์ (แปล), 2538:130-131)

From Malloch's writing, he stated that "the countries which influenced for commercial trade with China and Siam was Singapore especially cotton and opium which could barter some of commodities English need i.e. sugar pepper rice and forest products" (เสาวลักษณ์ (แปล), 2538:135).

He detailed the commodities imported to Siam were mainly from three countries; England, India and China. Particularly the different kinds and large amounts of cotton from English and India including many piece goods from China (เสาวลักษณ์ (แปล), 2531:139-182). The commodities which Siam bartered with Chinese merchants were sugar, rice salt, salted fish and other forest products. Exports from Siam consisted mainly of forest products and a few cash crops. The total 1850 exports of 5.6 million baht as reported by Malloch more than half were forest products (hides, horns and skins, raw cotton, sapan wood, sticlac, bird's nest, cardamom, for example. Rice amounted to only 2.7 percent of the total (Sompop, 1989:41). The conclusion of Bowring Treaty was a turning point in the Bangkok's commercial history. Siam was increasingly absorbed into the global economy. The trade liberalization influenced some economic changes in Bangkok because the development of Bangkok was tied to foreign trades. Bangkok handled virtually all the kingdom's exports in decades grew from around 10,000 tons annually in the 1860s to around 500,000 tons in 1890s (Porphant, 1994:47).

As mentioned earlier the Bowring Treaty conditioned 3 percent of import duty prove to be the lowest duty throughout all of Asia when it compared to the import duty rate in India, China, and Japan (Akira, 1989:21). Particularly, the treaty regulates the export tariff and all duties are low. Teak wood exports levies with free duty and rice pays export duty of 4 or 2 ticals per coyan accordingly to its class (Maxwell, 1994:136). Additionally, Bangkok became the only one chief port of import-export goods in Siam.

Respect to Charles Stuart Leckie of the Borneo Company wrote about Bangkok in 1894 that:

*“About thirty miles up the River Menam lies the capital of Siam, Bangkok, practically the one and only trading port of the country. The fact of a large country like Siam having one port only for foreign trade gives the foreigners connected with trade the one advantage of seeing the entire trade under their immediate notice. Taking then Bangkok as the trading center, we will consider the position of Siam as viewed from Bangkok.”*  
(Chatthip and Suthy, 1981:118)

Most commodities and goods were exchanged and transferred at Bangkok's port, especially 80 percent of imports and exports coming through Bangkok. This brought economic changes to both the state and the Bangkok city. The significant appearance of the noticeable economic change in Bangkok can be seen through the number of vessels arriving as follows:

Table 12: Number of Foreign vessels entering Bangkok, 1848-1873

Year	Vessels	Year	Vessels	Year	Vessels	Year	Vessels
1848	9	1860	265	1865	159	1870	278
1856	141	1861	309	1866	166	1871	310
1857	204	1862	318	1867	151	1872	344
1858	229	1863	326	1868	212	1873	286
1859	457	1864	457	1869	311		

Source: (Falkus, 1989: 130)

It is evident that the increased number of vessels arriving at the Bangkok port was striking after 1855, especially in 1856, its number reached 141 (the previous year with only 9 vessels). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the background of British attempt appeared to trade with Siam or the Bangkok port for two periods; the first one in 1826 finally to conclude the Burney Treaty and the second success of the Bowring Treaty in 1855.

The first group was the companies involved in shipping, insurance, export- import rice and teak which appeared in Bangkok as import-export business houses. British shipping was prosperous with the development of steamships. Around 1870, the steamship proportion of the total world shipping tonnage was merely 12 percent, but in 1880, sailing vessels could dominate the export trade of Siam. Of 531 vessels entering Bangkok in 1880, 349 were sailing vessels and 182 steamships (Sompop, 1989:53). British gradually dominated interests in shipping business to supply the crucial resources of Siam into her dominated colonies in Asia, in particular, rice and teak. Most British companies stationed at the Bangkok port for the delivery of the rice in the central plain of inland and the timber from the north. In addition, these businesses had operated insurance businesses at the same time. British enterprises were then concentrated almost entirely in Bangkok through which a great bulk of Siam's foreign trade passed. There was little long-term capital investment beyond the erection of warehouses and other commercial buildings and the building of rice mills and sawmills connected with the export trade. By the 1870s, British shipping had become dominant in Siam's trade, carrying a large portion of both exports and imports (Falkus, 1989:126).

In respect to the influx of import-export houses pouring into Bangkok, the British firms outweighed other countries. There was the American J.S. Parket Company, a branch of head and Company in Hong Kong which opened in April 1856. A month later the Borneo Company Ltd. opened its branch and by D. K. Mason followed. Both of them were Singapore based in British companies. By 1858 more British companies had followed to set up such as S. P. Goodale and Company and Hamilton Grey. A large

American firm of Russell and Company also opened an office. A Remi Schmidt (French) opened in 1857 and in 1858 the opening of two important German houses, Markwald and Pickenpack Thies were founded. These early firms were branches of British companies already established in Asia, based mainly in Singapore, the others in China (Falkus, 1989:129-30).

Business activities operated by European were engaged not only in the international trade but also the agents of various services related to the export-import oriented industries (Akira, 1989:43). Siam's trade grew substantially after 1856. Trading houses were operated by many Europeans and Americans in a rich international market for Western goods and large-scale exports including sugar and other goods to Europe. The main activities of British and other Western firms were importing, exporting, and general business, and then later they were involved in insurance services.

James Brooke and Robert MacEwen registered the Borneo Company Limited, the oldest trading firm of Britain in Siam, in London in June 1856. In the same year, the Borneo Company opened its Bangkok office in order originally to export the pepper from Chantaburi province and rice to Europe later. Ten years later, in 1862, the Borneo Company also served as an agent for the major three insurance companies, the Netherlands Indies Sea, the Bengal, and the North China (1862), and agents for the Chartered mercantile Bank of India, Australia and China (1868) and later the Oriental Bank Corporation and the Northern Bank of Scotland. During the same period shipping also became an important business, the Borneo Company served as an agent for two British shipping companies, China Mutual Navigation Co., Ltd. and the Peninsular and Oriental Co., Ltd. (P&O.). In 1879, the Borneo Company entered the steam towing business on the Chao Phraya River by setting up its own company named Siam Steam Towing and Navigation Co., Ltd. Besides in 1870, it had opened overseas branches in Singapore, Calcutta, Batavia, Sarawak, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, as well as Bangkok.

Another German firm of Pickenpack Thies was an agent for the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and the Bank of Rotterdam. This latter example emphasized a

point which could be multiplied in many insurance branches that the nationality of the trading house was not necessarily the same as the nationality of the agencies handled. There was some diversification into the processing industries for export, a necessary step in the building up of wholly new lines of business (Falkus, 1989:131-132).

#### 4.1.1.1 Shipping

By the 1860s, European, especially British, firms already had a strong stake in shipping services for the East and Southeast Asian trade. Major British shipping companies providing services to this area that included the Peninsular and Oriental regions. The Ocean Steam Ship Company is better known as Blue Funnel Line, The Glen Line, owned by Glasgow merchants, the castle Line, owned by another Glasgow merchant, and The Shire Line founded by Captain Jenkins (Akira, 1989:52). The Ocean Steam Ship Company was managed by Alfred Holt & Company of Liverpool. Alfred Holt & Company originally engaged in the tea trade between China and England, and then the tobacco trade between India and Europe. When it was faced with a challenge from the German capital in these fields; Alfred Holt & Company turned to invest the growing rice trade in Asia. In addition, it also operated the transportation of Chinese coolies from Swatow to Bangkok and Singapore. As a result, Alfred Holt & Company decided to open a direct line between Singapore and Bangkok in 1882, and by 1889, it had built four thousand ton class steamers to undertake the rice trade (Akira, 1989:52-53). The table on the next page points to the growth of British shipping bringing import-export commodities or coolies to Bangkok.



Table 13: Nationality of ships arriving in Bangkok, 1861-81

	1861-2 Tonnage	%	1863-4 Tonnage	%	1882 Tonnage	%	1886 Tonnage	%
British	30,233	22,2	57,508	34.5	117,762	58.3	140,213	70.5
American	26,246	19.3	4,972	3.0	664	0.3	1,737	0.9
Siamese	47,078	34.6	46,859	28.7	33,849	17.1	10,142	5.1
Other	32,392	23.8	56,359	33.8	46,162	23.3	46,715	23.5
Total	135,949		166,698		198,437		198,807	

Source: (Falkus, 1989:131)

From the outset of British shipping it was strongly supported by trading companies as agents for the main shipping lines such as the Borneo Company for Holt's Blue Funnel Steamers. It carried more trade than that of any other Western country dominating the direct trade with Europe. With regard to the advent of steam shipping, the British dominated this business until 1890. In 1898 ships still accounted for 76 percent of total tonnage arriving in Bangkok compared with only 7 percent owned by German lines. Following this there was an abrupt change. In 1899 the shares were 67 percent and 19 percent respectively, while in 1900 the British lines accounting for only 38 percent of the total tonnage, and German shipping for no less than 51 percent. The cause of this British decline was the sales in 1899 by Holt of the East India Ocean Steam Ship Company to North German Lloyd. The only regular line between Bangkok and Singapore therefore passed to the German flag, while in 1900 the Scottish Oriental, which dominated the Bangkok-Hong Kong route, was also absorbed by the German company. Roughly, three-quarters of both Siam's imports and exports were centered on these two ports (Falkus, 1989:131).

From 1850s, the main activities of British and other Western firms in Siam were importing, exporting, and general agency business while the latter was initially mainly for insurance. In 1862, the Borneo Company Ltd. represented three insurance companies, the Netherlands Indies Sea, the Bengal, and the North China, and later added others.

## 4.1.1.2 Rice

Before the middle of the 1850s, with a practically self-sufficient economy, farmers had no reasons to expand rice production much beyond their own needs. However, the steady foreign demand for Thai rice, led to a considerable growth of production, particularly in the Central Plains. The development of rice exports originated from changes in factors of supply for the world's demand. The high export growth of rice occurred thereafter. Annual exports increased from 62,370 metric tons a year during 1857 to 60 about 929, 457 per year (Sompop, 1989:47). The total export pattern of rice after the 1850s was quiet different to that of the earlier. It can be seen from the number of increases in the table below.

Table 14: Rice Production and Exports, 1850s – 1890s

Year	Total Rice Production (a) (,000 metric tons)	Rice Export	Export Ratio (percent)
1857-60	1,232	62	5
1861-65	1,287	89	7
1866-70	1,367	129	9
1871-75	1,408	129	9
1876-80	1,537	208	14
1881-85	1,599	220	14
1886-90	1,761	375	21
1891-95	1,863	455	24

(a) For 1857-90, ratio was 800 kg of cargo rice to 1,000 kg of paddy. For 1891-1950, the ratio to white rice (and derivative, i.e., broken rice, rice meal)

Source: (Sompop, 1989:49)

An American company built the earliest mill in 1858, but it was taken over by Pickenpack Thies after a few years. In 1865 a German firm, Markwald, established a large rice mill. At the same time, the first British steam rice mill was established in 1863 by A.M. Odman and Company, who also owned a saw mill, and in 1865 the Borneo Company became joint partners in this venture, renamed the Bangkok Rice Mill. During the 1860s, the Borneo Company's exports of teak grew, and the developing business was followed by the building of large saw mill in Bangkok in 1870. Western dominance of rice milling was not destined to last. By the 1870s there was a period of low profits and western firms proved unable to compete with the Chinese. As a result, most of western mills were sold to Chinese entrepreneurs. Of the 27 steam rice mills in Bangkok in 1889, 17 were owned by Chinese (Falkus, 1989:133). After the 1870s, approximately three-quarters of Hong Kong import of Thai rice were for transshipment. Thai rice played a relatively crucial role in the Hong Kong and China import markets, particularly during a few decades after 1850s (Sompop, 1989:59).

In the early rice trade, the chief factor leading to the growth in exports in early after the Bowring Treaty (1855) was the rice demand in Far Eastern Countries in particular China. Then after the 1880's, the development of modern transportation networks particularly the advent and improvement of steamers and the opening of the Suez canal had brought Bangkok to connect with the outer markets closely. The growth of rice exports increased rapidly to deliver to other countries in Asia which they could further transfer to the European markets (Sompop, 1989:59-60).

The rice industry became the most important investment sector. It consisted of two major sectors: rice milling and rice exporting. Rice exports quickly increased from 100,000 metric tons during the 1860s to 490,000 metric tons during the 1890s. Expanding rice exports naturally promoting the processing of rice industry rice mills in Bangkok increased in number from only 3 mills in 1864 to 27 mills in 1895 and further to 59 mills in 1910 as seen through from the table on the next page.

Table 15: The Numbers of Rice Mills in Bangkok, 1858-1903

Years	Western Rice Mills	Chinese or Siamese	Total
1858	1	-	1
1864	3	-	3
1866	4	-	4
1867	5	-	5
1879	5	5	10
1880	5	7	12
1889	6	17	23
1895	4	23	27
1896	4	26	30
1897	4	22	26
1901	4	22	26
1910	3	56	59
1919	3	63	66
1924	3	83	83
1925	-	84	84
1929	-	71	71
1930	-	71	71

Source: (พจนานุกรม, 2539:40)

A large number of wooden godowns were constructed along the both sides of the Chao Phraya River to store both husked and milled rice. The need to transport rice from these mills to anchor at the mouth of the river caused the development of the lighter business. European shipping companies opened a direct line between Bangkok and other major ports in Asia, thereby promoting the marine and fire insurance services in Siam (Akira, 1989:46).

European predominance in the rice industry seemed to have been most clearly demonstrated by the development of modern rice milling in the early

stages. The first steam-powered rice mill was established in Siam by an American firm in 1858. The rice mill was operated by an American trading house whose head office was founded in Hong Kong. Later, the ownership was soon transferred to a British firm, and then to a German firm thereafter. The American mill was followed by five more steam-powered rice mills established alongside the banks of the Chao Phraya River. All of these rice mills were mostly belonged to the European trading house which engaged in exporting Thai rice. The pioneering rice mills were these following trading houses such as Jucker, Sigg & Co., Ltd. (British), Ellerman's Arracan Co., Ltd. (British), and Windsor, Rose & Co., Ltd. (German). They were not operated not only their own rice mills, but also a number of mills rented from the king and the royal families (Akira, 1989:47).

The "rice industry" or "rice business" were related not only to rice milling and exporting, but also other industries. A single merchant group frequently integrated the different businesses such as shipping, insurance or export-import exchange into one corporate activity. This peculiar development of the rice industry was characterized by vertical integration (Akira, 1989:46-47).

Interestingly, the rice trade of Siam was connected with British trade in the process of production and exportation. The native industry of growing paddy was almost entirely in Siamese hands and merchants did not become involved in growing the crop. All the machinery in the mills was mostly constructed by Scottish or English. Additionally, the steamers which took the rice away for almost British ports were British shipping companies and the financing for the shipments carried by the British banks (Akira, 1989:47).

The chief export of rice to Hong Kong was closely followed by Singapore. Hong Kong distributed the rice for the most part to Canton. Singapore distributed to Java, the Malay Peninsula, and Europe. Then, later, rice exports were directed to Bremen, Hamburg, Liverpool, and South America. Siamese rice trade was strongly connected with British trade (Chatthip and Suthy, 1981:123).

The economic stake of Europeans was actively extended to other businesses. For example, according to the British consular report of 1890, Europeans owned 39 out of the 63 lighters located in Bangkok, and their total tonnage amounted to 9,025 tons, or 65% of the total capacity. Regarding trade finance, insurance services, and transportation, the European trading houses seldom conducted these businesses on their own account, but rather served as the sole agents for in the overall rice industry (Akira, 1989:48).

The rice industry became more important after 1850s and rapidly increased the volume of export during 1860s to 1890s. The amount of export increased from 100,000 metric tons in 1860s to 490,000 metric tons in 1890. Western predominance in the rice industry was clearly observed in the early stages whereas the British companies joined in this business since the beginning. By 1888, western trading houses occupied 68 percent of the total rice export. They controlled all of the rice export to the European markets and 77 percent of those to Singapore. Interestingly, the largest group of Chinese controlled 46 percent of the export to Hong Kong, but it was less than 30 percent of the total. The dominance of Western in the rice industry did not last very long, especially in two major rice milling and rice exporting. The Chinese merchants were challenged and replaced by the end of nineteenth century (Akira, 1989:48-50).

#### 4.1.1.3 Teak

The supply of teak was limited, confined almost to the monsoon forests of southern Asia. By around 1850 the once abundant resources of south India had been virtually exhausted. Siamese teak was controlled by Burmese foresters in forests belonging to the Chief of Chiangmai in the 1830s. Meanwhile, during the 1860s and 1870s, it was probable that Siamese teak came to form the bulk of Moulmein's exports, the teak being floated into British Burma along the Salween River.

In 1852 Britain acquired the provinces of Lower Burma, and Rangoon began to develop as a teak exporting port, drawing supplies from the Peru

forests which were worked under rather primitive conditions. Following the Indian Mutiny in 1857, the demands for Burmese teak for the Indian railways increased considerably, and out of this growing demand developed the firm of Wallace and Company, formed in 1862 to exploit a timber concession acquired from the still independent Kingdom of Burma. In 1864 the Bombay trading Corporation was floated in Bombay to take over the assets of Wallace and Company.

When the American Presbyterian missionary Daniel McGilvary, arrived to start a mission in Chiangmai in 1867 he was only the third Westerner to make the journey from Bangkok. During the 1860s, the British's interests in Siamese teak increased. A certain Captain R. C. Burn from Moulmein in Burma leased a forest from Prince of Chiangmai, but in the absence of a map and adequate legal controls, a series of disputes arose. Burn claimed that the Chief had leased the same forest to more than one lessee and complained to the British Consul in Bangkok, T. G. Knox, that his Burmese foresters (British subjects) were killed by the Chief when they entered the forests to which they were entitled. In 1866 the Consul delivered an ultimatum to the Bangkok government; either they must discipline the Chief and ensure adequate protection for British subjects or he would regard Chiangmai as an independent territory and 'act accordingly'. He pressed for the appointment of a British Vice-Consul in Chiangmai. At about this time, too, the Borneo Company attempted without success to obtain teak leases in the north. (Falkus, 1989:133-134).

The British companies established in the north can be detailed by these: British Borneo Company (1864), Bombay Burmah (1889) (วรรณคดี, 2520:78) and Siam Forest (1897) (Falkus, 1989:140). They caused the Bangkok government to encounter the dilemma of resisting growing British pressure or interfering with the customary authority of the Prince in the north to deal with British companies and British subjects. Consequently, it brought the Treaty signed in 1873 known as The Treaty of Chiangmai (วรรณคดี, 2520: 373). The treaty stipulated the regulations of timber trade and leases including an establishment of the "Ordinary local Court" in Siam if they did

not obtain a passport (วรรณคดี, 2520:375). Later, the Treaty was modified for the better engagement in 1883. The second Treaty was concluded in September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1883 in Bangkok. The second treaty established the Vice – Consul at Chiangmai on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1883 (วรรณคดี, 2520:380).

Later, the extension of the investment of British companies in the north still caused difficulties and conflicts. Finally, the Ministry of Interior decided to control and regulates these problems. Therefore, the Siamese Government called for the corporation of British government in India to send the British official to take charge in the Forest Department. Mr. H. Slade was appointed as the First Chief Conservator of Forest in the Forest Department. It was officially established on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1896 (วรรณคดี, 2520:413). In 1900s, the leading British Companies were able to deliver logs from the north into the Bangkok for foreign markets significantly shown in the table below:

**Table 16: Annual teak output sent to Bangkok in 1902**

Producers	Number of logs per annum
Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation	35,000
Borneo Company	10-12,000
Siam Forest Company	6-7,000
L.T. Lenowens	8,000
East Asiatic Company (Danish)	3-4,000
Chinese Producers	10-12,000
Native producers	20-25,000

Source: (Falkus, 1989:143)

Following the total annual output of the region of 100,000 logs, some two-thirds were produced by European firms, whereas nearly all of whom were British. Indeed, the two great trading companies, the Borneo and the Bombay Burma, Companies accounted for over two-thirds of European output. British dominance was in fact far greater than these figures. The Bombay Burma Company controlled most of the



Salween forests, producing some 40,000 logs a year for Moulmein. Also, for most of the first-class quality teakwood, and hence the more valuable part of total output was produced by Europeans. Finally, the Chinese and native outputs were brought by the large companies and their forests were often leased under agreements with the Europeans (Falkus, 1989:143-144).

In summary, these British trading houses played a crucial role in the macro economy of Siam significantly. This table below can demonstrate the lists and activities which they operated in Bangkok since 1850s continually to 1900s.

Table 17: Business Activity Major of British Trading Houses in Thailand, 1850s – 1930s

Name of Company	Year Commenced	Nationality	Head office	General Agent	Agent /Owner				Export			
					Shipping	Banking	Insurance	Rice Mill	Saw Mill	Rice	Teak	Others
The Borneo Company	1856	British	London	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Barrow, Brown & Co., Ltd.	1871	Thai (British)	Bangkok	×			×					×
The Bombay Burmah Trading Corp.	1887	British	Bombay	×	×	×	×		×		×	
Ellerman's Arracan Rice & Trading Co., Ltd.	1887	British	London	×	×	×	×			×		
The Anglo-Siam Corp.	1900	British	London	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×
E. C. Monod & Co., Ltd.	1907	British	London	×	×		×					
The Courper Johnston & Co., Ltd	1912	Thai (British)	Bangkok	×			×			×		
Steel Brothers & Co., Ltd.	1934	British	London	×	×		×			×		

Source: (Akira,1989: 45)

#### 4.1.2 The establishment of British Banking in Bangkok

The second active period of Siam's economy became integrated more fully into the international economy from the 1880s onwards. This period was notable for the rapid growth of Siam's foreign trade and the expansion of Western banking (Falkus, 1989:127). The British Banking in Siam involved with the circulation of currency system. To understand the banking system of Britain it is most useful to comprehend the establishment of British banks in Bangkok. The branches of British banks in Bangkok emerged as the result of the overall of British banking system as well.

The consequence of British banking system was to establish banks in Bangkok. They partly shaped the Siamese monetary policy at that time. The British banks also issued their own bank notes for exchanges particularly in Bangkok. With no doubt, these evidences influenced the government responding abruptly and the Gold exchange was later introduced. Therefore, this coming of British business influenced the changes in Bangkok together with the financial policy of Siam. This section focuses on these points to explore how the British banking system influenced the financial policy and the changes in Bangkok. Therefore, it is useful to learn about the development of British banking in Asia in the first place before seeing the consequences occurring in Bangkok.

The British enterprise in the nineteenth century in Asia was consisted of an overseas bank, which appeared from the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Some were predominantly concerned with banking in a given territory. In India, a number of joint stock banks, such as Agra Bank and Alliance Bank of Simla were promoted by locally European residents. A distinctive group of British overseas banks comprised of the "exchange banks", which specialized in short-term finance of international trade, by providing bill finance and overseas currencies, and operated the branch networks in numbers of countries (Hines and Jones, 1989:11). In Asia during the nineteenth century the leading British overseas banks included the Oriental Bank

Corporation, which was founded in 1845. For several decades the most important British bank in the East were the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China (1853), the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China (1857), and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (or Hong Kong Bank), which was founded in 1864 (Hines and Jones, 1989:12).

These banks were striking examples of the nineteenth century in term of international businesses. Exchange banks were distinguished by the spread of their branch networks and by a range of their banking activities. In early 1880s, the Oriental Bank Corporation's branches spanned Africa and Australia as well as Asia and confined their branch networks to Asia. By 1900, the Hong Kong Bank had a branch network covering every country in Asia except Russia. Then at the turn of century British banks had introduced modern banking into every one of the countries, except Russia (Hines and Jones, 1989:12).

The second feature of British overseas banks in Asia was the diversity of their business. In the nineteenth century, they financed international trade and undertook exchange operations. They served as agents in the spread of British trade. Most of the banks initially established their branches at the ports of the East. They later began to open interior in the late nineteenth century and became more involved in domestic banking and trade (Hines and Jones, 1989:13). In the 1890s, it was a crisis when some banks floundered and others were reconstructed. A major source of instability for British banks in Asia was the depreciation of the region's silver-based currencies in term of gold from the mid- 1870s. This depreciation, which was related to a large increase in the world silver production was important to the region's economic history and influenced the pattern of British trade and investment when such banks transferred sterling capital to support their business in Asian countries. Depreciation in the silver exchange rate meant devaluation in the sterling worth of such transferred capital.

The early 1890s proved a particularly difficult period for silver exchanges. The New Oriental Bank Corporation (successor to the Oriental Bank

Corporation, which had failed in 1884) was liquidated in 1892; the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China was forced into reconstruction in 1892. Instability in British Eastern banking was aggravated by the difficulty of managing wide networks of branches. There were particular difficulties between London based boards of directors, anxious to see their banks following the conventional British banking principles, and their managers in Asia who felt they needed to adapt partially at least to local conventions, for example security of loans.

This problem was mitigated by the Hong Kong Bank through retaining its headquarters in Hong Kong. According to the Hong Kong Bank, it illustrated some of the difficulties of defining the British businesses in Asia. The bank represented an international merchant community in Hong Kong. Its founding committee included American, German, Danish, and Parsee as well as British members. Then later Hong Kong resident could own such shares and people of the London could own the Hong Kong's shares. The ownership of the bank was moved, 80 percent of the bank's shares were owned by people with a Hong Kong address that there were many of these shares were owned by British expatriates and many Chinese-speaking Hong Kong who were themselves British subjects (Hines and Jones, 1989:14-15). The different types of British enterprises active in the nineteenth century Asia were often interlinked. The Hong Kong Bank was established by merchant firms active in Hong Kong. There was also a link between Business interests in various countries. This was obviously a case for the British trading companies and overseas banks whose activities spanned the whole region (Hines and Jones, 1989:14).

Central Siam the Siamese came to adopt a coin in the shape of a short silver bar with both ends pressed inwards. Each ruler had his own mark imprinted on these coins. Eight varieties of cowrie shells were also used as a medium of exchange for hundreds of years and remained in the common currency along with the bullet tical until the reign of King Rama Fourth. These cowrie shells were replaced by tin and copper coinage (Thomson, 1967:566-567).

Regarding the stimulus given to foreign trade by the Bowring Treaty, the existing currency was found to be insufficient. Moreover, counterfeiting was widespread, particularly among the Chinese. The King Rama IV gradually replaced bullet ticals with flat pieces and a bronze coin and issued edicts to enforce the acceptance of foreign currencies. The people were unwilling to accept the latter and Mexican dollar had to be stamped with the royal arms so as to give them currency (Thomson, 1967:566-568). After trade greatly increased they stopped importing Mexican dollars and exchange them for Siamese coins. There was a great need to have more Siamese coins for this exchange. However, the Siam government could not produce enough coins to meet the demand. Money exchange appeared on the black market and lost much of its value. In 1858 the British Consul in Bangkok informed London that the proclamation issued by the king to solve the exchange problems was ineffective. The actual exchange rate had fallen to 155 baht per hundred dollars as a result of the monopoly imposed. Finally, it brought a joint protest by the consuls in Bangkok to the government to establish a new mint to cover the demand for the baht (Wilson, 1970:381). Siam agreed to change the shape of the baht from that of the bullet to a round flat coin. New machinery would be required as the number the present equipment failed to produce such. Siam sought British help in obtaining the necessary equipment to establish a royal mint. The plans were approved and decided that the services of two engineers would be required for a year to set up a mint (Wilson, 1970:382). Finally, the British government co-operated with King Rama IV to establish a mint by ordering a coinage machine from London to produce coins as well (Manich a, 1970:96). In the reign of King Rama V, to remedy the scarcity of money, gold coins were issued; but these met with no more approval. In 1880s, the king took a radical step for solutions on coinage (Thomson, 1967:566-568). At the same time, the British Bank advanced the government by issuing paper money before the Siamese government.

The first British banks in Siam were Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Ltd., which opened their branch in Bangkok in 1888. Prior to that date there was no institution of the kind, either European or native, in Bangkok. It soon began to

make its influences in Siamese business circles as the Diplomatic and Consular report in 1889 wrote that:

*“It established an agency in Bangkok towards the end of 1888. It was not long before bank notes to issue for circulation in Siam. The European in Bangkok welcomed their arrival with great satisfaction and also the wealthier Siamese, Indians, and Chinese. There being no gold currency, and the tical and the dollar being the only media of exchange the advantage of notes soon became apparent. Amongst the middle and lower classes of the native population, the tical still remains paramount, and the paper currency is as yet regarded with a certain amount of suspicion. The paddy cultivators and rice producers will accept only cash payments. The tical is seldom seen above Raheng. North of that town the rupee is the customary medium. The Bank has been of value to merchants on account of its influence in standing the variation of exchange. During certain months of the year, when the price of paddy rises and the export of rice diminished, dollars rise to a premium for the import of imports. The bank, having greater facilities for the import of specie, can thus supply the dollar at a lower rate than could be otherwise obtainable.” (Diplomatic and Consular report, 1889:14)*

As the following years, it had issued its own notes for the convenience of traders, but the Government withdrew the notes thereafter (Williamson, 1994:119-120).

The bank premises were situated on the east bank of the Chao Phraya River, close to the center of the business portion of the town.

The establishment of Hong Kong and Shanghai Banks was not obstructed by the government at that time since it was founded in 1888 (Brown, 1992:28). Until the late 1890s the Ministry of Finance proposed the introduction of a government paper currency, which involved ordering some four million currency notes from Europe as part of series of measures designed to improve efficiency of the government's mint. The Ministry of Finance proposed ordering modern baht minting and copper coin minting machinery from Europe to replace the existing equipment which had been installed over thirty years earlier (Brown, 1992:29). However, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banks could circulate paper notes. At that time the paper note was concerned upon its limitation "the paper money circulating in Siam was almost wholly confined to the issues of the foreign banks in Bangkok while these notes were never legal tender and never circulated widely, they were accepted by people, at least in the capital, and became familiar through their use" (Thomson, 1967:568). Soon after, the Ministry of Finance proposed the lack of financial expertise for administration, a European Adviser should be appointed. Then the issue was revised in late 1894 or in the early 1895 by the government's General Adviser, Rolin Jacquemyns. He recommended the necessity of European financial adviser and the publication of government's annual budget (Brown,1992:39).

The second British Bank was founded in Bangkok, the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China Ltd., which was opened in 1893 (Diplomatic and Consular report 1893:4), the Bangkok branch was the second bank established in Siam. The premises were situated on the river front between the French Legation and the Oriental Hotel. The corporation granted draft collection bills of exchange on London and the principal commercial centers in Europe, India, Australia, America, China, and Japan, and transacted every description of banking and exchange business. Their head office was in London and they operated branches and agencies in New York, Hamburg,



Batavia, Bombay, Calcutta, Cebu, Colombo, Foochow, Hankow, Hong Kong, Ipoh, Kobe, Karachi, Kuala Lumpur, Madras, Manilla, Medan (Deli), Rangoon, Saigon, Shanghai, Singapore, Sourabaya, Thaiping, Tientsin, Yokohama, and Pinang (Williamson, 1994:120). By 1903 the Diplomatic and Consular Report wrote about the situation of paper money that

*“Paper money is as a rule viewed with suspicion by the countrymen outside Bangkok, and a system of local Banking is unknown. During June, July, and August, three months when paddy is brought down to Bangkok and the paddy boats are able to work down to flooded creeks and small waterways into the main rivers, the two exchange banks-the Hong Kong and Shanghai banks, and, in a less degree, the recently established Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China-in Bangkok have a busy time importing treasure for the rice-millers to keep pace with the supply of paddy and thus the import of treasure increase directly with the export of rice.”* (Diplomatic and Consular Report, 1893: 4)

Consequently, this process stimulated the government to improve the Ministry of Finance. King Rama V approved the proposal submitted by Rolin Jacquemyn. As mentioned, the General adviser wrote to Lord Cromer in Egypt and received the suggestion to employ Mitchell-Innes, 31 year old British official who had been in Cairo since 1891. In June 1896, King Rama V appointed the first financial adviser under the charge of the Ministry of Finance (Brown, 1992:39). Then later in 1898, Rivett- Carnac, the second British Adviser took charge continually from the first adviser. He arrived in Bangkok in 1898 (Brown,1992:54). Finally, the 1901/2 budget was submitted to the King on April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1901. He stated: “the Government is in remarkably strong financial position. The Revenues are showing themselves to be elastic and they

are being rapidly got under better control. The expenditure, also, is being more devoted to improvements in the Administration of the Government with a view to the safety, convenience..." (Brown, 1992:61).

Report of the Financial Adviser upon the Budget for the year 1901-1902 reported that

*"His Majesty's Government has taken advantage of the great financial prosperity of the country during past years to adopt the policy of forming a Reserve Cash Balance for Use in cash of any sudden and unforeseen demand such as Famine or other emergency. Siam has at present no National Debt and therefore no established credit in the great monetary markets of the world. Should she at any time require suddenly any considerable conditions. To obviate such a possibility the Government has availed itself of favorable rates of Exchange to remit to Europe and invest in first class Gold Securities a very considerable sum and it is the interest upon the Investments thus made that is shown under this head and which, assisted by interest upon current deposits, affords such a satisfactory source of Revenue."* (Financial Report of 1901-1902: 11).

The Financial adviser in 1908 wrote about this system illustrating "The system of Gold exchange was introduced based on the one adopted in India in 1893. It is known as the Gold Exchange Standard. Its distinctive features being a silver currency of unlimited legal tender, the value of which is raised, by restricting the output, to such a figure as may be desired, and the issues of which are made only against gold, in principle, therefore, the system is the same in all essential features as that of any other

fiduciary currency, such, for instance, as an issue of paper money, and for its ultimate establishment it depends on the provision of and adequate reserve of the metal on which the value of the tokens is based..." (Williamson, 1994:116).

In conclusion the impact of British banking in Asia brought consequences and changes to Bangkok in several ways, especially the monetary policy of Siamese government and the behavior of people to familiarize themselves with the paper money in exchange. Consequently, the currency system closely engaged the Siamese economy with the world's economy and currency exchange inevitably. The British banks and British advisers also participated in these changes significantly. Most of all, these changes originated in Bangkok and explicitly affected the Bangkok's changes.

#### 4.1.3 British Department store and dispensary in Bangkok

By the 1890s the foreign settlement were more stable in Bangkok, it could be clearly seen by the circulation in Bangkok Times' columns. Additionally, "Guide Book to Bangkok" in 1890 recommended a lot of modernized things for "everyone who comes to Siam" would be touched. Some comments in the newspaper reflected the foreign settlement as well (Hong, 2004:333). Noticeably, leading groups in Bangkok also consumed modern commodities, different from the past by the western influences. High-class groups were shaped by westernization in different tastes of consumptions, livelihoods or costumes. The significant appearances appeared in behaviors and tastes of high-class community in Bangkok which could be studied through the commodities they consumed or purchased in a new style of trading houses in Bangkok; the department store.

Two British department stores were found around the turn of the century and played the significant role in the changes in the availability of products and consumption patterns in Bangkok. The first British department store was Messrs. Harry. A. Badman & Co. The house was established by Mr. Badman on January 1884, close to

the Royal Barracks and became known as the number one of department store in Bangkok. For over a quarter of a century Messrs. Harry A. Badman & Co. held a leading position amongst the large retail stores. The background and development of this British retailer was originated by Mr. Badman, who retired from the business in Siam. He established himself as the firm's buying agent in London. Mr. Harry A. Badman & Co. was founded in 1892. Mr. Hooker joined in a partnership With Mr. C. S. George then joined the firm, and in 1897 becoming a business partner. After ten successful years, in 1907 Mr. George retired, leaving Mr. Hooker the sole proprietor. Mr. A. C. Warwick, who had been for upwards of ten years as a manager of the Army and Navy Co-operative Society, Bombay, engaged with the enterprise on Mr. George's retirement; and in March, 1908, when Mr. Hooker, who had been for twenty-five years a resident in Siam, also retired, he took over the business in the partnership with Messrs. J. P. Gaudy and L. T. Gandy, both of whom working for the firm for many years.

The store displayed goods in various departments with the most attractive fashions. It did not confine itself to any particular branches of trade, but conducted a business on the line of the departmental stores. It exposed the specialties, in particular, naval, military and civil tailors and outfitters. All of them were imported directly from Europe and America. The company had its own buying houses in London, at 45, Finsbury Pavement.

*“With the growth of the city and the large demand for every kind of naval and military requirements the trade accruing to the firm increased from year to year, until recently the proprietors found it necessary to move into mere spacious premises specially erected for them in the vicinity of the King's palace and close to the Government offices. The building which is an unusually handsome one, was opened by his Majesty on December 9, 1907, and*

*special appointments have been granted to the firm by their Majesties the King and Queen and the Crown Prince, who take a great interest in the business.”*  
(Wright and Breakspear, 1994:257)

Another British department store was Mr. John Samson & Son, originated by the direct request of King Chulalongkorn who went to England and dealt largely at the firm's headquarters. Acting upon his Majesty's advice, Mr. F. Sampson, the son of the proprietor of the London house came to Bangkok in 1899 and settled his large premises in the Bangkok. Since it started it never had reasons to regret the enterprise. It always retained the support and patronage of the King Crown Prince of Siam. The rapid development of their business and the continual patronage repeated marks of the high-class consumption.

Many people worked inside this department store such as the court tailors, ladies' and gentlemen's outfitters or boot-makers. They made a specialty of saddler and harness-making, and had always a large stock of the best quality of English goods. The goods were indeed a typical high-class English trade. They were sole agents for Messrs. Maple & Co., London, and had furnished several of the royal palaces. Mr. F. Sampson was the sole proprietor of the Bangkok business, being operated quite separately from the London house. Their London connection, however, brought many advantages and gave the Bangkok branch every facility for securing a well-selected and up-to-date stock (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:257).

Bangkok was in the state of transition. Many aspects remained traditionally Siamese, while others were changing rapidly. Siam society, however, was changing more slowly, and the changes that occurred began predominantly at the top. King Rama V inherited from his father, King Mongkut, a strong modernization vision for the kingdom.

The large retail stores helped to develop lifestyles of high-class popularity. Meanwhile, it reflected the development of high-class tastes. The Diplomatic and Consular Report wrote about the increasing amount of luxury commodities from Europe and Britain in details very clearly according to the annual reports below. The development of popular tastes could be observed by the consumption of these luxuries commodities such as jewelry, shoes, hats, and umbrellas. The report of Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1889 wrote that “the import of jewelry shows the remarkable increase. Figure for the past two years are as under its amounts in 1888 was 26,008 and increased amounts to 97,237 in 1899. Most of the jewelry thus imported is destined for the use of the Palace ladies. The Bombay Indians, certain natives of Madras, and Singapore Malays, are amongst the dealers in jewels, but most of these purchase retail from a European firm” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1889:9).

Later, in 1892 the report stated that “one-third of the whole imports noticed by customs authorities concerned that “other goods” showed a list of 89 separate imports. Thus the requirements of the people here for the products of other and more civilized countries were varied enough, but satisfied with small amounts. The wants of the Chinese were responsible for a large proportion of the imports:

*“The use of European hats and shoes -- articles of luxury to a Siamese -- is increasing in the capital. In 1891 the import was 8,796<sup>1</sup>., and in 1892 it was augmented to 11,320l.*

*Straw and round felt hats are in demand in Bangkok, and shoes, which are now generally worn by the better classes of Siamese, are mostly of London make. The Chinese, of course, wear shoes imported from China, whilst a large variety of hats are locally*

---

<sup>1</sup> l = Pound Sterling

*made of rice, straw, and different kind of leaves and wood-fibre.*

*The use of the umbrella is confined to Bangkok and the larger towns, as the Siamese peasant is perfectly indifferent to the fierce sun and heavy rains of this climate. The only umbrellas manufactured in the country are those which are used by the nobility and officials as symbols of rank and position. They are made of cloth, varnished sometimes, and gold and tinsel. A large quantity of Chinese umbrellas -- of bamboo and varnished paper -- equally useful in sun and rain, are imported from Hong Kong. They are very cheap, ranging from 10d<sup>2</sup>. upwards.*

*Umbrellas of European make are rapidly giving place to Japanese, which is not surprising considering that a good Japanese silk umbrella may be bought in Bangkok for the modest sum of 5s<sup>3</sup>. 10d. the total import of umbrellas amounted to 7,776l." (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1892:6-7).*

In the following year jewelry still the served the consumers' need; "A very large business in jewelry was done during the first 6 months of the year, and almost all the jewelry went to the those months" (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1893:6) Up to the year 1898, some kinds of luxury commodities increased in particular umbrellas and shoes.

---

<sup>2</sup> d = dollars

<sup>3</sup> s = ticals

*“The jewelry imported was valued at 15,736l.. The majority of the jewelry, including diamonds, comes from London. Formerly the import was mainly of stones to be mounted here according to the notions of their wearers, but latterly the import has been largely of mounted jewelry. Bracelets set with precious stones in particular have come into favour among the higher classes of Siamese ladies, and some very valuable ones have been imported.*

*... The value of umbrellas imported was 15,076l. Of this 1,688l came from Europe directly, and 11,361l. from Hong-Kong. The Japanese article although of very poor quality and giving no wear, has quite taken the place of European makes as it is extremely cheap and has a quite presentable appearance. Several years ago enormous quantities of umbrellas came from Glasgow, but it was impossible to compete against the Japanese prices. Some silk umbrellas came from France.*

*Cheap straw hats are German, better ones French and Swiss. Common felts (which are popular) come from Italy; good ones from England, Italy and Belgium. The total import was 17,299l.*

*Shoes were imported to the extent of 8,727l. which was chiefly English. Shoes are made locally also by Chinese to a great amongst the Siamese will cause an increased demand both for this article and for hats.”*  
(Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1898:8-9)



Noticeably, England was the main source of luxury good as the two reports mentioned, “The value of the import of jewelry, precious stones, and gold and silver ware was 53,523l., but about 25,000l., was re-exported as unsalable or unsuitable. 28,240l., came from England directly” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1899:11). “Jewelry and precious stones was imported to the value of 29,870l., of which 18,875l., came from the United Kingdom. Gold and silverware (include plate) was 6,714l., of which our share was 3,527l. Some 10,400l. worth of jewelry was re-exported.” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1901:11)

Therefore, the retail business of Britain in terms of department stores in Bangkok had formulated a new taste of high – class consumption; British luxury goods had been delivered to the Bangkok’s consumers in a large volume each year since 1890s. These reflected the change of consumption of some consumers in Bangkok while Britain was partly to shape an influence. These British businesses mostly brought change into Bangkok both at the macro level of the development of the economy as the mechanism of economic growth, and the individual taste of Bangkok settlers.

Additionally, interestingly, another British business in Bangkok was also introduced at that time by the advent of British drug store or dispensary.

#### 4.1.4 The British Dispensary

The British dispensary appeared in Bangkok around the same time as the emergence of department stores above. It was situated on Charoenkrung (เจริญกรุง) road, right in the heart of the European quarter of the city. The dispensary was established in 1888 by Dr. Gowan, Physician of King Chulalongkorn. It was subsequently passed into the hands of Dr. T. Hayward Hays, the chief medical officer of the Royal Siamese Navy and the medical officer to the Government Railway Department. Later, Dr. Hays became the proprietor of the undertaking. This interesting place was described by the eye witness at that time as follows:

*“It is art up-to-date establishment with a large and varied stock of such goods as are naturally to be found in the shops of high-class chemists and druggists, while, in addition, there is a well-arranged department devoted specially to the sale of cameras and photographic supplies. It will be interesting to amateur photographers to know that in connection with this department also there is a dark-room which is always at their disposal free of charge. The business carried on by the firm is an extensive one, and reaches far beyond the confines of the city. Besides its large European connection the house does a considerable trade with the natives, among whom it has a very high reputation, and furnishes a good proportion of the drugs, medicines, and other commodities of a like nature to the planters and residents in the interior of Siam. Among the agencies it holds are those for Mellin's Food, Scott's Emulsion, Perry Davis's Pain-killer, and Chamberlain's remedies. It is also the appointed depot for Burroughs Welcome & Co.'s fine products.”* (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:275)

In 1906 Dr. Hays disposed of his interests in the firm to Mr. McBeth, who had been associated with him in the business since 1898. The dispensary was also undertaken by Mr. Davies, a qualified chemist, who has had many years experience in England (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:275).

In brief, from the above details, it can be seen that the last British business in Bangkok in 1890s concentrating on the micro level of society. The changed consumption patterns appeared at the individual level. The consumption of luxury goods and health care was introduced by British firms. Then it was the part of modernized

civilized Bangkok inhabitants or settlers. Certainly, the influence of British business since 1850s to 1890s had transformed Bangkok in several parts. As mentioned earlier, the British Business affected the growth of the macro economy since the prosperous of export–import, shipping, banking including the micro level of individual consumption. The second section will further examine in depth of influences of British business assisted by their subjects in Bangkok.

#### 4.2 British subject trading activities and Businesses

The growth of British business in Siam in 1890 was reflected by the eyewitness accounts of Charles S. Leckie who published his article titled “ The Commerce of Siam in Relation to the trade of the British Empire, in 1894 Journal of the Society of Arts provided that:

*“The European have taught the Chinese to mill rice by system, and with the China ability, backed by the wealth of the Siamese, Chinaman has gained the hold in the rice trade of Siam, which the Europeans in the East generally gives himself the credit of leading and the Chinaman is supposed to follow. In Bangkok, and instance of the white rice industry being pioneered by a Singapore Chinaman, a British subject, supported by his Scotch engineers, and after some years, the European millers in Bangkok followed his lead. Of late years... the wealthy Siamese princes have always been found of trade, and after the treaties were made, they gave their support very freely to the Bangkok Chinese, who carried on a large trade with Siamese capital.”*  
(Chatthip, 1981:123).

The above account points to the significant role of the Chinese in Siam that cannot separate British business. Particularly, the Chinese in Siam were significant for British businesses in two respects; competitors or assistants. Through numbers, influences, capital resources and enterprises of Chinese in the rice business in particular; it reflected the challenge of Chinese to Western capital. In Siam, after the 1880s the Western mills had passed steadily into hands of Chinese, while new mills after that were mostly constructed by Chinese (Falkus, 1989:120). Chinese were also influential as assistants in the influx of labor from Penang and Singapore into the tin businesses around 1870s (Wright and Breakspear, 1908:287-.290).

Chinese seemed to be the concern of British interest; however, Indian merchants also participated in trade with British interest at a similar level to that of the Chinese. According to the process of cotton supply from India and Britain which it appeared in this report:

*“Taking the various items separately and omitting fractions of a pound, white and gray shirtings were valued at 69,634l. These including drills and T-cloths are mostly of British manufacture, and it is satisfactory to hear that in this line the English goods hold their place well against foreign competitors. Of the white shirting a good deal comes now from Manchester. England has also a considerable portion of the colored piece-goods (8,354l.). Turkey-red cloth (7,040l.) is chiefly Swiss. Some comes from Holland, and England has a share in the trade too. Indeed some large orders for this article have been placed in England during the current year. Prints and chintz amounted to 47,950l .... England supplied a large proportion of the prints. Chowls (the Indian name for the Siamese “phalai” or*

*“paley” that is the “phanung”<sup>4</sup> or lower portion of the Siamese costume printed and furnished with a glaze) were imported to the value of 92,163l. They are all of English or Swiss origin, the latter country supplying the commoner sorts. The customs returns give 40,033l. worth as coming from Bombay. These may partly be transshipments but a large number of chowls are printed and cut into lengths in Bombay; the cloth coming from England. The other items were imported to the following values, viz.: long cloth, 1,229l.; linen, 392l.; jaconet and muslin, 630l.; madapollams (very common stiff shirting which though appearing in the customs returns as imported from Bombay, are all English manufacture), 2,708l, and cambrics, 518l...” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1898:6).*

These clauses above illustrate the significant role of two skilful groups of merchants in Siam. Noticeably, British and Indians seem to symbolize the relation between Indians and British. However, to examine trade relations of Chinese, British, or Indians in Siam, it is useful to trace back to the roles of them on trade with Siam in the past.

Previously, the acceptance of Indians and Chinese appeared since early Bangkok, the commercial branch in the Phra Klang's department was divided into left branch dealing with Chinese affairs and the right branch for foreign affairs and at the heads of these subdivisions were placed respectively a Chinese and Indian in the service of Siamese government (Neon, 1961:19). Indians and Chinese are important merchants in Bangkok since early Bangkok especially they located south of the Grand palace (อินทวิภา, 2546:24). Particularly in retail trade Siam was dominated by the Chinese

---

<sup>4</sup> “Phanung” is “ผ้าถุง” in Thai.

both before and after the impact of Western economic influence especially the roles of both in the floating retail market nearby “Grand Bazaar” of Sampheng (Skinners, 1956:106).

According to the record in 1852 of Malloach as mentioned earlier, his report referred to the foreign commodities coming to Bangkok port mostly from England, India, and China “(เสาวลักษณ์ (แปล), 2538: 163-182). Later on, in 1862, the assistant of Western traders in Siam after Bowring Treaty appeared in Bangkok Calendar 1862. It referred two kinds of merchants as Assistant merchants’ numbering eight persons. They were Mussulman (Muslim) who lived in their quarter at White House (Bangkok Calendar, 1862:8). In addition it also mentioned other assistant merchants who were Chinese and lived in the quarter on the west side of the river from the Phrang Klang to the south (Bangkok Calendar, 1862:19). These clauses point to the important position of two kinds of assistant merchants at that time, the first refers to Indian and the later quite clearly is Chinese.

The White house (ตึกขาว) is the two-storey shop house for rent of Phra Nithetsanphanit (พระนิเทศสันต์พานิช) the father of A.E. Nana. This quarter is known as Talat Khaek (ตลาดแขก). The commodities came from India Singapore and Europe. They were Shi’a Muslim (ชีอะห์) (อินทิวรา, 2546:32) and some Indians settled at Ratchawong (ราชวงศ์) and Anuwong (อนุวงศ์). They were Sunni Muslim (สุนี่) and resided at Tuek Daeng (ตึกแดง) or along Bamrung Mueang (บำรุงเมือง) road. The communities of both Chinese and Indian settled in Bangkok so long as Crawford, who came to Bangkok in 1822, wrote about them as follows:

*“one half of the population of the capital is composed of Chinese” In Addition, “ there are in Siam a considerable number of settlers from the southern Peninsula of India. A very few of these are Hindoos, but by far the greater part Mohammedans, of whom the most influential, although not the most numerous, are*

*shias... the number of Mohammedan would be three thousand five hundred.” (Crawford,1987 :450-1).*

Specifically, Chinese he mentioned that

“the foreign trade of Siam, the most important branch is that with China the commercial intercourse between Siam and China has existed since the earliest acquaintance of Europeans with these countries...”

He estimated the population of Chinese at approximately 440,000 Natives of Western India 35,000 and Malays 195,000. Therefore, these communities seemed to settle down in Bangkok since 1820s, their communities settled already before the new immigrants emigrated to settle after the British occupied India as colony or after 1881 when the railways opened in Bengal. The railway was the convenient way to immigrate to Siam (อินทวิภา, 2546:170). Before the Bowring Treaty, it found that the Indians and Chinese played the crucial role in trading with Siam continually. However, after the conclusion of Bowring Treaty, India and China were became the dominion or colony of Britain. According to India, Britain had occupied India as colony already since 1830s (Cady, 1964:304). For China, Britain occupied her as the British dominions after 1860s (Pan, 1998: 55)

Therefore, the immigrants who came from these countries may receive the protection from Britain if they registered for certification in case of China. However; Chinese who came from Malay Peninsula or Straits Settlement (Singapore, Penang, Malacca) after 1870s (Helten and Jones, 1989:159) were officially considered British subjects. According to Indians who were colonized as British subjects with no doubts. When people from three countries immigrated to Siam, they had played the crucial roles to support and assist British interests in many ways. It can be divided to explain as next.

#### 4.2.1 Indians

##### 4.2.1.1 Cotton

British Indian subjects who came to settle in Bangkok usually trade as individual merchants or retailers more than working with British companies. They mainly trade as retailer for deliver cotton or cattle. They deliver different kinds of cloths from Bombay continually overall Siam and Bangkok after the Bowring Treaty, according to the report in 1888 and 1893 wrote about the better trade of cotton as follows:

*In 1888, "Grey, white, and figured shirtings, colored piece goods, Turkey red cloth, long cloths, linen, prints, and chintzes, jaconets and muslins, cambrics, miscellaneous piece goods, chowls, white, red, and colored twist, show a total import to the value of 348,606l., as against 321,707l. for the year 1887, being an increase of 26,899l. ... It may be noted that amongst the foregoing articles of import "chowls," which is the name given to a cotton cloth manufactured at Ahemdabad, about 3 1/2 ft<sup>5</sup>. wide by 8 ft. long, show an increase to the value of 16,521l. upon the import of 1887, being 103,516l. as against 86,985l the year before." (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1888:4)*

And in 1893,

*"British India still maintains a brisk trade with Siam in phalais (chowls), grey goods, twist, and white yarns, and has lately introduced a new article, viz.,*

---

<sup>5</sup> ft = foot, feet



*singlets. These useful articles are worn universally throughout Siam, and form with the white coat and drawers the unvarying wardrobe of 90 per cent of the population's.*" (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1893: 5-6)

Reading through the report of 1891 as follows "Cotton manufactures (shirting, piece-goods, and chowls) were imported to the value of 319,581l., or 20 per cent less than 1880. Native Chinese dealers, consequent on the prevalent tightness of the money market, could not make their usual purchases from large importers, and the business that was done was, generally speaking, unsatisfactory and unremunerative. "It is a curious fact that, whereas formerly the piece-goods business was chiefly in the hands of British Indian traders, the Chinese are now the principal buyers. A large trade in chowls, however, is still carried on as before by British Indian merchants from Bombay and Surat, when the most of the chowls come." (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1891:3)

#### 4.2.1.2 Cattle

The cattle trade became the commodity that British Indians were interested in, they delivered for Singapore and Burma, but they faced some problems with stealing as outlined in the report of 1887 "The export of cattle still continues to increase, being a very profitable business for the exporters. The trade, however, is not on a sound footing, almost all the animals exported being stolen from the unfortunate agriculturists of the country. The Siamese government, moved by the increasing volume of complaints from the countrymen, has now taken measure to endeavor to check the cattle-stealing which was threatening to ruin the districts most exposed to the operations of the thief. The latter are almost exclusively Siamese, while the receivers in Bangkok are nearly all British subjects, chiefly low-class Hidoos. The Siamese provincial authorities, with a few honorable exceptions, have hitherto found it more profitable to assist the agents of the receivers to obtain and carry off the required supplies of stolen

animals than to protect the people committed to their charge by the King. ” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1887:2)

Later, the prevention of cattle disease was of high concern and the government had to inspect trade carefully. Therefore, these merchants had to face many obstacles. “The prohibition is still in force, and is causing great loss to the Indian British subjects here who gain their living by the cattle trade” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1896:5). There is no European medical officer available to carry out the inspection, but as most of the butchers are British subjects, the British Consul interested himself in all the arrangements, and the inspection is as thorough as can be arranged under the circumstance. A fee is paid for the inspection of cash” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1899:11). Finally, the consequence of increased trade in cattle for exportation and consumption as food the government had to issue the Decree for Prevention of Cattle on Cattle Disease on May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1907 (พฉช.กต.2/83).

#### 4.2.2 Chinese

##### 4.2.2.1 Coolie

Chinese coolies are a crucial factor in the manufacturing sector in Bangkok both in saw and rice mills that British operated since 1870s as mentioned earlier. However, the process of coolie immigration occurred by several methods. The credit-immigration during the nineteenth century are often classified as “contract”, “indentured”, “credit-ticket” and “free” immigrants. So far as is known, contract immigration never existed to any extent in Siam. It associated especially with the “coolie traffic” of the nineteenth century to the West Indies and Peru, and to the areas in the Dutch-East Indies and Malaya with a European-developed plantation economy. The credit-ticket system was fairly widespread in Siam throughout most of nineteenth century. The process of emigrants to the name implied, the emigrant obtained his passage on credit. The ship’s captain would be reimbursed on arrival in Siam either by

friends or relatives of the immigrant or by the employer. He had to work until the debt was paid off. The system was abused in early 1830 (Skinners, 1956:53).

Later, the Chinese administrative authorities banned the system for several years until 1890. However, the immigration of Chinese coolie continued to grow and the immigration firms and agencies multiplied and expanded (Skinners, 1956:57). The lucrative business of its profitable occurred during the first decade of this century that the company that dominated the Bangkok runs, the Nord-Deutscher Lloyd (which had brought out the British shipping firms at the turn of the century to transport these passengers (Skinners, 1956:58).

In 1888 Consular Report of this year referred to the increased numbers of Chinese coolies because the requirement of rice mills and saw mills in Bangkok. They mostly are Techew (Diplomatic and consular Report of 1888:5-6). The report in the next year mentioned about Chinese coolies again by referring that the number of Chinese coolie were higher than last year almost 9,171.

*“They brought from Swatow by agents, who advanced to each coolie a certain sum of money to meet the first expenses of his arrival in and also furnish the passage money (8dol., or 1l. 4s. 8d.). The coolie thus practically becomes the slave of this Chinese agent until he has paid off the debt, with interest. As many as 800 immigrants are at times brought down by one steamer, and these form an important item in the receipts of the Scottish oriental Steamship Company, and of Bradley and Company, whose vessels are engaged in the direct trade between this port, Swatow, and Honk Kong. The cargo shipped to Bangkok on the return journey is insignificant, the bulk of it consisting of*

*garden produce, fire-crackers, and molasses.”*

(Diplomatic and consular Report of 1889:18).

However, the report also stated that the coolie riot occurred between some fractions of Chinese employed in three of large rice mills. After 36 hours of disturbance Bangkok was barricaded and about 900 Chinese were punished either by fine or whipping (Diplomatic and consular Report of 1889). In 1893, the report recommended the introduction of Indian coolies for labor because they would lessen the difficulties of the high wage of Chinese (Diplomatic and consular Report of 1893:13). During 1899-1902, the report concerned about the high wage of these coolies. Later on, the Secret Society Act was issued to solve the problem in 1897 (พจน. กต. 2/61).

#### 4.2.1.2 Comprador

In 1890, the British Consul conducted a study of the duties in Bangkok and concluded that over an eight-month period the approximate percentage of representation in the trade of Bangkok by nationality divided: Chinese 62 per cent, British 26 per cent, India 8 per cent, and other 4 per cent. The study concluded that after thirty-five years of Western free-trading enterprise in Siam under privileged conditions, a substantial majority of the foreign trade was still carried for Chinese accounts. They could hardly fail to do so because their greatest advantage was intimate knowledge of the market and connections with Chinese retailers and distributors remained virtually a Chinese monopoly. Therefore, they introduced comprador system as evolved in China for Siam (Skinners, 1956:102). Consequently, it is good for Western commercial houses to choose a Chinese merchant of some wealth and standing in the Chinese community to serve as the firm's contact man. In addition usually spoke Thai and knew some English. From his familiarity with the local market he advised his employers as to the nature and quality of imports and personally guaranteed their sale by a security deposit with the Western firm. He established sales connections with local dealers and upcountry traders. Western mercantile houses, faced initially with Chinese

commercial dominance. They had no choice to employ Chinese comprador since then, most of them were Chinese.

Compradors of the larger Western firms become men of great power. By the end of Rama V's reign, they were, along with the largest rice millers, among the prominent Chinese leaders in Bangkok. They preferred Chinese industriousness and know-how to the easygoing work habits of the Thai. In addition Chinese were able to secure employment and income from their essential role in the Western trade operations (Skinners, 1956:103).

Comprador usually were English-speaking Chinese merchants as intermediaries between European firms and local suppliers and customers. The comprador system that developed in Thailand had three different forms (1) comprador for European trading house, (2) comprador for colonial commercial banks, and (3) Comprador for shipping company Among these three types, the first two were most important in Thailand (Akira, 1989:87).

As usual, a comprador employed by a foreign firm was recognized as permanent staff and received a regular salary and sales commissions. They frequently provided valuable information on foreign markets and commodity prices to local customers. Through these activities they established a network of sales and customers tied to the international trade (Akira, 1989:87). A comprador employed in European rice exporting may receive a monthly salary from 6,000 to 8,000 baht in 1935. Apart from a regular salary, local rice millers paid a fee of 5 satang (100 satang = 1 baht) per 1 harp (60 kg) of milled rice to a comprador (Akira, 1989:88). Compradors in Bangkok, during 1870-1900 many of them are British subjects, were experienced and trained in European companies at first, after they gained more experiences and profits they will owned their own business. They had participated to assist British firms or companies in Bangkok significantly. This table below will be detail the example of prominent comprador in Bangkok who assisted the British businesses according to their experiences and profiles.

Table 18: The Example of Compradors in Bangkok, 1870-1900s

Name	British subject	Main Business	Historical Background
Wong Hang Chow	Hong Kong	Comprador, 1893	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chief comprador Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank</li> <li>- Educated and received his early business training in Hong Kong</li> <li>- Most prominent business community in Bangkok</li> </ul>
Cheah Chee Seng	Penang	Comprador	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Comprador of Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China,</li> <li>- Receive excellent education English at Penang</li> <li>- Well known and highly respected in Penang</li> </ul>
Sam Hing Si	Macao	Comprador	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educated at St. Joseph's College and at Queen's College</li> <li>- Entered the service of the Mercantile Bank of Hong-Kong</li> <li>- 1902, comprador to the Banque de l'Indo chine at Bangkok.</li> </ul>
Kho Teck Chye	Singapore	Cashier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cashier to the East Asiatic Company's sawmill in Bangkok</li> <li>- Employed by the Borneo Company in Bangkok</li> <li>- Worked at shipping office of Messer. Behn, Meyer &amp; Co.</li> </ul>
Lee Boon Geok	Malacca	Cashier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Worked at Borneo Company, Ltd,</li> <li>- Regarded as a valued servant of company for fifty years service</li> </ul>

Table 18 (Continued): The Example of Compradors in Bangkok, 1870-1900s

Name	British subject	Main Business	Historical Background
Seow Keng Lin	Singapore	Comprador 1862	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Entered service of Messer. Guthrie &amp; Co., in Singapore</li> <li>- Entered service of Messer. Windsor &amp; Co., in 1885</li> <li>- Post of comprador of Messer. Steel Bros., handling a great deal of rice output of many of the mills in Bangkok</li> <li>- Member of the committees of the local Chinese club</li> </ul>
Kwok Chim	Canton, China	comprador	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Joined Messrs. Windsor &amp; Co., as assistant</li> <li>- Transferred to Stevedoring department</li> <li>- Formed a company of his own</li> </ul>
Lim Kian Seng	Penang	comprador, 1861	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cashier's department at Messrs Markwald &amp; Co.,</li> <li>- Well known and highly respected in Penang and the home known as Penang Hall</li> </ul>
Chin Wong Teng	Singapore	comprador	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Comprador of the Standard Oil Company</li> <li>- Experienced in the Straits Settlements</li> </ul>
Tan Keng Whay	Malacca	auctioneer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Join Borneo Company</li> <li>- Messr. Badman &amp;co.</li> <li>- Own business as a tailor and general outfitter</li> </ul>
Wee Boon Seng	Malacca	comprador	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Comprador of the firm of Messrs. A Markwald &amp; Co. for thirty-eight year</li> </ul>

Source: (Wright and Breakspear, 1994: 287- 290)

#### 4.2.1.3 Retailer

##### 4.2.1.3.1 General trade

Chinese retailers are necessary for British business particularly because some commodities cannot be supplied into local markets without them. The role of Chinese retailer was recognized by British official that; “It will thus be seen that the share of English firms, strictly speaking, in this important branch of trade in Siam is of itself comparatively small, but by including the Chinese British subjects it may be said that quite one-third of the trade is in British hands” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1897:3). The familiarity of Chinese with Siamese consumers could help the British interests very much.

*“Cheap goods of this description are brought by enterprising Chinese traders. The Chinese are, as in Bangkok, competing very keenly with European firms as importers, and some of them here have recently imported goods directly from Singapore, instead of buying, as is usual, from middlemen in Bangkok.”*  
(Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1894:8)

There were some retailers in Bangkok who conducted business with British or Western goods in Bangkok. The following table shows details to see some kinds of commodities which Chinese supply in Bangkok such as cement, tile, nail, etc. or shoes, hat, or foreign liquor i.e. wine and beer . They are shown by the table on the next page.



Table 19: British subject in the field of retailing and export-import in Bangkok, 1870-1900s

Name	British subject	Historical Background
H. Swee Ho	1868	- General importers, commission agents and manufacturing Chemists - Wholesale and retail druggists
Chop Yong Tet Hin Tai	Native China (1878)	- Built up a several branch of firm in the city - Devoted to a special class of trade. - Export ivory and other products of Siam's jungles, - Import piece and general goods to meet a demand in local market.
Guan Eng Kee		- Import all kinds of European wines, spirits, and beers Japanese beer and Chinese wine - One of the largest of such firms - Situated at Talat Noi and open a branch in the Yawaraj-road - Sometime chief cashier to the firm of Tan Tai Guan - Own business
Tan Tai Guan	1878	- One of the largest importers of European wines, spirits, and beers
Yong Lee Seng	1903 Straits Settlement	- General importer and high-class storekeeper - Wines, spirits, soft goods, bakery and bread
Chop Choo Kwang Lee	1883 British subject	- Factory of tiles - Import cement, ironware, nail, paint, oilment
Tan Guan What		- Wholesale and retail trade - Imports very largely from European business houses - Makes boots, shoes, and hats which purchases direct from manufacturers

Source: (Wright and Breakspear, 1994: 181- 187)

#### 4.2.1.3.2 Licensed Business

Some types of Chinese business operated in Bangkok under privileged British protection. These businesses composed of two types in Bangkok; alcohol trade and pawnshops.

##### 4.2.1.3.2.1 Alcohol trade

The alcohol trade was a monopoly trade in Siam. In this field some British subjects had made benefit by selling foreign liquor. Previously, liquor, beer and wine were considered carefully for trade between Siam and Britain since 1883.

Importations of spirituous liquors, beers and wines should be subject to the same tax (in the case of beer or wine not to exceed ten percent ad volerm) (Sayre, n.d.:15). Then, later the excise law, which came into force on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1889 effected the sale and consumption of spirituous liquors in Siam particularly some licenses were belong to license. Chinese, they were the person chiefly affected particularly some who were British subjects as appeared in the report of 1889 that;

*“It affected Chinese British subject who applied for licenses-fifty-five of the second class, i.e., for retail sale, that the spirit may be consumed on the premises, or at other places than the licensed house; and fifteen of the first class, i.e., for wholesale establishments belonging to distillers. On a plea put forward by the recipients that the phraseology of the law was dubious as to the latter class of licenses, the fees that had been paid for the same were subsequently returned. Some three of four European British subjects applied for a license”* When the law came into force, wholesale and retail houses also, both European and Chinese, selling

*European liquors, to escape the duty many liquor shop had been closed. Moreover, the law enforced on the strength of liquor; therefore, the liquor, such as beer, vermouth were cheaper than other liquors are more advantage. The monopoly of this spirit is farmed by a Siamese official.” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1889:12-13)*

Additionally, alcoholic and European spirits could gain more benefit from the Act as reading from this report:

*“... the trade is certainly increasing one. Beer is mainly German, but there is a good advancing business in English stout, for which the natives-Chinese especially-have a strong predilection. One firm alone imported over 2,000 cases for native sale. Good whiskies are, of causes, British, and good brandies French. Cheap varieties of both, calculated for very uneducated palates, come from Germany, but England now takes some share in the cheap whisky business.” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1898:10)*

#### 4.2.1.3.2.2 Pawnshop

They are numerous establishments of pawnshops in Bangkok. This business was introduced for the first time in Bangkok during the reign of King Rama IV. The growth of business was rapid (please see the numbers of pawnshop in Bangkok reaching to 432 from table on the two pages). The reason of the business are beneficial for poor and honest people who wishes to obtain small sums money for the purpose of carrying on some manner of livelihood. However, It became the business supports theft, robbery or other criminal acts. However, this business involved with the

British subject in considerable number; moreover, it also brought disorder and improper changes in Bangkok in many aspects such as the theft. The problem as a consequence of it is reported that;

*“there are pawn-shops over which we have no control whatever, and that they all receive stolen property, some practically supporting gangs of thieves, the crime in this class, are less than I expected and the results much better than I considered possible. But I feel sure than many cases are not reported to the Police. Until the Pawn-brokers Act is passed, minor offences against property must continue. Those who have protested against this Act may like to know that they are responsible for at least 50 per cent of the crimes falling under this Act, and that the general public are suffering loss for the benefit of a small community consisting of a few privileged Pawn-brokers who are under Foreign protection”* (Police Report, 1898-99: 46-47).

*“The gambling houses, opium shops, and spirit shops then look to receiving stolen, property and other property in pawn.”* (Police Report of 1901:22)

So, the Pawn Brokers Act had to be issued on Jan 19<sup>th</sup>.

1895 (พฉบ. น.ร.5.น.2/11).

Table 20: Pawnbrokers' shop in Bangkok from 1901- 1904

Nationalities	1901	1903	1904
Siamese	249	83	80
Portuguese	81	1	-
French	51	6	7
British	42	6	5
Dutch	9	-	-
Total	432	96	92

**Source:** (The Police Report of 1901:25, The Police Report of 1903:19-20 and The Police Report of 1904:8)

This business is trapped in a dilemma, with the origin to help poor people, but the practices brought to help the criminals and thieves. A lot of pawnbrokers were privileged by extraterritoriality in particular seeing from the table. The Portuguese subjects are out number, but the British subjects also are considerable number.

In conclusion, according to the British business in Bangkok Indians and Chinese have played the crucial roles to support and assist British business in Bangkok. They are differentiated in their businesses such as coolie, comprador, or retailer. Certainly, all businesses they have done mostly stimulating the economic growth in Bangkok, but some business led to sever insecurity in Bangkok i.e. coolie under secret society or pawnshop or alcohol retailing. Finally, the government had to issue the decrees to solve each problem as described. Therefore, from all the British business and British subject business occurred in Bangkok. It can be said that they brought the changes in Bangkok significantly.

## Chapter 5

### Administrative Units and Administrations

The former chapter pointed out in detail significant roles of the British and their subjects in the economic sector of Siam. It is very interesting to note that the British and their subjects participated together in the development of the Siamese economy by conducting individual trade. There is also another role of these two groups that influenced change in Bangkok. A role that appeared explicitly no less than the role in the economic sector was the role in city administration. Therefore, this chapter will explain their roles in this area.

This chapter will be divided into five parts. The first part will discuss changes in Bangkok based on the provisions of the Bowring Treaty. The second part will discuss the growth of illicit industries and activities based in Bangkok. Though these businesses brought significant tax revenue, they transformed Bangkok to be an undesirable place to live because of crime, robbery, and disorder. The next point to be discussed regards the circumvents of several administrations at that time such as Police, Ministry of Finance, or some departments such as Royal Survey Department or Bangkok Revenue. The fourth point in the chapter will discuss the way of these administrations handling with the severe environments of Bangkok. The last part will explore the significant roles of the British and their subjects to participate in solving problems relating to city changes and the final part will concern the creation of the "Municipality" term in Bangkok. So, this chapter might be lengthy, but it will project to see the significant relations between the role of the British and British subjects within the satisfied and unsatisfied changes of Bangkok.

### 5.1 The Bowring Treaty: Conditions of Bangkok Administration Changes

The two significant points of the Treaty provisions directly related to the changes in Bangkok are the assigned boundaries for the settlement of the British and British subjects in Bangkok (Article 4 of the Bowring Treaty of 1855); and the fixed limitation to levy taxation with three percent of import duty and fixed export and land tax according to the agreement supplementary and schedule attachment in 1856 (in Article 8 of the Bowring Treaty 1855 and in Article 4 of Agreement Supplementary 1856 and Schedule Attachment of Taxes on Garden-ground, Plantations, or other Lands) (Treaty series vol. I, 1968: 39-40,53). These provisions were bounded with 13 other nations under the term of most favored-nations.

The first condition, the assigned boundaries for the settlement of the British and British subjects in Bangkok, clearly brought changes in Bangkok. Implicitly, however, the question may arise regarding how these changes occurred in Bangkok. The second condition, the fixed limitation to levy taxation with three percent of import duty and fixed export and land tax, can be explained simply as it severely disturbs the financial structure of Siam, i.e. abandonment of state monopoly, fixed significant taxation of import, export and land taxation. Inevitably, Siam has to replace the state monopoly that was terminated due to condition of the Treaty with tax farming monopoly. Tax farm monopolies emerged since the reign of King Rama II, but blossomed as prosperous means for collection of revenue in the reign of King Rama III from the farms of gambling, spirit and opium. These farms were developed since the First Anglo-Siamese Treaty (the Burney Treaty 1826). However, when the Second Treaty (The Bowring Treaty 1855) strongly limited opportunity for further revenue due to fixation of almost all of taxation; import, export, and land taxation; the Siamese government replaced the loss of revenue by introducing tax farming. Tax farming from gambling and lottery, spirit and opium, thus, became the main source of revenue after that, as mentioned.

Regarding attractive conditions of the Bowring Treaty in many respects, many groups gathered to settle in Bangkok. Westerners and their subjects were the first group to settle within Bangkok vicinity according to assigned boundaries with the right to land ownership and the privilege of extraterritoriality. However, when they began to arrive in Bangkok, Siamese government was quite concerned. For example, the official proclamation of King Mongkut warned that the conflicts, disputes, and dealing of Siamese with the foreigners who bounded with Treaties should be carefully tended to. Specifically, he warned Siamese to be very carefully when dealing with disputes and quarrels with foreigners. If the Siamese should need to trade or to conduct business with westerners they should have a document or witness for guarantee their doing (ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4, 2547:103).

Not only had the westerners come to settle in Bangkok, but also other important group of immigrants came to Bangkok after the Bowring Treaty took effect. Chinese immigrants immigrated to Bangkok in large numbers. On the one hand, the Siamese government welcomed immigrants Chinese. On the other hand, they became a problem of the government, especially the coolies in Bangkok. To see how the Chinese immigrants came to the Siamese government consideration it is necessary to study the movement of these immigrants in greater detail.

## 5.2 Chinese immigrant in Bangkok

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Chinese population in Siam was almost entirely confined to the coastal regions and the lower reaches of the major rivers. There were Chinese settlements in virtually every town along the Gulf coast in the far southeast to the far south (Skinner, 1956:80). Within the region of oversea Chinese settlement, Bangkok was clearly the chief center of Chinese concentration. The Chinese probably constituted over half the population in the capital throughout the first



half of the nineteenth century. Various observers had noted and estimated about Chinese population in Bangkok as follows:

**Table 21: Size of Chinese population of Bangkok  
from various observers, 1820s – 1850s**

Year	Chinese Population	Total Population	Source
1822	31,000	50,000	Crawfurd (1830, II, 121, 215)
1826	60,700	134,090	Malloch (1852, 70)
1828	36,000	77,300	Tomlin (1844, 184)
1839	60,000	100,000	Malcom (1839, 139)
1843	70,000	350,000	Neale (1852, 29)
1849	81,000	160,154	Malloch (1852, 70)
1854	200,000	404,000	Pallegoix (1854, I, 60)
1855	200,000	300,000	Bowring (1857, I, 85, 394)

Source: (Skinner, 1956: 81)

It is perhaps reasonable to conceive Bangkok's Chinese population as increasing from less than 25,000 to 70,000 or more during the first half of the nineteenth century. It may seem strange that the Chinese outnumbered the Thai in the Thai capital city. Prior to 1820s, Chinese constituted of at least three-fourths of the whole population (Skinner, 1956:82). In Bangkok, there were several nationalities Burmese, Mons, Cambodians, Malays, and so on. Physicians, astrologers, artisans, and others providing skilled services were mainly foreigners of one ethnic group or another (Skinner, 1956:82). Chinese predominantly settled in Bangkok because of the heavy mercantile interests of the commercial sector in Bangkok (Skinner, 1956:82-83). Chinese immigrants arrived at

port of Bangkok for the demands of the court and the capital's trade (Skinner, 1956:83). The expansion of the Thai economy which came in the wake of the Bowring Treaty of 1855 quite naturally altered the settlement patterns of the Chinese. Bangkok absorbed ever increasing numbers of Chinese during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Historian estimated the number of Chinese population in Bangkok in 1875 at 80,000 to 100,000. In 1900, the total Bangkok Population increased rapidly, the Chinese formed about half the total population of the capital (Skinner, 1956:87). The estimation of the proportion of Chinese in Bangkok is presumably based on the number of tax-paying Chinese or the 1909 census. In 1900, 65,345 male adult Chinese paid the poll tax in Bangkok. At the same time, the 1909 census showed 197,918 Chinese or 22.8 percent out of a total of 867,457 for the whole Monthon Krungthep (มณฑลกรุงเทพ) (containing Bangkok) (Skinner, 1956:87).

Therefore, it can see that there were more than 100,000 Chinese immigrants settled in Bangkok at this time. There are three reasons for welcoming Chinese labor to Bangkok. The first reason was the need for Chinese coolies to serve in the economic sector especially rice exportation. Mostly, Chinese coolies worked in rice mills, saw mills, or other industries as hired labor or individuals living such as rickshaw, pawnshop, spirit dens, or opium houses. The Siamese government did not conditioned for the difficulties for their settlement because they are the efficient labor in commercial sector as the British Consul compared them with Indian labor that: "The China is of stronger physique than the Indian Kling from Madras, and capable of bearing heavier burdens. He is therefore, indispensable in the rice business." (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1889: 19).

The second reason is the concentration of Siamese government to levy tax directly from the Chinese as the poll tax payable every three years. The tax was first levied in the Second Reign and was apparently set first at 1.50 baht payable annually. From 1828-1909, the tax was triennial and fixed at 4.25 baht. It was considered payment for exemption from *crovée* and from personal service to a patron and payment entitled a

Chinese to move freely about the country without molestation. The tax was never raised during the reign of King Rama IV and V, which reflects the King established policy of encourage Chinese immigration (Skinner, 1956:123).

The third reason was directly related to the tax farming system that was initiated in order to compensate the loss of revenue as a consequence of the First and Second Anglo-Siamese Treaty (the Burney Treaty in 1826 and the Bowring Treaty in 1855).

Since the reign of King Rama II (1809-1824), the expansion of production significantly increased shipping businesses that gave an advantage to the private local and international traders. On the contrary, the royal junk trade was at a disadvantage. The royal trade could not compete with the expansion of private enterprise. This phenomenon had increasingly become a threat to the state's ability to raise revenues. The state's failure to benefit fully from the new sources of income and the need to reform financial structure of Siamese State was informed to the King Rama III. By this reason, the King noted that in China the main source of state revenue was derived from tax farming (Kullada, 2004:21). He consulted with the ministers to establish tax farms on goods and abolishing the Royal Warehouse monopoly of which allows goods to be freely brought and sold (Kullada, 2004:21), as mentioned.

Tax farms can be divided into three categories. The first category included all newly produced export goods such as sugar, pepper, tobacco, and cotton. Taxes from producers were mainly to export taxes. The second category of tax farm included six items from the former export monopolies such as ivory, sapan wood, red wood, for example. The third tax came from the influx of Chinese immigration. The revenue monopolized by the collecting mechanism was employed by the enterprising Chinese tax farmers who attended vigorously in their own interests (Kullada, 2004:22).

Until the conclusion of the Burney Treaty, the government found it could increase its revenues by abandoning monopolies and levying taxes on domestic

production through tax farming. Trade was liberalized from the start of the reign of King Rama III (Nidhi, 2005:108). Tax farms were introduced in the reign of Rama II, when leases were given out for the collection of taxes on the manufacture and sale of liquor, on gambling institutions, and on shops. The system had its greatest growth, however, during the Third Reign. It replaced direct collection of many duties and also entirely replaced the royal monopolies.

However, the Bowring Treaty was concluded in 1855, it also brought significance effects on country's revenue and taxation. It can be seen in four points as follows:

- (1) Converted the old export monopolies into duty revenue firms;
- (2) Farmed out the collection of duties on almost all imports and exports;
- (3) Reorganized the collection of other traditional taxes monopolies; and
- (4) Created new taxes, which were also farmed out. In addition, the opium, spirits, lottery, and gambling farms were allowed to expand.

It is very important to point out that the most lucrative farms provided between 40 percent and 50 percent of the total state revenues during the second half of the nineteenth century and were essentially based on Chinese consumption (Skinner, 1956:120).

Regarding opium, it was a forbidden source of revenue. Opium tax was first introduced to levy in the reign of King Rama IV, but in the previous reign opium was forbidden to smuggle or levy (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:22). The government policy on opium in his reign was punished severely by the government for selling, purchasing or addiction (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:23). Later in 1852 at the beginning of the reign of King Rama IV, new kinds of monopolized farm taxes were expanded to 16 types, of which included opium tax (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:47). Furthermore, the Bowring Treaty in 1855 had opened for trade of opium that it specified in one of its provision. Specifically, it had to be sold only to the

opium farmers (Skinner, 1956:119). This turn of opium trade was in contrast to the previous reign. The reason for this turn resulted from the increase of clandestine opium trade occurring as usual especially to deliver for the Chinese opium consumption. Additionally, the number of Chinese immigrants coming to Bangkok increased rapidly after the Bowring Treaty (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:31). Opium tax farmers offered to be farmer of opium tax for the government (สุภาภรณ์, 2523: 32). The government accepted, but opium trade will limit trade within Chinese community only. Thereafter, the first opium tax income was high for 2,000 chang (ซั่ง)<sup>1</sup> or 160,000 baht (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:33).

Opium was a virtually necessity for Chinese laborers; it was resorted to most widely by those doing the hardest physical job such as labor-mill, dock worker, rickshaw pullers and the like. Consequently, in 1890, the significant syndicate of opium farm retail sales through the 1200 odd licensed shop were in Bangkok (Skinner, 1956:121). The example of opium tax income in Bangkok were 40.36, 41.40, 40.60 Baht in 1890 to 1892 respectively (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:107). The income from opium tax was highest in Bangkok because there were a lot of rice mills, where the Chinese coolies, main consumers of opium (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:109). The table below shows the income of opium tax in Bangkok and Phuket which was half of the total in the country. Data confirms that Bangkok became the main place of opium trade during this time.

**Table 22: Siamese Revenue from opium tax revenue, 1890-1892**

Year	Bangkok (%)	Phuket (%)	Others (%)
1890	40.36	8.97	50.67
1891	41.40	8.20	50.40
1892	40.60	12.44	40.96

Source: (สุภาภรณ์, 2523: 52-54)

The origin of gambling tax originated when King Rama III suspected the populace of hoarding coins, and the Chinese spirit farmer suggested to him that the

---

<sup>1</sup> Chang is the unit of money equivalent to 80 baht.

lottery as a means of bringing the money into circulation (Skinner, 1956:121-122). Gambling flourished among Chinese coolies. In 1835, the first and the only royal gambling house were established in Bangkok (กาญจนนา, 2530:45). Later, it expanded to Nonthaburi (นนทบุรี) and Prathumtani (ปทุมธานี).

Actually, tax farmers were titled in Siam rank. Tax farmer in King Rama III period were known as Khun Banboekburirat (ขุนบานเบิกบุรีรัตน์) (กาญจนนา.2530:21). In Bangkok and the surrounding vicinity, the areas of gambling were divided into thirty-eight districts. Each of them was under a manager who had solicitors and salesmen scattered along the streets and in public places of his district. In addition to the mass of men employed, the farmer required staff of about two hundred to run the lottery itself (Skinner, 1956:122). Additionally, since 1825 all taxes farmed were the responsibility of the Phrakhleng Maha Sombat (พระคลังมหาสมบัติ) to the Royal Treasury. However, in 1848 Phrakhleng Sinkha (พระคลังสินค้า) was appointed specifically to levy gambling tax (กาญจนนา, 2530:52). Later in the reign of King Rama IV, the King set up the new sixteen kinds of taxes to be levied, including gambling taxes (กาญจนนา, 2530:49). The continual expansion of gambling houses was a consequence of a large number of Chinese coolies who have a favor habit of gambling. In 1809, the Chinese was accounted for 22.8 percent of the total population of Bangkok, or one fourth of the population. Consequently, the revenue tax in Bangkok was higher than other places (กาญจนนา, 2530:74). Tax revenue from gambling was increased specifically in Bangkok as shown in the table on the next page.

Table 23: Revenue from gambling houses in Bangkok  
and associated districts, 1852-1874

Year	Income from gambling (chang)
1852	1,703
1853	1,783
1857	1,838
1874	6,435
1888 (only Bangkok)	70,000

Source: (กาญจนา, 2530: 80)

In the reign of King Rama IV gambling dens grew in many places such as along side of the roads, in markets, and there was no limitation for everyone who wanted to play (กาญจนา, 2530:85). Gambling tax continuously grew to the reign of King Rama Fifth. In his reign, the role of gambling tax farmers were privileged for bidding and changed titled tax farmer to Khunphat (ขุนพัฒน์) or Khun Phatthana Sombat (ขุนพัฒน์สมบัติ) (กาญจนา, 2530:61). Thereafter, Chinese gambling was increasingly popular and under government control. However, when the numbers of gambling dens expanded the government could not control them all because some Chinese tax farmers were privileged by government official especially the gambling tax farmers in Bangkok. Significantly, thereafter in 1887, there were 413 gambling dens in Bangkok and 243 in suburb for totally 656 gambling dens in the country (กาญจนา, 2530: 75, 150). During 1824- 1887, the gambling tax was satisfied to maintain the main source of revenue of the government (กาญจนา, 2530: 77). The expansion of gambling dens increased rapidly and the government could hardly control them. On the one hand, gambling houses were harmful to social security. On the other hand, they brought in a lot of money to the nation's annual revenue. Therefore, as long as the government cannot find an alternative

to compensate this main one source of income, the gambling tax still runs on (กาญจนา, 2530: 75, 81).

Turning our attention to the spirit monopoly, this means sole rights to distil and sell rice liquor, it was one of the first farms given out to Chinese. By the mid-century there were spirit tax farmers in every part of the country. The spirit farmer's power with regard to his product was absolute. If an unauthorized still was found, there was apparently no limit to the vengeance the farmer could take (Skinner, 1956:123). Regarding revenue from spirit farm, the amount of money earned from this farm had been highly and steadily increased since 1894 (เขาวงกต, 2532:67), as shown in the table.

**Table 24: Revenue from Spirit Tax Farming from 1894-1909**

Year	Spirit tax farming income (baht)	Year	Spirit tax farming income (baht)
1894	2,298,508	1902	3,859,394
1895	2,589,994	1903	4,142,889
1896	2,773,735	1904	4,499,641
1897	3,128,429	1905	4,164,495
1898	3,680,057	1906	3,947,759
1899	3,730,060	1907	3,961,012
1900	3,412,734	1908	3,210,331
1901	4,353,108	1909	6,326,611

Source: (เขาวงกต, 2532: 66)

After the Bowring Treaty was introduced, the main revenue came from these tax farms of opium, gambling, and spirit increased continually throughout the reign of King Rama IV as can be seen in the following table.



Table 25: Main Revenues of Siamese Government from 1851-1868

Taxes	Baht	Percentage
Rice field	2,000,000	7.41
Garden	5,545,000	20.54
Opium	400,000	1.48
Spirit	500,000	1.85
Gambling	500,000	1.85
Chinese Poll tax	200,000	7.41

Source: (สุภาภรณ์, 2523:52-54)

At the same time, in the reign of King Rama IV, the first pawn shop was established in Bangkok. It was operated in a similar fashion as it did in China. (นันทนา, 2528: 21). The first pawnshop, established in 1866, belonged to Chin Hong (จีนฮง) (นันทนา, 2528: 22). This business was appeared as the supplement of the growth of gambling dens in Bangkok (นันทนา, 2528: 27). The expansion of pawnshops during 1866-1900 was not depended on strict regulations and controls of the government. In 1900, there were 482 pawnshops all over the country (นันทนา, 2528: 35). As a result of mushrooming pawnshops, Bangkok became a friendly place for criminals and thieves because they can place stolen items and weapons in pawnshops (นันทนา, 2528: 36).

The number of pawn shops, therefore, increased only in the vicinity of Bangkok (นันทนา, 2528: 44-48). The example number of pawnshop can be shown by this following table:

Table 26: Numbers of Pawnshops in Bangkok from 1902-1906

Year	Month	Number
1901	-	44
1902	July	43
1902	September	51
1902	October	55
1902	December	68
1902	January	73
1903	-	96
1904	-	92
1905	-	87
1906	-	85

Source: (บันทึก, 2528: 51)

From the details discussed above, it was found that Bangkok became a place full of Chinese immigrants, who brought with them various improper activities, such as opium houses, gambling dens and spirit houses. Consequently, it can be seen that the first task of administrative service that was seriously needed in Bangkok was police. Police were needed to immediately improve order and to deal with changing environment of Bangkok brought about by foreign settlers.

In fact, there were many administrative works in Siam that needed to be reformed and improved at that time; however, this work will examine only the government administration that involved changes in Bangkok as a result of foreign treaties. They are Bangkok police force, the financial units, the Royal Survey Department, the Land Register Office, and the Bangkok Revenue Department. They will be placed to explain their involvement in the changes in Bangkok in further details.

### 5.3 The Administration responding to Bangkok's changes

#### 5.3.1 Bangkok Police Constable

The first influence of the changes in Bangkok administration was mentioned in the provisions of the treaty conditioned in two articles of the settlement of British and their subjects in Bangkok and the other foreigners according to the later concluded treaties with thirteen other countries. Therefore, the first challenge to Bangkok, of which King Rama IV paid considerable attention to, was the issue of extraterritoriality of foreigners in Bangkok. As mentioned earlier, in the reign of King Rama IV, Bangkok witnesses an influx of Chinese immigrants. With their opium smoking and gambling habits they caused chaos and disorder in the city. Consequently the police force had to work very hard to deal with them (ทวิศักดิ์, 2520:37).

Until the conclusion of the Bowring Treaty, westerners and their Asiatic subjects came to Siam with the privileged of extraterritoriality. The capacity of the police to handle their duties is very important (ทวิศักดิ์, 2520:63). In Bangkok, the number of Chinese coolies took up home in Bangkok had been continually increasing, especially in the Sampheng area. The government had to establish the constable similar to that of Europe in order to take charge in this quarter. Later, the modern police force in Bangkok was founded (ทวิศักดิ์, 2520:65). King Rama IV appointed Captain Samuel Joseph Bird Ames, an English trader who traded along the coast of Sri Lanka, Burma, Singapore, and Siam, as the Superintendent of Constable of Bangkok in 1862, as mentioned. The department of constable was called Kong Po Lit (กองโปลิศ). This police department was only a small unit and was responsible for only the Sampheng area (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:24-25). He was well responsible for his duty and was awarded title of Luang Rat Tha Ya Phi Ban (หลวงรัฐยามิบาล) (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:27).

Later in the reign of King Chulalongkorn, in 1869, the king decided to extend the responsibility of Police Department to all over Bangkok territory (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:29). Then in 1875, he issued fifty-three regulations for the Police Department

known as Kot Mai Po Lit (กฎหมายโปลิศ) (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:30). The Police-Department was under control of Krom Muen Naret Wo Ra Rit (กรมหมื่นนเรศวรฤทธิ์) and changed its name from Kong Po Lit (กองโปลิศ) to Kong Trawen (กองตระเวน) (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:34). Later, when returned from the tour to Singapore in 1890, he ordered to reform police department similar to that of Singapore (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:37).

According to the reformation in Siam, the government concentrated on improving the efficiency of existing methods of tax collection. This was the first matter called to the attention of the State Council in 1874. King Chulalongkorn announced that “heretofore only half to three-fourths (of taxes due) have been realized to the government. It is now proposed to realize the entire sums due without fail”. The king defended this policy at length, stating that the money was needed by the government for defense, salaries, public works, and internal improvements and not for his personal use (Vella, 1955: 339). The methods for improving the efficiency of revenue collection were borrowed from the west as well as western accounting procedures. In 1873, the king appointed an official who was to take charge of all finances, to regularize collection, and to appoint supervisory officers.

The government also declared its intention of eventually abolishing the system of farming out taxes. In the meantime, tax farmers were to be more strictly controlled and were to be required to submit reports of their operations to the government. The new policy of giving government officials definite salaries, first applied to members of the Council of State, then to revenue officials who use tax for their own purpose (Vella, 1955: 340). The whole reform movement was greatly extended in a sweeping reorganization of the entire government in the 1890's. The aim of the reorganization was efficiency; and was made urgent by the danger from French Colonial power. The government modernization began in 1890s to increase efficiency of the government. The specialized departments were created under ministries. New functions of the government functioned under foreign advisors (Vella, 1955:341).

In order to reorganize the country's administration, western techniques of operation were adopted, such as the formation of functional ministries to replace old-style departments. The fiscal autonomy of the departments was ended. Ministers were required to submit estimates of expenditures for the coming year to the Cabinet and the King for approval. Ministers also had to provide monthly accounts of their expenditures (Vella, 1955: 341).

The government found it was necessary to hire foreign advisers. The policy of hiring numbers of Westerners in government services was adopted. There were services of teachers, physicians, and military. Several years later, the policy of hiring foreign advisers and in some cases foreign department directors was greatly extended over all branches of the government.

In 1890, King Chulalongkorn appointed a committee to take care of the security in Bangkok known as Khommitti Nakhonban (คอมมิตตีนครบาล) (ทวีศักดิ์, 2520:88). The president of the committee was Krom Muen Naretworarit (พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมหมื่นนเรศวรฤทธิ์) The new president of the committee decided to improve the police in a same fashion to those of England since he was a former Siamese ambassador to London (ทวีศักดิ์, 2520:88). In July 1890, The President, Krom Muen Naretworarit presented the project to improve efficiency of the police force similar to Singapore. Specifically, he realized that Bangkok was full of illicit business such as gambling houses, opium dens and pawnshops. Thus, he recommended decreasing the number of these houses (ทวีศักดิ์, 2520:91). However, the formulation of local government ministries was the main task of government. Later, in 1892, the Ministry of Local Government was founded. Krom Muen Naretworarit was appointed the Ministry. As mentioned earlier, the recruit for the Chief Commissioner of Police is very important because he has to handle foreigners privileged by extraterritoriality. The Ministry of Local government concerned to recruit the appropriate person. He wrote to British Ambassador in Bangkok asked him to help for the one to post in this position appropriate this position (รสสุคนธ์, 2520:81).

Regarding police work and security of Bangkok, prior to 1889, there were important reports by the British Consul on complaint about the works of International Court and the Police in Bangkok as follows:

*“The international court itself, in which British subjects are largely concerned, is the subject of much complaint by the latter, although the judgments are given somewhat more promptly than they were some years ago; the manner in which justice is dispensed is still dilatory. A Siamese gentleman, who has been called to the English bar and practices in the Consular courts and also in the International court, but in the latter case is not allowed to appear on behalf of the subjects of a foreign Power, and who has lately been appointed Crown prosecutor, will perhaps have some influence in modifying the intricacies and uncertainties of Siamese law, and in making it better to meet present requirements. The Siamese laws have now for some time past been undergoing a process of codification, but no code has as yet been introduced. It is to be hoped that the process will soon be finished.”*  
(Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1889: 19 - 20)

*“The police force, as at present constituted, is quite inadequate to cope with troubles of the kind above described. The 700 peons of which the force is composed, men mostly of indifferent physique, are unable even to check the thefts and robberies which occur so often in Bangkok, and the perpetrators of which escape in so many cases undiscovered and unpunished. The employment, as in some of the Malay*

*States, of a body of say 40 trained Sikh police, under the control of a European superintendent, monthly payments of wages in cash to each man in the force, and instruction in the rudiments of drill and discipline, are measures which it might be of advantage to adopt.”*  
(Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1889: 19)

Even as the police department was undergoing the process of improvement; the judicial process of the court did not adequately satisfied foreign counterparts. This topic became the main point of government concern and was placed on high priority in the government agenda.

Improvements to the international court in Bangkok and the police was originally implemented by Prince Damrong (สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ) in 1892. When he was dispatched to Europe to seek advisers to the council, he wrote from Cairo that he selected Rolin-Jaequemyns, former Belgian minister, because Rolin Jaequemyns has extremely wide circle of connections in the world of international law (Tips, 1996: 2-3). Finally, Rolin-Jaequemyns, a 57 year old Belgian man arrived Bangkok and come to the office in September 1892, he was to take up the role of General Adviser to His Majesty the King (Tips, 1996: 2-6). He was informed to provide advice and practical help in matters of internal administration connected with any department of the Siamese government as well as in the foreign relations between Siam and other foreign countries (Tips, 1996: 1). Therefore, the following issues, of which involved the signatory countries of the Treaty were recommended by Rolin Jaequemyns to be immediately reformed, i.e. judicial system and police force.

Later, Rolin-Jaequemyns was involved in review of the work done by other ministers. His role was first of all to make sure that the drafts regulations and laws were sound from a judicial point of view. There were indications that day-to-day management of cases brought by foreign subjects or protégés took up a lot of his time. It is evidence that he increasingly worked by inspiring other advisers to draft proposed

regulations, laws etc. He also acted as a coordinator and moderator of the initiatives of other departments (Tips, 1996: 211). He stated that it would bring “justice and civilization” by colonial rule. Thus, the obvious sector that Bangkok should start reforming was the functioning of the judicial system and the legislative framework, which should be made acceptable to European or world standard of justice (Tips, 1996: 214). The scheme of internal reforms was presented to the King Chulalongkorn on August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1893. Upon the conclusion of discuss with the King a list of indispensable internal reforms were:

- (1) Security and the repression of banditry (dacoit), and strong organization of the police force;
- (2) General legal system and justice;
- (3) Special legislation on pawnshops, mines, customs regulations, and all other topics already studied;
- (4) Organization of property, survey, land registers etc.; and
- (5) Better distribution and collection of tax.

For the last two areas he recommended, as the dairy states, commissions were set up as well as a commission to prepared “administrative plan” for the capital (Tips, 1996: 215).

The police administration was the main concern of Rolin –Jaequemyns. He strongly recommend about the reform of its function with a serious necessity as appeared as Tips (1996) concludes:

*“Prior to July 1894, he seized the opportunity to talk about the need reforms. Organization of the police and justice had not improved and foreign consuls kept on complaining that their inquiries about incidents with the provincial governors remained unanswered. The Siamese population itself could only hope that justice would come with foreign domination. The governors’*



*honesty, as well as their activity of firmness in maintaining the law, was questioned. The biggest danger was from inside and not from outside, concluded Jaequemyns. He called for a strong police force and a court to investigate at once cases of murder and banditry against foreigners, to avoid criticism from abroad.” (Tips, 1996: 220)*

#### 5.3.1.1 Pawn brokers' Law

Pawnshop regulations were important to the police in order to adequately deal with crime and robbery in Bangkok. As mentioned earlier, Bangkok was full of pawnshops and was notorious for selling stolen goods. Therefore, the regulations to register and control them were very important for the police. The pawnshop regulations were approved by the Legislative Council in April 29<sup>th</sup>, 1895, the decree was ready or ended up with mixed results in court in Bangkok because the cases would involve many nationalities. The best way to control pawnshops was through the installation of a European inspector of pawnshops. Siam agreed to have an inspector, but only one, whereas most consulates wanted their own inspectors (Tips, 1996: 226-7).

Finally, the Law was issued based on this reason “...by means of robbery, thief, or other criminal acts, have thus an easy method of disposing of such stolen goods or effects when the existing laws and regulations are insufficient for the effective supervision of pawnbrokers' business and for the prevention of such means of assisting criminals...” the Law enacted on January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1896 (พ.ร.บ. ๕.๑.๑๑.๒/๑๑).

However, the efficient work under the law was not satisfied the police force. Reading from the report of the year 1898-1899, it reported the percentage the cases in Bangkok town as follows:

Table 27: The percentage of the cases in Bangkok town, 1898-1899

Types of Criminal Acts	Percentage
Housebreaking	64%
Theft property	60%
Cattle theft	100%
Cheating	64%
Criminal breach of trust and misappropriation	35%
Receiving stolen property	35%
Criminal Trespass	43%

Source: (The Police Report of 1898-1899: 45)

Regarding the number of cases pending trial, it was fair to say that there were thousands of pawnshops over which the government had no control. These pawnshops received stolen property. Some of them supported gangs of thieves and crime. The general public suffered from loss of benefit, while a few pawn brokers had privilege under foreign protection (The Police Report of 1898-1899: 45).

Therefore, in practice it was important for the police to develop an efficient method of control enforcement. Mr. Lawson, Chief Commissioner of Police finally initiated a special police force branch to tackle the problem relating to crime and robbery resulting from pawn shops. The new modern method he introduced at that time became a fundamental way of detective crime in the present. He introduced new branch in Police force known as the "Special Branch".

### 5.3.1.2 Special Branch

The “Special Branch” was established on May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1902 by Mr. Lawson, the Second Chief Commissioner. It functioned along the line similar as the Detective Department of London (วิศุคณธ์, 2520: 144). The Special Branch supervised the 98 licensed pawn shops. Each morning descriptions of all property stolen were sent to the Special Branch office, and copies of them were sent to all pawn shops. Under the Pawnbrokers Act, a pawnbroker who received, or may subsequently received, any articles described in such list must immediately informed the nearest police station. To make sure all brokers abide to the law, all lapsed pledges were examined by the Special Branch to make certain that no stolen property is amongst them. If any of them were found, the pawnbroker, besides having to restore the property to the owner, was liable to prosecution.

In order to detect thieves who have pawned stolen property, all persons had to imprint their right thumb-print on the counterfoil of the pawn ticket when pawning properties, which is retained in the pawnshop. This system was found invaluable in innumerable instances in detecting persons who have pawned stolen property (Lawson, 1908:108). Special Branch of the police force significantly introduced the detected criminal and thief by using photography and record of finger-print to detect them for the first time in Siam.

*“In the Special Branch a new system with regard to professional criminals was started. The photographs of all such are now taken when they leave prison. Each professional is given a page in the album and all that is known of his career is recorded and his photograph is placed on that page. His right and left thumb prints are also put on the page. Another copy of the photo is placed in a frame in the office. The value of the album is*

*considerable and it will become more useful as our collection becomes larger.” (The Police Report of 1904:1)*

*“The Special Branch was concerned the supervision of the pawn-shops, enforcement of the Pawn-brokers law, and arrest of professional criminals. Some very good work in investigation of classes of serious crime was done by officers belong to the Branch. The most notable case brought to a successful conclusion was the Secret Society charge brought against Chin Sun and his confederates... At the beginning of the year 123 (1904) there were 90 licensed pawn shops. At the close of the year 123 there are 92 licensed pawn shops. These licenses were held by persons of the following nationalities:*

<i>Siamese</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>English</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>French</i>	<i>7</i>

*One license withdrew from the business, and the renewal of one license was refused in account of misconduct of license during the year 123.” (The Police Report of 1904:8)*

### 5.3.1.3 Secret Society Act

The issue of Chinese coolies in Bangkok became a significant problem when a serious riot occurred in 1889. The event was reported that:

*“ In June, 1889, a question arose affecting the whole community of Bangkok, and more especially the large employers of coolie labor, namely, whether, in the event of a coolie riot, the Siamese Government had the power or the inclination to hold in check the turbulent spirits of the rioters, and was decided in a most effective and striking manner. During that month a fight, originating in some trifling dispute, arose between some factions of Chinese employed in three of the largest rice mills, about two miles distant from the quarter of the city where most of the European reside. The fight soon became a riot. Firearms were used, the main road of Bangkok was barricaded, and the mill owners were powerless to quell the disturbance. After a delay of 36 hours, during the live and property of European in the neighborhood were seriously jeopardized, the Prince, who is director of police in Bangkok, obtained the services of a military force under the command of two Danish officers, and by their exertions the rival factions were dispersed. Sanction had previously been obtained from the Ministers and Consuls holding jurisdiction over the firms, whose premises were the scene of the riot, for free right of search on those premises. The result was most satisfactory and highly creditable to the Siamese. Many headmen of the secret societies were arrested.*

*About 900 Chinese were sent up for trial by a court specially constituted for the purpose, and those proved to have been implicated in the riots were punished either by fines or by whipping. The action of the Siamese Government on this occasion has certainly given the coolie class a lesson which they will not soon forget; but at the same time, one might expect that precautionary measures future. The Chinese have yet shown no disposition to attack Europeans, though fights between Siamese and Chinese coolies, and amongst Chinese themselves in the saw and rice mills, are still of constant occurrence.” (Diplomatic and Consular Report of 1889: 18)*

Because of this event it was necessary to regulate them and to keep them in order as the General Adviser had raised this topic to discuss. As a consequence, it was necessary to register them for ordering control (Tips, 1996: 255). The law known as Secret Society Act was enacted on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1897. The reason of the act was stated as: “the existence of secret societies has lately endangered public peace and welfare by their riots and quarrels, thus promoted the commission of offences by gangs and obstructed the course of justice by guilty protection afforded to offenders...” therefore; the Act was issued (พ.ร.บ.กต.2/61).

Next year, the Police was still worry about Chinese even the Act was issued as it was appeared in the report that:

*“The Population of Bangkok is roughly estimated at 450,000 of this I put the Chinese Population at quiet 100,000 to 150,000 ... The Chinese are very under control have practically no master, there is no regulation, no census, no restrictions; they are lighter*

*taxed than the people of the country and in most cases when employed in large numbers are a terror to their employers-and have only to demand to get what they want; in a large mill and factories where the labor are principally Chinese are belong to Secret Societies, harbor criminals, plan serious crimes and live generally in a state of lawlessness. The police are generally helpless to deal with these men as nearly all the mills are under Foreign Protection and to enter them without a warrant is illegal and almost impossible, while the owners are not help the police. By the time the police have obtained a warrant the criminals have moved to another mill, probably under some other Foreign Power, and fresh warrant has to be obtained. This accounts for the majority of case and shows the difficulties the Police have to contend against... The numerous gambling dens, opium dens, and drinking shops and public brothels especially in Chinese quarter of Sampheng, are the case of a good many violent crimes... there were 23 cases grievous hurt and 49 of hurt by dangerous weapons. Considering the facilities to commit crime, and the difficulties the police were to contend against, I do not think the number is very high for a place like Bangkok.” (The Police Report of 1898-1899: 41)*

Later, the General Adviser participated to issue and to initiate several Acts such as follows:

- Draft rules for inquests on dead bodies of persons whose demise is supposed on the October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1897

- Draft rules on the duties of Amphoe (อำเภอ, District Heads) and on their working in conjunction with the police as regards crime and the prevention of offenses proposed on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1897

- Draft Police Act, proposed on November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1897

- Hackney Carriage Act, proposed on February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1898

- Jinriksha Act, proposed on the March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1898

- Arms Act proposed on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1899

The Police and the Criminal Procedure Acts were stressed as seriously needed for improvements to meet reasonable needs of society. Specifically, the Arms Act was urgently applied for the benefit of police practice in Bangkok (Tips, 1996: 256-257). The overall of number of different cases in Bangkok was shown in Appendix 3.

In addition to the organization officers, the Commissioner had recruited the officers from neighboring countries mainly in the British colonies. For example, the Police Report 1899-1900 claimed that “ the numbers of Malays, and only 43 Mahomedans being Indians or Afghans. In the railway there are 21 Mohomedans, all Indians (Afghans or Pathans) lately enlisted for the station at Bangkok (Police Report of 1899-1900: 20)



Table 28: The Example Number of officers in Police Department, 1899-1900

	Segeants (1898-1899)	Segeants men (1899-1900)
Christian		1
Mohammedans <sup>2</sup> and Malays	43	112
Hindus	27	33
Siamese	1,352	1,766
Laos , Mons , Burmans	577	360

Source: (Police Report 1899-1900: 19 – 20)

According to the Police Report of 1904 the actual police force of all ranks was composed of the following races:

Table 29: The Example Number of officers in Police Department, 1904

Race	Number
European	9
Siamese	2,139
Laos	1,122
Cambodian	57
Burmese	9
Anonymities	7
Indian	202
Chinese	28
Malay	40

Source: (Police Report 1904:5)

In conclusion, from detailed discussion regarding the Chinese immigrants, and their unfavorable habits, especially opium smoking and gambling, we can see that Bangkok changed dramatically in a negative way. Introduction of opium

---

<sup>2</sup> Indians

dens, drinking shops, and gambling places causes more crime in Bangkok and made the city an undesirable place to live. As a consequence, a new and improved Bangkok police force was urgently needed to handle these crimes.

Another government service that was needed to develop and deal with these changes in Bangkok was the financial service, i.e. the Ministry of Finance. Since the Treaty partners were not satisfactory in addressing the changing environment of Bangkok due to high rates of crimes. Thus, they tried to influence Siamese government to take control over gambling establishments. Siam, in return, needed to handle decreasing income from gambling tax. From 1887 to 1891, before the reformation in 1892, as initiated by King Rama V, the government planned to continually decrease the number of gambling dens within each five years (กาญจนนา, 2530: 75, 87, 90). (Please see Table 30 page 268 - 269).

Therefore, it found that these negative changes in Bangkok became the driving force for shaping financial reform to decrease the number of gambling house and to compensate the loss revenue at the same time. Besides the improvement of law enforcement, unfavorable changes in Bangkok also influenced changes in Financial Ministry in order to handle sinful revenue and to find alternative source of revenue. The next section will examine development of Financial Ministry.

### 5.3.2 Financial Ministry

There are four points this section will focus on. The first is the role of British advisers to the Ministry of Finance; the second is the alternative source of income in Bangkok. The third part will examine land taxation in Siam, based on the traditional way of collecting tax, which is very difficult to increase. The final part of this section will discuss the way to increase land taxation as a result from the abrogation some limitations of the Bowring Treaty.

Regarding collecting and controlling revenue from gambling tax farming, by 1893 only 16 dens remained in the area of the capital. At that time, the authority

introduced strict regulations to govern the operations of the remaining dens (Brown, 1992:23). These regulations carried out to tighten control over the operations of the den managers and allied to the fact that increased business at the remaining dens. The government compensated for revenue lost by closing smaller dens to ensure a considerable increase in government revenue from the remaining gambling houses (Brown, 1992:23-24).

With respect to the kingdom's spirit farms, Prince Narathip (พระเจ้าวรวงศ์เธอกรมพระนราธิปประพันธ์พงศ์), the ministry of Finance, took the following action by enforcing an "Internal Taxation Law" in 1886 and an "Excise Law" in 1887. He codified and restated the existing legislation governing the operation of the spirit farm contracts, in an attempt to enforce the law as it stood. From 1889 provincial authorities were instructed to carry out raids against illicit stills in their area, as the production of the latter was a major threat to the business of the spirit revenue. Finally, in 1889, responsibility for the collection of the import duty on foreign spirits, until then entrusted to the spirit farmers, was transferred to the Customs Department. This was an early example of one of the most important financial reforms of this whole period, i.e., the gradual abolition of the system of revenue farming and the expansion of tax collection by government officials (Brown, 1992:24).

In the late 1880s, Prince Narathip began to reorganize various financial departments into expanding Financial Office in preparation for the formal establishment of Ministry of Finance. In October 1890, the Act Concerning the Functions of the Ministry of Finance was issued (Brown, 1992:25). There were five taxation departments: Krom Suai (กรมส่วย) (Capitation tax department), Krom Sanphakon (กรมสรรพากร) (a taxation department, responsible mainly for the spirit, gambling and opium monopolies), Krom Sanphasi (กรมสรรพภาษี) (another taxation department) Krom Thi Din (กรมที่ดิน) (Land tax department), and Krom Sulkakorn (กรมศุลกากร) (customs department). Also, in October 1890, the Promulgation of Privy Purse Department Act was issued. The Act involved an attempt to define more clearly a distinction between the finances of the King and the

finances of the state. The Act stipulated that all revenues received by the Privy Purse including rent on property owned by the King and interests and profits on the King's financial transactions were to be remitted in full to the treasury (Brown, 1992:26). In 1891, the Minister of Finance proceeded with the first attempt to produce revenue and expenditure budget (Brown, 1992:27).

### 5.3.2.1 English Financial Advisers

In 1894 and early 1895, the government's General Adviser, Rolin-Jacquemyns recommended that European Financial Advisers could assist the reform of the administrative procedures of the Ministry of Finance with the publication of the government's annual budget, which would be vital in establishing Siam's financial credit (Brown, 1992:39). The first financial adviser arrived in Bangkok in June 1896 is Mitchell Innes (Brown, 1992:39). Charles James Rivett-Carnac, the second financial adviser came in Bangkok in early December 1898 as mentioned (Brown, 1992:54). From 1899, the Ministry of Finance produced scores of regulations to cover every possible financial transaction within the administration. The majority of these regulations were based on regulations then in use in British India administration (Brown, 1992:59).

The Ministry of Finance's works from 1896 through to 1902, Prince Mahit (พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมขุนมหิศรราชหฤทัย) the Ministry of Finance concerned itself almost exclusively with the expenditure side of the administration's finances. Revenue considerations were not, of course, ignored. Prince Mahit certainly had his share of difficulties with the major revenue farms, principally the spirit monopoly. In addition, as noted earlier, a host of regulations that were issued in this period concerned to tighten control over the flow of revenue into the Treasury. Yet, it is significant that in all his budget correspondence with the King between 1896 and 1902, Prince Mahit invariably took the figures for estimated revenues as given, and focused on the expenditure estimated. Such apparent prejudice ran counter to the provisions of the 1890 legislation which had established the Ministry of Finance. Yet, it must be seen in the context of

Prince Mahit's ambition, actually to divest the Ministry of responsibility for the collection of the government's revenue.

The policy was developed in numerous stages. First, in 1896, a distinction was introduced between financial administration and fiscal administration in the provinces, or at least in those parts of the kingdom where the Thesaphiban (เทศาภิบาล) structure of local administration was in place. In the early 1890s, it was perhaps inevitable that Prince Damrong had pushed ahead with the reform of provincial administration; the weak Ministry of Finance had been unable to exert much influence in the provinces. It was therefore the practice for the superintended commissioners (Khaluang Thesaphiban - ข้าหลวงเทศาภิบาล) to spend revenues first and then requested the approval of the Ministry of Finance later. In 1896 the provincial financial commissioners (Khaluang Klang - ข้าหลวงกลาง) were removed from the Ministry of the Interior and placed under the Ministry of Finance. The Khaluang Thesaphiban now had to go to the Khaluang Klang, representatives of the Ministry, for funds for salaries and construction projects. However, responsibility for fiscal administration in the provinces was left with the superintendent commissioners.

#### 5.3.2.2 Bangkok Revenue Department

The second stage in the development of this process occurred in July 1898 when W.A. Graham, an English adviser in the accounts department of the Ministry of the Capital, wrote to Prince Mahit on the collection of taxes in Bangkok Province. Graham pointed out that the Ministry of the Capital had recently taken over the collection of a number of taxes in the provinces, and that it was anticipated that before long all raised there would be its responsibility, with the exception of the revenue from the major tax farms which would remain with the Ministry of Finance. Graham proposed that a revenue office be established within the Ministry of the Capital. He ventured to suggest that he be made head of it. Graham's proposal was welcomed by the King and Prince Mahit. The Krom Sanphakon Nai (กรมสรรพากรใน), the Bangkok Revenue Department, was established and began work on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1898. The

establishment of the Bangkok Revenue Department, which was concerned primarily with the collection of land taxes, inevitably brought pressure for the creation of a comparable department for the provinces.

By 1899, the collection of land taxes in the provinces outside the capital was causing some confusion. The decision made in 1896 to confirm the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior for fiscal administration in the provinces was undermined by the fact that the collection of land taxes there (or at least the most important of those taxes, Kha Na (ค่าเช่า or Rice Land taxes) was in fact under the Ministry of Finance, for in 1897 that Ministry had taken over the principal functions of the Ministry of Agriculture. However, under the Ministry of Finance land registration and assessment, and the actual collection of tax, remained as grossly inefficient as apparently it has been under the defunction of the Ministry of Agriculture.

In March 1899, Rivett-Carnac proposed to Prince Mahit that responsibility for the administration of land registration, assessment and tax collection in the provinces be transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, for the latter's officials would have a far greater knowledge of conditions in the provinces than officials from a more exclusively Bangkok based Ministry. Prince Mahit supported the adviser's proposals. However, Prince Damrong was less enthusiastic. It was clear that if the Ministry of the Interior was to be responsible for both the administration of land in the provinces and the collection of the revenues upon it and if, unlike the Ministry of Finance, it was to discharge they would face a considerable increase in work. The matter was discussed between Prince Mahit, Prince Damrong and Rivett-Carnac in late July 1899, and eventually a compromise emerged. The Ministry of Agriculture was re-established to be responsible for the land registration throughout the kingdom. Responsibility for the collection of the land taxes in the provinces was given to the Ministry of the Interior, up until the Ministry of Agriculture could assume the task. In late 1899 the Krom Sanphakon Nok (กรมสรรพากรนอก), the Provincial Revenue Department was established within the Ministry of the Interior. In 1900, the Bangkok and the Provincial Revenues Department

became responsible for the collection of the Chinese poll tax. In the years which followed an increasing number of taxes fell to those departments including capitation taxes, gambling fees, pawnbroker licenses, and fees to slaughter pigs.

### 5.3.2.3 Direct Taxation: Land Taxation in Siam

Apart from considering the direct tax in Siam, land taxation, it is apparent that the tax on rice land from 1850 to 1900 was primarily designed to encourage people to bring new land under cultivation. The encouragement was in the form of an incentive land tax which granted exemptions for newly cultivated land. In 1845, a law was promulgated, in which two kinds of fields were defined: Na Kuko (นาคูโค) and Na FangLoi (นาฟางลอย). The tax rate for both was 0.375 bath per rai; and the tax was collected in money, not in kind. In response to protests from farmers holding Na Kuko lands, the tax on that class of field was reduced to 0.25 baht per rai in 1856. In 1858, King Mongkut declared that newly cultivated land should receive special treatment. To expand the cultivation and, thus, to decrease the price, and to accomplish this purpose it was decreed that “no tax shall be collected from rice land cleared from the jungle for the first year of its cultivation... in consideration for the special labor employed in clearing the jungle” and the tax was collected at a reduced rate for two or three more years. In the reign of King Chulalongkorn, he made the inducement greater in 1875 by charging no land tax on new lands for the first three years of cultivation. In 1900, retained the same rates for the two types of land, but the exemption for newly cultivated land was dropped. Thus for 43 years (1857-1900), the tax rate remained unchanged.

The Bowring Treaty provided that tax rates applied to land held by British subjects could not be changed and since the Siamese government was unwilling to levy higher taxes on its own subjects than those of British (which included some Asian subjects) the rates were left as they were (Ingram, 1971:76-77). Taxation of land values was hopelessly with the traditions of the Eastern countries of which title to the land vests in the government which leased to the occupants. The only form of land

taxation that does not conflict with this tradition is therefore a tax upon the use of land and such taxes have already been developed to the limit of their productivity (Sayre, n.d.: 23).

Therefore, land taxes in Siam were lower than other countries of the Far East. The tax, thus, varied from about 10 percent in the 1850's to 5 percent. Tax incentives which existed from 1857-1900 may have influenced the extension of cultivation. But it was limited to the central and southern provinces because the tax laws concerned were not applied elsewhere. In the northern region, the land tax was collected in rice from 1782-1882. Rates varied according to the quality and location of the land. In 1882, the tax was changed to a money tax. The northeastern provinces paid no land tax to Bangkok until the twentieth century later (Ingram, 1971:78).

Therefore, the abrogated schedule annexed five sections of fixed land taxation and exportation is the one alternative ways to increase land taxation. It pushed Siam began to move for negotiation to modification the Bowring Treaty in this point further.

#### 5.3.2.4 The Abrogation of Land Taxation According to Agreement Supplementary of 1856

In 1890 King Chulalongkorn started a number of miscellaneous reforms, including administrative, judicial, and fiscal reforms. New ministries were established and European advisers as well as foreign technicians were hired by Siamese government to assist in the elaborate programs of various departments. British advisers outnumbered those of any other nationalities, especially in the fields of finance, law enforcement, education, mining and surveys (Vikrom, 1972:124-5).

The treaties allowed Siam to impose a tariff of 3 percent. As for articles of export they were limited to fixed duty according to the schedule attached to the treaty of 1855. The existence of the inland dues or transit duties specified in the "Tariff of Export and Inland Duties to be levied on Articles of Trade" annexed to the



Treaty of 1855 was “a serious drawback to the development and prosperity of this country.” In Article 4 of the Agreement of 1856, British subjects purchasing property in Siam would enjoy “the same taxation that is levied on Siamese subjects” (Vikrom, 1972:125). To give further safeguard for the British interests, the Supplementary Agreement of 1856 bound the Siamese government to agree to a schedule of five sections which specified a fixed amount of taxation that could be levied on plantations, garden-ground, or other lands. The result of the rigidity thus introduced into the fiscal system was that Siam could neither increase her revenues as she chose, nor could she eliminate undesirable or inefficient taxes by replacing them with others, except with the consent of the British Government (Vikrom, 1972:126).

In 1892, the financial system was part of general reorganization of government initiated by the king. A budget system was introduced a proper system of audit and accounts was set up. The king's personal expenditure was separated from the state expenditure together with the improvement of collection of taxes. The Ministry of Finance was also remodeled, and in 1896, the services of a financial adviser were obtained from the British Government, on the recommendation of Lord Cromer (Vikrom, 1972:126).

Concurrently fiscal autonomy was the major objective of Siam diplomacy. The Siamese government conceived that the negotiations for immediate and complete fiscal autonomy were virtually impossible, so it decided to begin by negotiating for a revision of the Treaty of 1855, or rather the Agreement of 1856 (Vikrom, 1972:127). Consequently, in June 1898, Prince Devawongse (สมเด็จพระบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาเทวะวงศ์วโรปการ), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs appealed to Representative of British for the suppression of the 1856 Taxation Schedule and the modification of the treaty provision, alleging that Siam was facing unequal treatment. The fact was that the value of money had depreciated fifty percent since the Treaty had been signed. In this request for a taxation readjustment, Prince Devawongse maintained that the British subjects could be assured of their security because by a clause in Article 4 of the

Bowring Treaty, they would be subject to the same taxation as the Siamese. Thus the Siamese government could be relied upon not to overtax their own people. In return for British concessions, Prince Devawongse had offered to issue permits to British subjects to buy land and houses in Chiangmai.

The financial policy gradually increasing Siamese revenue from landed property was first mooted by Mitchell Innes, the Siamese government's financial adviser, who was driven his desire to put Siamese Finance on a stable footing (Vikrom, 1972 :127). The Foreign Office of Britain objected to giving the Siamese an absolute free hand with regard to the land taxations on British subjects, and they thought that the Siamese were asking too much while offering "nothing in return for the concession." The question were left unsettled (Vikrom, 1972:128).

In 1899 Rivett-Carnac, Financial Ministry adviser of Siam, after some studies of the Siamese problem he soon became a vigorous supporter of the Siamese cases for the abrogation of the Taxation Schedule annexed to the Agreement of 1856 (Vikrom, 1972 :128). He also pointed out that the average taxation per acre on cultivated land in Burma is nearly 200 percent higher than it is in Siam (Vikrom, 1972:129). He set forth a strong argument in support of the Siamese request for the abrogation of the Taxation Schedule. He stated that the taxation on land is at present so absurdly low that it will be impossible for the government to raise it to anything like the taxation per acre in Burma for the next twenty or thirty years. The reformed taxation would affect only a few British subjects, mostly of Chinese origin and he thought that British subjects would be secure as long as the Siamese government could guarantee that the taxation on land in Siam should never exceed that on similar land in Burma (Vikrom, 1972:129). Chinese protected subjects were the ones who were affected the most from this change, while the European British subjects were few in number. British government could make the Siamese government guarantee that they would not impose the land tax in excess of similar tax in Burma or a maximum taxation should be fixed

beyond which the Siamese government should not be allowed to go (Vikrom, 1972: 130).

In October 1899, the Foreign Office had consulted the India Office about the proposed abrogation asking whether such change would affect the number of Indian subjects in Siam. The India Office greatly lightened to abrogation on the conditions that Siamese Government would allow British subjects to own land elsewhere than in vicinity of Bangkok and that they should not levy taxation on land rented, held, or owned by British subjects in excess of the taxation rates on similar land in "Lower Burma" (Vikrom, 1972:130). The India Office emphasized the word "Lower Burma" because rents were not uniform in Upper Burma where there were two land tenures, whereas land in Lower Burma was taxed on uniform principles (Vikrom, 1972: 131).

In early 1900, the Indian government declared itself willing to forgo the precondition that British subjects should be allowed to own land elsewhere than in the vicinity of Bangkok. This agreement greatly facilitated the Foreign Office's task. The Anglo-Siamese Taxation Agreement was signed on September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1900 whereby the Schedule of Taxation attached to the Agreement of 1856 was abrogated; and whereby the Siamese Government agreed not to collect more taxation on land rented, held, or owned by British subjects than levied on similar land in "Lower Burma" as suggested by the British side (Vikrom, 1972:132). The Agreement was another achievement by Siam to remove one of the onerous burdens of British extraterritoriality in Siam. By virtue of the most-favored-nation treatment, the Taxation Agreement of 1900 thus automatically limited the rights of any other treaty powers to the some extent as those granted to British subjects (Vikrom, 1972:132). With the abrogation of the 1856 Taxation Schedule, the Siamese government were given some freedom in the matter of taxation on landed property, and therefore enabled to add another source of revenue of the country, which had been mostly dependent on revenues from gambling, spirits, and opium farms. It was the first step of fiscal autonomy of Siam (Vikrom, 1972:132).

### 5.3.3 Royal Survey Department

The Royal Survey Department was founded in Bangkok for two very important reasons. The first was for the development of organization for land register and issuing title deeds. Second, after having title deed, it can assist for the land taxation. Consequently, land taxation can bring increased income to replace tax of illicit revenue, which hopefully will help reduce decrease severe problems of dangerous living conditions such as crimes and robberies.

The necessity for surveys in connection with improvements of the city of Bangkok, and for supervision in carrying out the border survey was major concern of the Siamese government since 1870s. To set up a survey department, officers of the Royal Bodyguard were selected and trained. These officers were formed into a special company called "Military Engineer of the Royal Bodyguard" in 1875. The commandant of department was Mr. Alabaster, an English adviser of the King Mongkut and his assistant Mr. Loftus, also an Englishman (Giblin, 1994:121).

In the year 1880, the series of the Survey of India was brought down to Bangkok under one of the surveyors of the surveyors of India, Mr. James McCarthy an Englishman who was later engaged as Government Surveyor under the Minister of War. After that a Royal Decree was issued to separate trained survey officers from the Royal Bodyguard and created the Royal Survey Department. McCarthy was Captain of Royal Survey Department in 1885 (Giblin, 1908:122).

Since 1893, it appeared that King Chulalongkorn mentioned the urgent need of internal reform. The project to register and land survey was in his consideration as appeared in General Adviser, Rolin-Jaequemyns' dairy that

"7 August 1893 that he had talked with H.M. King Chulalongkorn until 2.a.m. and had tried to bring discussion of the internal reform. One of the five topics was (4) the organization of property, survey, land

register, etc. and (5) better distribution and collection of tax.” (Tips, 1996: 215)

In 1897, the king raised the question of land tax which related to the abolition of the Agriculture Ministry. He was seriously concerned to increase land tax from rice land (Tips, 1996: 254). At the same time, the cadastral survey for administrative and revenue purposes were pressed to start surveying in 1897. From 1897-1899, the Survey Department worked under the Ministry of Finance. By 1899 Rivett-Carnac the Financial Adviser proposed the necessity of the establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture to handle the severe conflicts of land ownership (นพรัตน์, 2520: 91). The Ministry of Agriculture was established Chaophraya Thewet (เจ้าพระยาเทเวศร์) and was appointed as Minister in 1899 (นพรัตน์, 2520: 101). In 1900, Phraya Prachachip Boriban (พระยาประชาชีพบริบาล) proposed the necessity to establish Land Office which was similar to the proposal of Rivett-Carnac, who recommended the same advice at the same time (นพรัตน์ 2520:139).

In February 1900 King Chulalongkorn required the “urgent necessary of taking some decisive measures conducive to the establishment of a consolidated land system in Siam.” Several departments had brought proposals to his attention. The Survey Department, i.e. McCarthy and R. Gibjin, had drawn up an Act to provide for the survey and demarcation of land. Part of it was copied from the Bengal Survey Act 1875. Mr. E.C. Giles, an Englishman, the Revenue Commissioner, had made proposals regarding the establishment of a Land Department and Directions to Land Officers (Tips, 1996: 272). The Land Act was reported to be ready by March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1900 (Tips, 1996: 273).

King Chulalongkorn mentioned in his letter, dated September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1901, that the new title deeds for the paddy fields which had already been surveyed by the Survey Department would be issued in Bang Pa – In (บางปะอิน), where the first Land Office would be established (Tips, 1996: 275). The cadastral map was completed and prompted to issue title deed in 1901 (Giblin, 1908:124). A Land Registration Office was

opened in Bang-Pa-in on October 1901. It disposed of 1,500 ownerships, and prepared the way for the formal issue of certificates of title after much thought and discussion the necessary forms and procedures were fixed upon, including the all-important title-deed itself.

Land Title Deed Act 1901 was issued in 1901. A law was likely to have far reaching effects in confirming all property holders in indisputable possession of their land, in enabling them to transfer or dispose of it in an easy and inexpensive manner, and, not least in importance, in informing both revenue collectors and owners of the exact amount due to the Government in the shape of land taxes for each property (Giblin, 1908:124). Therefore, with the assistance of English officials and advisers, the land ownership and land taxation were solved by the issuing land title deed.

#### **5.4 Land taxation and the closing of gambling dens in Bangkok**

During the 1890s the government enjoyed a rapid growth of revenues by the improved administration and method of tax collection. The rapid growth continued progress for decades in particular in 1902/1903 to 1906/1907 increasing from 39.15 million baht to 57.01 million baht. However, as mentioned, the main sources of revenue came from improper farm taxes such as spirit, opium, and gambling (see Chapter 2). Therefore the government was quite concerned about these sources of income. However, as mentioned earlier, Siamese government faced limitation in tax collection was bounded vigorously due to the conditions in the Bowring Treaty. Therefore these main sources of income were inevitably to reserve to maintain the revenue of the government.

However, the policy of closing down gambling dens was initiated by Prince Narathip in the late 1880s. According to his proposal he limited to abandon only dens within Bangkok area. Prior to 1898 that attention was focused on the dens outside the capital. In May of that year, Prince Damrong and Prince Mahit decided to abolish all

the provincial gambling farms where the revenue was small or where the existence of the dens was found to be encouraging crimes (Brown, 1992:88-89). Later on, at the annual meeting of the provincial governors in Bangkok in 1899 and 1900, the closure of additional dens was agreed. But the effect of these closures was simply to bring gambling under greater control (Brown, 1992:88-89).

Regarding Chinese immigrants who came to Siam with their opium consumption habit and addiction to gambling, the number of Chinese migrants had been continually increasing in 1900. The government's revenue from gambling rose from 1.832 million baht in 1892-3 to 5.244 million baht in 1900 (Brown, 1992:89). Therefore the proposal to decrease the gambling dens was struck.

At the same time, a new opportunity opened for increasing land tax when the Siamese government took advantage of the provisions of the Land Tax Agreement signed with Britain in September 1900. It was a result of the abolition of the "Schedule of Taxes on Garden-Ground, Plantations, or other Lands" attached to the Supplementary Agreement signed with Sir Harry Parks in May 1856 (the effect of the Schedule had been to freeze the level and structure of land taxation in Siam, preventing the government from securing more than a small, and indeed diminishing, proportion of the value of agricultural output). According to the abolition of previous provisions, Britain agreed with an undertaking from the Siamese government that its rates of land tax would not exceed the rates in force in Lower Burma. Soon, Prince Damrong instructed E.C. Giles, the head of the Provincial Revenue Department, to prepare proposals for raising additional revenue from the land tax. The objective of the proposal was to increase government income in order to replace the loss of revenue due to the eradication of provincial dens (Brown, 1992: 90).

As mentioned, the land title deed was for the first time issued in 1901 as a method for increasing land tax collection efficiency. On December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1904, Council of Ministers was discussed provinces again. It was found that it would be difficult to find alternative sources of revenue to compensate for the loss of this income – approximately

4 million baht each year. However, Prince Damrong suggested that additional revenue could be raised through an increase in the rate of land tax (Brown, 1992:89). The complication of the topic appeared. Indeed, the Minister of the Interior wished to see Bangkok gambling dens closed at the same time as those in the provinces; however, he argued that every gambler and criminal in the kingdom would move into the capital once the provincial dens disappeared. Moreover, at the same time, closing gambling dens in Bangkok would lead to the loss of revenue for approximately 3 million baht each year. He continued to push the program by suggesting an increase in import duties but doing so needs the agreement of the treaty powers. Therefore, the reluctant appeared to agree the closing of the Bangkok dens (Brown, 1992: 90). Furthermore, closing gambling dens all over the kingdom could lead to riots. The Council of Ministers decided to defer the decision on the Bangkok dens but to proceed with the abolition of those in the provinces (Brown, 1992:90).

In 1905 Giles proposed that agricultural land be divided into six classes according to its fertility, the price of rice in local markets, the ease of transport to the market, and the distance from rice mills. The rates of tax would rise from a minimum of 24 atts per rai to 1 bath per rai, with approximately half the agricultural land in the kingdom being taxed at the top rate. Giles estimated that under the new structure, the land tax would secure 6.2 million baht each year, an increase of 3.7 million baht on the existing annual yield (Brown, 1992:90). His proposal appeared in the document "memorandum containing proposals as to the manner in which revenue can be raised to supply the deficiency which will be caused by the abolition of gambling in the provinces (กค.0301.12/1[1]). Giles' proposals for land tax and the proposed abolition of the gambling dens were discussed within the administration in late 1904 and early 1905. It was decided in 1905/6 that all provincial dens that yielded less than 50,000 baht would be closed. The remaining provincial dens would be closed in 1906/7. The Bangkok dens would be abolished in 1907/8. At the suggestion of Prince Damrong, the closing of the Bangkok dens would be linked to an application to the treaty powers for a relaxation of the restrictions imposed on the kingdom's foreign trade duties, in that way, if the western



powers refused to allow an increase in the trade duties they, and not the Siamese government, would be responsible for the continued existence of gambling dens in Bangkok.

Table 30: Comparison of gambling tax farming revenue, 1887-1917

Years	Gambling dens		Number of gambling dens	Number of decreased gambling dens	Income
	Bangkok Number of gambling dens	Province Number of gambling dens			
1887	413	243	656	346	-
1888	67	243	310	10	-
1889	57	243	300	10	-
1890	47	243	290	10	-
1891	16	243	259	31	-
1892	16	243	259	-	1,832,260
1893	16	243	259	-	1,976,430
1894	16	243	259	-	2,283,306
1895	16	243	259	-	2,777,099
1896	16	243	259	-	2,948,902
1897	16	243	259	-	4,224,258
1898	16	159	175	84	4,676,976
1899	19 [1]	112	131	56	4,678,173
1900	19	105	124	7	5,244,521

Table 30 (Continued): Comparison of gambling tax farming revenue, 1887-1917

Years	Gambling dens		Number of gambling dens	Number of decreased gambling dens	Income
	Bangkok Number of gambling dens	Province Number of gambling dens			
1901	18	98	116	8	5,460,545 [2]
1902	16	87	103	13	4,566,255 [3]
1903	16	106 [4]	122	19	5,546,011 [5]
1904	16	106	122	-	6,879,526
1905	11	22	33	89	5,732,517
1906	11	22	33	-	3,604,538
1907	11	-	11	-	3,506,813
1908	11	-	11	-	3,076,542
1909	11	-	11	-	3,332,479

Note: [1] A number of gambling dens in Bangkok this year was included with Nonthaburi (นนทบุรี) นครเขื่อนขันธ์ (Nakhon Khueankhan) สมุทรปราการ (Samutprakan) ปทุมธานี (Pathum Thani). [2] Gambling tax in Bangkok was separated from other places. [3] Government controlled collecting almost kinds of gambling taxes except gambling taxes in the provinces. [4] Gambling taxes of Monthon Chumphon (มณฑลชุมพร) and Monthon Nakhon Sri Thammarat (มณฑลนครศรีธรรมราช) were increased [5] Government controlled all kinds of gambling taxes.

Source: (กาญจนา, 2530: 150)

On January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1905, Strobel, General Adviser at that time, was instructed to prepare for an approach to the treaty powers (Brown, 1992:91). In 1905/6 all twenty two provincial dens were closed, and the number of Bangkok dens was reduced to eleven. In many provinces the closing of the gambling dens was cause for several days of public celebration. The last of the provincial dens was closed, as planned, in the year 1906/7. Inevitably, the government's revenue from gambling dropped dramatically, from 6.87 million baht in 1904/5 to 3.6 million baht. Instead, the increase in the revenue was from the land tax, which rose from 4.72 million baht in 1905/6 to 8.37 million baht in 1907/8.

When Strobel visited London in January 1907 he suggested to the British Minister to allow for an increase in import duties might be beneficial for Britain since the Siamese Malay States would be transferred to Britain. It would appear that when the Siamese authorities realized that each of the western powers would demand substantial concessions from Siam in return for a renegotiation of the commercial treaties (Brown, 1992:91-92). The gambling dens in Bangkok remained open beyond 1907/8. However, the number of Bangkok gambling dens was reduced to eleven (in 1909/10) and then to nine in 1910/11. In 1911/12 the number of dens was cut to five. At the same time an anti-gambling league was formed in Siam to press for the abolition of the few remaining gambling dens, and for the abolition of the important farmed lottery (หวย). In 1913-1914 there were large budget surpluses, amounting to almost 20 million baht, and the government took the opportunity to abolish the lottery in April 1916. The remaining Bangkok gambling dens were closed in April 1917 (Brown, 1992:92).

##### **5.5 Bangkok administration changes and the creation of "Municipality" term in Bangkok**

According to the changes in Bangkok after the settlement of British subjects and other foreigners after the Bowring treaty took effects, it is evident that the British subjects and foreign settlers had continually influenced Siamese government to

provide good service and well being in Bangkok. Particularly, these European and Asiatic subjects influenced Bangkok rulers to change the views to administrate Bangkok urban in various issues later for example, the department of public work, public security and surveillance system, public health and rudimentary epidemic prevention and sanitation. Such demand required a new form of a particular municipal body for a better management and responsibility. Taking consideration of the development of administration of Bangkok metropolitan to tackle the new challenges and problems, the development of administration of Bangkok metropolitan. The development of the Ministry of Local Government or the Ministry of Capital known in Thai as Krasuang Nakhonban (กระทรวงนครบาล) should be examined to see the development of these administrative units that brought many new reforms of government units in Bangkok.

Before the reformation in 1892 (This reformation actually known as Chakri Reformation), the administration of Siam composed of two Prime Ministers or Akkramahasenabodi (อัครมหาเสนาบดี) of two functions, one for civil known as Mahatthai (มหาดไทย) and another of military known as Kalahom (กลาโหม). There are four supporting Ministers are known as Senabodi Chatusadom (เสนาบดีจตุสดมภ์) that composed of the Minister of the Metropolis-Wiang (เวียง), the Palace-Wang (วัง), Finance-Khlang (คลัง), and of Agriculture-Na (นา). The Minister of Local Government collected the taxes and fines for minor offences within metropolis. (Tej, 1977:5) Focusing on the ministry of Metropolis-Wiang (the noble rank in Thai known as Chao Phaya Yommarat (เจ้าพระยามรราช). In 1886, the reign of king Chulalongkorn, Minister of Metropolis was undertaken by the king's close brother, Prince Phutharet Thamrongsak (พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมหมื่นภูวเรศธำรงศักดิ์) as the Ministry of Nakhonban (Senabodi) (เสนาบดี). He had to deal with the crimes and illegal cases in the capital. The committee after that known as Komitee PhraNahorn (คอมมิเตตีนครบาล) was appointed instead thereafter. Price Naret Worarit (พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระนเรศวรวรฤทธิ) was a chairman (ประยูร, 2520). When Krom Nakhonban (กรมนครบาล) was upgraded again as the Minister of Local Government (Krasuang Nakhonban) (กระทรวงนครบาล); Prince Naret Worarit was minister. As mentioned, the Police Department was the first municipal office

that really faced the serious problems because it had to cope with the actually conflicts often. The difficulties increased day by day with the increasing numbers of foreign immigrants. Therefore, the police were carefully of the problems of extraterritoriality. Significantly, thereafter, in 1861, the reform of Kong Tawen as mentioned. The Police Department was later called as Constable Department (กองไปตีสคณฑเตเบ็ด) in 1862. It took charge of the new responsibilities of surveillance and security similarly to the European police.

Another field of administrative unit of land survey department in Bangkok appeared at the same time as ever mentioned. The Royal Survey Department and the Surveyor school were found; they surveyed Bangkok for the improvement of land tax and decrease the land ownership conflicts as ever mentioned already. Prior to 1896, the first cadastral survey was started; it gave very detailed and plotted territories based on the title deed. That mean it could diminish the conflicts of land ownership by the title deed entirely (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:121).

Apart from some significant government unit's initiation due to the responsibilities of Bangkok there are more crucial tasks that needed to be improved, therefore, the reforms were proposed within the plan of the Reformation since April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1892 by the General Adviser, Rolin-Jaequemyns. Soon after, King Chulalongkorn appointed twelve ministers to handle many important main tasks. (Norman, 1907:441-442). Previously, the Ministry of Local Government controlled the prisons, police departments, police courts in the capital and some duties of Home secretary (Norman, 1907:441). The ministry inevitably received impacts from these changes, and the beginning of changes substantially associated with the reformation in 1892. The reformation had to improve the functions of the juridical system and the legislative framework that should be accepted by European and world standards of justice (Tips, 1996:214). It must be operated administratively rather than constitutionally. By this year, Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns had advised urgent reforms for the important administration in Bangkok were needed. He addressed the important tasks of reformation about the police and justice because the foreigners actually waiting for the improvement (Tips,

1996:220). The result finally appeared when the draft was brought into the Legislative Council for comments, and king Chulalongkorn therefore set the suffice works for the Legislative Council. It was apparently after king Chulalongkorn returned from the first Europe tour in 1897, and some ideas of reformation publicized in the newspaper. These appearances conditioned the urgent pressure for the reformation abruptly.

During this time, the British and British subject had played attention in two points about the participation of self-governing and involving with the tax paying for the local administration significantly in particular in the process of circulation the term of “Municipality” which it should be place to explain in details further. According to the foreign community in Bangkok, the circulation of the term of “Municipality” occurred since 1890s. It actually means an urban district having corporate status and powers of self-government in local level or similar to the district defined for administrative purposes (ประภัสสร, 2523:15). This term of meaning was circulated in the British colonies in nineteenth century. According to Siam, after 1890s the foreign community in Bangkok gradually settled and grew. The community gradually formed together strongly by social networks of the American missionaries in Bangkok. The Foreign Community strongly shared and participated together through the circulation of newspapers at that time. The one important newspaper was the newspaper launched by American missionary, Rev. Dan Beach Bradley. He established Bangkok Recorder in 1844. The Bangkok Recorder was the pioneer of the circulation of thoughts in Bangkok. It was not only westerners who subscribed the newspaper, but many of princes and nobles including King Chulalongkorn were members. The Bangkok Recorder became public space to share and circulate thoughts of elite Bangkok inhabitants (เมธีพิชญ์, 2549: 16). News and comments circulated for public concern.

Prior to late 1890s, the role of British newspaper took place, the Bangkok Times, British newspaper beginning in 1887. It initiated a column titled “Correspondence”. This column opened public space for sharing and commenting about problems and concerns facing Bangkok at the time. After hearing and receiving compliant letters, the editor would comment and respond. In 1888, significantly, in

“Correspondence” there appeared the term “Municipality”. This alternative administrative unit was introduced to Bangkok through “Correspondence” continually from 1888 to 1892. The example topics in column included “Municipal tax, the “Municipal Functions”, the “Municipal Revenue” (เมธีพัชญ์, 2549: 17).

Until 1893, Rolin-Jaequemyns, also raised about “Municipality” to the government (เมธีพัชญ์, 2549: 18), but it was not strongly influenced. By 1892, a topic in “Correspondence” titled “Wanted, a Municipality” illustrated the foreign community in Bangkok problems probably brought to solve by the administrative unit as “Municipality” regarding concern to the levy taxation of foreign community for the better services in the city. In addition, the author also recommended establishing a “Municipality Court”. (เมธีพัชญ์, 2549: 105). Jaequemyns had recommended this since 1892, but he emphasized it again in 1897. Even King Chulalongkorn agreed with the recommendation of “Municipality” term, but he rather worried about these following problems. Firstly, the absence of the political participation experience of Siamese, secondly Siamese may be forced to pay tax alone because the denial to pay tax of Europeans and Asiatic subjects who claimed extraterritoriality, the last it was not suitable to apply at that time. (ประภัสสร, 1980; 16-19)

At that time the problem of public health and sanitation seemed also to be the serious face. According to this problem was the problem that Bangkok faced similarly to all port cities at that time. It was the problem of the epidemic disease outbreak. When Bangkok was developed as an important port in global network, it had to face with severe epidemic outbreaks more often. (วรนาท, 2530: 60) The prevention should be concerned seriously for example in 1881 the epidemic of cholera spreading in Bangkok widely. King Chulalongkorn had to set up the 48 temporally Sanitariums in Bangkok to take care of patients suddenly. Later, in 1886, the public health committee was formed, then two coming years later; Siriraj (ศิริราช) hospital was founded. (วรนาท, 2530: 71) The prevention of these severe epidemic diseases was very necessary because the foreigners in Bangkok had urged the government to stop it quiet suddenly. Another solving at that time came along, the necessary need to control the coolie



immigration from China ports around 80,000 colliers of 200 ships each year, they were quarantined at Phra Island (or เกาะพระ); then, all of passengers will be checked by the quarantine inspector before allowance. (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:132)

Then, public health was the most important consideration of these foreigners. Particularly at Bangrak, one hospital established in foreign quarter under the charge of T. Heyward Hays, American principal Medical officer (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:132) and two pure foreign medical institutions were there too, St.Louis hospital and the Bangkok Nursing Home, as ever mentioned (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:132).

Apart from state responsibilities, public health of government units in Bangkok was also important. It was also public health concern by private medical care business or dispensing business. During 1888-1906, Five dispensing firms established such as British dispensary (as mentioned), Bangkok dispensary, Union dispensary, Saphan Lek (สะพานเหล็ก) and Sikak (สีกัก) dispensary. All of them were located along Charoen Krung Road and associated areas. They were undertaken by foreign qualified chemists and considerable experience of professional druggist (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:132). Foreign thoughts had circulated officially and publicly to suggest for further improvement (มนฤทัย, 2545: 129). They asked for the improvement of water a clean supply and proper systems of drainage. The poor sanitation at that time in particular was the inadequate supply to remove household human waste and the necessity of lavatory. In this respect, the government finally built the public lavatories during 1898-1907 reaching to 65-109 places. (มนฤทัย, 2545: 155)

Regarding the sanitary situation, in 1897, Jaequemyns officially offered the sketched achievements contained of two significant legislations, Law of 21<sup>st</sup>, November 1897 about the sanitary administration of the capital, and the regulation of the police (quarantine etc.) against pests. (Tips, 1996:256). Soon after, the sanitary department known as Krom Sukhaphiban (กรมสุขาภิบาล) was found on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1897 with supporting agent, the Department of Public Health. The department established as the branch of the Local Sanitary Department under the Ministry of Local Government. It carried on these following duties: the ordinary sanitary service for the

Bangkok and suburbs, port medical work, with the inspection of ships, and the quarantine station at Koh Phra (เกาะพระ), responsibilities of the Government hospitals such as Bangrak (บางรัก) Hospital, Samsen (สามเสน) Hospital, (Wright and Breakspear, 1994:132). Later, when the spreading of epidemic outbreak was very serious, it caused the necessity of these outcomes such as the water supply, system of drainage, and the epidemic prevention later.

However, the term of “Municipality” was very controversial debate because it proposed the new tool of solving the problem in Bangkok based on the self-governing and own taxation. The administration of committee formulated by vote and the king’s approval. Significantly, thereafter, Rolin-Jaequemyns proposed full scheme title “Outline of a Scheme for the Creation of a Municipality for Bangkok”. It was proposed to King Chulalongkorn on March 26<sup>th</sup> 1900. In his letter attached; he mentioned the first draft of decree for the establishment of a municipality which was abandoned since 1896. Again, this time, he stated that it was desirable measure was indispensable due to the energetic desire to improve local administration from then, the king’s return from Europe. The improvements for commercial purposes and for sanitation were also considered as important factors for change. The letter mentioned the reason of issuing the decree including “the difficulties arising from the peculiar conditions in which Treaties were made nearly half a century have placed the government dealing with foreign subjects”. In brief, there are two points of obstacles in local government about the legal and financial “The obstacles which Treaties place in the way of local governments are of two sorts, legal and financial”. The legal are the extraterritoriality and the system of taxes. The taxation mainly levied on land cultivation that the main taxes of land cultivation came from rural population, but the foreign in Bangkok was bounded with the Bowring Treaty under condition of “ no additional charge”. These foreigners who are British subject or other European powers had no pay taxes for the necessity of Bangkok urban services.

*“Now, this taxation system of which the burden falls nearly entirely on the rural population has been, so to say, crystallized by the treaties, with the consequence that trade and industry of towns, and especially of Bangkok are contributing nearly nothing to the public charges. Houses which are daily increasing in value, rice-mills, saw-mills, iron-works, big banking and trading firms, stores of any description etc, all of which are deriving enormous profits from the development of public prosperity, pay as such no taxes at all.” (พจพ.กค.0301.33/1)*

Additionally, there is no administrative unit responsible for the necessary works for all inhabitants who is the representative of inhabitant to cooperate with the government body as it was proposed in the scheme as follow:

*“On the other hand the establishment of cooperate body in which representation is granted in the most liberal terms to sections of inhabitants which are by themselves only small minorities, will convince the sharpest censors that your Majesty’s government seriously mean to spend for Bangkok what Bangkok will pay” (พจพ.กค.0301.33/1)*

The scheme proposed a “Municipal committee” that all the nominate committees would be approved by the King. The scheme raised the limitation of a possibility based on the condition of taxation that the Bowring Treaty strictly enforced. The scheme did not come to term. King Chulalongkorn gave the interesting reason for this scheme that when the council was established based on the power of the one who paid more taxes, it would abuse the other group especially Thai. In addition, Bangkok

city's environment was different from the European municipality. Then the problem of foreign subject in Bangkok seemed to be a crucial point (ประภัสสร 2523:18). If using the concept of no tax, no representative, it would be fail because the council would have only Chinese or European subjects (ประภัสสร 2523:17-19).

By 1908, the Ministry of Interior, commented on the possibility to settle Municipality in Tha Chalom (ท่าฉลอม) market at Samut Sakhon (สมุทรสาคร) became the first place of pioneer project of Ministry of Interior (เมธีพัชญ์, 2549: 109). Regarding the taxation cannot levy from foreign subjects, thereafter the Municipality of Tha Chalom, Samut Sakhon was established in 1905. It was later known as Sukhaphiban Huamueang (สุขาภิบาลหัวเมือง) (Sanitary district) which it officially known as Sukhabaphiban Hua Muang Thambon Tha-Chalom, Changwat Samut Sakhon. This provincial local small unit was successful for the participation of people in that particular place. They could share and have responsibility by levying its own income (ประภัสสร, 2523:20-21). King Chulalongkorn had supported strongly to extend these many local units. Thereafter, this small unit also developed governmental officers as Kamnan (กำนัน or Sub-district Headman), Phuyaiban (ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน or Village Headman) by votes (ประภัสสร, 2523:25) Three following years, the Act of Sanitary District was enacted in 1908 (ประภัสสร, 1980; 35-39) Throughout some years, the other sanitary districts were formed later in certain major cities, they had played the significant role in public services at local level until the end of absolute monarchy when the Act was modified in 1915 and gave up by the Municipality Act in 1933. The sanitary districts during 1915-1933 increased to thirty six districts for 25 years (เมธีพัชญ์, 2549: 25). Therefore, Sukhaphiban Huamueang established since 1908 to 1932 longer for 27 years before the end of absolute monarchy

It can be seen that several administrations had to respond for the undesirable environment in Bangkok, especially dangerous living conditions brought about by drug addiction and gambling habit of new comers. Crime, robbery and chaos disturbing social order became part of living in Bangkok. Some important units had to be reformed and improved to the better services and responsibilities. The police constable, the Financial Ministry, and the Royal Survey Department were the significant

units that finally were reformed to handle the main problems of the dangerous and insecure living in Bangkok. However, the significant role of the curing these problems of Siamese government, it was received the cooperation from the British government. The significance of several branches of British Advisers such as Police constable, Ministry of Finance, Royal Survey Department, or the small branch of Bangkok Revenue Department can be seen. All of these units and ministry were taken charge by British. Most importantly, the police constable, the commissioners also recruit a lot of British colonies in neighboring countries for the assistants in the services. Particularly, the severe improper circumvents occurred as a result of Bowring Treaty caused the unsatisfied consequences in Bangkok, but the assistants of British government, British, and British subjects can assist Bangkok to escape from the bad situation. The British and their subjects became the significant factors of positive changes in Bangkok changes during the difficult time in decade since 1855,

In summary, it can be seen that the Bowring Treaty provisions had set the conditions for changes to Bangkok in many aspects. Some contributed to the positive development such as improvement of administrations and services, but some inevitably caused negative consequences. The British and British subjects had good and bad experiences in Bangkok respectively. Some were merchants; some were advisers or chief officers, while some were only sergeants or coolies. However, they brought modern administration, methods of solving administrative organizations and services including conducting economic trading vigorously. Significantly, the British subject particularly when they dwelled together with the foreign community in Bangkok, these foreign inhabitants played a crucial role to circulate the term of "Municipality" for solving the severe problems from the absence of good services for good health in particular good sanitation and facility such as clean water, good outbreak prevention or good public hospitals. Even the "Municipality" term cannot establish in Bangkok, but it contribute to set the ground of self-governing and establish the self-governing in the provincial unit as well. Therefore, it can be said that after the British and their subjects settled in Bangkok many changes appeared as a consequences; then British and their subject mostly participated both as the cause and effect of these changes.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE CONCLUSION

Bangkok was established as the capital of Siam since 1872. The long of establishment of the city has brought about many changes. In general the topics of the studies focus on the following aspects; economic activity, landscape, community, population and administrative functions. In general these studies mostly agree that the significant changes of Bangkok appear after the effectiveness of the Anglo-Siamese Treaty or the Bowring Treaty that Siam concluded with Britain in 1855 took effect. The general explanation of Bangkok after the Bowring Treaty conclusion mainly stress on the growth and development of the economic activities due to the transformation of Bangkok as a crucial port to deliver goods and resources for the foreign market of western powers especially the British Empire.

Regarding British economic domination in the second half of nineteenth century, Britain had transformed the monopoly trade in Asia and Southeast Asia to establish a new term of trade pattern under free trade condition of fixed import tariff and free exportation of some goods and resources in the global market or within her dominant ports of British Empire. This course of time in the second half of nineteenth-century Britain and other western powers influenced both in economic domination and political threat by territorial acquisition that was known as the period of colonization.

The territorial acquisition and economic domination British trade through the abandonment of the monopoly licensed trade of the British East India Company was the result of shifting to the direct trade between private sector. The new term of economic pattern placed free trade under the condition of Treaty provisions. By negotiation and war, Britain could control and conquer the main ports in Asia and Southeast Asia by the treaties or occupations such as Bombay, Rangoon, Singapore, Penang, and Hong Kong. Regarding the Bangkok port, Britain influenced Siam to accept the turn of free trade since the first Treaty in 1826 and the second Treaty in 1855.

The first Treaty had transformed Bangkok gradually by the acceptance of the condition of abandonment royal monopoly trade, but Siam still maintain the right to deny of the settlement of British subjects in Bangkok and refusal extraterritorial right entirely. The growth of trade stimulated Bangkok to become the crucial port city for the export goods such as pepper, sugar and rice. However, after that, Bangkok was forced to accept the unsatisfied conditions on trade and the disadvantage of law under the extraterritoriality including the necessity to open the territories for the settlement of British interest and British subject communities in Bangkok significantly with the land ownership.

However, it shall be noted that the Bowring Treaty is of greater significance than the previous treaties because it established the status of the international law between Siam and other nations especially the western powers. Concerning the Bowring Treaty, it was in effect until 1938. Therefore, it means that some of the provisions in the treaty were enforced so long especially the extraterritoriality that denied accepting the law of Siam until the standard code same as western nation could be established. The enforcement of the Treaty is the origin of the establishment of international law in Siam. Noticeably, even Siam needed to abrogate some unfair provisions, but Siam could not abandon the status of the enforcement of the treaty without the agreement of Britain. That mean the strong of the enforcement of the Treaty assists the development of law and order of the international relation instead of conflict and war.

Some comments explain the long enforcement of the Bowring Treaty and it is unfair treatment to Siam, but if we consider the Treaty as equal to the international law that Siam concluded with the condition of the difficult of the abrogation since the beginning; the Treaty point highlights the transition of the new term of the international relation in the new form of the enforcement of the international law significantly. Especially Siam had to wait to negotiate several points and statutes of the Treaty with great difficulty in particular the abrogation of the fixed land taxation, fixed exportation

upon the schedule attachment of the Bowring Treaty or the acceptance for the levy land tax as equal to Siamese that these negotiations could come to term until 1909.

Therefore, when we explore the Treaty as international law, we see the significant enforcement of the Treaty that Siam should obey under the provisions strictly as a necessary limitation to overcome. Consequently, when we consider the Treaty provisions carefully, we will find that the Treaty stressed the settlement of British and their subjects in Bangkok very clearly in several articles as earlier mentioned. Together with the privileges of several points brought to the settlement of British and their subject in Bangkok. According to the establishment of land ownership, the privileged of the law protection and the privileges of fixed taxation of import, export, and land tax. These conditions guide this work to examine further that how the settlement of the British and their subject settle in Bangkok. The findings reveal that the settlement of these settlers is a crucial point of Bangkok changes particularly when the following bounded Treaties of thirteen nations are concluded. It is found that the settlement in Bangkok is extended these new comers of western powers same as the Britain. Therefore, the new comers increased to settle in Bangkok by the original starting point stipulated in the Bowring Treaty that caused more treaties that Siam had to conclude with the other nations thereafter. The beginning of the Bowring Treaty did not only attract the British and their subjects only, but it also attracted other western nations to settle down in Bangkok. That meant the Bowring Treaty did not only set the foundation for the settlement of British and British subjects in Bangkok, but it also established privileged conditions for the settlement of foreign communities in Bangkok at the same time. This is the second point of significance of the Bowring Treaty.

The third significant point of the Treaty is the most important to this study. The Bowring Treaty is a remarkable point in the change that occurred in Bangkok particularly regarding the settlement of British and their subjects. Regarding the settlement of these new comers in Bangkok, this work found that this type of settlement caused changes in three significant ways.



Firstly, the Bangkok landscape changed because the British and their subjects were located in communities. The first community was the British community along the Chao Phraya River near the former American and European community and associated large community of Chinese at Sampheng in the south of Bangkok. The European new comers joined together with the former foreign community as well. Together with them the British subjects, mainly Indians and Chinese settled communities close to the European and Chinese quarters. To facilitate communication and benefit from shop house renting, the government and noble private investors cooperated to construct roads and shop houses around to core city going to the south of these communities. The city grew with many roads and shop houses that they brought to convenient way to assist the new comers of British and British subjects including other foreigners to settle in Bangkok.

There was little doubt the British subjects benefited from the Bowring Treaty conditions to reside in Bangkok. This also included the, so-called, lower class of Chinese coolies; they gradually immigrated for the better life. Afterward, when the noble investors made land available for sale in southern quarters, these lands were divided into small pieces for purchase. The numbers of land buyers in this quarter revealed mainly were British subjects, Chinese or Indian. However, soon after, the necessity of issuing title-deed came to the front. The government issued title-deeds in 1901 that meant it permanently secured land rights for foreigners. They were then able to settle permanently in Bangkok. Foreigners and their subjects shared lands in Bangkok approximately thirty percent. It is assumed that these British subjects or foreign subjects who could occupy land under ownership of the title-deeds finally settle and become the population of Bangkok in considerable number since then.

Secondly, the British and British subjects significantly stimulated the economy of the state and economy of urban Bangkok. The large companies of the British in Bangkok reaped the benefits from rice and teak exportation and shipping were assisted by Asiatic subjects, Indians or Chinese. Their subjects were also involved in

business in Bangkok, mostly as retailers, or compradors. Particularly some of their subjects learned from the experience from British companies and accumulated their own capital at the same time; consequently, they later separated and started to settle their own businesses as well. This was a positive benefit of trade that the Treaty brought to Bangkok after the fixed importation for only three percent; however, the benefit of trade by fixed revenue increase also brought negative aspects to Bangkok at the same time particularly when it influenced Siam to maintain the main sources of revenue by the sinful tax farms in Bangkok. These farm businesses caused insecurity in property and life for foreigners in Bangkok even though they were protected by extraterritoriality. The negative atmosphere of living under in a situation with alcoholic dens, gambling and opium house and pawnshops interfered with the well being of all inhabitants in Bangkok.

Thirdly, the significant changes in Bangkok occurred in the form of administrative functions. Owing to the Treaty enforcement, the new services and administrative reformations were mostly introduced in Bangkok. The reformation of services and functions impacted both the government and Bangkok city's services. Some services were developed abruptly such as police constable, Royal Survey Department and Bangkok Revenue Department. Remarkably financial reform of state also related to some economic activities in Bangkok changed significantly. For example, the monopoly tax farms are the main of state revenue and are mostly collected from Bangkok included opium, alcohol, gambling and pawnshops. The government tried to abolish or decrease these illicit incomes when King Chulalongkorn and General-Adviser initiated a scheme of reformation. The scheme planed to abandon them and replace them with other sources of income in particular land tax. The main sources of state income were economic activities of Bangkok; therefore, the reformation of state economy subsequently related to the abandon of farm businesses mainly located in Bangkok. Importantly, they are the difficult tasks for Financial Ministry and Local Government ministry at that time. Moreover, these farm businesses severely affected people due to a sense of insecurity from crime and robbery or dangerous living particularly the foreigners or foreign subjects who were granted extraterritoriality.

However, expressing thanks to the assistance of the British government, several principle departments and ministries in Bangkok were assisted by the British officials and staffs such as police department, Royal Survey Department, Land Register Office, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Local Government to support the abolition of gambling dens in Bangkok as possible. Finally with the cooperation of the Siamese government and, the British advisers and staffs of the mentioned departments and ministries above brought a solution of the problem. The effectiveness of land taxation after issuing title-deeds can replace the decreased revenue from the decreased number of gambling dens. The assistants of the British and British subjects therefore are more valuable to set the functional works of important departments and branches of the government units in Bangkok.

Regarding the foreign communities of British in European communities or British subjects in Bangkok, they influenced Bangkok to facilitate better service of public health and sanitation. They asked for the protection of outbreak of disease, clean water for drinking and the disposal of waste. While they asked for these services in Bangkok, these settlers had also circulated and introduced the alternative administration of the local unit in Bangkok similarly to the local unit of administration in British colony known as "Municipality". The principle of this local unit are the composition of the board of the representative to administrate its own functions in urban Bangkok including collecting its own taxes for providing good services of public health and sanitation in the Bangkok city. Nonetheless, this term of alternative local administration cannot function in Bangkok perfectly. The limitation of the Bowring Treaty provision was that it could not levy more charges than specified in the Treaty. Therefore, it was difficult for Bangkok because some of Bangkok population mainly were foreigners who were privileged under the same as the Bowring Treaty provision bounded. No more taxes could be levied without the agreement of British consul or Government. Therefore it certainly means that it is impossible to come to term in reality for the "Municipality" function in Bangkok. However, even the new introduced local unit of administration "Municipality" can not be existed in

Bangkok, but the root of thought can be distributed and established in provincial unit of Siam known as “Sukhaphiban” thereafter as well.

Therefore, the settlement of British and their subjects in Bangkok including other foreigners influenced the changes through these following consequences i.e. the number of land ownership, the diversified communities of many nationalities, the economic growth and the limitation of revenue increase, and the reformation and introduction of the new better works of new departments and functions including introduction of alternative unit for the local administration. Then, these changes above mostly appeared in Bangkok since the Bowring Treaty conditioned for the settlement of the British and British subjects in Bangkok.

## REFERENCES

### ภาษาไทย

- กรมศิลปากร. ประวัติและผลงานของชาวต่างชาติในประเทศไทย. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากรพิมพ์ กองวรรณกรรมและประวัติศาสตร์, 2539.
- กรรณิการ์ จุฑามาศ สุมาลี. ชาวยะวาในกรุงเทพมหานคร พ.ศ. 2445-2492. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา มหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2528.
- กาญจนา จินตกานนท์. นโยบายของรัฐบาลเกี่ยวกับภาษีอากรการพนัน พ.ศ. 2367 - 2460. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา มหาบัณฑิต, สาขาประวัติศาสตร์เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ภาควิชา ประวัติศาสตร์. มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2530.
- กิ่งแก้ว นิคมขำ. การเจรจาและข้อตกลงระหว่างไทยและอังกฤษเกี่ยวกับหัวเมืองมลายูในสมัย พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ระหว่าง พ.ศ. 2443 ถึง พ.ศ. 2452. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา มหาบัณฑิต, มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ, 2519.
- เกื้อกูล ยืนยงอนันต์. การพัฒนาการคมนาคมทางบกในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้า เจ้าอยู่หัว. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมการฝึกหัดครู, 2520.
- กุลลดา เกษบุญชู-มีด, “ทุนนิยมอังกฤษกับเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ในศตวรรษที่ 19” ใน วารสาร ไฟฟ้าเดียวกัน ฉบับที่ 4 (ตุลาคม-ธันวาคม 2549) หน้า 94-109.
- คณะกรรมการจัดงานฉลอง 120 ปี กุสสตรีวังหลัง – วัฒนาวิทยาลัย. อนุสรณ์ 120 ปี กุสสตรี วังหลัง- วัฒนาวิทยาลัย พ.ศ. 2417 – 2537. กรุงเทพฯ: คณะกรรมการฉลอง 120 ปี, 2541.
- คุชแมน, เจนนิเฟอร์ เวนีย์. การค้าทางเรือสำเภาจีน-สยาม ยุคต้นรัตนโกสินทร์. ชี้นิจิตต์ อ่ำไพพรรณ (แปล). กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์, 2528.
- จริยาวรรณ อภรณ์รัตน์. ปัญหาของรัฐบาลไทยในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้า เจ้าอยู่หัวที่เกี่ยวกับคนเอเชียในบังคับอังกฤษและฝรั่งเศส. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา มหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2525.
- จักรกฤษณ์ นรนิติผดุงการ. สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยาตาดำรงราชานุภาพกับ กระทรวงมหาดไทย. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2545.
- ชมพูนุช นาศิริรักษ์. บทบาทของที่ปรึกษาชาวต่างประเทศในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระ จุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว พ.ศ. 2411-2453. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา มหาบัณฑิต, แผนกวิชา ภูมิศาสตร์-ประวัติศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2513.

- ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ, บรรณาธิการ. ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4. กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทย และมูลนิธิตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547.
- ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริและอรอนงค์ ทิพย์พิมล, บรรณาธิการ. รัชกาลที่ 5: สยามกับอนุชาคนเฒ่าและซมพูทวิป. กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทย และมูลนิธิตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547.
- ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริและกัณฐิกา ศรีอุดม, บรรณาธิการ. พระเจ้ากรุงสยามกับเซอร์จอห์น เบาว์ริง. กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทย และมูลนิธิตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2548.
- ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยา. เทศาภิบาล. กรุงเทพฯ: มติชน, 2545.
- ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยา. พระราชพงศาวดาร รัชกาลที่ 5. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3, กรุงเทพฯ: มติชน, 2551.
- ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยา. ความทรงจำ. กรุงเทพฯ: มติชน, 2546.
- ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยา. พระราชพงศาวดาร รัชกาลที่ 5. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3, กรุงเทพฯ: มติชน, 2551.
- ณัฐวุฒิ สุทธิสงคราม. สมเด็จพระเจ้าพระยาบรมมหาศรีสุริยวงศ์ เล่ม 1 พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3, กรุงเทพฯ: สร้างสรรค์บุ๊ค, 2551.
- ทรงศรี อัจจอรุณ. การแก้ไขสนธิสัญญาว่าด้วยสิทธิสภาพนอกอาณาเขตกับประเทศมหาอำนาจในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สมมติพิมพ์สังคมศาสตร์แห่งประเทศไทย, มปป.
- ทวีศักดิ์ สุภาษา. การจัดการและบทบาทของตำรวจในมณฑลกรุงเทพฯ รัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ, มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ, 2520.
- ทิพากรวงศ์. พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 4. (พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 6) กรุงเทพฯ: อมรินทร์พริ้นติ้งแอนด์พับลิชชิ่ง, 2548.
- นพรัตน์ นุสสรธรรม. การปฏิรูปกฎหมายที่ดินในสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2520.
- นวพร เรืองสกุล. สีลม ย่าหมาและตำราอาหาร. กรุงเทพฯ: knowledge Plus, 2551.
- นันทนา ตันติเวส, “ชีวิตและผลงานของพระยาวิสุทธสุทนต์ (กับต้นจอห์น บุช)” ใน ประวัติและผลงานของชาวต่างชาติในประเทศไทย เล่ม 2. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2539.

- นันทนา โชติเวทธำรง. โรงรับจำนำกับเศรษฐกิจและสังคมไทย. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต, สาขาวิชาประวัติศาสตร์เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2528.
- นันทนา วรเนติวงศ์. ชีวประวัติเซอร์เจมส์ บรู๊ค. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2518.
- นันทนา วรเนติวงศ์ (แปล). “พ่อค้าอังกฤษคนแรกในกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์” ใน รวมเรื่องแปลหนังสือและเอกสารทางประวัติศาสตร์ ชุดที่ 3. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2538. แปลจาก Moore, Aday “An Early British Merchant in Bangkok” in *The Journal of the Siam Society* vol. 2.
- นันทนา วรเนติวงศ์. ประวัติและผลงานของชาวต่างชาติในประเทศไทย เล่ม 2. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2539.
- นันทนา วรเนติวงศ์. จดหมายเหตุเจมส์ โลว์. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2539.
- นิติ กสิโกศล. การเก็บค่านาในสมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ พ.ศ. 2325-2482. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต, สาขาวิชาประวัติศาสตร์เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2525.
- นิติ ลิศนันท์. เอกสารบัญชีรายชื่อ เจ้าของที่ดินในกรุงเทพ รศ. 118-120. ใน สารศาสตร์: การประชุมวิชาการสถาปัตยกรรมและศาสตร์เกี่ยวเนื่อง ครั้งที่ 12, 21-22 ตุลาคม พ.ศ. 2551. แนน้อย ศักดิ์ศรี, ม.ร.ว. องค์ประกอบทางกายภาพกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2534.
- ประภัสสร อินธิแสน. บทบาทของสุขาภิบาลที่มีต่อการปกครองตนเองในท้องถิ่น ระหว่างปี พ.ศ. 2441 – 2476. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต, สาขาเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้. ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2523.
- ประพัฒน์ ตริณรงค์. พระประวัติและผลงาน สมเด็จพระยาตากษัตริย์ราชานุภาพ. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ดำรงวิทยา, 2546.
- ปิยะนาถ บุนนาค. การวางรากฐานการคมนาคมในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว. รายงานการวิจัย. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2518.
- แผนที่กรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2439. กรุงเทพฯ: ภาควิชาสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2550.
- แผนที่กรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2450-2550. กรุงเทพฯ: กรุงเทพมหานคร และคณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2550.

- พรทวี สุปิ่นถนนวนนท์. การจัดการอสังหาริมทรัพย์ในกรุงเทพมหานคร พ.ศ. 2411- 2475.  
 วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2542.
- พรพรรณ ทองตัน. บันทึกสัมพันธ์ภาพระหว่างประเทศสยามกับนานาประเทศ เล่มที่ 15 (7 ก.ค. 1858- 26 ธ.ค. 1858). กรุงเทพฯ: กองวรรณกรรมและประวัติศาสตร์ กรมศิลปากร, 2542.
- พอพันธ์ อูยยานนท์. ประวัติเศรษฐกิจกรุงเทพฯ. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักงานคณะกรรมการการวิจัยแห่งชาติ, 2539.
- พรณี บัวเล็ก. โครงการ: ระบบก่งสี: กำเนิดและวิถีชีวิตของชนชั้นแรงงานรับจ้างในประเทศไทย ในช่วงปลายคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 18 ถึงคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 19. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย, 2549.
- เพ็ญศรี ด้ก. ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศไทย(สยาม)กับประเทศฝรั่งเศสในคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 19 ตามเอกสารกระทรวงการต่างประเทศ. กรุงเทพฯ: ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน, 2539.
- ไพศาลย์ เปี่ยมเมตตาวัดณ์, บรรณาธิการ. เสด็จอินเดีย 2415. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ริเวอร์บุ๊กส์, 2543.
- เฟรด ดับบลิว ริกส์. การปรับตัวเข้าสู่ยุคใหม่ของสยามและพม่า. อมร โสภณวิเศษฐ์วงศ์ และเอกวิทย์ ณ ถลาง (แปล). กรุงเทพฯ: ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ ประสานมิตร, 2519.
- ภูวดล ทรงประเสริฐ. จีนโพ้นทะเลสมัยใหม่. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนงานวิจัย, 2547.
- เมธีพัชญ์ จงวโรทัย. สุขภาพิบาล:การปกครองท้องถิ่นสยาม พ.ศ. 2440-2476. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2549.
- รสสุคนธ์ จรัสศรี. บทบาทของข้าราชการชาวต่างประเทศ ในกรมตำรวจในสมัยสมบูรณาญาสิทธิราชย์. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, แผนกวิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2520.
- รัตนพร เศรษฐกุล. ศาลต่างประเทศในภาคเหนือของประเทศไทย (พ.ศ. 2416 – 2480). วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2523.
- วรรณถ แก้วศรี. โรคระบาดในชุมชนภาคกลางของไทย พ.ศ.2440-2475: การศึกษาเชิงประวัติศาสตร์. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2535.



วรวิทย์ ทัดตากรและคณะ. ความก้าวหน้าของการสาธารณสุขของกรุงเทพมหานคร. กรุงเทพฯ:

ภาควิชาเวชศาสตร์ป้องกันและสังคม คณะแพทยศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย,  
2525.

วรรณชลิย์ บุญมี. ความสัมพันธ์กับอังกฤษในบางลักษณะสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้า

เจ้าอยู่หัว: การป่าไม้และการเหมืองแร่. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, มหาวิทยาลัย  
ศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ, 2520.

วราภรณ์ ทินานนท์. การค้าสำเภาของไทยสมัยรัตนโกสินทร์ตอนต้น. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา

มหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2522.

วัลย์วิภา บุญรัตนพันธุ์ และวิมลพรรณ ปีตวัชชัย. บทบาทของสมเด็จพระยาเทวะวงศ์วโรปการ

กับการปฏิรูปการปกครองแผ่นดินในรัชกาลที่ 5. กรุงเทพฯ: สารมวลงชน, 2525.

วิภาคภูวดล, พระ. บันทึกการสำรวจและบุกเบิกในแดนสยาม. สุมาลี วีระวงศ์(แปล). กรุงเทพฯ:

กรมแผนที่ทหาร, 2533.

วุฒิชัย มูลศิลป์. การปรับตัวของไทยและจีนในสมัยจักรวรรดินิยมใหม่. กรุงเทพฯ: ต้นอ้อ, 2534.

เยาวภา ญาณสุภาพ. กิจการสุราในประเทศไทยระหว่าง พ.ศ. 2367 - 2485. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา

มหาบัณฑิต, มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ ประสานมิตร, 2532.

ศิระสิทธิ์ ภูเพ็ชร์ (แปลและเรียบเรียง). บันทึกสัมพันธ์ภาพระหว่างประเทศสยามกับนานาประเทศ

เล่มที่ 7 (ค.ศ. 1854 - 1855). กรุงเทพฯ: กองวรรณกรรมและประวัติศาสตร์ กรมศิลปากร,  
2541.

สนั่น รัตนโสภา. วิวัฒนาการบริษัทต่างชาติในประเทศไทย (พ.ศ. 2398 - พ.ศ. 2484): กรณีศึกษา

การตัดถนนในกำแพงพระนคร ด้านเหนือและด้านใต้พระนคร. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา  
มหาบัณฑิต. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2526.

สยามพร ทองสารี. การตัดถนนในกรุงเทพฯ ในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

(2411-2453): กรณีศึกษาการตัดถนนในกำแพงพระนคร ด้านเหนือและด้านใต้พระนคร.  
วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2526.

สาครชิตอนันท์ สหาย. ร.5 เสด็จอินเดีย. กัณฐิกา ศรีอุดม(แปล). กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้า และ

มูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2546.

สารบาณูชีส่วนที่ 1 คือ ตำแหน่งราชการ, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2 กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ต้นฉบับ, 2541.

สารบาณูชีส่วนที่ 2 คือ ราษฎรในจังหวัด ถนง แล ตรอก จ.ศ. 1245. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2, กรุงเทพฯ:

สำนักพิมพ์ต้นฉบับ, 2541.

- สาวิตรี ทักษะสุด. ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชุมชนชาวไทย จีน และตะวันตกในกรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2398-2453. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2526.
- สิริลักษณ์ สัมปชชิต. ต้นกำเนิดชนชั้นนายทุนในประเทศไทย (พ.ศ.2398-2453). พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สร้างสรรค์บุ๊ค, 2552.
- สืบแสง พรหมบุญ. ความสัมพันธ์ในระบบบรรณาการระหว่างจีนกับไทย ค.ศ. 1282- 1853. กาญจนี ละอองศรี (แปล). กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2525.
- สุภาภรณ์ จรัสพัฒน. ภาษีฝิ่นกับนโยบายด้านการคลังของรัฐบาลไทย พ.ศ.2367-2468. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2523.
- สุทธิพันธ์ ชุนทรานนท์. การเก็บภาษีอากรและผลกระทบต่อสังคมไทย พ.ศ. 2416 – 2475. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาามหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2525.
- หจช.กต.2/115 ใช้หนังสือสำหรับตัวปลอม, 2449.
- หจช.กต.2/23 กฎหมายเปลี่ยนชาติ พ.ศ. 2432.
- หจช.กต.2/32 พระราชบัญญัติที่ดิน พ.ศ. 2435.
- หจช.กต.2/32 ประกาศออกโฉนด รศ.120.
- หจช.กต.2/61 พระราชบัญญัติอั้งยี่, 2440.
- หจช.กต.2/70 คนสยามแลคนต่างประเทศในประเทศสยาม.
- หจช.กต.2/83 พระราชบัญญัติตรวจป้องกันโรคสัตว์พาหนะ, 2443.
- หจช.กต.2/116 พระราชบัญญัติจดทะเบียนคนตาย พ.ศ. 2449
- หจช.กต.34/25 หนังสือเดินทางคนในบังคับอังกฤษ (2410 – 2420).
- หจช.กต.34/54 ขอตราเดินทางให้หม่องทองละพม่าในบังคับอังกฤษ พ.ศ. 2447.
- หจช.กต.34/55 ขอตราเดินทางให้อิสไมแขกในบังคับอังกฤษ ร.ศ. 127.
- หจช.กต.34/56 กงสุลเยนเรอลอังกฤษ เรื่องคนต่างประเทศขอหนังสือเดินทาง 1904.
- หจช.กต.34.1/4 อาหมัดสุไลมันสุรตีหรือกาตนี้บังคับอังกฤษว่าเจ้าหน้าที่ไม่ยอมจดทะเบียนสำมะโนครัวบุตรของเขาเป็นคนในบังคับอังกฤษ.
- หจช.กต.34.1/5 [4].1 ปัญหาเรื่องคนไทยกับคนอังกฤษเป็นสามีภรรยากัน, 2428.
- หจช.กต.34.1/7 ปัญหาหนังสือเดินทางของคนในบังคับอังกฤษ, 2447.

- หจข.น.18.3.ก/599 อนุญาตให้พวกบางกอกโปรเตสแตนต์เซิซขายที่ดินซึ่งรัชกาลที่ 4 พระราชทานให้สร้างวัดเพื่อเอามาเป็นทุนที่จะสร้างใหม่.
- หจข.น.2/31 ตั้งพระราชบัญญัติแต่งงานกับคนต่างประเทศ รศ. 115, (9 มกราคม ร.ศ. 116)
- หจข.ร.5/14 สุราต่างประเทศ
- หจข.ร.5/654 รายงานกรมแผนที่ทหาร 1901-1902.
- หจข.ร.5.ค.4.4.ง/4 พระราชทานที่ตำบลคลองสารแก่พวกบางกอกโปรเตสแตนต์เซิซเป็นสิทธิ์
- หจข.ร.5 น/34 ข้อบังคับตารางหัวเมืองว่าด้วยหน้าที่เจ้าพนักงานบังคับคุมขังนักโทษ รศ.117
- หจข.ร.5 น/317 คนในบังคับของอังกฤษขออนุญาตตั้งคลังสำหรับการค้าปลีกที่ตำบลถนนสีลม
- หจข.ร.5.น.ก/42 มิสเตอร์ไวทงซูลอังกฤษแจ้งความมายังพระยาราชสัมภากรเรื่องขอหนังสือเดินทางให้ลันตี.
- หจข.ร.5.น.ก/35 สารบาญชีคนที่เป็นไข้หวัดตกโรค พ.ศ. 2427
- หจข.ร.5.น.ก/35 มิสเตอร์ไวทงซูลอังกฤษแจ้งความมายังพระยาราชสัมภากรเรื่องขอหนังสือนำเบอ 40
- หจข.น.ร.5น.2/11 พระราชบัญญัติโรงจำนำ, (23 ก.ค. 114 – 20 มี.ค. 119)
- หจข.ร.5 น.18.3.ก ที่ดินคนในบังคับซื้อขายและจำนำ (1-957)
- หจข.ร.5.น.20/8 อับราฮิมอับดุลกานี ขอตั้งสโมสร อควันโมมิเนน ที่ ต. ถนนสีลม.
- หจข.ร.5.น.20/9 แขกในบังคับอังกฤษที่ตั้งสโมสร ชื่อ คาร์ลโมฮาบาดลับ ต.นาวัน กรมหมื่นนราฯ ขอชื่อเปลี่ยนเป็น “อารุณามาร” ย้ายไปอยู่หลังโรงสีกลไฟมาแก้ว.
- หจข.ร.5 น.30/1 สารบาญชีสำมโนครวั รศ.110 คนในราชอาณาจักรสยาม
- หจข.ร.5 น.30/6 อำเภอสำรวจจำนวนพลเมืองในพระนครเพื่อกองงบประมาณ
- หจข.ร.5.น.30/7 สารบาญชีสำมโนครวัท้องที่ต่างๆ (14 มิ.ย รศ.124 – 1 ส.ค. รศ. 124)
- หจข.ร.5.น.30/8 สารบาญชีสำรวจสำมโนครวั รศ.126
- หจข.ร.5.น.30/9 ยอดสำมโนครวัมณฑลกรุงเทพฯ รศ.128
- หจข.ร.5.น.30/10 การทำสำมโนครวัในกรุงเทพฯ รศ.128-132
- หจข.ร.5.น.30/11 สำมโนครวั รศ.129
- หจข.ร.5ต/19 ห้างต่างประเทศขอจัดตั้งห้างเพื่อทำการค้าขาย
- หจข.ร.5ต/81 ขออนุญาตใช้หนังสือเดินทาง (แบบตัวอย่าง)
- หจข.ร.5ต.2.12/10 ห้างต่างประเทศขอตั้งข้อบังคับสำหรับทำการค้าขาย, (9 – 15 พ.ค. 117).
- หจข.ร.5น.41.1/221 บัญชีรายชื่อเจ้าของที่ดินตำบลต่างๆ, ปีก 1 – 4.

อนุমানราชชน, พระยา.ตำนานสุลทากร.กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักวรรณกรรมและประวัติศาสตร์ กรม  
ศิลปากร, 2551.

อรวรรณ ศรีอุดม.วันวาน...กับวันนี้ของถนนสีลม. ไสร์จจ หงส์ดารมภ์ (แปล), กรุงเทพฯ:  
อมรินทร์พริ้นติ้งกรุ๊ป, 2535.

อรรถิพย์ เทสสิริ. การถือครองที่ดินในประเทศไทย พ.ศ. 2444 – 2475: ศึกษาเฉพาะกรณีมณฑล  
กรุงเทพฯ. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์  
มหาวิทยาลัย, 2524.

อัมมาร์ สยามวาลาและสุนทรี อาสะไวย์, “กระแสโลกาภิวัตน์ จักรวรรดินิยมการค้าเสรี และผลที่มี  
ต่อสยาม พ.ศ. 2398-2480 (ค.ศ.1855-1937) ในเอกสารการสัมมนาทางวิชาการ เรื่อง  
สนธิสัญญาและการต่างประเทศในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว: ผล  
สืบเนื่องจากสยามเข้าสู่โลกาภิวัตน์ เนื่องในวาระฉลอง 200 ปี พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรม  
หลวงวรวงษาธิราชสนิท. กรุงเทพฯ : มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์, 2551.

อินทิรา ซาฮีร์. เครือข่ายพ่อค้าผ้าชาวอินเดียในสังคมไทย ระหว่าง พ.ศ. 2400- 2490. วิทยานิพนธ์  
ปริญญาโทบริหารบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2546.

อุทิศ จึ่งนิพนธ์สกุล. เศรษฐกิจวัดในกรุงเทพมหานคร (พ.ศ. 2325-2453). วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา  
มหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์. จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2525.

## ENGLISH

หจข.กค 0301.1.2/2[1] House, Shop and Boat Tax Regulations 1870.

หจข.กค 0301.1.2/2[2] Land Houses and Fisheries Taxes 1912.

หจข.กค 0301.1.4/4 Treaty provisions dealing with monopolies.

หจข.กค 0301.1.22/1 Violence Crime of Bangkok (1901-1902)

หจข.กค 0301.1.36/1 Laws and Rules governing the issue of "Tra Phooms" or Exemption Notes. From 1897.

หจข.กค 0301.1.36/6 Miscellaneous Laws and Regulations. Law on Evidence.

หจข.กค 0301.1.36/11 Miscellaneous Laws and Regulations. Law on Family Names.

หจข.กค 0301.1.37/2 Rules and General Regulations for Her Britannic Majesty's Consular Courts in Siam 1895.

หจข.กค 0301.1.37/5 The (British) Siam Order in Council 1906.

หจข.กต 2/115 Office of the General Adviser, Bangkok, April 12, 1906.

หจข.กต.34/1. Letter to His Siamese Majesty's Consulate.

หจข.กต. 34/2. Requested list of Portuguese Persons and Firms.

หจข.กต.34/4. British Subject in Siam.

หจข.กต.34/5. Acquisition of Land.

หจข.กต.34.1/4 The Registration of British Subjects in Siam 1899.

หจข.กต.34.1/8. Nationality of A Man Born in a French Protector of Siamese Parents.

หจข น.ร.5น/36 ก.6. Report on the Police Administration of Bangkok Suburbs and Railway Divisions for 1898-99.

หจข น.ร. 5น/97 ก.6. Report on the Police Administration of Bangkok Town, Suburbs, and Railway for the Year 1899-1900.

หจข น.ร.5น/100 ก.6. Report on the Police Administration of Bangkok Town, Northern and Southern Suburbs, and Railway District for the Year 120, 1901.

หจข น.ร.5น/102 ก.6. Report on the Police Administration of Bangkok Town, Northern and Southern Suburbs, and Railway District for the Year 122, 1903.

หจข น.ร.5น/103 ก.6. Report on the Police Administration of Bangkok Town, Northern and Southern Suburbs, and Railway District for the Year 123, 1904.

- พฉท. B.P.P.1/1 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance,1886-1887
- พฉท. B.P.P.1/3 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1888.
- พฉท. B.P.P.1/4 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1889.
- พฉท. B.P.P.1/5 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1890-1891.
- พฉท. B.P.P.1/6 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1892.
- พฉท. B.P.P.1/7 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance,1893.
- พฉท. B.P.P.1/8 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance,1894.
- พฉท. B.P.P.1/9 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance,1895.
- พฉท. B.P.P.1/10 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance,1896.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/2 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance,1897.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/3 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1898.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/4 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1899.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/5 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1900.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/6 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1901.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/7 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1902-3.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/9 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1904.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/10 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1905.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/12 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1907.
- พฉท. B.P.P.3/14 Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1908-9.
- พฉท. กค. 0301.1/40 The Penal Code R.S.127.
- พฉท. กค. 0301.1.37/1 State Papers of the Kingdom of Siam 1664-1886.
- พฉท. กค. 0301.1.38B/1 Ministry of Finance, Report of the Financial Adviser upon the Budget of the Kingdom of Siam for the Year 120, 1901-1902.
- พฉท. กค. 0301.1.38B/2 Ministry of Finance, Report of the Financial Adviser upon the Budget of the Kingdom of Siam for the Year 121, 1902-1903.
- พฉท. กค. 0301.1.38B/3 Ministry of Finance, Report of the Financial Adviser on the Budget of the Kingdom of Siam for the Year 122, 1903-04.
- พฉท. กค. 0301.1.38B/4 Ministry of Finance, Report of the Financial Adviser on the Budget of the Kingdom of Siam for the Year 123, 1904-05.

- พฉฐ. กค. 0301.33/1 Outline of a Scheme for the creation of a Municipality for Bangkok, 1900.
- พฉฐ. กค. 0301.12/1 Increase of Paddy land Tax, 1905.
- Augustin, A. and Williamson A. The Oriental Bangkok. Vienna: Famous Hotels, 2000.
- Askew, Marc. Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Asiatica, I. Siam: The Land of the White Elephant as it was and is. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2000.
- Bangkok Nursing Home. Available from: <http://www.bnhheritage.com/en/history1.ph/> [August, 2011]
- Bastin, J., and Benda, H. A History of Modern Southeast Asia. 2nd ed. Sydney: Prenticehall of Australia, 1977.
- Bowring, John. The Kingdom and People of Siam. 4<sup>th</sup> edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Breazeale, Konnon. Thai Maritime Trade and the Ministry Responsible. in Kennon Breazeale.(ed.), From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya's Maritime Relations with Asia, pp. 1-54. Bangkok: Printing House of Thammasat University, 1999.
- Brown, Ian. The Creation of the Modern Ministry of Finance in Siam, 1885-1910. London: The Macmillan Press, 1992.
- Cady, F. John. Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development. New York: McGraw-Hill Book, 1964.
- Cambell, J.G.D. Siam in Twentieth Century. London: Arnold, 1902.
- Carter, A.C. The Kingdom of Siam 1904. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1988.
- Certificate of Registration for "British Subject" of British Consulate in Siam 8/5/1889. Available from: <http://www.eureree.com/>. [January, 2010]
- Charnvit Kasetsiri. The Rise of Ayudhaya: A History of Siam in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Charnvit Kasetsiri and Michael Wright, eds. Discovering Ayutthaya. Bangkok: Dream Catcher Graphic, 2007.

- Charnvit Kasetsiri. "Origins of a Capital and Seaport: The Early Settlement of Ayutthaya and Its East Asian Trade." In Kennon Breazeale.(ed.), From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya's Maritime Relations with Asia, pp. 55-79. Bangkok: Printing House of Thammasat University, 1999.
- Chatthip Nartsupha and Suthy Prasartset. The Political Economy of Siam, 1851-1910, 2nd Edition. Bangkok: The Social Science Association of Thailand, 1981.
- Crawford, John. Journal of an Embassy to The Courts of Siam and Cochin China. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Crosby, J. Siam: The Crossroads. New York: AMS Press, 1973.
- Davenport-Hines, R. P. T., and Jones G. (ed.), British business in Asia since 1860. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Dhiravat na Pombejra. Port, Palace, and Profit: An Overview of Siamese Crown Trade and the European Presence in Siam in the Seventeenth Century. In Cities and Trade in Western Southeast Asia, pp. 66-83. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1998.
- Evers H.D., and Kofff, R. Southeast Asian Urbanism: The Meaning and Power of Social Space. Germany: Lit Verlag, 2000.
- Falkus, Malcolm. "Early Business in Thailand." In Davenport-Hines, R.P.T. and Jones, G. (ed.), British Business in Asia since 1860. pp. 116-159. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Farrington, A.(ed.) Dr. Richardson's Mission to Siam. Bangkok: White Lotus, 2004.
- Farrington, A.(ed.) Low's Mission to Southern Siam 1824. Bangkok: White Lotus, 2007.
- Feeney, D. The Political Economy of Productivity: Thai Agricultural Development 1880-1975. London: University of British Columbia Press, 1982.
- Finlayson, George. The Mission to Siam and Hue' 1821-1822. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Sayre, Bowes.Francis. Siam's Cases for the Revision of Obsolete Treaty Obligations Admittedly Inapplicable to Present Conditions. n.p., n.d.



- Giblin, R.W. Royal Survey Work in Wright A., and Breakspear O.T. ed. Twentieth Century Impressions of Siam. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994.
- Hall, D.G.E. A History of South-East Asia. 3rd New York: St Martin's Press, 1970.
- Hall, D.G.E. Henry Burney Political Biography. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Hong, Lysa. "Stranger within the Gate: Knowing Semi-Colonial Siam as Extraterritoriality." In Modern Asian Studies 38, 2 (2004). pp. 327-354. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Ingram, J. C. Economic Change in Thailand 1850-1970. Stanford: Atanfors University Press, 1971.
- Kanitha Chitchang, "Modern Siam and the Map title Deed" in Thammasat Review Vol.14, 2010.
- Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead. The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism. Oxfordshire: Routledge Curzon, 2004.
- Larsson, T.H. Capitalizing Thailand: Colonialism, Communism, and the Political Economy of Rural Land Rights. Doctoral dissertation: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Lawson, Eric St. J. The Police Manual for the Use of Members of the Bangkok Police Force. Bangkok: The American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1906.
- Loos, Tamara. Subject Siam: Family, Law and Colonial Modernity in Thailand. Chiang Mai: Silk Worm, 2002.
- Manich Jumsai. (a) History of Anglo-Thai Relations. Bangkok: Chalermnit, 1970.
- Manich Jumsai. (b) King Mongkut and Sir John Browring. Bangkok: Chalermnit, 1970.
- Marks, Thomas. The British Acquisition of Siamese and Malaya (1896-1909). Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1977.
- Maxwell, Norman. Import, Export, and Shipping. in Wright A., and Breakspear O.T. ed. Twentieth Century Impressions of Siam. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994.
- McCarthy, J. Surveying and Exploring in Siam : with Descriptions of Lao Dependencies and of Battles against the Chinese Haws. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1994.
- McFarland G. B. Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam 1828-1928. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1999.

- Moffat, A.L. Mongkut, the King of Siam. New York: Cornell University Press, 1961.
- Nathabanja, Extra-Territoriality in Siam. Bangkok: Bangkok Daily Mail, 1924.
- Neale, F. A. Narrative of a Residence in Siam. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996.
- Neon Snidvongs, "The Bowring Treaty of 1855 and the Opening of Siam to Western Trade." In เอกสารการสัมมนาทางวิชาการ เรื่องสนธิสัญญาและการต่างประเทศในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว: ผลสืบเนื่องจากสยามเข้าสู่โลกาภิวัตน์ เนื่องในวาระฉลอง 200 ปี พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมหลวงวรวงษาธิราชสนิท. Bangkok : Thammasat University, 2008.
- Neon Snidvongs. The Development of Siam's Relations With Britain and France in the Reign of King Mongkut, 1851-1868. Doctoral Dissertation, University of London, 1961.
- Nidhi Eoseewong. Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok. Chris Baker and Benedict Anderson. trans. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005.
- Norman, Henry. The Peoples and Politics of the Far East, 7<sup>th</sup> edition. London: T. Wisser Unwin, 1907.
- Pan, Lynn. The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Oversea. Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1998.
- Peleggi, M. Lords of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.
- Piper, J.M. Rice in South-East Asia: Cultures and Landscapes. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Pirasri Povatong, The Mapping of Bangkok, 1797- 1907. Presented Paper, January 11th, 2008, The 10th International Conference on Thai Studies, Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand, 2008.
- Porsan Watanangura(ed.). The Visit of King Chulalongkorn to Europe in 1907: Reflecting on Siamese History. Bangkok: The Center for European Studies at Chulalongkorn University, 2008.

- Porphant Ouyyanont and Tsubouchi Yoshihiro, "Aspects of the Place and Role Chinese in Late Nineteenth Century Bangkok." In Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, Vol. 39, No. 3, December 2001: 384-397.
- Porphant Ouyyanont. "Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925." Reprinted from Tonan Ajia Kenkyu in Journal of Southeast Asian Studies Vol. 36, No. 4, March (1999): 444.
- Porphant Ouyyanont Bangkok and Thai Economic Development: Aspects of Change, 1820-1970. Doctoral Dissertation, New England University, 1994.
- Rajdhon. Looking Back: Book One. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 1996.
- Reid, Anthony (ed.). Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese. New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 1996.
- Reid, Anthony. Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680. Vol.2, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1993.
- Roy, E.V. Sampheng: Bangkok's Chinatown Inside Out. Bangkok: Chinese Studies Center, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2006.
- Sarasin Vipaphol, Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652-1853. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Satow, E. A Diplomat in Siam. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2000.
- Shaw, J. The Chiangmai Gymkhana Club 1898-1998. Chiang Mai: Craftsman Press, 1997.
- Skinner, William G. Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History. New York: Cornell University Press, 1956.
- Smithies, M. Old Bangkok. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Smithies, M. (ed.). Two Yankee Diplomats in 1830s Siam. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2002.
- Somsakdi Xuto. British Foreign Policy Towards Siam 1890 – 1900. Doctoral Dissertation, University of London, 1958.
- Sompop Manarungsan, Economic Development of Thailand, 1850-1950 Response to the Challenge of the World Economy, Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1989.
- Sternstein, Larry. Portrait of Bangkok. Bangkok: Bangkok Metropolitan, 1982.

- Stetson R. S. Siam's Diplomacy of Independence, 1855-1909, in the context of Anglo-French Interests. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Political, Graduate School of Art and Science, New York University, 1969.
- Suehiro Akira. Capital Accumulation in Thailand 1855-1985, Tokyo:Yuuki Kikaku, 1989.
- Thompson, V. Thailand: The New Siam. 2nd ed. New York: Paragon Book, 1967.
- Thongchai Winichakul. Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1994.
- Tej Bunnag. The Provincial Administration of Siam 1892 – 1915. Bangkok: Duangkamol Book House, 1977.
- Treaties Series Vol.I, 1617-1869: Bilateral Treaties and Agreements between Thailand and Foreign Countries and International Organizations . Bangkok: Treaty and Legal Department, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1968.
- Treaties Series Vol.II, 1888-1919: Bilateral Treaties and Agreements between Thailand and Foreign Countries and International Organizations . Bangkok: Treaty and Legal Department, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1968.
- Tips, W. E. J. Gustave Rolin - Jaequemyns and the Making of Modern Siam: The Diaries and Letter of King Chulalongkorn's General Adviser. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996.
- Tuck, Patrick. The French Wolf and Siamese Lamb. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1995.
- Van Beek, Steve. Bangkok Then and Now. Nonthaburi: AB Publications, 1999.
- Vella, W. F. The Impact of the West on Government in Thailand. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955.
- Vella, W. F. Siam under Rama III: 1824 - 1851. J.J. Augustin Gluckstadt, 1957.
- Vichitr Vadakarn. Thailand's Case. Bangkok: n.d., 1941.
- Vikrom Koompirochana. Siam in British Foreign Policy 1855-1938: The Acquisition and the Relinquishment of British Extraterritorial Rights. Doctoral Dissertation. Department of History, Michigan State University, 1972.
- Wales, H.G.Q. Ancient Siamese Government and Administration. New York: Paragon Book, 1965.

- Warren, William. Celebrating 100 years: The Royal Bangkok Sports Club. Bangkok: The Royal Bangkok Sports Club, 2001.
- Waugh, A. Bangkok: The Story of a City. Bangkok: Orientations, 1970.
- Webster, A. Gentlemen Capitalists: British Imperialism in South East Asia 1770-1890. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998.
- Widodo, J. The Boat and the City: Chinese Diaspora and the Architecture of Southeast Asian Coastal Cities. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2004.
- W.J.F. Williamson. Finance. in Wright A., and Breakspear O.T. ed. Twentieth Century Impressions of Siam. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994.
- Wilson, Constance M. State and Society in the Reign of Mongkut, 1851-1868: Thailand on the Eve of Modernization. Doctoral Dissertation, Faculty of Graduate School, Cornell University, 1970.
- Wood, W.A.R. Consul in Paradise: Sixty-Nine Years in Siam. London: Souvenir Press, 1965.
- Yeoh, B.S.A. Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003.

## APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 – 1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1885	1	Tambon Wua Lamphong (ตำบลวัดหัวลำโพง) (1)
1886	4	Tambon Wua Lamphong (ตำบลวัดหัวลำโพง)(1) Tambon Wat Samphanthawong (ตำบลวัดสัมพันธวงศ์) (1) Wat Kaeo Fa (วัดแก้วฟ้า) (1) Pak Khlong Bangkok Noi (ปากคลองบางกอกน้อย) (1)
1887	2	Tambon Talat Noi (ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (1) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1)
1888	7	Khwaeng Krungthep (แขวงกรุงเทพ) (1) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Tambon Sampheng (ตำบลสำเพ็ง) (1) Tambon Sam Sen (ตำบลสามเสน) (1) Tambon Thanon Silom (ตำบลถนนสีลม) (1) Tambon Wat Khae (ตำบลวัดแค) (1) Tambon Wat Samphanthawong (ตำบลวัดสัมพันธวงศ์) (1)
1889	14	Tambon Thung Wua Lamphong (ตำบลทุ่งวัวลำพอง) (9) Tambon Silom (ตำบลสีลม) (1) Tambon Pak Khlong (ตำบลปากคลอง) Khut Mai (ตำบลปากคลองขุดใหม่) (1) Tambon Trok Chaosua Niam (ตำบลตรอกเจ้าสัวเนียม) (1) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Tambon Wat Khae (ตำบลวัดแค) (1)
1890	22	Tambon Thung Wua Lamphong (ตำบลทุ่งวัวลำพอง) (5) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (3) Tambon Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลตรอกพระยาไกร) (3) Tambon Khlong Khut Mai (ตำบลคลองขุดใหม่) (2) Tambon Talat Noi (ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (2) Tambon Pak Khlong (ตำบลปากคลอง) (1) Tambon Na Wat Chakkrawat (ตำบลหน้าวัดจักรวรรดิ) (1) Tambon Bang Khwang (ตำบลบางขวาง) (1) Tambon Chao Rongthao (ตำบลเจ้ารองเท้า) (1) Tambon Pak Trok Wat Muangkhae Bangrak (ตำบลปากตรอกวัวม่วงแค บางรัก) (1)(Land behind Wat Maha Phruettha Ram (ที่ดินตำบลหลังวัดมหาพฤฒาราม) (1) Tambon Bang Nam Chon (ตำบลบางน้ำชัน) (1)
1891	18	Tambon Thung Wua Lamphong (ตำบลทุ่งวัวลำพอง) (2) Tambon Si Yaek Khlong Phadung (ตำบลสี่แยกคลองผดุง) (1) Tambon Khlong Khut Mai (ตำบลคลองขุดใหม่) (1) Tambon Sisa Lamphong near Thanon Trong (ตำบลศรีชะลำโพงริมถนนตรง) (1) Tambon Lang Kongsun Sathan (ตำบลหลังกงสุลสถาน) (1) Tambon Khlong Khwang (ตำบลคลองขวาง) (1) Tambon Nai Trok Khaosan (ตำบลในตรอกข้าวสาร) (1) Tambon Sam Yaek Krungthep (ตำบลสามแยกกรุงเทพ) (1) Tambon Sampheng (ตำบลสำเพ็ง) (1) Tambon Khlong Khut Phasi Charoen (ตำบลคลองขุดภาษีเจริญ) (1)

Appendix 1 (Continued - 2): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 – 1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1891		... (continued) Tambon Khlong Sompoi (ตำบลคลองส้มป่อย) (1) Tambon Talat Noi (ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (1) Tambon Wat Chakkrawat Rachawat (ตำบลวัดจักรวรรดิราชาวาส) (1) Tambon Muban Khaek Sang Khla (ตำบลหมู่บ้านแขกสงขลา) (1) Tambon Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลตรอกพระยาไกร) (1) Tambon Bang Nam Chon (ตำบลบางน้ำจัน) (1) Tambon Thanon Silom (ตำบลถนนสีลม) (1)
1892	20	Tambon Khlong Kruai (ตำบลคลองกรวย) (2) Tambon Thung Wua Lamphong (ตำบลทุ่งวัวลำพอง) (1) Tambon Thanon Charoen Krung (ตำบลถนนเจริญกรุง) (2) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Talat Somdet (ตลาดสมเด็จ) (1) Tambon Trok Kongsun Protuket (ตำบลตรอกกงสุลโปรตุเกส) / (Land near Portuguese Consulate) (1) Tambon Ban Mai (ตำบลบ้านใหม่) (1) Near Wat Sam Chin (ตำบลวัดสามจีน) (2) Tambon Bang Nam Chon (ตำบลบางน้ำจัน) (1) Tambon Sampheng (ตำบลสำเพ็ง) (1) Tambon Trok Pacha Sunak (ตำบลตรอกป่าช้าสุนัข) (1) Tambon Bang Sue (ตำบลบางซื่อ) (1) Tambon Bang Sakae (ตำบลบางสะแก) (1) Tambon Nai Khlong Bangkok Yai (ตำบลในคลองบางกอกใหญ่) (1) Tambon Wat Khae (ตำบลวัดแค) (1) Tambon Bang Khwang (ตำบลบางขวาง) (1) Tambon Bukkhalo (ตำบลบุคคโล) (1)
1893	13	Tambon Rim Thanon Sala Daeng (ตำบลริมถนนศาลาแดง) (2) Tambon Bang Nanghong (ตำบลบางนางหงษ์) (2) Tambon Rim Khlong Sisa Wua Lamphong (ตำบลริมคลองศรีษะวัวลำพอง) (1) Tambon Thanon Silom (ตำบลถนนสีลม) (1) Tambon Thanon Surawong, Bangrak (ตำบลถนนสุรวงศ์, บางรัก) (1) Tambon Na Wat Samphanthawong (หน้าวัดสัมพันธวงศ์) (ตำบลหน้าวัดสัมพันธวงศ์) (1) Tambon Trok Saphan Yuan (ตำบลตรอกสะพานยู่น) (1) Tambon Bang Khen (ตำบลบางเขน) (1) Tambon Saphan Yao Wat Sam Pluem (ตำบลสะพานยาว วัดสามปลื้ม) (1) Tambon Bang Khwang (ตำบลบางขวาง) (1) Tambon Sam Sen (ตำบลสามเสน) (1)



Appendix 1 (Continued - 3): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 – 1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1894	20	Tambon Thanon Silom (ตำบลถนนสีลม) (6) Tambon Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลตรอกพระยาไกร) (1) Tambon Bang Nam Chon (ตำบลบางน้ำชัน) (1) Tambon Rim Wat Thong Khlong Bangkok Noi (ตำบลริมวัดทอง คลองบางกอกน้อย) (1) Tambon Sampheng (ตำบลสำเพ็ง) (1) Tambon Wat Khae (ตำบลวัดแค) (1) Tambon Khlong Nanghong (ตำบลคลองนางหงษ์) (3) Tambon Rim Wat Don (ตำบลริมวัดดอน) (1) Tambon Bukkhalo (ตำบลบุคคโล) (1) Tambon Bang Kruai (ตำบลบางกรวย) (1) Tambon Trok Khaosan (ตำบลตรอกข้าวสาร) (1) Tambon Thanon Tat Mai (ตำบลถนนตัดใหม่) (1) Tambon Nuea Wat Thongnopphakhun (ตำบลเหนือวัดทองนพคุณ) (1)
1895	10	Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (2) Tambon Plai Taphan Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลปลายสะพานตรอกพระยาไกร) (2) Tambon Trok San Chao A Nia Keng (Yaowarat) (ตำบลตรอกศาลเจ้าอาเนียง) (A Nia Keng Shrine) (1) Tambon Wat Bukkhalo (ตำบลวัดบุคคโล) (ตำบลวัดบุคคโล) (1) Tambon Rim Wat Yuak San Chao Nang Pradu (ตำบลริมวัดยวาศาลเจ้านางประดู่) (1) Tambon Ban Khaek (ตำบลบ้านแขก) (1) Tambon Thanon Ratchawong (ตำบลถนนราชวงศ์) (1) Tambon Bang Lam Phu (ตำบลบางลำพู) (1)
1896	8	Tambon Rim Wat Muang Khae (ตำบลริมวัดม่วงแค) (1) Tambon Khlong Silom (ตำบลคลองสีลม) (1) Tambon Ban Phueng Daet (ตำบลบ้านฝั่งแดง) (1) Tambon Saphan Nanghong (ตำบลสะพานนางโหง) (1) Tambon Bang Khwang (ตำบลบางขวาง) (1) Na Wat Samphanthawong (หน้าวัดสัมพันธวงศ์) (1) Tambon Thanon Surawong (ตำบลถนนสุรวงศ์), Bangrak (ตำบลถนนสุรวงศ์, บางรัก) (1) Tambon Saphan Chaloem (ตำบลสะพานเฉลิม) (1)
1897	15	Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (4) Tambon Nong Chok, Sala Daeng (ตำบลหนองจอก ศาลาแดง) (1) Tambon Khlong Silom (ตำบลคลองสีลม) (4) Tambon Thanon Surawong, Bangrak (ตำบลถนนสุรวงศ์, บางรัก) (1) Tambon Thung Saen Saep (ตำบลทุ่งแสนแสบ) (1) Tambon Silom, Thung Wua Lamphong (ตำบลสีลม ทุ่งวัวลำพอง) (1) Tambon Laem Fapha Khwaeng Mueang Samut Prakan (ตำบลแหลมฟ้าผ่า แขวงเมืองสมุทรปราการ) (1) Tambon Ban Phueng Daet, Khlong Bang Nanghong (ตำบลบ้านฝั่งแดง, คลองบางนางโหง) (1)

Appendix 1 (Continued - 4): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 – 1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1897		... (Continued) Tambon Bang Lam Phu (ตำบลบางลำพู) (1)
1898	27	Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (4) Tambon Thanon Ratchawong (ตำบลถนนราชวงศ์) (3) Tambon Wat Don (ตำบลวัดดอน) (1) Tambon Dao Khanong (ตำบลดาวคะนอง) (1) Tambon Sampheng (ตำบลสำเพ็ง) (1) Tambon Sisa Wua Lamphong (ตำบลศรีษะวัณลำพอง) (1) Tambon Talat Noi (ตลาดตลัดน้อย) (1) Land near Khlong Khu Phra Nakhon (ที่ดินริมคลองคูพระนคร) (1) Tambon Chong Nonsi (ถนนช่องนนทรี) (1) Tambon Rim Wat Makut Kasatri (ที่ดินริมวัดมกุฏกษัตริย์) (1) Tambon Khlong Kruai (ตำบลคลองกรวย) (1) Tambon Mubankhanglam (ตำบลหมู่บ้านช้างหลาม) (1) Tambon Thanon Sanamkrabue (ตำบลถนนสนามกระบือ) (1) Tambon Khlong Phadung (ตำบลคลองผดุง) (1) Tambon Trok San Chao Nang Thapthim (Land near Nang Thapthim Shrine) (ตำบลตรอกศาลเจ้านางทับทิม) (1) Trok Thanon Phasi (ตรอกถนนภาษี) (1) Tambon Sompoi (ตำบลส้มป่อย) (1) Tambon Wat Charai Bang Khwang (ตำบลวัดไชยบางขวาง) (1) Tambon Thung Bang Khun Thian (ตำบลทุ่งบางขุนเทียน) (1) Tambon Khlong Thi Sam (ตำบลคลองที่สาม) (1) Land at Thung Saen Saep (ที่ดินทุ่งแสนแสบ) (1) Land at Khlong Hok Wa (ที่ดินคลองหกวา) (1)
1899	45	Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (4) Tambon Khlongsathon, Bangrak (ตำบลคลองสาทร บางรัก) (4) Tambon Thanon Khwang Lhaeng, Thanon Silom, Bangrak (ตำบลถนนขวางแหล่ง, ถนนสีลม บางรัก) (1) Tambon Thung Wua Lamphong (ตำบลทุ่งวัลลำพอง) (3) Tambon Bangkholaem (ตำบลบางคอแหลม) (1) Tambon Ban Khamen, Thanon Worachak (ตำบลบ้านเขมร ถนนวรจักร) (2) Tambon Khlongsan (ตำบลคลองสาน) (4) Tambon Rim Thanon Ratchawong (ตำบลริมถนนราชวงศ์) (1) Tambon Bang Khwang (ตำบลบางขวาง) (2) Tambon Thanon Chakkrawat Rachawat (ตำบลถนนจักรวรรดิราชาวาส) (1)

Appendix 1 (Continued - 5): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 – 1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1899		<p>... (Continued)</p> <p>Tambon Khlong Bangkok Yai (ตำบลคลองบางกอกใหญ่) (1) Tambon Wat Kaeo Chaem Fa (ตำบลวัดแก้วแจ่มฟ้า) (1) Tambon Khlong Ban Khaek Sang Khla (ตำบลคลองบ้านแขกสงขลา) (1) Tambon Ko Tha Phra (ตำบลเกาะท่าพระ) (1) Tambon Khlong Banghong (ตำบลคลองบางโหลง) (1) Tambon Talat Noi (ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (1) Tambon Nai Phraya Kon (ตำบลในพระยากร) (1) Tambon Sanam Krabue (ตำบลสนามกระบือ) (1) Tambon Saphan Dam (ตำบลสะพานดำ) (2) Tambon Bangkokholaem (ตำบลบางคอแหลม) (1) Tambon Wat Bukkhalo (ตำบลวัดบุคคโล) (1) Tambon Khlong Kruai (ตำบลคลองกรวย) (2) Tambon Tuek Daeng (ตำบลตึกแดง) (1) Pak Trok Saphan Pho (ปากตรอกสะพานโพ) (1) Rim Khlong Saensaep Fang Tai (ริมคลองแสนแสบฝั่งใต้) (1) Tambon Khlong Preng Thung Nongchok (ตำบลคลองเปรงทุ่งหนองจอก) (1) Tambon Wat Dokmai, Khwaeng Mueang Nakhon Khuean Khan (ตำบลวัดดอกไม้ แขวงเมืองนครเขื่อนขันธ์) (1) Tambon Thung Bang Pho Mueang Pathum Thani (ตำบลทุ่งบางโพ เมืองปทุมธานี) (1) Land at Samut Prakan (เมืองสมุทรปราการ) (1) Tambon Thung Bangbuathong (ตำบลทุ่งบางบัวทอง) (1)</p>
1900	35	<p>Tambon Thanon Silom (ตำบลถนนสีลม) (1) Tambon Khlong Silom (ตำบลคลองสีลม) (2) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Tambon Khlong Khwang, Bangrak (ตำบลคลองขวาง, บางรัก) (2) Khlong Luang Sa Thon (คลองหลวงสารธุ) (1) Tambon Thung Wua Lamphong (ตำบลทุ่งวัวลำพอง) (2) Tambon Khlong Mahanak (ตำบลคลองมหานาค) (2) Tambon Khlong Toei (ตำบลคลองเตย) (1) Tambon Thanon Charoen Krung (ตำบลถนนเจริญกรุง) (1) Tambon Bang Lam Phu (ตำบลบางลำพู) (1)</p> <p>Tambon Nuea Wat Thongnoppakhun (ตำบลเหนือวัดทองนพคุณ) (2) Plantation near Wat Phlapphla Chai (ที่สวนริมวัดพลับพลายไชย) (1) Tambon Bang Nam Chon (ตำบลบางน้ำชัน) (1) Tambon Sam Sen (ตำบลสามเสน) (1) Tambon Bueng Lam Ma Chuea (ตำบลบึงลำมะเจือ) (1) Tambon Trok San Chao Wian Kong Ban Khang Lam (near Wian Kong Shrine) (ตำบลตรอกศาลเจ้าเวียงกงบ้านข้างหลาม) (1)</p>

Appendix 1 (Continued - 6): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 – 1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1900		... (Continued) Tambon Thanon Chakkrawat (1) (ตำบลถนนจักรวรรดิ) Tambon Talat Khaek (ตำบลตลาดแขก) (2) Tambon Khok Krabue (ตำบลคอกกระบือ) (1) Tambon Khlong Bang Soi Kai (ตำบลคลองบางสร้อยไก่อ) (1) Tambon Kongsai Long (ตำบลกงซีโลง) (1) Tambon Talat Noi (ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (1) Tambon Bang Pa Kaeo (ตำบลบางประแก้ว) (1) Tambon Rim Thanon Luang (ตำบลริมถนนหลวง) (1) Tambon Thung Bang Bon (ตำบลทุ่งบางบอน) (1) Tambon Wat Ko (ตำบลวัดเกาะ) (1) Tambon Phra Khanong, Khwaeng Mueang Nakhon Khuean Khan (ตำบลพระโขนง แขวงเมืองนครเขื่อนขันธ์) (2) Tambon Bang Khamin Khwaeng Mueang Nakhon Khuean Khan (ตำบลบางขมิ้น แขวงเมืองนครเขื่อนขันธ์) (1)
1901	10	Tambon Sisa Wua Lamphong (ตำบลศรีษะवलัมพอง) (3) Tambon Thanon Surawong Bangrak (ตำบลถนนสุรวงษ์บางรัก) (1) Tambon Bang Phongphang (ตำบลบางโพธิ์พาง) (1) Tambon Khlong Luang Sa Thon (คลองหลวงสาทร) (1) Tambon Rim Thanon Sa Thon (ตำบลริมถนนสาทร) (1) Tambon San Chao Kao Sampheng (Near Old Sampheng Shrine) (ตำบลศาลเจ้าเก่าสำเพ็ง) (1) Tambon Bang Sue (ตำบลบางซื่อ) (1) Near Thanon Charoen Krung (ริมถนนเจริญกรุง) (1)
1902	18	Tambon Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลตรอกพระยาไกร) (3) Tambon Sai Kok Din, Thung Saen Saep (ตำบลทรายกอกดิน ทุ่งแสนเสป) (2) Tambon Silom (ตำบลสี่ลม) (2) Tambon Rim Thanon Surawong Tambon Bangrak (ที่ดินริมถนนสุรวงษ์ ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Land near Thanon Surawong (ที่ดินริมถนนสุรวงษ์) (1) Tambon Thanon Yaowarat (ตำบลถนนเยาวราช) (1) Tambon Bang Soi Kai (ตำบลบางสร้อยไก่อ) (1) Tambon Ban Tak Daet (ตำบลบ้านตากแดด) (1) Tambon Bang Kapi (ตำบลบางกะปิ) (1) Tambon Saphan San Chao Kao (ตำบลสะพานสานเจ้าเก่า) (1) Tambon Bang Khwang (ตำบลบางขวาง) (1) Behind Pa Ba Cemetery (ตำบลหลังป่าช้าป่าบ้า) (1) Tambon Thung Phra Khanong (ตำบลทุ่งพระโขนง) (1)

Appendix 1 (Continued - 7): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 –1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1903	22	Tambon Trok Ton Chan (ตำบลตรอกตันจันทน์) (1) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Land near Bangkok Nurse Home Hospital (ที่ดินใกล้เคียงโรงพยาบาลอังกฤษ)(1) Tambon Thanon Surawong (ตำบลถนนสุรวงษ์) (2) Tambon Thanon Silom / Thanon Surawong (ตำบลถนนสีลม / ถนนสุรวงษ์) (1) Tambon Bang O (ตำบลบางอ้อ) (1) Tambon Bang Pa Kaeo (ตำบลบางปะแก้ว) (2) Tambon Khlong Krui, Bang Khwang (ตำบลคลองกรวย บางขวาง) (3) Tambon Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลตรอกพระยาไกร) (1) Tambon Thanon Ban Khamin (ตำบลถนนบ้านขมิ้น) (1) Tambon Rim Thanon Sampheng (ตำบลริมถนนสำเพ็ง) (1) Tambon Rim Wat Thongthammachat (ตำบลริมวัดทองธรรมชาติ) (2) Tambon Ko Tha Phra (ตำบลเกาะท่าพระ) (1) Tambon Samre (ตำบลสำเหร่)(1) Tambon Khlong Phraya Thai (ตำบลคลองพระยาไทย) (1) Tambon Banglamphu Lang (ตำบลบางลำพูล่าง) (1) Land near Khlong Rang Sit Soi Hok (ที่ดินคลองรังสิต ซอย 6) (1)
1904	11	Tambon Khlong Sompoi (ตำบลคลองส้มป่อย) (2) Tambon Thanon Fueang Nakhon (ตำบลถนนเฟื่องนคร) (2) Tambon Wua Lamphong near Khlong Phadung Krung Kasem (ตำบลวัดลำพอง ริมคลองผดุงกรุงเกษม) (1) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Tambon Rim Thanon Silom (ตำบลริมถนนสีลม) (1) Land at Bang Pa Kaeo (ที่ดินบางปะแก้ว) (1) Tambon Nongchok (ตำบลหนองจอก) (1) Rice Mill near Wat Ubasika Ram, Chaophraya River (โรงสีใกล้ไฟรั้งตะวันตก ลำน้ำเจ้าพระยา ริมวัดอุบาสิการาม) (1) Tambon Bang Thorani Khwaeng Mueang Non (ตำบลบางธรณี แขวงเมืองนนท์) (1)
1905	16	Tambon Rim Thanon Yaek Silom (ตำบลริมถนนแยกสีลม) (1) Tambon Bangrak, Thanon Surawong (ตำบลบางรัก ถนนสุริยวงษ์) (1) Tambon Saphan Sung (ตำบลสะพานสูง) (1) Tambon San Chao Su Kong (Su Kong Shrine) (ตำบลศาลเจ้าชุกัง) (1) Tambon Wat Kaeochaemfa (ตำบลวัดแก้วแจ่มฟ้า) (1) Tambon Sisa Wua Lamphong (ตำบลศรีษะวัวลำพอง) (1) Tambon Khlong Saen Saep (ตำบลคลองแสนแสบ) (1) Tambon Bueng Pra Thio, Thung Saen Saep, Mueang Min Buri (ตำบลบึงประทีพทุ่งแสนแสบ เมืองมีนบุรี) (1) Tambon Bang Nam Chon (ตำบลบางน้ำชน) (1)

Appendix 1 (Continued - 8): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885–1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1905		<p>... (Continued)</p> <p>Plantation at Sanam Krabue Wat Khok Mu (ที่สวนสนามกระบือ วัดคอกหมู) (1)</p> <p>Tambon Wat Sai Khwaeng (ตำบลวัดไทรแขวง) (1) Land near Thanon Chakkrawat (ที่ริมถนนจักรวรรดิ) (1) Tambon Talat Noi (ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (1) Tambon Rong Kratha Kao (ตำบลโรงกระทะเก่า) (1) Tambon Ban Khamin (ตำบลบ้านขมิ้น) (1)</p> <p>Tambon Talat Mueang Nakhon Khuean Khan (ตำบลตลาดเมืองนครเขื่อนขันธ์) (1)</p>
1906	45	<p>Tambon Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลตรอกพระยาไกร) (5) Tambon Khlongsathon (ตำบลคลองสาร) (2) Land near Khlong Luang Sa Thon (คลองหลวงสาร) (1) Tambon Talat Noi (ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (4) Tambon Lang Wat Pra Thum Khongkha, Tambon Talat Noi (ที่ดินตำบลหลังวัดประทุมคงคา ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (1) Land Near San Chao Cho Su Kong Talat Noi (Cho Su Kong Shrine) (ที่ดินหลังศาลเจ้าจตุรพักตรพิมาน) (1) Land Near Thanon Ratchawong (ที่ดินริมถนนราชวงศ์) (3) Tambon Thanon Tat Mai at Bank Hong Kong (ที่ดินตำบลถนนตัดใหม่ตรงแบ็งฮั่งกง) (3) Tambon Thanon Silom (ตำบลถนนสีลม) (1) Tambon Nuea Khlong Silom (ที่ดินตำบลเหนือคลองสีลม) (1) Tambon Thanon Surawong (ตำบลถนนสุรวงศ์) (1) Tambon Khlong Phadung (ตำบลคลองผดุง) (1) Tambon Bangkholaem (ตำบลบางคอแหลม) (1) Tambon Thanon Si Phraya (ตำบลถนนสี่พระยา) (1) Tambon Thung Wua Lamphong, Bangrak (ตำบลทุ่งหัวลำโพง อำเภอบางรัก) (1) Tambon Sala Daeng, Thung Wua Lamphong (ตำบลศาลาแดง ทุ่งหัวลำโพง) (1) Tambon Saphan Sung (ตำบลสะพานสูง) (1) Tambon Bang Khwang (ตำบลบางขวาง) (2) Tambon Thung Bang Khwang, Wat Don (ตำบลทุ่งบางขวาง หลังวัดดอน) (1) Tambon Bang O (ตำบลบางอ้อ) (1) Tambon Bang Nam Chon (ตำบลบางน้ำจืด) (1) Tambon Khlong Kruai (ตำบลคลองกรวย) (1) Tambon Khlong Toei (ตำบลคลองเตย) (1) Tambon Lang Wat Thongnoppakhun (ตำบลหลังวัดทองนพคุณ) (1) Tambon Thanon Rong Mueang (ตำบลถนนรองเมือง) (1) Tambon San Chao Kao (ตำบลศาลเจ้าเก่า) (1) Tambon Pak Trok Achom (ตำบลปากตรอกอาจุม) (1) Tambon Bang Phongphang (ตำบลบางโพธิ์พาง) (1)</p>

Appendix 1 (Continued - 9): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 – 1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1906		<p>... (Continued)</p> <p>Land Behind Train Station, Nakhon Ratchasima Line (ตำบลหลังสะพานรถไฟสาย นครราชสีมา) (1) Tambon Lang Tuek Thanon Phahurat (ตำบลหลังตึก ถนนพาหุรัด) (1) Tambon Thung Nong Chok Khwaeng Mueang Min Buri (ตำบลทุ่งหนองจอก แขวงเมืองมินบุรี) (1) Tambon Bang Kapi (ตำบลบางกะปิ) (1)</p>
1907	54	<p>Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Trok Sung Tambon Bangrak (ตรอกซุง ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Wat Sam Chin, Tambon Bangrak (วัดสามจีน ตำบลบางรัก) (1) Tambon Khlong Luang Sa Thon (คลองหลวงสาทร) (6) Tambon Rim Thanon Sa Thon (ตำบลริมถนนสาทร) (2) Tambon Thanon Ratchawong (ตำบลถนนราชวงศ์) (2) Tambon Tha Wat Samphanthawong (ตำบลท่าวัดสัมพันธวงศ์) (1) Tambon Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลตรอกพระยาไกร) (1) Tambon Wua Lamphong (ตำบลวัดหัวลำโพง) (2) Tambon Sam Yaek, Thanon Charoen Krung (ตำบลสามแยกถนนเจริญกรุง) (1) Land near Rong Phasi Roi Chak Sam (Custom House) (ที่ดินริมโรงภาษีร้อยชักสาม) (4) Tambon Khlong Silom (ตำบลคลองสีลม) (1) Tambon Thanon Tithong (ตำบลถนนตีทอง) (1) Tambon Si Kak Sao Chingcha Mum Thanon Fueang Nakhon (ตำบลสี่กั๊กเสาชิงช้า มุมถนนเฟื่องนคร) (1) Thanon Anu Wong (ถนนอนุวงศ์) (1) Near Wat Siri Ammat (ริมวัดศิริอัมมาตย์) (3) Tambon Bang Nam Chon (ตำบลบางน้ำชน) (1) Tambon Talat Noi (ตำบลตลาดน้อย) (8) Tambon San Chao Kao (ตำบลศาลเจ้าเก่า) (1) Tambon Ban Khaolam (ตำบลบ้านข้าวหลาม) (1) Tambon Thanon Phahurat (ตำบลถนนพาหุรัด) (1) Tambon Wat Pari Nayok (ตำบลวัดปรีณายก) (1) Tambon Trok Suan Phak Kat (ตำบลตรอกสวนผักกาด) (1) Tambon Thanon WoraChak (ตำบลถนนวรจักร) (1) Tambon Khokkrabue (ตำบลคอกกระบือ) (1). Tambon Khlong Som Ploi (ตำบลคลองส้มปล่อย) (1) Tambon Bang Nanghong (ตำบลบางนางโหง) (2) Tambon Thung Sam Sen Fang Tai (ตำบลทุ่งสามเสนฝั่งใต้) (1) Tambon Ban Yuan Sam Sen (ตำบลบ้านญวนสามเสน) (1) Tambon Bang Nam Chon, Banglamphu Lang (ตำบลบางน้ำชล อำเภอบางลำพู ล่าง) (1)</p>

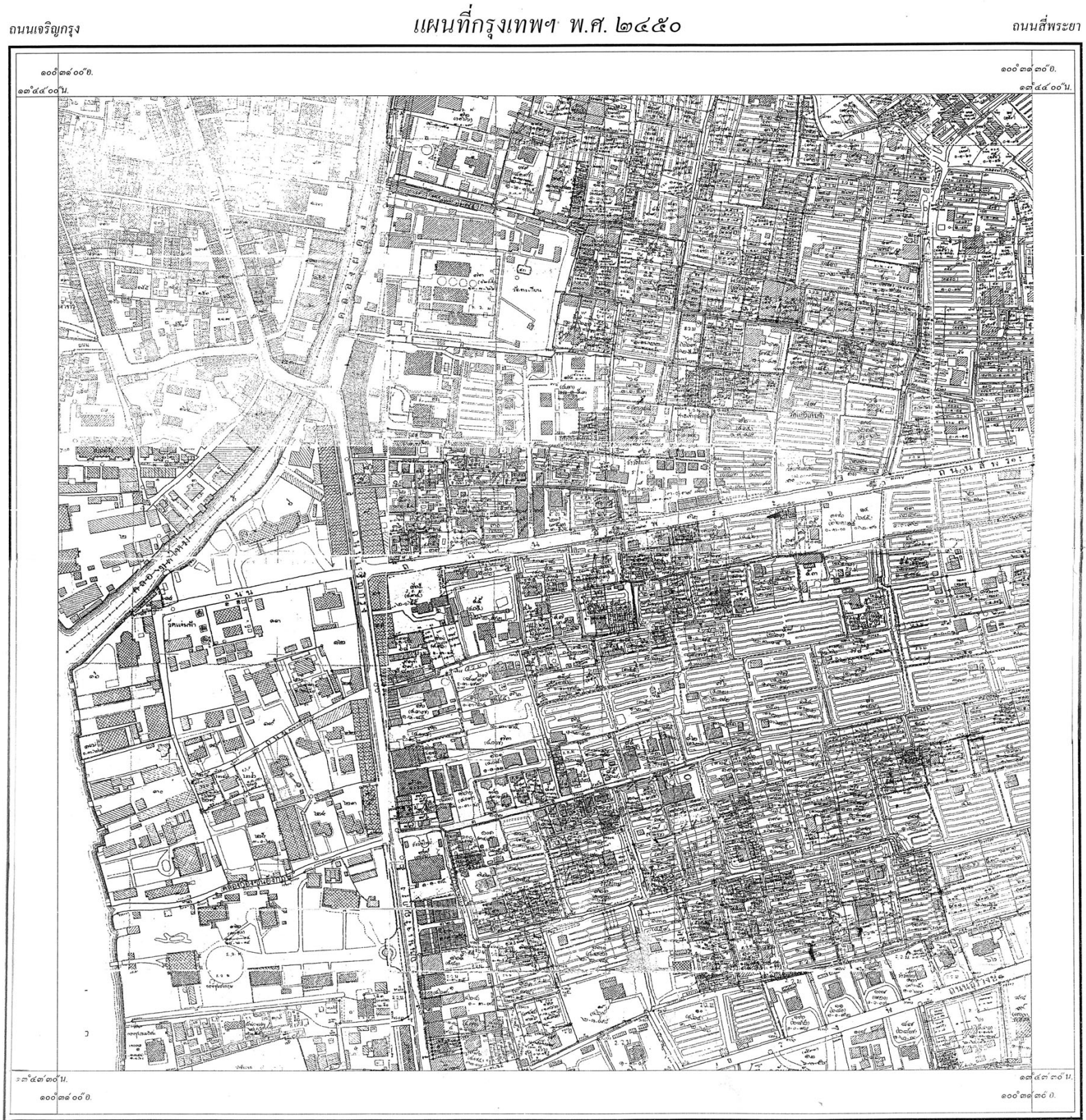
Appendix 1 (Continued - 10): Table: Sale and purchase of Land's cases by British and British subjects in Bangkok Metropolitan and territories, 1885 – 1909

Year	Total Cases	Location (Cases)
1907		... (Continued) Tambon Khlong Toei (ตำบลคลองเตย)(1) Tambon Thung Ang Taek (ตำบลทุ่งอ่างแตก) (1) Tambon Si Yaek Maha Nak (ตำบลสี่แยกมหานาค) (1) Tambon Talat Ban Khamin (ตำบลตลาดบ้านขมิ้น) (1) Tambon Sam Yaek (ตำบลสามแยก) (1) Tambon Saphanhan (ตำบลสะพานหัน) (1) Tambon Rimkhlong Watbuppharam (ตำบลริมคลองวัดบุบผาราม) (1) Thidin Khlong Soi Thi Si (ที่ดินคลองซอยที่ 4) (1)
1908	21	Trok Phraya Krai (ตรอกพระยาไกร) (3) Tambon Bangrak (ตำบลบางรัก) (2) Tambon Wat Hua Lamphong (ตำบลวัดหัวลำโพง) (1) Tambon Khlong Phadung Krung Kasem (ตำบลคลองผดุงกรุงเกษม) (2) Tambon Thanon Surawong (ตำบลถนนสุรวงษ์) (1) Tambon Rim Khlong Phraya Phaibun Sombat (ตำบลริมคลองพระยาไพบูลย์สมบัติ) (1) Tambon Thanon Phahurat (ตำบลถนนพายุรัตน์) (1) Near Thanon U Na Kan (ริมถนนอนุสาวรีย์) (1) Tambon Ban Yuan Phahurat (ตำบลบ้านญวนพายุรัตน์) (1) Tambon Khlong Sam-re (ตำบลคลองสำเหร่) (1) Tambon Wat Saket (ตำบลวัดสะเกษ) (1) Tambon Wat Chakkrawat Racha Wat (ตำบลวัดจักรวรรดิราชาวาส) (1) Tambon Thanon Chakkrawat (ตำบลถนนจักรวรรดิ) (1) Tambon Sam Yaek (ตำบลสามแยก) (2) Land Near Thanon Talat Noi (ริมถนนตลาดน้อย) (1) Tambon Thanon Wo Ra Chak (ตำบลถนนวรจักร) (1)
1909	8	Tambon Thanon Phahurat (ตำบลถนนพายุรัตน์) (2) Tambon Thanon Wo Ra Chak, Phahurat (ตำบลถนนวรจักรพายุรัตน์) (1) Trok Saphan Yuan, Sampheng (ตรอกสะพานญวน อ่ามหอสำเพ็ง) (1) Tambon Trok Phraya Krai (ตำบลตรอกพระยาไกร) (1) Thanon Ratchawong (ถนนราชวงศ์) (1) Tambon Bang Khwang (ตำบลบางขวาง) (1) Tambon Na Watrangsri (ตำบลหน้าวัดรังสี) (1)

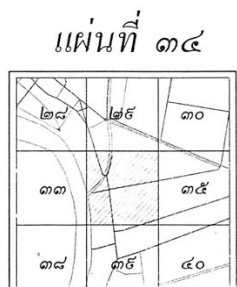
Source: (พจข.ร.5 น.18.3.ก (1-957))



Appendix 2.1: Small piece of lands along Si Phraya - Charoen Krung road according to title-deeds in 1907.

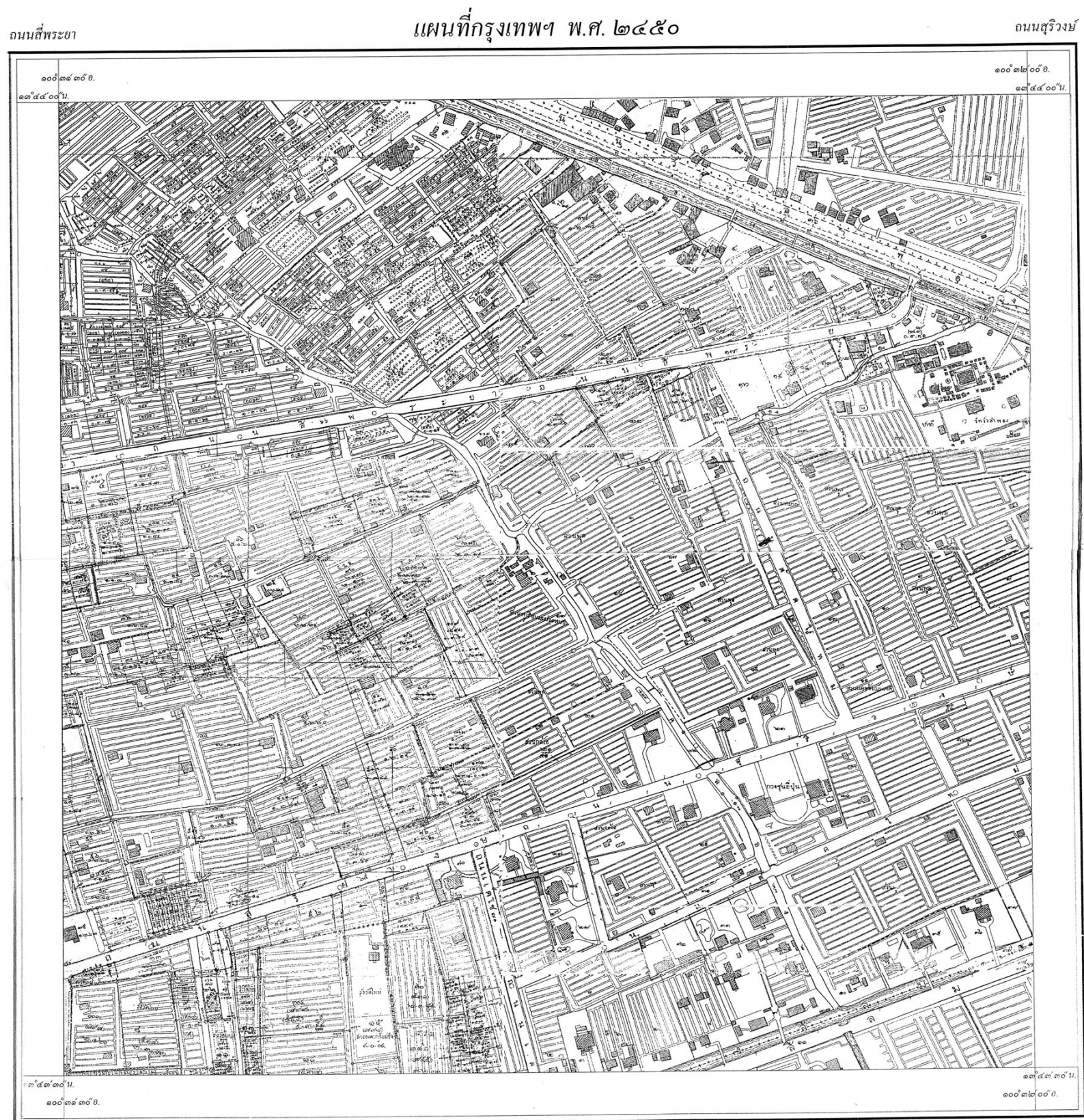


ที่สำรวจ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐  
 แผนที่กรมที่ดิน กระทรวงเกษตราธิการ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐, พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๐  
 พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๔  
 เรียบเรียงโดย ภาควิชาสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย พ.ศ. ๒๕๕๐  
 รับการสนับสนุนจาก สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย

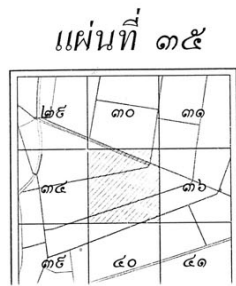


Source: (แผนที่กรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2450-2550. กรุงเทพมหานคร และคณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2550.)

Appendix 2.2: Small piece of lands along Si Phraya - Suriwong road according to title-deeds in 1907.



ที่สำรวจ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐  
 ภายหลังแรกโดย กรมแผนที่ กระทรวงมหาดไทย พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐, พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๐  
 พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๔  
 เปรียบโดย ภาควิชาสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย พ.ศ. ๒๕๕๐  
 รับการสนับสนุนจาก สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย



Source: (แผนที่กรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2450-2550. กรุงเทพมหานคร และคณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2550.)

Appendix 3: Table: Description of Crime in Bangkok, 1898 – 1904

<i>Description of Crime</i>	<i>1898-1899</i>	<i>1899-1900</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>1903</i>	<i>1904</i>
Class II.					
Murder by robbers	1		5	1	1
Murder by poison		2		1	
Other murders	33	31	79	27	45
Attempt at murder	29	24	28	10	11
Rape	18	27	17	22	36
Adultery	5	1	2	1	
Unnatural offence		1	2	2	1
Exposure of infant			2		
Causing grievous hurt	23	12	35	17	41
Kidnapping and abduction	49	72	41	48	41
Wrong confinement of restraint for purpose of extortion	43	3	20	26	25
Class III.					
Dacoit	6	6	10	18	47
Robbery with hurt	2	5	120	101	99
Other robberies including all cases of theft by violence such as snatch theft from the person		31	140	352	296
Serious mischief		16	70	13	90
mischief by killing, maiming or poisoning an animal			3		
Receiving stolen property in serious crime				5	
Belonging to a gang of robbers				2	1
Class V.					
House-breaking	24	21	55	154	207
Theft of property	1,902	3,227	1,350	4,779	5,361
Criminal breach of trust and misappropriation	65	49	50	266	188
Receiving stolen property	31	16	22	18	28
Criminal Trespass	6	8	40	13	3
<b>Cheating</b>	38	111	107	149	157

## Appendix 2 (Continued): Description of Crime in Bangkok, 1898 – 1904

<i>Description of Crime</i>	<i>1898-1899</i>	<i>1899-1900</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>1903</i>	<b>1904</b>
Class VI.					
Vagrancy and Bad character	392	624	467	159	13
Gambling Law	93	151	205	429	93
Opium Law		56	65	44	25
Arms Act	204	208			
Public Nuisance		336	285	138	178
Police Act	7	39	231	522	283
Offences against Navigation Law	73	86	151	100	72
Secret Society Act	3	3	23	4	15
<b>total</b>	<b>3,047</b>	<b>5,156</b>	<b>3,625</b>	<b>7,421</b>	<b>7,357</b>

Sources : Report on the Police Administration of the year 1898 – 1899 (p. 24-26), 1899 – 1900 (p.20-24), 1901 (p.28), 1903 (p.32), 1904 (p.24).

## BIOGRAPHY

Mrs. Malinee Khumsupha was born on June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1968 in Bangkok, Thailand. She granted B.A. degree in Political Science from the Faculty of Political Sciences, Thammasat University in 1991. She continued studying in the faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University and granted her M.A. degree in Political Science in 1997. At present, she is a lecturer, Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, Chiang Mai University.