

“BANGKOK MODERN”:
THE TRANSFORMATION OF BANGKOK WITH
SINGAPORE AND BATAVIA AS MODELS (1861-1897)

Miss Udomporn Teeraviriyakul

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

Faculty of Arts

Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2012

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.

กรุงเทพฯ สบสมัย:

การเปลี่ยนแปลงกรุงเทพฯ ตามแบบอย่างสิงคโปร์และปัตตาเวีย (ค.ศ. 1861-1897)

นางสาวอุดมพร วีระวิริยะกุล

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาอักษรศาสตรดุษฎีบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาไทยศึกษา

คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ปีการศึกษา 2555

ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Thesis Title “BANGKOK MODERN”: THE TRANSFORMATION
OF BANGKOK WITH SINGAPORE AND BATAVIA
AS MODELS (1861-1897)

By Miss Udomporn Teeraviriyakul

Field of Study Thai Studies

Thesis Advisor Associate Professor Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D.

Thesis Co – advisor Assistant Professor Sukunya Bumroongsook, 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
(Associate Professor Suchitra Chongstitvatana, Ph.D.)

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

..... Thesis Co - advisor
(Assistant Professor Sukunya Bumroongsook, Ph.D.)

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

..... Examiner
(Assistant Professor Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner
(Professor Piyanart Bunnag, Ph.D.)

อุดมพร ชีระวิริยะกุล : กรุงเทพฯ สบสมัย: การเปลี่ยนแปลงกรุงเทพฯ ตามแบบอย่างสิงคโปร์และปัตตาเวีย (ค.ศ. 1861-1897) (“BANGKOK MODERN”: THE TRANSFORMATION OF BANGKOK WITH SINGAPORE AND BATAVIA AS MODELS (1861-1907)) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: รศ.ดร.สุเนตร ชุตินธรานนท์ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม: ผศ.ดร.สุกัญญา บำรุงสุข, 296 หน้า.

ในช่วงกลางคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 19 สยามได้มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างเห็นได้ชัดสืบเนื่องจากการแผ่ขยายเข้ามาของมหาอำนาจยุโรปทั้งอิทธิพลทางการเมืองและการค้าในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ รวมถึงสยามด้วย โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งสนธิสัญญาการค้าในช่วงทศวรรษ 1850 ได้นำสยามเข้าสู่วงโคจรของความทันสมัยในศตวรรษนั้น ด้วยการปรับตัวเพื่อให้เข้ากับ “มาตรฐานสากล” รัฐบาลสยามจำเป็นต้องสร้าง “กรุงเทพฯ สบสมัย” ตามแบบอย่างตะวันตก การศึกษานี้พบว่า การปรับปรุงกรุงเทพฯ ให้ทันสมัย ส่งผลให้ภูมิทัศน์ของเมืองมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างเห็นได้ชัดจากเมืองป้อมปราการคูค่ายเป็นเมืองสมัยใหม่

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีความพยายามที่จะแสดงให้เห็นว่า การปรับเปลี่ยนนั้นเกิดขึ้นอย่างค่อยเป็นค่อยไปนับตั้งแต่รัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ไม่ใช่อย่างที่เข้าใจกันโดยทั่วไปว่า การเปลี่ยนแปลงนี้เกิดขึ้นหลังจากการเสด็จประพาสยุโรปครั้งแรกของพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวในปี ค.ศ. 1897 ที่สำคัญกว่านั้น กรุงเทพฯ ภายในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวและพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวได้รับรูปแบบ “ความทันสมัยแบบอาณานิคม” อย่างเมืองสิงคโปร์และปัตตาเวียมาเป็นต้นแบบสำหรับกรุงเทพฯ เหตุผลคือว่า ทั้งสองพระองค์มีความคุ้นเคยกับสิงคโปร์และปัตตาเวียมากกว่าเมืองอาณานิคมอื่น ๆ โดยเฉพาะพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวได้เสด็จ ประพาสเมืองอาณานิคมทั้งสองก่อนการเสด็จประพาสยุโรปเป็นเวลาถึง 26 ปี เป็นที่สังเกตได้ว่า ในช่วงเวลา 26 ปีของการปฏิรูป รัฐบาลของกรุงเทพฯ ได้เปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างค่อยเป็นค่อยไปให้เห็นอยู่หลายประการ ยกตัวอย่างเช่น การสร้างถนนและห้องแถว และโครงสร้างพื้นฐานสมัยใหม่ ซึ่งล้วนแต่ได้รับอิทธิพลมาจากสิงคโปร์และปัตตาเวีย

สาขาวิชาไทยศึกษา.....ลายมือชื่อ.....
ปีการศึกษา2555.....ลายมือชื่อ อ. ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก.....
ลายมือชื่อ อ. ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม.....

5180520622 : MAJOR THAI STUDIES

KEYWORDS: BANGKOK/ MODERN/ SINGAPORE/ BATAVIA/ TRANSFORMATION

UDOMPORN TEERAVIRIYAKUL: “BANGKOK MODERN”: THE TRANSFORMATION OF BANGKOK WITH SINGAPORE AND BATAVIA AS MODELS (1861-1897). ADVISOR: ASSOC.PROF. SUNAIT CHUTINTARANOND, Ph.D., CO ADVISOR: ASST.PROF. SUKUNYA BUMROONGSOOK, Ph.D., 296 pp.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Siam changed significantly because the European powers had expanded their political and trading activities into Southeast Asia, including Siam. The commercial treaties of the 1850s started the process of bringing Siam into an orbit of modernity. To fit the new “international standard”, the Siamese government needed to create “Bangkok Modern” following the West. One of the main points this study found is that the modernizing of Bangkok made the landscape of the city change from a moat-fortified city to a modern city with a form of Western modernity.

This dissertation also makes the argument that the transformation of Bangkok commenced gradually from the reign of King Mongkut, not, as it is commonly believed, after the First Grand Tour to Europe of King Chulalongkorn in 1897. More importantly, Bangkok under King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn adopted a form of modernity from “the colonial modernity”, using Singapore and Batavia as models as both King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn were more familiar with these cities than other colonial cities. As evidence of this, King Chulalongkorn visited Singapore and Batavia 26 years before going to Europe, and it was during this 26-year period that reforms changed the appearance of Bangkok. This can be seen through the construction of roads, shop-houses, and a modern infrastructure that were influenced by Singapore and Batavia.

Field of Study : ...Thai Studies..... Student’s Signature

Academic Year :2012..... Advisor’s Signature

Co-Advisor’s Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was a precious time in my life to study a doctoral degree at the Thai Studies Department, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University. Actually, this dissertation could not complete without support from following people.

First of all, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn who gave me a grant to collect valuably historical data for this dissertation in Singapore. Without this grant, this dissertation would not complete as it ought to be.

Furthermore, I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to my advisor Associate Professor Dr. Sunait Chutintaranond and my co-advisor Assistant Professor Dr. Sukunya Bumroongsook who always gave me insightful criticism, warmhearted encouragement. Their guidance exceptionally inspire and enrich my knowledge. My dissertation would never complete without my dissertation committees who assisted, advised, and guided me: Professor Dr. Piyanart Bunnag, Assistant Professor Dr. Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, Professor Dr. Siraporn Nathalang and Associate Professor Dr. Suchitra Chongstitvatana. Furthermore, this dissertation was made possible through financial support from Faculty of Social Sciences, Naresuan University, The Asian Research Institute (ARI), the National University of Singapore, 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).

For this opportunity, I would like to specially thank my friends and colleagues who helped and provided me with a lot of support; in particular to Dr. Wasana Wongsurawat, Darin Khongsajaviwat, Sakaorat Harnkarnchanasuwat, Hyeryon Hong, Frederick B. Goss, my colleagues at History Department, Naresuan University, my friends at Thai Studies Program and my brothers-sisters in Christ who always support me with their prays. Also, many thanks and appreciations are extended to Thai Studies staffs.

Most of all, I would like to thank to my parents, my sisters and my niece for always giving me great pleasure and endless support. It is my pleasure dedicates this dissertation to them.

CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT(THAI)	iv
ABSTRACT(ENGLISH).....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vi
CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLE.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
LIST OF MAPS.....	xiv
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Historical background and importance of the research problem.....	1
1.2 Literature review.....	30
1.3 Research question and scope	36
1.4 Objectives.....	38
1.5 Research methodology and sources.....	39
CHAPTER II HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	42
2.1 The decline of the old trade system and the coming of new system.....	43
2.2 The new trade system in Southeast Asia and its impact.....	54
2.2.1 The emergence of new port city: Singapore.....	55
2.2.1.1 New port cities in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century.....	55
2.2.1.2 The emergence of Singapore.....	57

	Page
2.2.1.3 Singapore and its role in Southeast Asia..	62
2.2.2 The adaptation of old port cities:	
Bangkok – Batavia.....	64
2.2.2.1 Old port cities in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century.....	64
2.2.2.2 The evolution of Batavia at the turn of the nineteenth century.....	67
2.2.2.3 Bangkok in the trend of a new trade system.....	72
2.3 Bangkok and the impact of imperialism.....	76
2.3.1 The influence of British imperialism on Southeast Asia and Siam.....	76
2.3.1.1 The attack on Burma – China – Malay States.....	76
2.3.1.2 The coming of British Power to Bangkok in the nineteenth century (from John Crawford to Sir John Bowring).....	81
2.3.2 Civilization and Modernization in term of the new world standard.....	84
2.3.2.1 Opening Siam towards the West Line... ..	84
2.3.2.2 Awakening of Siamese elite towards civilization and modernization of Bangkok Modern from <i>The Voyage (Niras) to London to Singapore and Batavia</i>	88

	Page
CHAPTER III THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN BANGKOK	100
3.1 Transforming Bangkok to be a “modern city”.....	101
3.1.1 Old Bangkok.....	102
3.1.1.1 Old Bangkok as a city of antiquity: a divine and aquatic city.....	104
3.1.2 Modern Bangkok.....	119
3.1.2.1 Needs of transforming Bangkok to become a “ <i>modern city</i> ”.....	120
3.1.2.2 Function/character of Modern Bangkok. ...	124
- waterways and land based city	
- a modern city	
3.2 Singapore and Batavia as models for Bangkok.....	135
3.2.1 Political reason and stability.....	135
3.2.2 Personal favors of the kings.....	140
3.3 Methods of learning from Singapore and Batavia: Process of learning and educating people in Bangkok.....	143
3.3.1 The royal proclamations.....	146
3.3.2 Mass publication.....	150
 CHAPTER IV BANGKOK AND ITS TRANSFORMATION	 156
4.1 Impact of Singapore and Batavia on “Bangkok Modern”. ..	156
4.1.1 A character of a modern city: Singapore and Batavia.....	157
4.1.1.1 Singapore.....	157
4.1.1.2 Batavia.....	171
4.1.1.3 King Chulalongkorn and his first visit to Singapore and Batavia in 1871.....	176

	Page
4.1.2 Bangkok Modern: modifying a modern area.....	186
4.2 Bangkok Modern: City of Beauty – Hygiene – Order.....	199
4.2.1 Beautification.....	201
4.2.2 Hygiene.....	207
4.2.3 Order.....	217
4.2.3.1 Western learning centre.....	217
- Sala Sahathai Samakom or Concordia Club	
- Musuem	
4.2.3.2 Recreation places for inhabitants in Bangkok.....	220
- Sanam Luang	
- Saranrom: a botanic garden	
4.2.3.3 Safety for inhabitants in Bangkok.....	223
- Prison for convicts	
- Hospitals for the lunatic	
CHAPTER V CONCLUSION.....	230
REFERENCE.....	249
APPENDICES.....	271
Appendix A Table: The itinerary of the First Visit to Singapore – Java (Batavia and Semarang) of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9 th March and 15 th April 1871.....	272
Appendix B Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore – Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9 th May and 12 th August 1896.....	276

Page

Appendix C Table: Timeline of Bangkok’s growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century.....	286
BIOGRAPHY	296

LIST OF TABLE

Page

Table 1 Illustration of ideas that King Chulalongkorn adopted from
Singapore and Batavia in 1871.....185

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1 Painting of Khrua In Khong (1).....	154
Figure 2 Painting of Khrua In Khong (2).....	154
Figure 3 Painting of Khrua In Khong (3).....	154
Figure 4 Painting of the Padang in Singapore.....	163
Figure 5 Painting of the Water Front, Batavia.....	174
Figure 6 Painting of Batavia Town (the 1800s).....	174
Figure 7 The portrait of the 17-year-old King Chulalongkorn in 1871.....	177
Figure 8 The portrait of King Chulalongkorn in 1896.....	177
Figure 9 Johnston’s Pier.....	182
Figure 10 “John Little” (the 1870s).....	182
Figure 11 Shop-house on Aussadang Road.....	191
Figure 12 Shop-house on Phra Sumen Road.....	191
Figure 13 Shop-house on Ta Tian – Ta Chang – Mahachai roads.....	191
Figure 14 Shop-house in Bangkok.....	192
Figure 15 Shop-house in Singapore.....	192
Figure 16 Early shop-house in Singapore.....	193
Figure 17 Shop-house in Singapore today.....	193
Figure 18 Canal parallel to the roads and crossing drawbridge in Batavia.....	215
Figure 19 Ku Muang Derm and Vilanda Bridge in Bangkok.....	215

LIST OF MAPS

	Page
Map 1 Map of Bangkok during the early Bangkok period.....	109
Map 2 Map of Bangkok during the reign of King Mongkut.....	134
Map 3 Map of Singapore Town (1822).....	160
Map 4 Map of Bangkok (1901).....	197

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical background and importance of the research problem

In the nineteenth century, Asia changed significantly both in terms of political and economic systems. The change that occurred in Asia and the rest of the world was influenced by the world economy. The growth and expansion of industry in Europe created new demand for raw materials and, subsequently, markets for the distribution of finished manufacturing in many industrial countries in Europe. This demand motivated the European countries, especially Britain as the centre of the Western world economy, to expand its activities in the Far East intensively. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the expansion came first through country traders, and later through government missions carrying the flag of liberalism. To reach the goal, military might was used to enforce this will, such as in the case of China and the Opium War (1842).¹ Southeast Asian countries were included in this world system because they could be potential markets for collecting materials and distributing manufactured products between Europe and Asia, and thus, many countries in Southeast Asia were connected into the new world economy.

The coming of Europeans to Southeast Asia can be divided into two periods. Firstly, from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, Europeans came to this region for the spice trade and Christian evangelism. Secondly, since the nineteenth century, their arrival was to occupy markets and resources as colonizers, and this is the period upon which this study will focus. As a result of the expansion of Europeans during

¹ Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, Thai-European Relations at the Beginning of King Chulalongkorn's Reign, In International Conference to commemorate 'The Century of King Chulalongkorn of Siam's First Visit to Europe in 1897' (Chulalongkorn University European Studies Programme and the Consortium of European Partner Universities, 1997).

this period, there was a great impact on transforming countries in Southeast Asia, including Siam or Thailand, to become modern countries in term of Westernization.

In the nineteenth century, because of the expansion of world trade and the end of Napoleonic wars, Siam and other Southeast Asian countries became a main target for the expanding commercial activities of the European powers. In particular, Britain first launched a free trade policy in Penang (1786), and then Singapore (1819). This strategy mainly was to attract trade away from the Dutch and expand the East India Company's commercial activities into the Southeast Asia region and included negotiating commercial agreements with the Siamese government. The main purpose of such negotiations was to abolish the trade monopoly of Siam's royal warehouse. Although British traders could not accomplish this aim until the year 1855, they were able to reestablish a commercial relationship with Siam, which had declined after the fall of Ayutthaya, through trade in Singapore.

Soon after Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles established Singapore as a standpoint for expanding British activities along the China trade route, he motivated regional traders to trade with Singapore under a free trade policy; meanwhile, he established commercial relations with various port cities in the region. Siam was invited to trade with Singapore from the reign of King Rama II (1809-1824), which became Siam's primary way for to trade with the West. Siam quickly became an important trading partner of Singapore and offered goods both for re-export and for consumption within Singapore along the Malay peninsula. In turn, Singapore became the second largest importer of Siamese products. As a result, the shipping business from Siam increased dramatically, and exceeded the number of junks coming from Cambodia and Cochin-China to anchor at Singapore. Siamese shippers and traders, mostly Chinese descendants, could make a profit from trading in the free port of Singapore. Yet, British traders operating from Singapore could not gain an advantage from trading in Siam because they were subject to the royal warehouse monopoly and to various fees and

restrictions, fees and restrictions to which the Chinese traders were not subject.² As a result, the British government in India attempted to negotiate a better trade arrangement with the government of Siam by sending John Crawford to Siam in 1821; however, his mission failed. Soon after, under the pressure of an expanding Britain in Southeast Asia, the British were able to complete negotiations with Siam in 1825, resulting in the Burney Treaty. Additionally, at that time, Britain was moving closer to Siam's western and southern borders with their defeat of the Burmese in lower Burma and their successful penetration into the Malay peninsula. In addition, because of the expansion of the market economy, King Rama III (1824-1850) abolished the former monopoly by the Royal Warehouse Department in an early year of his reign. Thus, it could be said that prior to participating directly in the European world economy by the Bowring Treaty of 1855, Siam had already started meeting the demand of the European world economy from the first half of the nineteenth century through their Chinese connection in Singapore.³

At that time, Siam was linked to the world economy by being a producer of new agricultural commodities, such as pepper, tobacco, cotton and sugar.⁴ In particular, sugar, introduced by Chinese traders, was the most profitable export item for the Siamese government, with the government using their network of foreign trade with Chinese traders to export sugar to China. Later, when sugar became in great demand in Europe, Siam was one of the centers of Southeast Asia producing sugar for the world market.⁵ However, Bangkok, as the new centre of administration and commerce of Siam, did not change much in terms of physical landscape until Westernization influenced Siam in the mid-nineteenth century.

² Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, *The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism* (Doctoral dissertation, The School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London, 2000), Page 49.

³ Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, *The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism* (Oxfordshire: Routledge Curzon, 2004), Page 25.

⁴ Ibid., Page 22.

⁵ Ibid., Page 41.

By the nineteenth century, there was not only an expansion of the Western world economy into Siam, but also Western sciences and technology played a significant role in facilitating this trade. From the reign of King Rama III, a group of Siamese elite dealt with this new trade and learned how to conform to the market. In particular, the Bunnag family engaged in such trading activity and learned about Western technology to gain benefit from it. For example, Phra Khlang and the Acting of Kalahom* (Dit Bunnag)** under the reign of King Rama III and his son,*** prospered in their private capacity and built Western-styled square rigged vessels of greater capacity than the traditional junk. These were better protected against the elements, required less crew and, hence, were cheaper to operate. Because of this innovation, Phra Khlang and his son continued their trading activities with China and Singapore into the 1840s.⁶ In the following period, this family became the most powerful officials in the court and the ones who supported King Mongkut to modernize Siam.

The pressure of the expanding activities of Britain in Southeast Asia and Siam convinced King Rama III and some of the royal elite and nobles, the latter group led by Prince Mongkut, that the influence of the arrival of the Europeans had a significant meaning to the existence of Siam itself. They also recognized that the context of the

* “Phra Khlang” is the title of the head of the Royal Treasury in Siam.

** Chao Phraya Prakhleng was a son of Akka Mahasena (Bunnag) and Khun Nuan. He was the minister of Krom Tha – supervising trade and foreign affairs under Prince Jessadabodindra (Rama III). Later, he was offered the position of Chao Praya Mahasena by King Rama III, but he refused this position, thus the king appointed him as the ministers of Kalahom and Krom Tha. Then he was called Chao Phraya Phra Khlang, the Acting of Samuha Kalahom, until he passed away. He also played a key role in the ascension of Prince Mongkut. In 1851 when King Mongkut succeeded to the throne, he appointed his main supporter as Somdet Chao Phraya Borom Maha Prayurawongse and Regent in the kingdom. The “*Somdet Chao Phraya*” title was the highest among the nobility and rivaled that of royalty. ใน ชมรมสายตระกูลขุนนาง, เสนาบดีตระกูลขุนนาง: สมเด็จพระยาบรมมหาประยูรวงศ์ (ดิศ บุนนาค) พ.ศ.๒๓๓๑ – ๒๓๙๘, [ออนไลน์], 21 กันยายน 2555. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.bunnag.in.th/history6-ditbunnag.html>

*** Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong (Chuang) was the eldest son of Chao Phraya Khlang (Dit). Later, he became the prominent supporter of modernization during the reign of King Mongkut. In David K. Wyatt, Thailand: A Short History (Chiang Mai: Silkwork Books, 1984), Page 182.

⁶ J.W. Cushman, Siamese Trade and the Chinese Go-between, 1767-1855, Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 12, 1 (March 1981): 54. Cited in Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism, Page 54.

world economy could offer economic opportunities to Siam; while, at the same time, could be a threat to the political stability of Siam as was the case with her neighboring countries.⁷

Therefore, soon after Prince Mongkut came to the throne as King Rama IV, or King Mongkut (1851-1868), he was ready to reestablish relations with the European countries. In particular, the king entered into negotiations over the commercial treaties with the European countries and made free trade a priority during the early part of his reign. As a result of negotiating these treaties, both the prosperity of commerce and the influence of the “*Westernization*” trend had an impact on Siam, especially Bangkok. The Old Bangkok, an antique and divine city, could not efficiently support the new world trade system. As a result, Bangkok needed to change to fit the “*international standard*” in order to become a part of the modern world in the nineteenth century.

After the Siamese government had formally negotiated with the Western countries and signed the commercial treaties, Bangkok became an international port of call for foreign ships to trade and do business as Westerners and other foreigners came to Bangkok in greater numbers than before under the conditions of these commercial treaties. As a result of this increasing number of the Westerners, the king allotted an area for Western settlements, which resulted in the boundary of Bangkok being extended to the southward along the Chao Phraya River. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, King Rama V (1868-1910), the boundary of Bangkok was expanded beyond Padung Krung Kasem Canal to the southward, and this area became known as the “*new Bangkok zone*” for international consuls and the community of Europeans. The increase in the Western population, as well as their influence in Bangkok, had a significant impact on change in Bangkok, both to the physical landscape and to the lifestyle. They made

⁷ Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, Thai-European Relations at the Beginning of King Chulalongkorn's Reign. In International Conference to commemorate ‘The Century of King Chulalongkorn of Siam's First Visit to Europe in 1897’ (Chulalongkorn University European Studies Programme and the Consortium of European Partner Universities, 1997).

requests to provide facilities to support their businesses and to improve the standard of living.

Innovations in the technology of transportation and communication in the nineteenth century meant the world became better connected as these innovations facilitated effective trans-distance communication. Faster routes of communication with the Far East were established; for example, telegraph lines in the late 1850s and 1860s, steam-powered sea transport, and the opening of the Suez Canal for shipping in 1869. These technologies and innovations connected European ports and Far East markets. Singapore and Batavia became main ports which were developed to be hubs of trans-continental commerce between Asia and Europe, especially serving as routes to access the China market. Bangkok, as the biggest market for Chinese products in this region, was linked to the world market by passing Singapore and Batavia, the commercial standpoints of the British and the Dutch, respectively.

As mentioned above, it can be said that transforming Bangkok in the middle of the nineteenth century was a result and response to changes in the world economy during that time. Westernization became the “*international standard*” which influenced the world, and Bangkok, as the centre of administration and business in Siam, had to improve to fit this new global standard.

With the need to transform Bangkok, a model city for completing this aim was needed. Being trading partners of Bangkok, both Singapore and Batavia were hubs that linked Bangkok with the world markets. Bangkok and other ports in this region were simultaneously drawn to the world trade system through both of these port cities. Singapore and Batavia were the most prominent European-like cities when compared with other colonial cities in the region. They were built and designed by duplicating the

physical environment from their own motherlands for the comfort of the overseas Europeans and to be a show-case for Western progress.⁸

Batavia was established by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1619 and Singapore by the British East India Company (EIC) in 1819. Although neither of these European countries was the first group coming to Southeast Asia, with their business ability, the support of military forces and their governments, Britain and the Netherlands were very successful in occupying this prosperous land filled with spices and natural resources.

By the seventeenth century, the spice trade was flourishing and was making a huge profit for merchants. As a result, the VOC was interested in expanding the spice trade in Asia, especially in the East India Archipelago, later known as Indonesia. The VOC established Batavia as a fortification and trading post, planned as the centre of intra-Asian trade from Japan to Persia to develop and monopolize the spice trade. Until the mid-seventeenth century, Batavia was an important trading post for establishing a monopoly in the spice trade and this city was established as a permanent foothold in Java to control the whole East India Archipelago. The Netherlands possessed and exploited this archipelago as its colony for a long time, such that this area became one of the world's richest colonial possessions.⁹

With a canal network, Batavia was known as the "*Venice of the East*".¹⁰ To build up their port and administration center in Java in the seventeenth century, the Dutch destroyed the indigenous settlement and used Amsterdam, their capital in the Netherlands, as a model. Batavia was conceived as a modern city based on the rational

⁸ C.M. Turnbull, A History of Singapore 1819-1975 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), Page 21-22.

⁹ M.C. Ricklefs, A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.1300, the second edition (London: MacMillan, 1991), Page 22-26.

¹⁰ Richard Bennett, DKK, Jakarta: Jayakarta, Batavia (Bali: The Bali Purnati Center For The Arts, 1980), Page 49.

principles and plans of one of northern Renaissance's most admirable thinkers.¹¹ Batavia was made as the “*ideal*” city, complete with canals, drawbridges, canal houses, stepped gables, churches, church bell-ringing, and streets paved with cobblestones.¹² Canals and drawbridges gave it a distinctly Dutch look. Interestingly, even though Batavia looked like a European-like city with the architecture of the buildings in the European design, Batavia still retained a character of an aquatic city based on canals and creeks, similar to Amsterdam and Bangkok.

However, not long after, the city had to move to a new area because of unhealthy conditions. The Dutch made the decision to found a new settlement at Weltevreden, southward from the former site. The new city was planned as a residential area for the Europeans and affluent native nobles. There were places of public life, for example, the Concordia Club, Roman Catholic churches and other public buildings.¹³ During his trip to Batavia of 1871, King Chulalongkorn visited Weltevreden to observe the public administrative management and the social life of Europeans, and was so impressed that he adopted some ideas to improve Bangkok.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, owing to the impact of liberalism, the Dutch government abolished its monopoly policy and adopted a “*Liberal Policy*” in 1870. To increase Batavia's ability to compete in the Western world economy, then dominated by the British, the Dutch government initially increased its investment in communication and transportation in Java to facilitate trading activities, as well as to link the main local ports and the world market. For example, the government constructed a railway to link Batavia and nearby cities. This improvement was launched at nearly the

¹¹ Richard Bennett, DKK, Jakarta: Jayakarta, Batavia., Page 47.

¹² Scott Merrillees, Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 2000), Page 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Page 7-8.

same time as King Chulalongkorn visited Batavia in 1871. During that trip, the king saw Batavia newly transforming from a fortress city to a modern city.*

Singapore was founded in 1819, 200 years later than Batavia, as a free port by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. Initially, Raffles planned to establish Singapore as a standpoint for the British East India Company in Southeast Asia to facilitate trade on the India-China trade route and compete with the monopoly trade under Dutch control in this region.¹⁴ Because of its geographical location and free trade policy, Singapore rapidly developed to be an international port of call by junks of various nationalities. Very soon after its establishment, Singapore became the most bustling city in Southeast Asia, and the focal route to access the China market for Britain.

To enable Singapore to become a commercial city, the prominent Asian merchants who had operated a network of commerce in the maritime trade network of Southeast Asia were attracted to trade here.** These pilot merchants were induced to trade in Singapore because of the free trade policy of Raffles. In contrast, in the earliest years of settlement, only a few European settlers came to Singapore because they were uncertain about the British East India Company's policy toward the city, particularly as to whether Singapore would be retained as a permanent British possession and they complained about difficulties in buying land.¹⁵

Given its role and the trading network of the Asian merchants, Singapore rapidly grew to be the most significant hub of commerce in the region. Junks of all nationalities anchored here to run their trading activities. Not surprisingly, Singapore became the link in the commercial Britannica network between Britain and the British

* This is the first time that the Siamese king saw a railway. Even King Mongkut had seen only a model of a train that had been given to him by Queen Victoria as a present. For King Chulalongkorn, although he had seen the rail way in Semarang, the first chance he had to ride a train was in India in 1872.

¹⁴ D.R. SarDesai, *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*, The third editions (Boulder: Westview Press, c.1994), Page 85.

** In particular, Raffles hoped Singapore could attract a large community of Arabs because they had played an important role in Southeast Asia trade for a long period. Yet, Chinese were a major group who settled down in Singapore. In C.M. Turnbull, *A History of Modern Singapore, 1819-2005* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), Page 32-34.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Page 34.

colonies. Being the centre of commerce, this city was eventually developed with modern facility and technology that changed Singapore from a small fishing village to become the most beautiful and modern port city in Asia at that time.

The environment and social life of Europe was emulated in setting up Singapore. Many buildings, such as the government house and the public buildings, initially constructed during the 1830s, were designed in Palladian style.* From the 1860s onwards, the social life of Singapore considerably improved for all settlers and travelers with a luxurious and comfortable life. Many facilities and services were established to aid in the comfort of the inhabitants in the town, for example, roads laid with tramway lines, the Singapore Club, the General Post Office and the city's hotels,¹⁶ and this is perhaps why Singapore so impressed King Mongkut and others.

In order to modernize Bangkok under the reign of King Mongkut to become a modern city, Singapore was looked to as a good model for learning the Western world for the Siamese elite. Singapore was not really far from Bangkok by sea travel, and was a modern port city and a centre of Western culture and modernity in Southeast Asia. It could be said that Singapore became a “*learning centre*” for Siam at that time. King Mongkut also expressed his ideas and policies as a leading modern king in Asia via the press in Singapore.

The process of learning about Singapore started in 1861, when the king sent Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong (Chuang Bunnag)** and Prince Krommamun Vishnunarth Nibhadhorn to observe the administrative system in Singapore.¹⁷ Later, with the need for a closer relationship with the British, King Mongkut had a deep desire to visit Singapore in person. Accordingly, he invited Sir Harry St. George Ord, the first

* The Palladian style was named after the sixteenth century Italian architect, Andrea Palladio, and was characterized by the use of powerful classical motifs. In Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet and National Museum of Singapore, 2009), Page 119.

¹⁶ Ibid., Page 140-141.

** Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong played an important role in supporting King Mongkut's policy, particularly opening Siam to the New World trade system and Western knowledge.

¹⁷ เจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์, พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 4 ฉบับเจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์, เล่ม 2 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การคุรุสภา, 2504), หน้า 319. And Singapore Free Press, Vol.28, No.27 (4 July 1861): 3.

Governor of the Straits Settlements, to observe a solar eclipse at Wa Koh in 1868 to discuss his future travel.* Unfortunately, the king passed away from malarial fever shortly after the astronomical expedition.¹⁸ However, this travel plan was taken up by his son, King Chulalongkorn. With the nearby location and close commercial relations, not only Singapore, but Batavia was included in the program for his first overseas journey in 1871. Accordingly, from the time of King Mongkut until his son, King Chulalongkorn, the nearby colonial cities, such as Singapore and Batavia, became seen as possibly models for transforming Bangkok.

As earlier mentioned, transforming Bangkok resulted from the coming of the world trade system. However, regarding studies of Thai history during the modern Bangkok period, many studies have emphasized either the reforms or modernization were a response to Western imperialism and colonization's expansion to Siam. Moreover, the spread of imperialism is typically regarded as the main factor for the changing of Siam during the colonial period. As evidence of this, The First Grand Tour to Europe in 1897 has been explained as a focal event that demonstrated the achievement of a diplomatic policy and a task of modernization of Siam; more importantly, this trip assured that the independent status of Siam would be accepted among the European countries. Yet, one might wonder whether there are any other challenges that affected the modernization that occurred in Siam, particularly the transformation of Bangkok? At this point, the change of the world trade system after the Industrial Revolution should be considered.

Bangkok was initially transformed after the Bowring Treaty was signed. As evidence of this, road and shop-house construction had started since the late of 1850s to facilitate trade and the comfort European inhabitants. Hence, it can be assumed that the launching of the project of modernization, especially in Bangkok, was in response to a new trade system under the conditions of the commercial treaties. In addition, as a result

* At that time, King Mongkut also had a private conversation with the governor of Singapore about the relations between Siam and the European powers, particularly, with regard to the case of Malay peninsula. In Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871 (Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2008), Page 8.

¹⁸ สมบัติ พลายน้อย, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าฯ พระปิยมหาราช (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์พิมพ์ดีด, 2553), หน้า 91.

of completing the treaties with the Siamese government, the European powers, particularly Britain and the United States of America, accomplished their desire to trade with Siam without any restrictive conditions and following their own terms.* That is why Siam was not a main target of expanding military interference by the European powers, as was the case with the neighboring countries.

Yet, according to a study of Thai history, a bias toward either nationalism or a Euro centric bias can often be found. In Thailand, to strengthen unity under “*Thainess*”, history written for the mainstream has tended to use the plot of the “*heroic king*” or the great man who saved the kingdom from occupation and maintained the sovereignty of the kingdom. The purpose was to unite the people during the period of making the Thai nation. It could be said that “*history*” became the equipment for building a strong image of Siam as “*an independent nation*”. As well, the discourse of “*never been colonized*” is proclaimed repeatedly. This dialogue was written to praise the heroic kings who saved Siam from domination, including from being colonized by the West. This “*set of knowledge*” has been deeply implanted into the Thai educational system with the purpose of unifying the people into “*Thai-oneness*”.

Hence, the success of the kings in saving the kingdom from invasion by enemies, either during the Ayutthaya or Bangkok periods, has been extolled in the national history. Similarly, the history of the colonial period has mainly focused on the protection of an independent Siam from colonization, which succeeded with the able genius of the kings, most particularly, King Chulalongkorn.

A number of Thai scholars have written history with a Euro (Thai) centric bias. Generally, the history of Southeast Asia written by Western scholars has typically emphasized the arrival of European colonization which brought about great change in the Southeast Asian region, particularly bringing a new era of modernization under the colonial system. In other words, European powers were the centre of change that occurred in this region, releasing Asia from being “*uncivilized*”. In the case of Siam, the

* In fact, according to the policy of the European powers, they preferred to make a profit from trade rather than to occupy a colony. To achieve this desire, the European powers forced other countries to follow their terms either through negotiation or by military force.

fact that Siam has never been formally colonized by the European colonizers has been reproduced time after time such that it seems to be used to emphasize the superlative status of Thailand over her neighboring countries that suffered from the colonization, and might serve as an obstacle to constructing a good attitude and understanding toward these neighboring countries. Therefore, it is important to look beyond these biases and simply tell what happened in the past without bias. To the extent possible, this study attempts to avoid falling into the trap of nationalism and Euro (Thai) centrism.

As mentioned above, to add a missing piece to the jigsaw puzzle of Thai modern history, this study examines the fact that the modernization of Siam during the nineteenth century was not necessarily a response to the arrival of colonization or to the protection of the “*sovereignty*” of Siam only. On the contrary, some of the efforts of the Siamese government occurred in response to the new trade system which was dominated by the Western world economy at that time, and were not only forced by political threat. To present another dimension of Bangkok’s history in the modern period, there are three points to be considered as follows:

1. Modernization is a “*process*” that needs time to accomplish.

Modernization has to undergo a practical procedure to achieve it. In the case of Siam, it might be difficult to know the exact time when modernization was first implanted; possibly occurring either with the coming of Christian missionaries during the first half of the nineteenth century, or with the arrival of the free trade policy upon signing the commercial treaties with the West during the mid-nineteenth century. Thus it might be said that Siam commenced modernization during the reign of King Rama III and adopted “*a form of modernity*” to Bangkok, and then finally Siam, afterward during the reign of King Mongkut. However, the important point is that modernization needed time to be implemented; as well, the vision of the leader toward the process of modernization was necessary.

Tracing back to the crisis in China in the 1840s, this empire was forced by European powers to open its door to the world market. As a result, Chinese commodities were distributed throughout Asian port cities occupied by Europeans. Also, demand for free labor increased dramatically because the demand for labor-produced export items increased, particularly mono-crops for the world market. Therefore, an influx of Chinese immigrants moved to port cities to work as laborers, particularly in Southeast Asia, including Siam. The growth of this demand resulted in the economy of Siam during the reign of King Rama III, the Old Bangkok, starting to change from being a self sufficient economy to being a “*market economy*”.* Under the development of plantations to produce export items, Siam became an important provider of mono-crop exports for the world market, especially as one of leading sugar producers in Southeast Asia. As a result of the growth of the market economy, a lot of free Chinese laborers moved to Bangkok and nearby towns to work in the agricultural sector and public works. They served a more important role in economy, particularly as a substitution for the corvée system and affected the royal monopoly trade. In the end, both of these fundamental systems that had previously empowered the Siamese government were abolished in later reigns.

From this start, Siam moved closer to the Western world economy. Later, after Siam had signed the commercial treaties during the 1850s, Siam moved closer to a modern commercial life. To facilitate the growth of commerce, the Siamese government provided and developed a modern transportation system to enable and support an efficient increase in the volume of trade. For example, the government increased the number of canals to transport labor-produced products from plantations in nearby cities to markets and docks at Bangkok. To respond to modern business and service, the government initially developed a new commercial zone within the inner sector of

* Supharat Lertpanijkul provides a definition of “market economy”: “*market economy means an economy that makes investment in productive activities in response to the demand for goods in the market. In this process, there is a division of duty in some productive activities, and the use of money for exchange increases. Unfortunately, the amount of money that is used in the market becomes less and is limited only to a small group of consumers, so the barter system still remains in the economic system. As a result, a ‘market economy’ cannot really be a part from a self-sufficient economy*”. ใน สุภรัตน์ เลิศพาณิชย์กุล, หาอยู่หากิน เพื่อค้าเพื่อขาย: เศรษฐกิจไทยรัตนโกสินทร์ตอนต้น (กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2544), หน้า 16.

Bangkok by constructing roads and shop-houses. A network of roads was extended to occupy a larger area from King Mongkut's period.

The arrival of Westernization challenged the traditional ways in Siam. In particular, the role of American missionaries who had come since the reign of King Rama III affected the emergence of the modern Siamese elite. Although Christian missionaries were not really successful in evangelizing, they were successful in introducing modernity and Western culture to the Siamese court. Additionally, they introduced scientific knowledge and Western ways as an international standard to the Siamese royal elite and court officials. However, at the beginning, just a few of the elite intended to learn Western knowledge and modern ways; but twenty years later, these elite became the leading group who operated a program of modernization in Siam during the reign of King Mongkut and furthered development in the following period.

Accordingly, it is important to note that modernization did not suddenly occur and that it was not accomplished in a short time. In addition, this sort of achievement depends on the experience of each leader and the circumstances of that moment. In the case of Siam, modernization was implemental in Bangkok from the early Bangkok period, then, was crystallized under a project of making a civilized nation from King Mongkut and afterwards.

2. The transformation of Bangkok, an original model of reforming Siam, was operated to respond to a change in the global trend.

The aggressive expansion of imperialism in the nineteenth century resulted from the great political and economic revolutions in Europe. "*Prosperity and Power*" aroused the European countries to be active in expanding their trading activities and military forces to occupy overseas lands. By the nineteenth century, Siam was confronted with the challenge of the Western world economy coming with the discipline of liberalism and modernization. This challenge was extended and dominated the rest of the world, included even the colonies of the European colonizers. As a result, there emerged "*a new international standard*" that became the standard for progressively improving a

country. It can be seen that Singapore, Batavia and even Bangkok had to respond to this challenge. For example, Singapore was initially established with a principle of liberalism, and the East India Company of the Dutch had to abolish their monopoly policy and change to Liberal Policy in the 1870s.

In the case of Siam, the coming of the West in the nineteenth century could have been either a challenge or threat. The arrival of modernization under the name of “civilize (ศิวิไลซ์-*khwam charoen*)” challenged the Siamese elite to transform Siam to become “*a truly civilized nation*” in terms of “*progress and being modern*”. Thus, the government started to transform Bangkok first. As a result, although Siam had been threatened by imperial powers, Siam retained self-authority over commercial benefit and political power.

3. The early modernization was duplicated from Singapore and Batavia, not Europe.

With respect to the reforms enacted during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, many have claimed that they resulted from the achievement of the First Grand Tour to Europe in 1897. This journey became an important turning point in the Modern Era of Thai history. Although some scholars state that this journey was the origin of the reforms in Siam, Charnvit Kasetsiri argues against this statement. He notes that in general the study of Thai history during the reign of King Chulalongkorn emphasizes two points. The first is to study the First and Second Grand Tours to Europe in 1897 and 1907, respectively. The second is to study how the result of both grand tours had a significant impact on making the modern Thai-state. These events have been interpreted as the strategic policy that saved Siam from being colonized by European powers. This argument is neither wrong nor right. However, he points out that the matter should be

carefully considered in more detail and a new interesting argument might be found hidden between the lines.¹⁹

If we consider the issue more cautiously, an interesting point may be found that Bangkok and then Siam were, in fact, transformed before the king made his first journey to Europe. Before 1897, only a few of the elite had been to Europe and the Siamese kings had never been to any European countries. Therefore, the beginning of modernization could have more likely been duplicated and learned from the nearby European-like cities, such as Singapore and Batavia. During the nineteenth century, Singapore and Batavia were leading colonial cities where their colonizers had established a well-organization standard of living for the comfort of the Europeans.

With their strategic location and being leading modern and beautiful European-like cities in Southeast Asia, Singapore and Batavia became models for New Bangkok at the appropriate time. The distance from Bangkok to Singapore and Java was shorter than to Europe. To travel to Europe, one had to spend a significant amount of time and money. Therefore, it was nearly impossible to make frequent study tours in Europe. In addition, Siam was far different from European countries, especially in cultural aspects and the advancement of technology. By 1857, the Siamese government under King Mongkut had sent the first official diplomatic mission to London. They saw the modernity and advanced technology of transportation in the cities in England. They reported to the king how European cities looked and how they were advanced. Meanwhile, Singapore and Batavia, situated nearby Bangkok,* were built similar to their own motherlands, albeit not exactly the same, adjusting the Western style to the Oriental ways. Thus, not surprisingly, the Siamese government chose Singapore and Batavia as

¹⁹ ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ และอรอนงค์ ทิพย์พิมล, บรรณารักษาร, รัชกาลที่ 5: สยามกับอุษาคเนย์และชมพูทวีป (กรุงเทพฯ: มุลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547), หน้า 31-32.

* On the first royal visit to Singapore and Batavia in 1871, King Chulalongkorn spent 38 days for the trip, including nine days in Singapore, and five days and three days in Batavia and Semarang, respectively. The round-trip by ship from Bangkok to Singapore - Java was approximately 21 days, while, the round-trip from Bangkok to India was approximately 41 days. Certainly, a round-trip to Europe would be much longer. ใน สาคชิตอนันท สหาย, ๑.5 เสด็จอินเดีย, แปลโดย กัณฐิกา ศรีอุดม (กรุงเทพฯ: มุลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2546), หน้า (14) – (16).

models for modernizing Bangkok. More importantly, the Siamese government needed to transform Bangkok quickly to support the growth of international trade after the Bowring Treaty.

Therefore, this study contributes a new aspect to Thai Studies through looking into a history during the colonial period. Modernization in Bangkok and Siam had long proceeded, first starting from the reign of King Mongkut, to respond to changes in global trends, such as the world trade system and modernity, not solely as a response to the threat of imperialism to maintain the self-sovereignty of Siam. In addition, modernization during the reign of King Chulalongkorn was initially duplicated from a reaction to the European cities in this region, such as Singapore and Batavia, not Europe itself.

The need to transform Bangkok to become a modern city needs to be considered as well. In particular, the character of Old Bangkok could not efficiently support the new trade system, which was more complicated and more complex. Owing to the impact of European world trade coming with imperialism in the nineteenth century, Bangkok and many port cities in the region had to adjust to become modern commercial cities. As a result of negotiating commercial treaties with the Western countries since 1855, Bangkok became an international port and a new residence for Europeans as Siam became a part of this new economy through these commercial treaties. The traditional structure of the city could not support the growth of new world trade efficiently, since an antiquity city in term of traditional character could not fit the “*international standard*” in the modern world that required an advancement of scientific knowledge and technology. To sustain its role in the new world system, the Siamese government recognized the need to change Bangkok, and then Siam, to fit “*the new global trend*”.*

* As a result of the Enlightenment Era and the Industrial Revolution, Western countries were empowered by sciences and technology. The new global trend included a new system of economy, political ideology and cultures. All of these were dominated and standardized by the West, particularly during the nineteenth century as mentioned in the text.

In the pre-modernization period in Southeast Asia, most of the earliest cities in this region originated as a result of the diffusion into the area of Indian and Chinese forms of political organization and religion, based on Brahman and Buddhist beliefs. The theme and motifs from Indic mythology, religion, poetry, and the visual and performing arts, “*Aryan-civilization*”, were appropriated and transformed into constituents of the cultural identity of the elite in Southeast Asia.²⁰ Their economic wealth came from either being agrarian-based or maritime trade-based, with their capital cities built as “*a scared city*”, the centre of the soul and divine.

A sacred city was almost invariably planned and constructed as an image of the universe according to the cosmological beliefs of the Asian society influenced by Indic cosmology. The main elements of the city, the principal temples, the king’s palace, the city walls and moats were located in a manner designed to reproduce the cosmological heaven. The palace and the principal temples could generally be found in the centre of the city, and about them were located the residences of the city elite and functionaries.²¹

When Bangkok was established in 1782, the early kings of the Chakri dynasty adopted Ayutthaya as a model, a scared city, to build the new capital. However, because of wars and the need for reconstruction in a short time, Bangkok had her own specific character, not absolutely the same as Ayutthaya. For example, the physical landscape of Bangkok was different from Ayutthaya. Additionally, Bangkok had no range of mountains surrounded to guard the city, as did Ayutthaya. However, similar to the Ayutthaya custom, King Rama I established Bangkok on the east side of the Chao Phraya River and dug a moat canal encircling the other side of the city, following the traditional model of a city plan in the Treatise on Warfare, and Bangkok was able to retain the character of an aquatic city, as in the Ayutthaya period. Many canal projects were promoted by the kings to protect the city from enemies and to promote commerce,

²⁰ Maurizio Peleggi, Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy’s Modern Image (Hawaii: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), Page 28.

²¹ T.G. McGee, The Southeast Asian City: a Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1967), Page 34-35.

so the livelihood of people did not change significantly from previous times. Therefore, with the arrival of free trade and Western international standard, Bangkok, as an antiquity city, could not fit the new global trend.

Siam-ness has been composed from oriental cultures, mainly adopting culture and knowledge through nearby kingdoms, particularly Khmer and Chinese. Being an international port and a hub of commerce in mainland of Southeast Asia, Ayutthaya, and later Bangkok, became a centre of multi-cultures flowing from travelers and traders from various nationalities, which can be seen in the culture of food and costume.

Indian culture influenced the Siamese court indirectly through Cambodian politics and culture. In ancient times, Cambodian culture, former called “*Khmer*”, was originally adopted from India and then adapted with local customs. The Khmer became the most powerful kingdom in the mainland, and not only its political domination, but Cambodian culture was spread widely in this region, including to Siam. As a result, Khmer culture became the principle for court customs in Siam, particularly the ideology of polity and symbolic belief of Brahmanism. This ideology empowered the status of the Siamese king to become a god-king. Furthermore, religious and royal ceremony, architecture and the Thai language reflect the influence of Cambodian culture.

Chinese culture was also a part of high culture in the royal courts in Southeast Asia. As a result of the tributary trade with China, the civilization (in Chinese “*wenming*”) of China expanded into the tributary states in this region.²² In the case of Siam, by the first half of the nineteenth century, the flourish of Chinese culture as court taste was fashionable in the Bangkok era.

The massive consumption of Chinese material culture might have been what promoted an interest in Chinese culture in the court. For example, one of King Rama I’s court officials translated the famous Chinese novel, The Romance of the Three Kingdoms (in Thai, Sam Kok). The utility of this translated novel was in conducting the affairs of state. Furthermore, the flourishing trade with China under the reign of King

²² Maurizio Peleggi, Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy’s Modern Image, Page 28-29.

Rama III resulted in a lot of Chinese crockery and stone images, used as ballast on junks, being used to decorate many of the city's new temples. Also, many of the Buddhist temples were decorated with Chinese designs, artisans, and materials; dragons replaced Thai *naga* on the roofline, while cranes, chrysanthemums, and scenes from Chinese legends replaced the usual Thai iconography inside. This style was dubbed the “*royal model*”. In addition, a favor for Chinese customs became a fashionable trend in the Siamese court. For example, slippers and jackets were common items of court dress. Chinese furniture was imported to embellish temples and great homes. Even King Mongkut himself had his portrait painted in the robes of a Chinese emperor and built a Chinese-style pleasure garden at the royal retreat of Bang Pa-in.²³ As the junk trade dwindled after 1840 in the face of European competition,* the Chinese fashionable trend declined to be substituted by the Western fashionable trend.

Khmer and Chinese cultures were not only popular among the high court and nobles, but these cultures were assimilated by the whole society. When Westernization came to Siam during the middle of the nineteenth century, it had a significant impact in various aspects of Siamese society. In particular, Westernization induced the transformation of Bangkok from being an aquatic city, developed by water systems, to a land based city, with an extended road system. Accordingly, Bangkok as an antiquity city with Indic cosmology and divine power had to change to become a modern city with a Western ideology in prosperity and secular power.

Westernization had a great impact on Thai society from the arrival of Europeans in the nineteenth century. Tracing back to the early Bangkok period, Siamese had little knowledge about the Western world. After the fall of Ayutthaya, the volume of trade with Western traders declined. As a result, there were only a few Europeans residing in Siam and Bangkok at that time, such as a few French bishops, two to three

²³ Christ Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, A History of Thailand (Cambridge University Press, 2005), Page 35.

* After the decline of the Chinese junk trade, King Rama III constructed a riverside temple, Yannawa Temple, in the shape of a junk as a memorial to the junk's role in building the capital.

Portuguese merchants, and American missionaries who first came in 1828.²⁴ Therefore, it was quite difficult for the Siamese to imagine a European country. Another important problem was the ability in using the English language. In the early Bangkok period, Siamese who could speak English could hardly be found. Therefore, whenever the Siamese government had to contact Westerners, they had to use a translator to translate their conversation to Portuguese or Malay.²⁵ For example, when John Crawford came to Siam during the reign of King Rama II, the government had to use translators to translate the conversation during the audience from Siamese to Malay to English.*

However, when Western civilization and knowledge intensified and extended its reach into the walls of the Grand Palace, Siamese elite could not ignore Westernization any longer. Traditionally, acquiring knowledge by the royal elite under the Chakri Dynasty was based on the course set down for being rulers. They were to learn Siamese and Pali, literature and poetry; Siamese history, which only told of the deeds of mighty kings in the past; and the ancient arts of war. They also learned the ideology of Buddhism and ancient geography, based on the knowledge of Brahmans. In practical terms, the elite would be trained with the court officials for audiences with the king. Certainly, the traditional knowledge as mentioned above could not enable Siam to sustain itself in a modern world based on Western knowledge.

An interesting question is how the Siamese elite acquired Western knowledge at the beginning. Traditionally, acquiring “*knowledge*” from the outside world was mainly by interviewing traders and travelers. In his MA thesis, The Readjustment of Knowledge, Truth, and Power of the Elites in Siam, 1782-1868, Davisaks Puaksom

²⁴ เอ.บี. กริสโวลด์, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้ากรุงสยาม, แปลโดย หม่อมเจ้าจงจิตรถนอม ดิศกุล (พิมพ์โดยเสด็จพระราชกุศลในมหามงคลชัย พระชนมายุเสด็จด้วยสมเด็จพระราชบิดา, 2508), หน้า 7-8.

²⁵ สมเด็จพระเจ้า กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, ชุมนุมพระนิพนธ์ สมเด็จพระเจ้า กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์บรรณกิจ, 2534), หน้า 13.

* King Rama II gave an audience to John Crawford in 1821. During this audience, the king spoke in Siamese and then Ko-Chai-sahak explained the king’s words in Malay. It could be assumed that John Crawford could not understand Malay, so the king’s word would be translated from Malay into English by another translator. In John Crawford, Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China, the Second published (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987), Page 94-95.

points out that seeking new knowledge in the traditional way mainly required the testimony or story telling from travelers, merchants or even missionaries who gave detail about the places where they came from or events they had seen. After that, a court official recorded these messages carefully to use in the official affairs. A purpose of the “*Testimony*” was to seek new knowledge that the Siamese court desired to know or it benefited from in their official affairs.²⁶

From the reign of King Rama III, Westerners increasingly came to Bangkok. Since the Siamese elite were alert to learn about the Western world, they established friendships with the Westerners and energetically inquired about the places from where they had come, including a history of European countries. Not surprisingly, at that time, both America and Europe was a new story that they had never known before. As Prince Mongkut revealed to his American friends:

*“Especially, the knowledge about foreign lands and of the various people who dwelt there, with perhaps the exception of India, China, Burma and a few surrounding tributary states of Siam. Europe and England were hearsay, and America was mere gossip”.*²⁷

For the prince himself, he became interested in Europe or America from reading and listening.* According to an ancient custom of Siam, kings and the royal family were not allowed to go abroad if not for an expedition of war. In a letter that Prince Mongkut wrote in 1849 to Mr. and Ms. Eddy of Waterford, his friends in New

²⁶ ทวีศักดิ์ เผือกสม, “การปรับตัวทางความรู้, ความจริง, และอำนาจของชนชั้นสยาม พ.ศ. 2325-2411,” (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย), หน้า 85-91.

²⁷ Seni Pramoj and Kukrit Pramoj, *A King of Siam Speaks* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1987), Page 1-2.

* Prince Mongkut was a scholar also. He acquired new knowledge by reading and traveling. As king, he was interested in reading books in English, especially astronomy.

York, he explained that this was the reason why he could not go to America even though his friends had invited him to visit there.²⁸

However, traveling to other places within the realm was possible for the kings.* King Mongkut often traveled to other places with several purposes: to see how the local people lived; to respect a footprint of the Buddha, or to spend spare time for personal pleasure.** The king collected and analyzed information from each trip to improve the living standard of the people and stabilize his kingdom, not for his pleasure alone. As Prince Damrong recorded in his book, Recollection (ความทรงจำ):

*“Occasionally, he (King Mongkut) visited provincial towns within the realm of the kingdom of Siam. In the north, he went to Phitsanulok; in the east, he went to Prachin, coastal-towns, Chandhaburi and Trad; in the south, he went to Nakornchaisri, Kanchanaburi, Rachaburi and Phetchaburi. He made a trip to observe the realm of his kingdom. Due to his attempt, the King knew his people in remote areas better than other former kings.”*²⁹

As a result of his in-country travels, the king brought back what he had seen to develop his own country. For example, to develop the water transportation system to facilitate transportation and trade, the king ordered to be constructed a canal to connect Bangkok with surrounding areas where the royal palaces and plantations were situated.

²⁸ Seni Pramoj and Kukrit Pramoj, A King of Siam Speaks, Page 1-2.

* Traveling within the realm was not prohibited by the ancient custom. However, the former kings did not do it actively. On the other hand, King Mongkut had initiated traveling since he had been in the monkhood.

** Similarly, the former kings in the Ayutthaya period liked to travel for making merit and spending spare time, such as boxing or fishing. King Mongkut liked to travel, so he ordered the palaces to be renovated or rebuild for occasional visits. ใน กุลทรัพย์ เกษแม่นกิจ, นุหตง ศรีกนก และพรภักทรา สารประสพ, บรรณานุกรม, แนวพระราชดำริในการเสด็จประพาสในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2552), หน้า 1.

²⁹ สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, ความทรงจำ (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ศิลปาบรรณาคาร, 2516), หน้า 148.

Also, the king supported ship-building in Siam to provide for shipping and regional transport, such as a private steamship to sail along the Chao Phraya River and a mailing-steamship between Bangkok and Singapore.³⁰

When “*modern and civilized*” became the new standard of improving Siam, it was impossible to learn the Western world through reading and listening alone, acquiring knowledge from direct experiences was necessary. That is the reason why the king was willing to ignore the custom which prohibited him from traveling to a foreign country, and why the king had an utmost desire to visit a Western country in person, such as Singapore.³¹

In conclusion, by the nineteenth century, the balance of world power had clearly shifted to the Europeans. The arrival of European imperialism threatened the sovereignty of kingdoms in Southeast Asia, including Siam. In particular, the expansion of British imperialism spread to China, Burma and the Malay peninsula from the early nineteenth century. In addition, Singapore and Hong Kong, established by Britain as hubs of commerce for accessing the China and Southeast Asian markets, were very successful. The free trade policy that Britain applied in Singapore had become the new trend in Southeast Asia. Because of the achievement of the free trade policy in Singapore, the Southeast Asian kingdoms, or even colonies of European colonizers, abolished their monopoly policy and let trade run without government control.

As a result of the situation mentioned above, the Siamese government carefully made policy toward the European countries. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Siam agreed to enter into commercial compromises with Britain and America, except the abolishment of the monopoly trade of the royal warehouse. On the other hand, the Siamese government was suspicious of the West’s expansion in China and neighboring countries.* Finally, in the latter years of King Rama III’s reign, the

³⁰ Royal Thai Embassy in Singapore, Ode to Friendship: Celebrating Thailand – Singapore Relations, The second edition (Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Diplomatic Relations between Thailand and Singapore, 2005), Page 18.

³¹ Seni Pramoj and Kukrit Pramoj, A King of Siam Speaks, Page 21.

* At the beginning of King Rama III’s reign, he signed the Burney Treaty with Britain in 1826. That treaty caused the royal monopoly products to become more available for British merchants who traded

agreements between Siam and the Europeans, particularly Britain, were ignored and led to a risky situation between them.

However, soon after King Rama III died, Prince Mongkut ascended to throne as king, and the Europeans expected to reestablish relations with Siam because King Mongkut was well known among the Westerners in Siam as a modern Siamese elite. King Mongkut himself recognized “*the change*” happening to Asia, and realized that Siam was surrounded by the spread of imperialism in Asia. With a dictum of the “*White man’s burden*” and the advancement of the European countries and their colonies at that time, the king agreed that Siam was “*half civilized and half barbarian*”,³² and that Siam might be threatened if it would not change the “*half barbarian*” to fit “*the standard of Western civilization*”. Ultimately, Siam would not be able to persist in keeping her status as an autonomous state.

As a result, King Mongkut made a decision to make policy toward the West. The king rapidly reestablished relations between the Siamese government and European countries and the United States of America during the early years of his reign in the 1850s and 1860s and laid plans to transform Bangkok to be a civilized city similar to other European-like cities.

To modernize Siam successfully, King Mongkut provided Western education for the Siamese in many ways. For example, several Siamese in Bangkok were sent to study abroad to places such as Singapore, Britain and the United States of America.³³ Moreover, the king encouraged the royal elite and court official to learn about the Western countries with Christian missionaries, including their history and geography. As a result of increase of Western influence in Bangkok, the Siamese were alert to know the Western world in terms of modernity. This phenomenon resulted from an extension of the idea of modernizing Bangkok and Siam under the reign of King Mongkut. For example, paintings on the walls of temples in Bangkok and nearby cities showed images

in Bangkok. However, after the aggressive policies of Europeans in many countries in Asia, the Siamese government was convinced the Europeans were a threat to Siam.

³² Charnvit Kasetsiri, *Siam/Civilization-Thailand/Globalization: Things to Come* (International Association of Historians of Asia, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 1996): Page 6.

³³ สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *ชุมนุมพระนิพนธ์ สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ*, หน้า 13-18.

of buildings, social life and activity in term of Western culture. Also, the well known book, Voyage to London (Niras London), composed by Mom Rachothai was published and became a popular guide book for traveling in London among intellectual elite in Bangkok. This book described the physical environment, architecture, industry and social life in London and leading industrial cities in England.

However, the imaginary of the modern world through these media was not enough to modernize Bangkok because it lacked the fundamental idea of a modern city and expertise for construction, particularly engineering and architecture.* That is the reason why an overseas journey for a study tour became an important strategy for modernizing Siam, particularly traveling to nearby European-like city, such as Singapore and Batavia. King Chulalongkorn had many overseas journeys during his reign, especially visiting the colonial cities in Asia in the earliest years of his reign. The king also adopted modern ideas from his travels around Bangkok. Noticeably, shop-houses in a commercial zone as can be seen in southern provinces of Thailand presently,** were mainly duplicated architecture and techniques from Singapore and Penang.³⁴ Moreover, some modern organizations, such as military clubs, museums and botanic gardens, were adapted to Bangkok, especially for the pleasure of the royal court. Not surprisingly, the British and the Dutch model prevalent in Singapore and Batavia, respectively, were followed in the modernization of Siam. Particularly under the reign of King Mongkut, Singapore became a “*Western learning center*” for Siamese elite; while the king used the

* During the reign of King Mongkut, he mainly hired Europeans to work in the fields of education and the military. Western engineers and artists were hired more in the following reign of King Chulalongkorn.

** Typically, shop-houses consist of shops on the ground floor which open up to a public arcade or "five-foot way", and which have residential accommodation upstairs. The shop-houses would abut each other to form rows with a regular facade, fire walls and adherence to street alignment. In Singapore, shop-houses had to be constructed of brick or tiles and having a common type of front. Each shop-house had an arcade of a certain depth, open to all sides as a continuous and open passage on each side of the street. This practice spread to other states in British Malaya and by-laws with requirements for “verandah-ways of...at least seven feet measuring from the boundary of the roadand the footway within any verandah-way must be at least five feet in the clear.” This influence spread into the southern provinces of Siam and Bangkok. In Jon S.H. Lim, “The Shophouse Rafflesia: An Outline of its Malaysian Pedigree and its Subsequent Diffusion in Asia,” Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, LXVI, Part 1 (1993): 47-66.

³⁴ ราศี บุรุษรัตน์พันธุ์ และปิยะพันธ์ รำรวย, บรรณารักษ์, แผนที่ชุมชนกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักผังเมือง กรุงเทพมหานคร, 2547), หน้า 24.

press in Singapore as his own “*Public Relations*” to promote his ideas and policies to the outside world.³⁵

As can be seen, at the beginning of the modernization of Bangkok, Singapore and Java (Batavia) became a main target for learning “*modernity*” which took place through a new phenomenon of learning, called the “*study tour*”. King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn had initially sent high ranking officials to the foreign land. These journeys were to observe the form of ‘modernity’ in those countries. More importantly, King Chulalongkorn, widely known as “*the King who opened the world of traveling*”, was the first Siamese king who traveled in Asia and Europe. After ascending the throne, King Chulalongkorn waited for 30 years to visit Europe. However, before the First Grand Tour to Europe was undertaken in 1897, the king made several important journeys in Asia, particularly visiting Singapore and Batavia three times, in 1871, 1896 and 1901, for study tours.

In addition, the impact on the transformation of Bangkok was considered as well. This transformation clearly changed the character of Old Bangkok. Traditionally, construction and city planning of an antiquity city in Southeast Asia were influenced by Indic ideology focused on a symbolic system of divine city and god king, making a city plan reflect the centralization of the capital as a centre of the cosmos. Yet, when the new trade system and Westernization under the name of imperialism expanded into Asia and Southeast Asia, Asian cities became huge plantations and outlets for European industrial countries. As a result, a form of modernity influenced by Western culture became “*a new standard and order*” of the nineteenth century world, and the antiquity city could not remain its status of divinity and as a spiritual centre. In contrast, these cities had to change their function and form to fit the “*new international standard*” coming with advancement and modernity.

³⁵ แอ็บบรอด โลว์ มอฟแฟ็ท, *แผ่นดินพระจอมเกล้า*, แปลโดย นิจ ทองโสภิต (กรุงเทพฯ: สมาคมสังคมศาสตร์แห่งประเทศไทย, 2520), หน้า 127.

In the case of Bangkok, as a result of the expansion of the Western world economy to Asia, Bangkok became a market place for collecting and distributing goods for the world market. Therefore, to facilitate the trade efficiently, Bangkok needed to develop communication and transportation systems to connect Bangkok and nearby plantations and the traditional function of Bangkok as a moat-fortified city declined. When Bangkok was founded in 1782, King Rama I built the city encircled with fortresses, city walls and canals to protect the city from invasion. Later, when warfare decreased, the function of this element for strategic military purposes became less important. Noticeably, during the excavation of Padung Krung Kasem Canal to extend the boundary of Bangkok, King Mongkut built fortresses encircled a new canal, but without city walls. During the following reign, King Chulalongkorn demolished some fortresses to provide more space for road construction. Thus, it can be seen that a form of the divine city was gradually replaced with the character of a modern city such that Bangkok was transformed to have “*the appearance of Western modernization*”.³⁶

Therefore, modernization in Siam, particularly the transforming of Bangkok, should not only emphasize the political pressure of imperialism, expansion of the Western world economy and Westernization should be considered as well. The arrival of Western modernity in the mid-nineteenth century challenged the Siamese government to transform Bangkok to become a modern city, equal to European-like cities. To respond to the coming of the Western world economy, the government enabled Bangkok to facilitate an increase in trade and investment; for example, linking new road network and former canal system for transporting within the city and constructing shop-houses. In addition, other modern facilities emerged, such as hotels, restaurants, communication and public transportation systems and docks in Bangkok. Interestingly, the appearance of Western modernization that initially occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century was a replica of Singapore and Batavia.

³⁶ Ross King, Reading Bangkok (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), Page 59.

1.2 Literature Review

There are a number of pieces of research regard Bangkok in various aspects of study, including fields of cultural geography and architecture, sociology and anthropology, and history. The selected research can be divided into three dimensions: changes and development of contemporary Bangkok in various study fields; research relating to the history of Bangkok; and research regarding the overseas journeys to Asia of King Chulalongkorn, as follows:

1. Changes and development of contemporary Bangkok in various study fields

Physical Composition of Rattanakosin City (องค์ประกอบทางกายภาพ กรุงเทพมหานครโกสินทร์) (1991) originated from การวิเคราะห์องค์ประกอบเมืองด้านกายภาพในเขตกรุงเทพมหานครโกสินทร์ (Analysis of the physical composition of Rattanakosin City: location and its relation with the palaces, the temples, the official buildings, housing, markets, canals, bridges and roads). This research was undertaken by M.R. Nangnoi Saksri and other Chulalongkorn scholars, and focused on the expansion of Bangkok and the change of landscape from the reign of King Rama I to King Rama IX. To relate with the physical and cultural landscape, this study was based on an analysis of physical components of the Rattanakosin area along the Chao Phraya River and Padung Krung Kasem Canal. In particular, the study considered the location and pertinent relationships of major components, such as the royal palaces, temples, government offices, residential areas, communities, markets, canals, bridges, city walls, and routes of transport, in addition to

providing an analytical description of the relationship among the location, Thai history, and way of life.

Bangkok: Place and Representation (2002) written by Marc Askew. This book examines the development of Bangkok from its earliest days to its current position as a contemporary metropolis. In particular, chapters 1 and 2 describe the development of Bangkok since its establishment in 1782. The composition of Bangkok based on various ethnic communities and their powers in the economy pushed this city to grow.

Cultural Heritage Atlas of Rattanakosin (2004) studied by Rasri Buruttratana and Piyapan Ramruai. This research describes the character of Bangkok and how the city developed from its foundation until the present day. Until modernization had influenced Siam and Bangkok, the physical landscape in Bangkok had been gradually transforming from water based to land based. This research provides a cultural heritage map of Rattanakosin Island to illustrate an extended line of the modern zone since the reign of King Mongkut. Also, this research studied the architecture of old shop-houses along the former '*modern zone*'. This study mentioned that shop-houses built during the reigns of King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn were duplicated mainly from Penang and Singapore.

Reading Bangkok (2011) written by Ross King. This book presents stories and meanings derived from the building fabric and spaces of Bangkok, starting from the Thonburi period to the tourist spectacles of Rattanakosin, Dusit and Ratchadamnoen, Sukhumvit Road, and the slums that are an integral part of the modern city. This study was based on various aspects, including urban planning and development, history, anthropology, and political economy. This book reveals changes in the way to understand Bangkok and the changes influenced by external

pressure and internal adaptation. In particular, chapter 2 of this book reveals that the Western world economy under an expansion of colonization became either a threat or challenge for Siam in the middle of the nineteenth century. This change produced a space of '*siwilai*' in Bangkok through the construction of new roads, such as Charoen Krung, Silom, and Ratchadamnoen. Along these roads had emerged a modern trend and communities related to this trend.

2. Research relating to the history of Bangkok

Historical Geography of the Canal System in the Chao Phraya Delta from the Ayutthaya Period to the Fourth Reign of the Rattanakosin Dynasty (1977) written by Shigehare Tanabe. The aim of this study was to analyze historical change in the Chao Phraya delta by investigating the formative process of the canal system, until the introduction of the irrigation/transportation system operate by the Krom Khlong (Department of Canals) during the Rattanakosin period. The role of canals was mainly to facilitate water transportation for commerce from Ayutthaya to the early Bangkok period, prior to Bangkok changing to become a land base city after King Mongkut's reign. This article points out that the canal system was very important for Siamese social and economic life in Bangkok. Even though the road system was started during the reign of King Mongkut, such as New Road, this road was parallel and close to the Chao Phraya channel. Both the water system and roads were developed to become the main transport facilities in Bangkok and nearby cities.

Canal in Bangkok: History, Changes and Their Impact (1782 A.D. – 1982 A.D.)(1982) is one of outstanding research projects conducted by Piyanart Bunnag. The purpose of this research was to study and analyze the origin and the changes of canals in Bangkok and the areas nearby from

the year the city was founded (1782) until the bicentennial celebration year (1982). This study mainly focused on “*Dug Canals*” mentioned in historical records or proven by reliable evidence, and evaluated the changes of “*Dug Canals*” and their impact on Bangkok. In particular, Chapter 1 to Chapter 3 of this research was concerned with the general environment of Bangkok affected by the “*Dug Canals*” project. Furthermore, digging canals in the early Bangkok period had the purpose of a defensive strategy and the facility of water-way transportation. “*Dug Canals*” retained these purposes until the Bowring Treaty was signed. After the reign of King Mongkut, it is quite obvious that the reason for digging canals for defensive purposes was replaced by economic purposes. Even though the need for land transportation increased afterward the Bowring Treaty was signed, an increasing number of canals were dug to enlarge arable land for rice cultivation and to connect plantations in nearby cities with Bangkok.

Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society (1993) written by Takashi Tomosugi. According to this book, Old Bangkok is defined as the land encircled by the Padung Krung Kasem Canal, and Chao Phraya River –including Sampheng and Wat Saket. At the heart of these recollections is one of the oldest roads in Bangkok, Fuang Nakhon. Old Bangkok was built up by Brahmanic cosmology and different ethnic groups and commerce that emerged side by side and which blended into Thai society. The author used three approaches towards Old Bangkok – the observed landscapes, written documents and the spoken word. All these approaches are related to create the whole image of Old Bangkok by recalling forgotten memories, which could bridge the gap between the present and bygone days.

Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925' (1999) written by Porphant Ouyyanont. This article points out the role of canals to the growth of commerce and the increasing importance of the road system as the main transportation system in Bangkok to serve the growth of market economy.

3. Research regarding overseas journeys to Asia by King Chulalongkorn

Journeys to Java by a Siamese King (2001) is written by Intip Pattajoti Suharto, who has been living in Bandung, Indonesia since 1978. Initially, she intended to “*trace a place and write about his visits in Java in 1871, 1896 and 1901*”.³⁷ According to her study, during all his trips, King Chulalongkorn paid attention to learn with comparative studies, and to share his experiences with others at home. More interestingly, the king brought a great number of things back to Siam. Thus, this book is valuable to study the visit to Java of King Chulalongkorn. Also, the author gives vivid details of the places, person, and even events during his visits. With regard to the first royal trip of 1871, it is rare to find Thai historical documents about that trip. So, this book is very helpful in creating a more complete picture of the Java visits of King Chulalongkorn.

India in 1872: As Seen by the Siamese (2003) written by Sachchidanand Sahai. This book covers King Chulalongkorn's journey to India in 1872. The author collected many kinds of primary sources from both India and Bangkok to explain the importance of this journey to improving Siam. In particular, King Chulalongkorn paid attention to the administrative reform of the British after the Indian Munity 1857 in India. The king traveled to India in 1872 after completing his first journey to

³⁷ Intip Pattajoti Suharto, Journeys to Java by a Siamese King (Indonesia: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, 2001), Page (v).

Singapore and Java. Initially, the king wanted to visit Europe, but the regent thought that Europe was too far for the young king; therefore, the regent organized a trip to India instead. The author divides the content of this book into two parts. Firstly, the author analyzed the historical context of India and the world during the period of this journey. Interestingly, he also mentions during the journey that King Chulalongkorn's good manner and intelligence impressed the journalists in India very much, which was good for his country in establishing closer relations with the British. In addition, the author points out that the young king paid attention to the event of the Indian Munity such that the king searched information about this event himself. Certainly, this book also gives an informative program of the royal visit in India. The things that were seen by the king influenced the administrative reforms under his reign. Secondly, the author searched many local newspapers, both in India and Bangkok, that reported on the journey of King Chulalongkorn and their opinions about this journey.

A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871 (2008) is written by Kannikar Sartraproong. This book is derived from her doctoral dissertation. The author points out the importance of the first trip to Singapore-Java by King Chulalongkorn in 1871. This trip occurred under the political pressure at that time. Because of an aggressive invasion of the French in the north and an uncertain situation in the Malay peninsula, the Siamese government had to make foreign policy carefully. To prevent an invasion of the French, Siam wanted to gain recognition as an independent state by the British. Meanwhile, the British were expanding their influence into the tributary Malay states of Siam. Therefore, Siam needed to establish closer relations with the Dutch to balance political power in the Malay world. That is the reason why the regent, Somdej Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong (Chuang Bunnag) arranged this risky journey for the 17-year-old king. The author

reflects upon the opinion of the colonial governments and the press in Singapore and Java to this royal journey. Their opinions indicate an achievement of this journey, especially in term of diplomacy and commercial relations. This book provides interesting aspects and informative data, especially the documentary from the Netherlands mostly recorded in Dutch language.

Through the eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya (2009) published in 2009 by ISEAS Publishing (Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, National University of Singapore). The author, Patricia Lim Pui Huen spent a great deal of time in locating materials for this book. This book illustrates what King Chulalongkorn saw on his visits to Singapore and Malaya between 1871 and 1907. Also, the author carefully compiles photographs of places and person from many sources making the history of Thailand-Singapore-Malaysia through the eyes of King Chulalongkorn lively and precious. Similar to the book of Imtip which clearly presents a picture of King Chulalongkorn's visits in Java, this book illustrates a significant meaning of the royal visits in Singapore and Malaya.

1.3 Research Question and Scope

The argument of this study is to examine the early transformation of Bangkok that occurred from the time of King Mongkut's reign up to the First Grand Visit to Europe of King Chulalongkorn in 1897, when Bangkok was transformed to become a modern city by learning from the reflection of "*a form of modernity*" from her neighboring European-like cities, Singapore and Batavia, not Europe.

This research aims to examine what Bangkok learned and duplicated from Singapore and Batavia as follows:

- 1) The concept of building “*Bangkok Modern*” as focused on the concept of Beauty – Health – Order. This concept was similar to the concept of making Singapore a city of Health – Safety – Convenience. This concept became a model of making a modern city generally, including Dutch Batavia.
- 2) The pattern of buildings, architecture and other construction in Bangkok which was similar to those in Singapore and Batavia. For example, shop-house, built in Bangkok between 1860s and 1870s, had an identity and distinctive design which could be found in the British and Dutch colonial cities in the Southeast Asian region.
- 3) The change in Bangkok’s landscape might have been adopted from Singapore and Batavia. Bangkok was transformed from being an aquatic city to being a Western city linked with a road system. At the early stage of transformation, road construction was expanded gradually, together with the increased digging of canals. As a result of the flourishing foreign trade, more than 15 canals were dug between 1860 – 1910 in order to extend the city’s area and link the water routes between Bangkok and nearby cities to transport the agricultural products to ports in Bangkok.³⁸ To cross over these canals, the government needed to build crossing bridges for pedestrians and carriages, as well as accommodate the needs of passing-boats. One of bridges, a model called Vilanda Bridge or lifted- bridge, was duplicated from Batavia.

The period of this study covers 1861 to 1897. In 1861, the Siamese government first sent royal officials to visit Singapore to learn about Singapore’s administration. At that time, Singapore had been colonized by Britain from 1819 and had

³⁸ Porphant Ouyyanont, “Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925,” *Southeast Asian Studies*, 36, 4 (March 1999): 440 .

been developed to be the most modern port city in Southeast Asia, at least prior to Hong Kong. Moreover, Singapore had been a trading partner with Siam since its foundation, with many Chinese traders in Singapore having commercial linkage with the Siamese. We can see that the first Siam consul to an overseas country was Tan Kim Ching,^{*} who was a prominent trader both in Singapore and doing a rice export business in Bangkok. Thus, the Siamese government paid attention to learn how to be a modern city from there. However, Batavia was not really in the attention of the Siamese government until King Chulalongkorn visited there the first time in 1871.

From the 1860s to the 1890s, several high ranking officials were sent to observe the administration and public works in Singapore. After King Chulalongkorn came to the throne, he visited Singapore and Batavia in 1871, and two more times in 1896 and 1901. One year later, after the visiting in 1896, King Chulalongkorn first traveled to Europe to observe the origin of modernization in Europe, and to present Siam, after being modernized for a period of time, as a civilized Asian country to Europeans. That is why the study ends in 1897 when King Chulalongkorn paid the First Grand Visit to Europe.

1.4 Objectives

This research study, entitled “ ‘Bangkok Modern’: The Transformation of Bangkok with Singapore and Batavia as Models (1861-1897)”, aims to achieve the following objectives.

4.1 To investigate the role of Singapore and Batavia as modernized models for Bangkok in the middle of the nineteenth century.

^{*} One of the Thai documents refers to the fact that Tan Kim Ching was Chinese-born, who King Mongkut sponsored since he was a child. Later, the king sent him to study in Singapore and by 1863 the king promoted him to be the first consul of Siam in Singapore. One other man was Khun Sri Siamkij (Net). King Mongkut sent him to Singapore to study English, and then promoted him to be an assistant consul in Singapore. ใน สมบัติ พลายน้อย, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้า พระเจ้ากรุงสยาม (กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์ภาพพิมพ์, 2544), หน้า

4.2 To analyze what and how Bangkok learned and adopted from Singapore and Batavia as port cities in the imperial world.

1.5 Research Methodology and Sources

This research investigates the influence of transformation in Bangkok prior to the First Grand European Visit in 1897 to illustrate that the earlier changes to Bangkok were duplicated from colonial cities, not from Europe. The research methodology is by qualitative research and applies an historical methodology and documentary analysis approach to primary and secondary sources on the topic, including other relevant documentation that will be critically examined.

Based on historical methodology, the documents are grouped into two categories: primary historical documents and secondary historical documents.

Primary historical documents consist of government files, newspapers, personal diaries of foreigners and photos. Based on historical methodology, these documents are considered the most reliable evidence because they were recorded at the time of the events and by those who were directly related to that event. For example, the files of the governmental departments, the letters, the announcements and laws, and the chronicles which were produced during the reigns of King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn are included in this group. Most of these documents are located in the National Archives, both in Thailand and Singapore. However, these documents need to be analyzed carefully to separate bias from fact. Newspapers printed both in Bangkok and Singapore also were recognized as part of this group. For example, the Bangkok Recorder and Bangkok Calendar were published by the American missionary, Dr. Bradley, who lived in Bangkok for more than 30 years. He wrote many articles to give his opinion about what sort of things should be done and should not be done to modernize Bangkok. He also translated some news from the Singapore Press to report events that occurred around the world. Another Thai press was the Bangkok Times; this press reported the events that happened in Bangkok and Siam, for example, commerce,

advancement, new technology and about some countries that were related to Siam. The Singapore press, such as the Singapore Free Press and the Straits Times, reported some important and interesting events in Asia, including Bangkok and Java, especially related to commercial benefit and political situations. With respect to events in Java, the Singapore press was translated from newspapers in Java printed in Dutch. The newspapers pointed out the movements and some interesting opinions in that period.

The last is a memory record consisting of memoirs and photography. The memoirs were written by foreigners who came to Bangkok during the nineteenth century. Since the reign of King Rama II, foreigners came to Bangkok for trade, travel, and Christian evangelism. They described Bangkok's environment, population, housing and customs. Bangkok in the nineteenth century, in their points of view, was still uncivilized and underdeveloped. At that time, Bangkok city was in disorder, unsafe and unhealthy, although some of them were fascinated by Bangkok as an astonishing place, similar to other oriental places in Asia, because the customs and way of life were different from the Western way.

Photos are one kind of historical evidence to illustrate a picture of each place consisting of its landscape, people, housing, and architecture. In the period of King Mongkut, photography was first introduced to Siam. The first photographer who came to Siam was John Thomson, who was invited to Bangkok and took photos of the king and his queen. After that, photography gradually became known in Bangkok and photo shops were launched in Bangkok by Europeans and Siamese. In Siam, the first collection of photography was started during King Mongkut's reign, and historical photos can be found in the National Archive of Thailand and many pictorial books printed by both Thai and foreign publishing. For example, there is a pictorial book, Twentieth Century Impression of Siam: its history, people, commerce, industries, and resources edited by Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear. This book illustrates many valuable photos of Siam, mostly taken by foreign visitors, with an explanation of the historical background that occurred during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Additionally, pictorial books about Singapore and Batavia, particularly in the nineteenth century, were used in

this research to compare and prove what elements were adopted for Bangkok in the early Bangkok modernization, including the pictorial books entitled Singapore: A Pictorial History 1819 – 2000 printed by the National Heritage Board, and Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs written by Scott Merrillees. Both of these publications illustrate historical photos of the cities in various aspects and explain the historical background of the cities and people during the period of this study.

Secondary documents consist of theses, research, and books. There are some M.A. theses related to this research. Also, many pieces of research are related to the transformation of Bangkok in the nineteenth century. These books illustrate the old commercial and residential zones in Bangkok and the architecture of old buildings around these areas, some of which were influenced by the Chino-Colonial style from Singapore and Penang. Other academic books provide the historical and economic background of Siam – Singapore – Batavia, including an overview of Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century.

These documents can be found in many sites, including Chulalongkorn University Library and other university libraries, Thai Studies Centre and the National Archive of Thailand. Research was also partly conducted in Singapore at the university libraries and the national archives.

This study also covers the expansion of the city area before 1897, with the aim to discover the remaining evidence of changes in the landscape of Bangkok and old buildings, which were built similar to the buildings in Singapore; for example, Bang Lamphu – Charoen Krung – Sampheang areas. Evidence still remains until the present day and can be used as a starting point for tracing back to the early changes of Bangkok.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By the nineteenth century, foreign trade had a considerable impact upon the general economic activities in Bangkok. Bangkok, in fact, was involved in international trade before the Bowring treaty of 1855. The expansion of the Western world economy, dominated by British trade, into Southeast Asia and the world brought a new principle of free trade with capital, technology, and wage-labor to these ports; and the old port cities in this region, including Bangkok, needed to adapt to facilitate the new trade. In particular, the long commercial relationship under the tributary system with China declined, and was replaced by the Western economic system.

Akin Rabibhadana points out that there were many factors that encouraged changes in Thai society during the nineteenth century. One of the main factors was the change in the economy of the country because of the increase in international trade. This was not only influenced by imperialism's impact, but had, in fact, emerged since the early nineteenth century, particularly, when Siam established trade relations with China and opened Bangkok to be a hub of commerce for the Chinese market in the Southeast Asian region. Because of the flourishing trade with China, the influx of Chinese laborers who moved to work in Bangkok increased dramatically. Akin also points out that the availability of Chinese laborers reduced the importance of control over manpower. Thus, real wealth came to consist of ownership of property and money gained from international trade, instead of manpower as had existed before.¹ When the imperial powers came to Siam with a new world trade system in the mid-nineteenth century, Bangkok had to change itself from a junk trading centre to an international port city.

¹ Akin Rabibhadana, The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782 – 1873 (Cornell Thailand Project, 1969), Page 125-126.

Besides, a flourish of the new trade system brought a significant change to an appearance of Bangkok. In The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism (2004), Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead asserts that from the Ayutthaya to early Bangkok periods the state's development was influenced by various world economies. In particular, in the early Bangkok period, the Siamese state's contact with the Chinese world economy and the European world economy brought about a long process of state transformation.²

This chapter starts with a picture of the decline of the old trade system, or namely the Chinese world economy. This trade was mainly dependent on the role of Chinese traders and the tributary relationship with China. Such trade had flourished during the Ayutthaya period, and was reestablished in the Thonburi-Bangkok period after the fall of Ayutthaya. However, when the European countries became powerful in the world economy from the second half of the eighteenth century, the influence of their political and economic spheres extended to the rest of Asia, including China and India. This situation challenged some of the mainland states in Southeast Asia, i.e., Burma, Siam and Vietnam, to reform their structure in terms of taxation, military organization, and provincial and tributary relations.³

2.1 The decline of the old trade system and the coming of a new system

Historically, before Siam negotiated the commercial treaties with the Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century, the foreign trade of Siam mainly involved junk trade with China. Since the Ayutthaya period, the junk trade with China had flourishing because Ayutthaya was an important market for Chinese products in Southeast Asia. The tributary relationship with China began in the eighteenth century, during the Ayutthaya and early Bangkok periods. With this relationship, the Siamese government could gain significant benefits, both political and commercial. Conversely,

² Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism, Page 10.

³ *Ibid.*, Page 17.

the volume of foreign trade with the European countries declined dramatically after King Narai's reign. When Ayutthaya fell to the Burmese army in 1767, King Taksin of Thonburi and King Rama I of Chakri Dynasty reestablished a new capital at the nearby mouth of the Chao Phraya River, later known as Thonburi-Bangkok. Under the reigns of both kings, junk trading with China became more important than before, especially for the recovery of the economy after the kingdom's collapse. In just forty years, Bangkok became a dominant centre for the China market in Southeast Asia. More importantly, when the market economy expanded rapidly in this region, Siam became a place for an influx of Chinese enterprise and labor. The growth of the market economy began to remake the social structure and change the mentality of the elite. In addition, the return of Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century brought ideas of "*progress*" and threats of colonial rule, preparing the ground for an era of change.⁴

After the fall of Ayutthaya, a new center emerged at Thonburi-Bangkok, located below the Ayutthaya capital. In order to build the new capital, King Taksin and King Rama I intended to reconstruct and duplicate Ayutthaya society as Bangkok's model and create a new type of society. After Ayutthaya's fall, not only the administrative structure was destroyed, but the economy was bankrupt. That is why the most important aspect for establishing a new state was to revive the power structure of the state and recover its economy, and the Chinese were the most important group who significantly participated in reviving the new state's economy. With strong ties to the Chinese community, King Taksin and King Rama I strengthened the China connection. At the beginning, King Taksin asked Chinese traders to import food from China to save the people from starvation. Also, the king motivated the Chinese to move in and settle at the new capital by giving them special privileges.⁵ As a result, the number of Chinese increased dramatically during the Thonburi and early Bangkok periods. Because of their ambitious and persevering characters, these overseas Chinese became a fiscal mechanism

⁴ Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, A History of Thailand, Page 26.

⁵ จี.วิลเลียม.สกินเนอร์, สังคมจีนในไทย, แปลโดย พรรณี ฉัตรพลรักษ์ (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าและมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2548), หน้า 19.

for the recovery and development of the economy of the new capital.⁶ Meanwhile, to increase trade volume with China, King Taksin reestablished diplomatic relationship with China and sent the first tribute after Ayutthaya's fall to the Chinese Emperor in 1777.* Under the tributary trade system, Chinese merchants were agents of the Siam government with respect to trade with China. In return, these merchants gained special privileges for trading in Siam. Foreign trade was an important source of state revenue and personal gain for the nobles. Henry Burney, who first visited Bangkok in 1825, stated in his record that the state was able to make a huge profit, more than 300 percent, through commerce with China.⁷

Siam also had other trade partners in Southeast Asia, such as Vietnam, the Malay states, Borneo, Sumatra, Java and Singapore (after 1819), all with their own vibrant Chinese diasporas. These ports were the most frequent ports of call for Siam-based ships. Thonburi, and then Bangkok symbolized and facilitated this maritime trade for the China market.⁸ By the early 1820s, John Crawfurd, who was a resident of Singapore at that time, estimated that there were about 140 sizable junks totaling 35,000 tons engaged in trade between Siam and various southern Chinese ports, with two-thirds of the tonnage being based in Siam. This represented about a tenfold rise over the situation a century earlier when the numbers fluctuated between three or four in some years and as many as twenty in others.⁹

⁶ ศุภรัตน์ เลิศพานิชย์กุล, *หาอยู่หากิน เพื่อค้าเพื่อขาย: เศรษฐกิจไทยรัตนโกสินทร์ตอนต้น*, หน้า 75.

* However, King Taksin was not accepted as a king of Siam by Chinese court until 1781, after completing the wars with Burma and Cambodia. ใน *จี.วิลเลียม.สกินเนอร์, สังคมจีนในไทย*, แปลโดย พรรณี จัตรพลรัักษ์, หน้า 21.

⁷ บัณฑิต ลิวชัยชาญ, *ภัยฝรั่งสมัยพระนั่งเกล้าฯ* (กรุงเทพฯ: มติชน, 2550), หน้า 76-77.

⁸ Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800 – 1830, Vol 1: Intergration on the Mainland* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Page 304.

⁹ Anthony Reid, "Chinese Trade and Southeast Asian Economic Expansion in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: An Overview," in *Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880*, Nola Cooke and Li Tana, editors (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004), Page 28.

Since the Ayutthaya period, the king and nobles could earn a large income through trading under monopolies because of the Chinese junk trade. Product exports mostly were forest products, which were acquired as tax-in-kind. The king and nobles could make a profit from selling these goods, and also from imposing monopolies to export goods purchased at fixed prices, in case the supplies from tax-in-kind were insufficient, and sold at an inflated margin. Thus, the profit came directly from trade without an investment in manufacturing. This form of trade had no broad impact on society because ordinary people had no connection with such foreign trade, other than being forced to deliver tax-in-kind to their overseers.

This system kept functioning until the early Bangkok period, when the volume of trade increased dramatically and the range of goods widened. There were more items that incorporated some input of human labor in the production process. As a result, the Siamese government promoted investment in plantations for production of export items, particularly sugarcane. This change had a great impact on trade and the social structure in Siam, particularly the *corvée* system.¹⁰

Because of a need for labor in production, the Siamese court announced a reduction of the period of working time in the *corvée* system. Since King Rama II's reign, "*phai-laborers*" were allowed to work for the public just three months per year in order to be able to spend nine months of their own time producing; however, the Siamese court lacked laborers for public works, especially digging and dredging canals. The court solved this problem by hiring Chinese laborers to work instead. Some of these Chinese laborers also had expertise in industry, such as sugar factories, distilleries, shipping building and mining, so they could fill a lack of laborers and craftsmen in these industry sectors as well. Accordingly, during the early Bangkok period, a huge number of Chinese immigrants were attracted to Siam, especially moving to Bangkok, to increase the size of the population and provide the manpower and expertise for trading, industry, shipping

¹⁰ Nidhi Eoseewong, Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok (Chiang Mai: Silk Worm Books, 1982), Page 63-65.

and navigation, as well as for the development of commercial agriculture.¹¹ With 65,000 Chinese in 1840, Bangkok became a majority or near-majority Chinese city. Bangkok was not only the basin's chief source of spices and credit, but the most concentrated market for foodstuffs and materiel, and a major handicrafts center.¹²

Furthermore, the energetic character of Chinese migrants enabled Siam to recover quickly from the Burmese conquest of 1767 and allowed its new capital, Bangkok, to rise to unprecedented importance as the economic hub of mainland Southeast Asia. Soon after, Bangkok became a prominent Chinese port outside China, and finally, could replaced Batavia at the end of the eighteenth century as the busiest port between Calcutta and Canton.¹³ Thereafter, the influx of Chinese immigration during the Thonburi and early Bangkok periods brought an inflow of Chinese goods, skills and capital to Siam to aid in the recovery of its economy.

The state's foreign trade, especially trade with China, remained as the main source of income during the early Bangkok period. According to the First Reign Chronicles, "*income in money collected from annual taxation did not amount to much, and that 'the greatest revenues in that era came from the junk trade'*".¹⁴ During the first forty years of the establishment of Bangkok, maritime growth outstripped the system of the Chinese junk trade. Both Siamese nobles and Chinese residents sent their own junks to sea with rice, sugar, cotton, wood, tin, and other products over which the king claimed no monopoly. The Chinese in Siam also began negotiating directly with producers to secure goods in larger volume and at lower prices than were available to the king's factors. Thus, the royal court found it more difficult to secure cargo and the king's share

¹¹ Lysa Hong, Thailand in the 19th century: Evolution of the Economy and Society (ISEAS, Singapore, 1984), Page 48

¹² Victor Lieberman, Strange Parallels Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800 – 1830, Vol 1: Integration on the Mainland, Page 309.

¹³ Anthony Reid, Chinese Trade and Southeast Asian Economic Expansion in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: An Overview, in Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880, Page 23-24.

¹⁴ T. and C. Flood, The Dynastic Chronicles, Bangkok Era, the First Reign, vol.2 (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1978), Page 303. Cited in Lysa Hong, Thailand in the 19th century: Evolution of the Economy and Society, Page 43.

of overseas trade dwindled. Even though the number of junks visiting Bangkok increased dramatically, the junks owned by the Siamese royal court decreased.¹⁵ As a result, the royal junk trade that was conducted by the kings during the early Bangkok period was substituted by the Chinese in the reign of King Rama III.

The expansion of production significantly increased the shipping business to the advantage of the private local and international traders. Under King Rama II, the royal junk trade was at a disadvantage because the royal trade could not compete with the expansion of private enterprises. Toward the end of his reign, the annual stipend was reduced by two-thirds or even half. With the financial problem of the royal court, after King Rama III came to the throne,* the king saw that foreign trade was flourishing, yet royal trade under the tributary system with China could not make much profit. Since China's defeat in the Opium War during the 1840s, this trade system had declined because China was forced to open a number of port cities to Western trade. Since Western trade had successfully accessed the Chinese commercial network, China could not totally dominate trade under the tributary system as in former time. As a result, the Siamese government could no longer get privileged benefits from the tributary trade system.

Another reason why the royal court decreased its role in the junk trade was that trading was beneath the dignity of the king, who took offence at this activity.¹⁶ The emperor of China and kings of large kingdoms did not hunt for profit by trading. State revenue came from the collection of taxes and they let merchants sell and buy freely, mostly of whom were Chinese. Meanwhile, the demand for Chinese goods was increasing because the number of overseas Chinese spread to many places in Southeast Asia, including Bangkok. The main factors for migration were over-population and starvation in China. This caused the volume of Chinese goods imported for the Chinese

¹⁵ Victor Lieberman, Strange Parallels Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800 – 1830, Vol 1: Intergration on the Mainland, Page 304-305.

* King Rama III, the former Krommun Jetsadabodin, under King Rama II supervised royal trade and monopolies and was, thus, an extremely powerful political figure.

¹⁶ Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism, Page 43.

communities to increase. In the case of Bangkok, the Chinese goods were intended not only for the Siamese elite, but also for general consumption at all levels of society, particularly Chinese communities.¹⁷ That is why the Siamese court released the private junk trade to complete freely and lessening the monopolies causing an increase in income through revenue collecting. In the meantime, the king could maintain his dignity as the supreme king of the kingdom.

Thus, King Rama III wanted to reform the financial structure of the state to increase the royal income. The king consulted the ministers about establishing tax farms on goods, abolishing the Royal Warehouse monopoly and allowing goods to be freely bought and sold. He received their full support.¹⁸ Given that the competition was less monopolized, the volume of trade increased and attracted many junks to Bangkok, which resulted in the income of the royal court increasing.¹⁹ That is why King Rama III abolished the royal monopolies and allowed trade to become more flexible since the first days he ascended the throne. This policy was launched from an internal factor, not under British pressure through the Burney Treaty alone.* Noticeably, Chinese traders were one of the main groups who benefited from this policy, while European merchants were not.

Because of this policy, the volume of trade with the Chinese market and other ports in China's trade route linkage increased. According to Siam: Some General Remarks of Its Productions (1852) written by D.E. Malloch, he recorded that the ships anchored at Siam's ports, including Bangkok, during the reign of King Rama III mostly transported products from the southern ports of China (Canton, Fukien, Ningpo, Shanghai and Hainan), Cochin China, Malay and Singapore, and then America and the

¹⁷ Lysa Hong, Thailand in the 19th century: Evolution of the Economy and Society, Page 45-47.

¹⁸ Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism, Page 21.

¹⁹ Alec Waugh, Bangkok: The Story of City (Bangkok: Orientations, 1987), Page 44.

* The author mentions the letter from a Portuguese to Crawford in Singapore in 1824. In Nidhi Eoseewong, Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok, Page 70.

Persian Gulf.²⁰ The published journal of Crawford (1828) raised this figure to 200 junks totaling 28,000 tons, of which 40-50 small vessels visited Vietnamese ports, chiefly Saigon, about 50 the Malacca Straits ports including Singapore, and the remainder to the Gulf of Siam, western Borneo and Java. He declared Bangkok then the largest independent port in Asia after Canton.²¹

It could be said that Bangkok became a trading hub of Chinese products in this region and was able to retain its status for several decades after Singapore had become the principal market in Southeast Asia. However, Bangkok, unlike Canton, Malacca or Singapore, was not primarily a center for the dispersion of European and Indian manufacturers to other Asian states; rather, Bangkok supplied China almost exclusively with Straits produce obtained by Siamese coasting vessels and the countries on her borders with the miscellaneous Chinese wares imported by Chinese junks. Siam began to import European and Indian textiles in greater quantities after Singapore's rise to prominence; with the exception of those purchased by Lao and Cambodian merchants, most were consumed in Siam, and were not re-exported to China.²²

Siam had changed to a market economy before negotiating the Bowring Treaty. A major turning point in the Siamese economy came towards the end of the reign of King Rama III, when Siam suddenly started growing new products, such as sugar cane, pepper* and tobacco, ostensibly for the Chinese market. A close look at China's economic relations with the Western world show that by the beginning of the nineteenth

²⁰ D.E. Malloch, Siam: Some General Remarks of Its Productions (Calcutta, 1852), Page 65 Cited in Sarasin Virapol, Tribute and Profit Sino-Siamese Trade 1652-1853 (London, The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1977), Page 209.

²¹ Anthony Reid, editor, The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900 (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), Page 69.

²² Cushman Jennifer Wayne, Fields from the Sea : Chinese Junk Trade with Siam During the Late Eighteenth-Century and Early Nineteenth-Century (Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University, 1975), Page 97-99.

* Teochiu agriculturalists in the southeast corner of Siam around Chanthaburi also appear to have begun planting pepper in the late eighteenth century. In Anthony Reid, "Chinese Trade and Southeast Asian Economic Expansion in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: An Overview," in Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880, Nola Cooke and Li Tana, editor, Page 26-27.

century, British country traders had arrived in China. Because the British East India Company already enjoyed a monopoly on luxury goods, such as tea and silk, they had to settle for dealing in bulk products, especially sugar, which Siam was able to supply. These new items required large-scale production, often by Chinese entrepreneurs and labor. However, one must keep in mind that demand in the European world-economy was the main force behind this development. By meeting the needs of the European world-economy, Siam played two roles: as producers for the world market and as traders cooperating with the Chinese to monopolize the very significant trade route between Siam and China.²³ With expansion of plantations for newly produced export goods, Bangkok developed to be a main entrepôt for Chinese products in Southeast Asia, a market for collecting and distributing the bulk items of the Chinese junks.²⁴

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, most European colonies in Asia were forced to plant mono-crops, such as rice, coffee, tea, sugar cane, etc., to export for markets in the world. When the demand for these mono-crops increased dramatically in the world market, Siam played a significant role as a producer for the world market by starting to plant new products (sugarcane, pepper and tobacco) in order to supply the European market.²⁵ In particular, when sugar became a profitable item for the world market, Siam was one of the centers in Southeast Asia producing sugar for the world market.²⁶ As a result, a lot of Chinese immigrants were attracted to work as laborers in plantations during the Early Bangkok period. They expanded these mono-corps plantations to provide for an export market, and they also ran their own business, such as

²³ Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism, Page 40-41.

²⁴ Cushman Jennifer Wayne, Fields from the Sea : Chinese Junk Trade with Siam During the Late Eighteenth-Century and Early Nineteenth-Century, Page 99.

²⁵ Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism, Page 39-40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Page 41.

commercial fisheries, poultry-raising, alcohol distilleries, ironworks, shipyards, tin mines, as well as sugar refineries.²⁷

To make a greater income for the royal court, the tax farming system during the reign of King Rama III became more important than it had been during the Ayutthaya period. As Nidhi Aeusrivongse points out in his book, Pen and Sail, an exchange economy had been run for a long time before the Bowring Treaty. In the early Bangkok period, Bangkok experienced a rapid expansion of its exchange based economy and the emergence of production for foreign trade, especially in the agricultural sector. The production of agricultural goods for export can be regarded as the basis of the economy.²⁸ Hong also points out that the tax farming system was Siam's response to the more open economy of the 1820s.²⁹ Because of the expansion of trade and peaceful internal conditions, King Rama III first launched "*free trade*" in terms of being free from government control, and collected internal revenue to increase the court's income instead.

Extending the tax farming system also protected junk trade revenues from the threat of the coming of "*imperial free trade*". Therefore, the king instituted new internal taxes as a measure to compensate for any losses that might occur from the new arrangement. As Sarasin Virapol points out, tax farming came to rival and overshadow the junk trade.³⁰ Meanwhile, at that time, the junk trade with China suffered a further setback because China was entangled with the West. This caused China to become less of a focal point of Siam's economic activities and the tributary relationship with China also

²⁷ Victor Lieberman, Strange Parallels Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800 – 1830, Vol 1: Intergration on the Mainland, Page 304-305.

²⁸ Nidhi Aeusrivongse, "Bourgeois Culture and Early Bangkok Literature," in Thammasat University Journal, 2, 1 (1982): 75 Cited in Hans-Dieter Evers, Trade and State Formation: Siam in the Early Bangkok Period, Page 762-763.

²⁹ Lysa Hong, Thailand in the 19th century: Evolution of the Economy and Society, Page 84-85.

³⁰ Sarasin Virapol, Tribute and Profit Sino-Siamese Trade 1652-1853 (London, The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1977), Page 223.

declined. After 1844, King Rama III sent only one mission to Peking in 1848.* After diplomatic relations with China declined, King Mongkut was compelled to open up his country to Westerners in a real sense for the first time with the conclusion of the Bowring Treaty in 1855.

As explained on above, during the early Bangkok period, Siam's economy mostly depended on China's markets, while the rest of the world markets had less impact on Siam. Thus, Bangkok still retained its position as a hub of junk trade. Yet, this did not continue after the Europeans intervened in China's trade linkages, particularly after the Opium War and the opening up of Hong Kong in 1842.** In fact, Siam was no longer an important entrepôt in the Eastern Seas with the opening of Hong Kong as an international free port; Britain had new access to the China market, thus avoiding the erstwhile status of Siam as suppliers of Chinese goods. This development directly contributed to the diversion of Siamese commercial interests to other areas, particularly to the fast rising port of Singapore. Since Siam was no longer confined primarily to the China trade,³¹ King Mongkut did not hesitate to sign the trading treaty with Britain, followed by treaties with other Western countries. However, he could not admit to his subjects that the treaty was signed under pressure from the West, so he gave his own explanation that this treaty benefited the economy and brought peace and stability to the country.³²

Thus, since the trading treaties with the Western countries were actively launched in Siam, the country was brought to the era of prosperous trade and steady development on modern lines. From this change, Bangkok needed to renovate to be an international port instead of a junk trade port.

* Later, King Mongkut stopped sending tribute to Peking after 1853, ostensibly because of the danger that existed in China from the Taiping Rebellion. In Sarasin Virapol, Tribute and Profit Sino-Siamese Trade 1652-1853, Page 231, 236.

** On 29 August 1842, the cession was formally ratified in the 'Treaty of Nanking', which ceded Hong Kong 'in perpetuity' to Britain. For Britain, Hong Kong's harbor was a valuable base for the British trading community in Canton. In Steve Tsang, A Modern History of Hong Kong (I.B. Tauris, 2004), Page 11, 21.

³¹ Sarasin Virapol, Tribute and Profit Sino-Siamese Trade 1652-1853, Page 223-224.

³² Lysa Hong, Thailand in the 19th century: Evolution of the Economy and Society, Page 81.

2.2 The new trade system in Southeast Asia and its impact

Prior to the coming of the European powers, the trade system in Southeast Asia had mostly participated in the tributary trade system under dominion of China for centuries. With the Chinese junk trade, Chinese goods increased in demand, both for overseas Chinese communities and local nobles. Moreover, most of trading was under the control of the local authorities according to a monopoly system. As a result, many states in this region became powerful kingdoms because of their flourishing monopoly trade, for example, Ayutthaya. The kings could gain a profit from trade without much investment because most products came from forced labor in the *corvée* system. Because of this system, the government had no need to pay to facilitate the trade or to make any investment. That is why these kingdoms played a role as a centre for collecting and distributing local products between intra-regional markets and inter-regional markets. Ordinary people's lives were not much impacted by this foreign trade. In the case of Siam, their daily life was almost unchanged from the Ayutthaya to early Bangkok periods.

With the reforms resulting from the imperial powers in the nineteenth century, the old trade system declined and came under the domination of liberal trends. The expansion of this system diminished the monopoly system and linked local markets to globalization. In fact, the Europeans had begun to trade in this region by sharing in the spice market since the sixteenth century, but during that time, they attempted to extend their trade activities into regional markets and occupied these markets by a monopolistic policy, while competing to control the maritime trade routes and access to the Chinese market.

In the first half of nineteenth century, it is notable that the history of imperialism's expansion in Southeast Asia was an era of reform. The colonial reformers, such as Hermann Daendels (governor of Java) and Thomas Stamford Raffles (Singapore's founder), were imbued with humanitarian liberalism, a product of the late-

eighteenth-century enlightenment in Europe. In the economic sphere, the liberals shared Adam Smith's enthusiasm for abolition of monopolies and privileges and encouragement to entrepreneurship and free trade.³³ To eliminate the monopoly trade and increase the chance for competition, Britain, or namely the British East India Company (EIC), agreed with Raffles to establish Singapore as a free port attracting many regional and Chinese traders to trade there. Although Britain had established Penang as a free port, this was not achieved as they wished. Returning the profit to Singapore, Britain constructed the city to be the most beautiful and modern city in the region to facilitate commerce and a European lifestyle. Thus, Singapore might have been the first free port model and modern port city in Southeast Asia.

2.2.1 The emergence of a new port city*: Singapore

2.2.1.1 New port cities in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century

The huge impact of revolutionary changes in industry and community was the increase in demand for raw materials and markets to distribute the manufacturing from European countries. In the nineteenth century, these countries attempted to expand their territory of influence through the rest of the world to exploit the markets, with the Far East and Southeast Asia as focal destinations of this exploitation. In addition, the establishment of faster communication with the East – telegraph lines in the late 1850s and 1860s, the use of steam-powered sea transport, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 – linked European ports directly with Southeast Asian markets.³⁴ The revolution of communication saved time for transportation and reduced the cost of travelling between

³³ D.R. SarDesai, Trade and Empire in Malaya and Singapore, 1869-1874 (Ohio, Ohio University Center for International Studies Southeast Asia Program, 1970), Page 81.

* The term “*new port city*” is defined in this dissertation to covering any port city that emerged after the Industrial Revolution. They mostly were built with ‘*a modernity form*’ to facilitate global trade and to represent a modern way and progress of the West.

³⁴ D.R. SarDesai, Trade and Empire in Malaya and Singapore, 1869-1874, Page 6-7.

Europe and Asia. This caused an increase in trade, both in volume and profit. This phenomenon caused many cities in the Orient to be transformed to be a modern city to support the new trade system and to fit with a new standard in “civilization”.*

The roles of European countries emerged in Southeast Asia beginning with the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511. During the sixteenth century, the two significant powerful European countries were the Iberian powers – Spain and Portugal – both Catholic countries that rivaled each other in exploring routes to the East. Finally, after establishing a colony in Goa (1510), Portugal expanded their influence into Southeast Asia by occupying Malacca in 1511, while Spain colonized the Philippines in 1529. At the end of sixteenth century, the influence of Portugal in this region was threatened indirectly by the rapid spread of Islam in insular Southeast Asia, and was eventually destroyed by the Dutch. During this period, the new powerful European countries, Britain and the Dutch, came to this region for the spice trade directly and occupied the maritime trade routes, particularly to India and China.³⁵ During most of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, many of the port towns along the Indian Ocean – Southeast Asia – South China Sea route came under European control.³⁶

Because of the profitable spice trade in Europe, European powers attentively expanded their commercial influence into Southeast Asia, particularly the Malay-Indonesian archipelagoes which linked the Indian Ocean trading world with South China, making this area a main target for the expansion, including by the East India Companies of the Dutch and Britain, the VOC and EIC, respectively.** Both of these

* As a result of inter-continent travel becoming more convenient, a lot of Europeans traveled and moved to settle in many of their colonial cities. These cities were built to duplicate their environments and look like cities in Europe. Most new European inhabitants preferred to live in a place that was similar to their hometown in Europe and rejected oriental culture, looking at such culture as an uncivilized way of being.

³⁵ D.R. SarDesai, Southeast Asia: Past and Present, Page 59-62.

³⁶ Nordin Hussin, Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang 1780-1830 (Singapore: NUS Press, 2007), Page 8-11.

** Traders of the VOC and EIC were long-distance and regional traders who travelled from ports in Europe and had close connections with many port towns that came under their control in the East. These companies were very powerful and were supported by a large and strong bureaucracy, protected by strong

companies competed to occupy the spice market in this region, and finally, the Dutch established their headquarters in Batavia, on the island of Java, as the centre of their trade in the Java Sea, to link with the port towns in China (Amoy, Canton, Macao). On the other hand, Britain, which had its headquarters in Calcutta, successfully founded the Straits Settlements (Penang-Malacca-Singapore) and controlled the Malay states in the Malay peninsula, building up trading bases, networks and connections with various ports in the Indian subcontinent, the archipelago and China.³⁷

Prior to the nineteenth century, there was no major political or cultural European impact on the region. Europeans limited their influence to commerce, while most of the population was governed by indigenous rulers in their traditional ways. Until the Napoleonic Wars ended and the arrival of the Industrial Revolution, a discipline of liberalism influenced new intellectual Europeans both in political and economic aspects. With respect to Southeast Asia, Britain became the first European country to introduce a liberal trade policy to destroy the monopoly trade of the Dutch. That is the reason why Britain established Singapore as a free port to connect the trade route between their European commercial empire and Southeast Asia.

2.2.1.2 The emergence of Singapore

Historically, Singapore had been called by several names, such as Temasek in the Chinese records and Singha Pura in the Malay annuals. However, “*Temasek*” was the most well known name of Singapore. Geographically, Singapore was situated on a route linking the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and the Indonesian archipelago. By the fourteenth century, Temasek became one of a number of small ports that emerged in the Malay world in that century in response to a shift in the pattern of commerce. In particular, in the late thirteenth century, the intra-regional trade began to flourish in which local tropical products from Nanyang were exchanged for ceramics,

armies and aided by large fleets of merchant and naval ships. In Nordin Hussin, Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang 1780-1830, Page 11.

³⁷ Ibid.

textiles, metal and foodstuffs from southern China. Archaeological artifacts indicate that Temasek was a prosperous town with a wealthy lifestyle; however, this was also a period of danger and instability.³⁸

The Chinese junk trade had been the carriers of trade between China and Southeast Asia for centuries. Their sailing schedule was determined by the monsoonal seasons. Most of the Chinese junks were based at ports in the maritime provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsi, Fukien, and Kwangtung, but some came from as far north as Shanghai in Zhejiang. They sailed for Temasek during the northeast monsoon, and returned home with the onset of the southwest monsoon. The junks found sailing up and down the Straits of Malacca a navigational inconvenience. Hence, they preferred Singapore to Penang or Malacca. Singapore was also within easy reach of junks engaged in carrying trade from Siam and Cochin-China.³⁹ Not surprisingly, when 'free trade imperialism' expanded to Asia in the nineteenth century, Singapore became a gateway to the South China Sea for Westerners, particularly the British. By 1819, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles founded and planted the British flag over this island.

To respond to the Dutch trading monopoly in maritime Southeast Asia, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles needed a standpoint to enable the British to protect their China trade route. After the Napoleonic Wars ended, Raffles returned to Southeast Asia as lieutenant governor of Bencoolen, an important trading post on the southwest coast of Sumatra. Meanwhile, the Dutch reclaimed their possessions and signed monopoly trade treaties with local princes. When finding it difficult to compete with the British trading interests that had taken root during the Raffles era, the Dutch government prohibited British ships from trading in the East Indies archipelago, except at Batavia. This action infuriated Raffles, who warned the EIC's directors of the danger of the Dutch monopolistic practices to British trading interests. Thus, he advocated the establishment of a strategic port in the southern Malay peninsula that would challenge Dutch trade

³⁸ C.M. Turnbull, *A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005*, Page 20.

³⁹ Ernest C.T. Chew and Edwin Lee, editors, *A History of Singapore* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), Page 43.

supremacy. Finally, the best choice for Raffles was Singapore, a small fishing village with a Malay community.⁴⁰

As mentioned above, Singapore, or Temasek, was one of the trading posts for the Chinese junk trade in this region. With its excellent anchorage and well-protected harbor, Singapore indeed afforded the best site in the region. Because it lay at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, Singapore commanded the shortest route between Europe and China. For British ships calling on Sri Lanka or India on the way to China, Singapore meant a saving of 1,000 miles.⁴¹ Furthermore, Britain needed a stand point in Southeast Asia to protect the China trade route from the monopoly of the Dutch. When China became an important trade partner and market for industrial European countries, the European powers, led by Britain, attempted to monopolize the China trade route.

This is the reason why Singapore, in the view of Raffles, rose to be a significant location to set a port in order to access the intra-regional and China trade. Raffles attempted to convince the EIC to support him to settle a colony at Singapore. He mentioned that Britain should have some spot in Southeast Asia to provide water or refreshment for British ships on the trade route between India and China,⁴² even though, at that time, the Dutch controlled the seaways in Southeast Asia through which EIC ships had to pass. He raised the problem a year before he landed at Singapore in a letter to the Company's Directors:

“The Dutch possess the only passes through which ships must sail into the Archipelago, the straits of Sunda and Malacca; and the British have now not an inch of ground to stand upon between the Cape of Good Hope and China, nor a

⁴⁰ D.R. SarDesai, Southeast Asia: Past and Present, Page 85.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² C.M. Turnbull, A History of Singapore 1819-1975, Page 7.

*single friendly port at which they can water and obtain refreshment”.*⁴³

Therefore, Raffles and his military friend, Col. William Farquhar, attempted to convince Britain to set up a new base for the British East India Company here, which they believed would break the Dutch trade monopoly between the region and China. Also, Raffles intended to develop Singapore to be a center of entrepôt between the Cape Town and South China route. Raffles extolled the Singapore strategy as reflected in one of his letter: “...*One free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly: and what Malta is in the West, that may Singapore be in the East*”.⁴⁴ More importantly, he desired to build up Singapore to be a civilized city for the Southeast Asian region, especially as a European colony model.

Soon after signing the Treaty of 1819, Raffles left Singapore under Farquhar’s management and returned to Bencoolen for three years. When he returned to Singapore again in 1822, he found that Singapore had not developed as he had imagined and he faulted Farquhar over his management, which finally led to a conflict between Raffles and Farquhar. Raffles reorganized the settlement and made a new Town Plan,⁴⁵ which was discussed by a Town Committee. According to this new plan, Raffles was concerned with a rational and enlightened order to rebuild the city. This will give more explanation in Chapter 4.

After finishing this plan, Singapore was developed and became the “*Jewel of the East*”, at least in the middle of the nineteenth century. Not long after Singapore’s establishment, the city became the centre of a new British sphere of influence, dominating the commerce of the eastern archipelago, becoming the entrepôt of trade for the Far East and Southeast Asia instead of former ports, such as Riau and Penang. The

⁴³ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 47.

⁴⁴ D.R. SarDesai, Southeast Asia: Past and Present, Page 85.

⁴⁵ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 66.

reason of this achievement was the more convenient geographical location and its enlightened policy of free trade.⁴⁶

Singapore was able to transform the settlement into a port-city. The growth of the population increased rapidly, mostly from Chinese immigrants. Such population pressures forced the town of Singapore to expand. The city's expansion was driven by its port. The volume of trade increased multi-fold since its establishment. Singapore rapidly outgrew the capacity of the Singapore River. A new harbor on Telok Blangah was able to handle the growth of shipping trade between Europe and Asia. When the Suez Canal opening and the introduction of steamships cut travel time and cost between Europe and Asia, shipping volume swelled in Singapore.* The Suez Canal saved capital transport costs and delivery time to Singapore merchants.⁴⁷ This was not only beneficial for Singapore merchants, but for its trade partners such as Siam. Singapore became the shortest and cheap transoceanic route for Siam. In particular, Siam exported rice to the European market by shipping through the Suez Canal.⁴⁸ By 1870, the Singapore press was heralding a new age of trans-global trade and communication. The editor of *The Straits Times* wrote of this new era, "*it is to the Suez Canal... we look as the agency which is to quicken trade, and increase the importance of Singapore as a commercial centre and port of call*".⁴⁹

⁴⁶ C.M. Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements 1826-1867: Indian Presidency to Crown Colony* (University of London, London: The Athlone Press, 1972), Page 162.

* Before the opening of the Suez Canal, shipment between London and Singapore was 117 days for a one way trip. After the Suez Canal was launched, the time was reduced to only 45 days and trans-shipment's costs between London and Singapore were reduced from 100 \$ per ton (1860s) to 8\$ per ton (1887).

⁴⁷ Stephen Dobbs, *The Singapore River: A Social History 1819-2002* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2003), Page 10.

⁴⁸ James C. Ingram, *Economic Change in Thailand 1850-1970* (USA: Stanford University Press, 1971), Page 42-43.

⁴⁹ *The Straits Times* (January 1870) Cited in Stephen Dobbs, *The Singapore River: A Social History 1819-2002*, Page 10.

Additionally, Britain empowered Singapore to become a potential commercial and communication hub by setting up telegraphic cables. At the beginning, during 1871-1872, undersea telegraphic cables laid by the Eastern Telegraph Company linked Europe, Madras, Penang and Singapore. From Singapore, cables were laid to Saigon, Hong Kong, Java and Australia. The island also became the centre of a postal network for the region. All mail to and from Southeast Asia had to pass through Singapore.* From the 1880s, telegraphic communication linked Singapore with Europe (Malta, Lisbon) and the British Colonies in North Africa (Suez, Egypt), India (Bombay, Madras), Australia-New Zealand, Southeast Asia (Penang, Rangoon), and Hong Kong.⁵⁰ Hence, since Singapore was founded, the role of the Singapore port grew dramatically when the technology of shipping was introduced from the mid of the nineteenth century. New technologies in communications, power and transport brought about rapid social and economic changes across the globe, and allowed Singapore to consolidate its position as a regional entrepôt on a global scale.⁵¹

2.2.1.3 Singapore and its role in Southeast Asia

According to historical records, or even an ancient story, Singapore was perfectly located on Asia's main shipping routes, but it lacked good maritime communication. The Suez Canal opened in 1869 to link the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, meaning that ships no longer had to make the lengthier and much riskier voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. East and West had suddenly drawn closer, with Singapore providing an ideally situated stopover on the journey either way. By the late

* In Siam, the telegraph company was first established in 1866. They planned to connect a line from the coastal ports in Burma toward Singapore, and linked to Bangkok with Vietnam and Hong Kong. Another line would lay through Siam on southward connecting Penang, Singapore and Sumatra. ใน ภาวดี มหาจันทร์, *รัตนโกสินทร์ยุคปรับปรุงประเทศ* (กรุงเทพฯ: ไทยวัฒนาพานิช, 2527), หน้า 57-58.

⁵⁰ The government of Straits Settlements, *Telegraph Cables*, May 1887, The National Achieve of Singapore, NL 999.

⁵¹ Stephen Dobbs, *The Singapore River: A Social History 1819-2002*, Page 9.

1800s, Singapore was established as the gateway to the East. Later, this city was developed to be the “*hub of Victorian Britain toward the East*”, that is why it was well known in many names such as the “*Charing Cross of the East*”, the “*Clapham Junction of the East*”, the “*Liverpool of the East*”.⁵²

There are two major factors to explain why Singapore grew and expanded rapidly as an international port during the latter part of the nineteenth century. **Firstly**, the opening of Suez Canal which saved time for voyages and reduced the cost of transport. Thus, Singapore, situated on the junction of the west and the east, could provide an ideally stopover on the journey either way. **Secondly**, the advancement of new technologies in communications, especially steamship and telegraph, which allowed Singapore to consolidate its position as a regional entrepôt on a global scale.⁵³ In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Singapore remained the primary coaling and refitting station for steamships from across the whole of Southeast Asia, and most ocean-going liners berthed at the port on their way from Europe, via India, to the Far East or to Australia and New Zealand. Meanwhile, Singapore developed into an important station in an imperial network of submarine telegraph lines. This technology tied the world together. Also, submarine telegraphy made possible the transfer of market information and the electronic transfer of capital that gave birth to a whole enterprise of modern international banking. Thus, by 1900, Singapore was home to several international banks, for example, the highly successful Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.⁵⁴

The commercial linkage of commerce in Singapore was successful and reached its potential because of the role of Chinese merchants. Prior to the arrival of Britain in Singapore in 1819, Chinese business networks already linked most parts of Southeast Asia. After the establishment of Singapore, a bulk of Chinese immigrants migrated to Singapore and used it as a base before moving to work in plantations and mines in the Malay states. The Chinese population consisted of Hokkiens, Teochews, Cantonese and some Hakkas – all from southern China. Most of them were successful in

⁵² Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, *Singapore: A Biography*, Page 134-135.

⁵³ Stephen Dobbs, *The Singapore River: A Social History 1819-2002*, Page 9.

⁵⁴ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, *Singapore: A Biography*, Page 134-135.

doing trade and became the powerful Chinese “*taukeh*”, the Chinese merchants. They also served an important role as a trading network to connect trade between European companies and China. Furthermore, these networks became particularly important from the 1840s, after the opening of Hong Kong and the Chinese ports following the First Opium War, the result of which forced the Qing Empire to open up China to foreign traders, in particular, to the sale of Bengal opium. At that time, Britain’s China trade shifted to Hong Kong, and it was feared that Singapore’s commerce might be bypassed, even ruined. Instead, Singapore’s Chinese traders utilized their far-flung networks to extend their operations and started selling their goods in their homeland.⁵⁵ That is how Singapore was linked together with China’s trading network in Southeast Asia and became the “*Junction of the East*”.

2.2.2 The adaptation of old port cities*: Bangkok – Batavia

2.2.2.1 Old port cities in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century

Prior to the seventeenth century, many ports had risen and declined along the trading maritime route in Southeast Asia, particularly the archipelagos and Malay peninsula. Port towns on the shore of the Southeast Asian mainland attracted many traders, especially Tenasserim, Mergui, Kedah and Junk Ceylon (Phuket).^{**} These port towns called in many traders from various places, both intra-regional traders and long distance traders, who came from Europe, the Indian subcontinent or China. Thus,

⁵⁵ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, *Singapore: A Biography*, Page 91-93.

* The term “*old port city*” is defined in this dissertation to cover any port city centralized and in which the trade was mainly controlled by the chief or the central government. Moreover, a form of an ancient city, such as Bangkok, represented an ideology of cosmology and religion in politics, culture and architecture. Batavia, which had been occupied by the Dutch since the sixteenth century, retained a monopoly trade system until the nineteenth century. During that time, Batavia was not developed in terms of “*modernization*”.

** Junk Ceylon or Phuket were located off the coast of southwest Thailand. There were very complex connections and networks between ports of the western coast of India, the Coromandel coast, the Bay of Bengal and the port towns on the northwest corner of the archipelago. In Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang, 1780-1830*, Page 8-9.

Southeast Asia was a hub of commerce from the ancient time to the expansion of imperialism and colonization.

Geographically, Southeast Asia is situated on the trading route between India and China. Because of its location, this region became the centre of one of the busiest trading routes in the East. Many settlements emerged as ports and service centers at strategic coastal and riverine locations. By the early period, most traders from India and China were trading with various ports to seek products, such as gold, spices and medicinal herbs.⁵⁶ All the trading in this region was under the control of the local traders who traded with the traders from India and China, particularly the Chinese junk trade.

During the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, many of the port cities along the Indian Ocean – Southeast Asia – South China Sea route came under European control. Port cities, such as Madras, Calcutta, Penang and Batavia, were created by the Europeans to tap the lucrative trade routes in this region. Thus, these port cities emerged on the west coast of India and on the Coromandel Coast. The major European powers which colonized these cities were active in building their own trading networks, establishing forts and settlements on both sides of the Indian continent. In particular, the Coromandel Coast acted as the key passage to Southeast Asia and China. Moreover, the European powers were also very active in occupying and acquiring port cities in the Malayan-Indonesian archipelago. Their main interest was to secure a constant supply of spices and other commodities that could be traded in the intra-Asian trade, including Batavia.⁵⁷

After establishing the administration and successfully controlling the trade routes in the Indian Ocean, Britain paid attention to expanding into the South China Sea. However, when coming to this region, Britain found that the vital strategic maritime routes were under the dominion of the Dutch. So, British traders attempted to escape the monopolistic Dutch grasp in Southeast Asia. As a result, they actively traded in the Malay peninsula, establishing free ports at Penang and Singapore in 1786 and 1819,

⁵⁶ Nordin Hussin, Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang, 1780-1830, Page 1-2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Page 8.

respectively. Finally, Britain settled their commercial bases at the Straits Settlements consisting of Penang – Malacca – Singapore in 1824 and Hong Kong in 1842, mainly to control the trade route in the Malay peninsula and South China Sea, while, their trade to European-controlled Java and the Philippines was considerably limited.⁵⁸

Turning to the nineteenth century, some old port towns were under the absolutely control of European powers and some of them declined. Not similarly, with the early coming of European traders to this region, these European traders had a good relationship with the native leaders, especially with regard to trade and the freedom to build settlements and forts in that place. Sometimes they threatened and challenged the local authority, but it did not really impact the whole of administrative structure, except that some ports were established by Europeans, such as Batavia.

Bangkok had been developing as a port city since its establishment. In fact, during both the Ayutthaya and the early Bangkok periods there was foreign trade under the royal monopoly system, mainly trading with China. Thus, the foreign trade of Siam depended on the condition of the stability and prosperity of the government, not on demand and supply in the market. In the process of production, the government had no need for much investment. For example, most of products were collected by forced-labor. Even for the construction of the canal system, the government used forced-labor to dig canals to facilitate trade and transportation. However, the government had to pay for shipping, translators and hired-crews for each sailing of a junk.

Thus, the government, especially in the early Bangkok period, tried to monopolize all the commercial activities with relation to Bangkok. However, when Europeans extended ‘modernity and trade’ into Asia and Siam, trading in Asia mainly responded to the demand of the world market which had increased dramatically. Bangkok not only became a producer for the world market, but this city had to be transformed to fit the international standard and support modern trade. Thus, Old Bangkok could not respond to this modernity trend.

⁵⁸ Li Tana, “The Water Frontier: An Introduction,” in Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880, Page 3.

2.2.2.2 The evolution of Batavia at the turn of the nineteenth century

Batavia was an early city in Southeast Asia founded by old European powers. The Dutch VOC set up this city in the seventeenth century at the west coast of Java Island. The founding of Batavia illustrates the attempts of Europeans to reproduce a replica of a European city in this region. Jan Peterzoon Coen, the founder of Batavia, planned a replica of a Dutch city, complete with canals and stuffy, tightly packed and many storied houses. As Coen Wertheim comments, “...wanted to people the town with a respectable Dutch citizenry as well as to transport to Indonesia the bourgeois character and culture of Holland”. This city also was called “Outer City Canal” because of the canal that encircled the old walled city at Batavia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet, the attempt to replicate “Amsterdam” was unsuccessful because of the unhealthy physical environment of city. In addition, Batavia was unable to develop its structure of power and administration like its model city. In contrast, the Dutch in Batavia lived in the style of a “merchant chief” and closer to the life of an Eastern noble than a Dutch burgher.⁵⁹

Situated at the mouth of the Ciliwong, on the shore of a well-sheltered bay, this spot was selected by the VOC as the capital of their new empire. In addition, the location of Batavia was midway between Europe and Asia, at least before Singapore was founded. As Adam Smith said, “Between Europe and every part of the East-Indies, Batavia is between the principal countries in the East-Indies”. The city lay nearly about midway on the most frequented road from Hindustan to China and Japan. Almost all the ships that sailed between Europe and China touched at Batavia; and it was, over and above all this, the centre and principal mart of what was called the country trade of the East-Indies, not only of that part of it which was carried on by Europeans, but trade that was carried on by the native Indians, and vessels navigated by the inhabitants of China and Japan, of Tonquin, of Cochin China, of Malacca, and the Island of Celebes. Such an

⁵⁹ T.G. Mc Gee, The Southeast Asian City: A Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia, Page 51.

advantageous situation enabled these two colonies, Batavia and Singapore, to surmount all the obstacles which the oppressive genius of an exclusive company may have occasionally opposed to their growth: they enabled Batavia to surmount an additional disadvantage, perhaps the most unwholesome climate in the world.⁶⁰

The landscape of Batavia was criss-crossed by rectangular canals and streets and surrounded by a wide, deep moat and sturdy walls, reinforced with bulwarks constructed of coral stone. The cannons placed on top of these bulwarks faced outwards, but could easily be turned around so that they also could rake the main streets of the town in the event of popular unrest or rebellion. The river running in a north-south direction dissected the town and was intersected by canals. Most of the streets and canals were straight, forming a grid-like pattern. In addition, the canal system was lined by row of trees and neatly-built town houses. The town hall and the main church fronted on to a large city square and a parade ground that connected the town with the entrance to Batavia Castle, which was situated between the sea and the town. Across the river, apposite the castle, were located the company's ship wharves and godowns, and a specially dug basin that provided a mooring-place for native craft and the rowboats and lighters which sailed to the ships anchored in the roadstead via the harbor canal.⁶¹

Batavia, during the early eighteenth century, was still an operational center for a complex trading system. The character of the city was almost unchanged from the beginning. Here, in a castle whose walls enclosed a space of less than five acres, resided the Governor-General, members of his Council, a central garrison of about 1,200 men, the Company's factors, and a few hundred clerks, all overworked and underpaid, as were another few hundred craftsmen who trained or supervised slaves in the Company's workshops and shipyard. Beyond the castle's walls, a few hundred "*free burghers*" lived in Dutch-style houses attractively set along tree-lined canals such that an British sailor

⁶⁰ Thomas Stamford Raffles, The History of Java (Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1994), Page 192.

⁶¹ Leonard Blusse, "On the Waterfront: Life and Labour Around the Batavian Roadstead," in Asian Port Cities 1600-1800: Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions, Haneda Masashi, editor (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), Page 121.

described Batavia in the 1720s as “*one of the nearest and most beautiful cities*” in the world.⁶²

The character of the commerce-oriented town of Batavia, consisting of strong defenses, a multicultural mixture of citizens and civic architecture, appeared in the eyes of visitors as a “*Holland in the tropics*”. In particular, by the seventeenth century, the VOC became the greatest maritime power in Asia, and Batavia was a hub of commerce in the Asian trade network, overshadowing all of its European and Asian rivals. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, these roles were reversed, particularly when the EIC’s power emerged victorious as the dominant-brokers in Bengal. Soon after the EIC eclipsed Dutch trading interests in the Indian Ocean, and since the early nineteenth century, the EIC became a powerful competitor of the Dutch in Southeast Asia. Batavia, the one-time rendezvous of the VOC commercial web spread out over monsoon Asia, was now transformed into the administrative centre of a territorial colony which focused on such tropical agricultural products as sugar, coffee, indigo, pepper and tea.⁶³

From 1730 to the end of the eighteenth century, Batavia went into decline because of epidemics. The mortality rates among citizens living within the walled city increased. This was because of the low standard of hygiene. Thus, the city began to move to areas further south, outside the walled city which had much healthier environs. The newer districts, which are now Jalan Juanda, Jalan Veteran, Lapangan Banteng and Medan Merdeka, were developed in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. They were known as “*bovenstad* (‘uptown’)” and “*Weltevreden* (‘well contented’)” after

⁶² B.H.M. Vlckkr, Nusantara: A History of Indonesia (The Hague, 1959), Page 186. Cited in C.G.F. Simkim, The Tradition Trade of Asia (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), Page 232.

⁶³ Leonard Blusse, “On the Waterfront: Life and Labour Around the Batavian Roadstead,” in Asian Port Cities 1600-1800: Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions, Page 122-125.

a large private estate of that name which existed near Pasar Senen until 1820. This area was the new city of Batavia.⁶⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the heart of Batavia had very clearly moved “*uptown*” where one could find the governor-general’s residence, key government buildings, fine houses of the European elite, most of the major churches, two main social clubs, a museum, the Freemason’ lodge, European shopping districts and the major hotels. Another zone, called “*downtown*” Batavia, still housed the trading firms, the insurance and shipping agents and brokers of various kinds. Indeed, many European men commuted in the morning along Molenvliet Road to their offices in ‘downtown’ and then back again to their houses uptown in the early afternoon when a day’s work was done. However, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the dwellers and visitors to Batavia spent their social life in the new city to the south uptown.⁶⁵ Additionally, the pattern of city life changed from that of the puritanical frugality of bourgeois to an expansive luxurious life. The stuffy Dutch canal houses were replaced by country villas – roomy, airy and cool – surrounded by extensive gardens. The new houses of the Dutch certainly gained some inspiration from the Javanese Priyayi home,* just as the suburban plan of the streets, with a large square and wide roads radiating out from it, was imitative of the Javanese kraton-based cities.⁶⁶

As one of travelers who visited Batavia described the “*uptown*”, new area of Batavia in the second half of the nineteenth century:

“But New Batavia! I heard so much about it. New Batavia looks airy and cheerful, but I do not call it a city. It is a chain of country seats, of which the houses are mostly built in the same not ungraceful style. Only after one had driven through the

⁶⁴ Scott Merrillees, Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs, Page 10.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Page 12.

* The Javanese Priyayi is a class of royal nobility in Java.

⁶⁶ T.G. Mc Gee, The Southeast Asian City: A Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia, Page 51.

Buiten Nieuupoort street that looked less pleasing, and continued his way along the friendly Molenvliet, where one could observe the attractive residences with the beautiful gardens in front of them, did the feeling of disappointment make way for more agreeable impressions. Once arriving at Rijswijk, one soon felt convinced that Batavia wore its grandiloquent title 'Queen of the East', not altogether unjustly”.

In the context of commerce in Asia during the nineteenth century, the condition of trade in Asia changed after the foundation of Singapore as a free port city. The free trade policy under the liberal principle shook the monopolized trade in Asia, including the Dutch's East Indies. Under the pressure of liberal movements in the Hague and the achievement of free trade policy in Singapore, the Dutch government made the decision to abolish the Culture System, with labor and use of land for plantations, and announced the Liberal Policy instead in 1870.

When this policy was launched, it caused the investment and businesses run by private sectors to expand. The Dutch in Batavia provided infrastructure and improved the quality of social life in the city to facilitate the growth of commerce and to support the needs of a modern life style. The first telegraph line was installed between Batavia and Buitenzorg (Bogor) in 1856; while Batavia's first international telegraph connection to Singapore began three years later in 1859, even though there would not be a permanent line in place until 1870. Batavia's first gas works were completed in 1861 and gas lighting for public roads commenced in 1862. A horse-drawn tramway was introduced in Batavia in 1869 to be replaced by steam trams in 1882. Telephones arrived in 1882. Electric trams would follow in 1900. Work on Batavia's first railway link with Buitenzorg commenced in 1869 and the line was officially opened in 1873. The first ice factory in Batavia started in 1870 and was greatly welcomed in the tropical climate of the

Indies.⁶⁷ In addition, the government promoted and provided modern education, medical care and a press for dwellers in Batavia.

The 1870s was a period of economic growth and prosperity. There was huge private sector investment in sugar, coffee and tea plantations and a rapid growth of supporting services, such as refining, trading, shipping, banking, broking and insurance. This wealth increased the small number of European elite who were able to enjoy lavish lifestyles in grand houses in the best parts of Batavia around Koningsplein (Medan Merdeka), Prapatan, Tanah Abang, Gang Scott (Jalan Budi Kemuliaan) and the southern end of Molenvliet.⁶⁸

Both Bangkok and Batavia had been prominent port cities in Southeast Asia since the junk trade era. However, when “*imperial free trade*” was expanded into this region by Britain, the traditional trade system was forced to be eliminated and was reset in the new world trade system. This change drove both Bangkok and Batavia to transform to maintain their roles in commerce and become more efficient to compete with powerful rivals, imperial free trade and modernity.

2.2.2.3 Bangkok in the trend of a new trade system

Under the commercial treaties, Siam was impelled to play an active role in encouraging commercialization by promoting agricultural production and centralizing the export economy on Bangkok through transport infrastructure. By the 1850s, when the Siamese court was confronted with the challenge of conceding trading rights to Western powers, substantial economic change had already taken place towards an exchange economy, and the role of Bangkok and its hinterland was central. In short, opening the door to the new world trade system transformed the character and functions of Bangkok

⁶⁷ Scott Merrillees, Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs, Page 14.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Page 15.

to become a semi-colony with its commercializing economy tied to the world trading system.⁶⁹

For most of the reign of King Rama III, foreign trade through Bangkok increased, especially the export of sugar to Singapore.* The new system of tax farming, under which the right to collect internal taxes, transit dues, and commodity levies were awarded to private individuals (mostly Chinese immigrants), worked well. During that time, the West only indirectly affected the economic and political life of the kingdom. However, this is not to say that the West was unimportant to Siam in that period. In particular, Britain wanted to conduct commercial contact with the Siamese court.⁷⁰

When starting to produce new commodities for export trade, such as pepper and sugar, Siam's economy became a market economy, instead of a sufficiency economy. Originally, Southeast Asia, including Siam, exported raw materials, not manufactured goods. Commercial agriculture was mostly produced for domestic consumption, not for export.⁷¹ The market economy was first launched during the early Bangkok period. At that time, the government extended cultivated areas for plantation and used a lot of hire-labor from China to promote its exports. These businesses mostly were run by Chinese without any competitors. Afterwards, Siam negotiated with the European powers and brought Siam into the new world trade system. A market economy was maintained, but more European businessmen had influence in production and export. Moreover, the items varied between rice, teak, tin and rubber, mainly sent to support industry in Europe. Mono-crops were introduced to meet demand in the market by a vast extension of cultivated areas. As a result, canals were dug for transporting goods and linking cultivated areas at the outskirts to the city market. Thus, as foreign trade

⁶⁹ Marc Askew, *Bangkok: Place and Representation* (London: Routledge, 2002), Page 27.

* Chinese planters introduced commercial sugar production around 1816. Later, the crop became an important item for new export trade with Western merchants, especially after 1819 in Singapore. In Davis Joel Steinberg, editor, *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, c1987), Page 114.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Page 114-115.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Page 119-220.

flourished, canals which had a close link with foreign trade contributed to the growth of Bangkok.⁷² Bangkok still retained its role as an entrepôt to export and re-export to other ports in Southeast Asia, especially Singapore.

Thereafter, Bangkok became a flourishing port, and the city improved its facilities for the seagoing junk trade, particularly for inland shipping, by connecting Pak Nam and the capital.* Thus, more canals had to be dug and rivers had to be dredged and widened to facilitate the junk trade. However, the landscape of Bangkok remained the same as in ancient times, a floating city. The commercial area, to the southward of the city walls, was occupied mostly by the Chinese. Local communities, divided by their ethnicities, settled within the city walls. Outside of the city walls, except the Chinese commune, there were mostly fields, orchards and forest. The Siamese livelihood and landscape of city remained the same. Not until joining the new world trade and modernity, it did the landscape of Bangkok transform from an aquatic city to a land-based city.

Soon after the Bowring Treaty and other treaties were signed, the volume of trade between Siam and other port cities in Southeast Asia, particularly Singapore, increased significantly. To compare, between the 1850s and 1860s, the number of stream ships doubled from 146 in 1850 to 302 in 1862; while the value of international trade increased from 5.6 million baht to 10 million baht between 1850 and 1862.⁷³ In addition, the number of foreign ships visiting Bangkok increased more than tenfold and Siam became one of the world's largest exporters of rice and teak.⁷⁴ In particular, there was the opening of steam transportation and the Suez Canal, making the mass export from Southeast Asia to Europe cheap and saving time. That possibility made Singapore the

⁷² Porphant Ouyyanont, "Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925," Page 440.

* During the reign of King Rama III, he hired Chinese to dig canals. These canals were beneficial for inland transportation and the junk trade. Additionally, he also ordered built walls and towers to protect traders from pirates and monsoons. โนน สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ, *แม่น้ำลำคลองสายประวัติศาสตร์* (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2544), หน้า 78-80.

⁷³ David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History*, Page 185-186.

⁷⁴ Davis Joel Steinberg, editor, *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*, Page 115.

shortest route and a port where Siam exported their products, such as rice, to Europe for shipping through the Suez Canal. Cheap transportation enabled Siam to compete in Asian markets and gain a huge profit.⁷⁵ In light of participation in international trade from the 1850s onwards, the foreign trade of Siam flourished. The expansion of trade brought about a refashioning of the waterfront and commercial quarters of Bangkok, with new wharves and warehouses, steam-powered rice and saw mills, and rows of brick shops vending imported goods, while upon newly paved roads, horse-down carriages bore merchants about the bustling city.⁷⁶

With greatly expanded foreign trade and contact, the tone of life in Bangkok changed rapidly. Following the traders came more missionaries, artisans, and professionals, and soon a few Westerners were formally employed by the Siamese as tutors, translators, police officers, labor officials and shipmasters. To conduct the international trade and comfort foreigners, Western ideas and techniques were borrowed and adapted to provide new government services for their livelihood.⁷⁷

Therefore, because of the extension of foreign trade from the 1850s onward, Bangkok became an important port city and needed to change itself to fit the international standard of civilization. In other words, commercial expansion was one of the important factors in transforming Bangkok's urban fabric following the establishment of trade relations with Western countries that brought Bangkok into the orbit of global modernity.⁷⁸ In addition, many Europeans came and settled in Bangkok. Some of them came to do business, while others were experts hired to work for the Siamese court. These Europeans influenced the transforming environmental landscape and consumption in Bangkok to be similarly to Western lifestyle. This way of life also had an impact on

⁷⁵ James C. Ingram, Economic Change in Thailand 1850-1970, Page 42-43.

⁷⁶ David K. Wyatt, Thailand: A Short History, Page 186.

⁷⁷ Davis Joel Steinberg, editor, In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History, Page 119-120.

⁷⁸ Maurizio Peleggi, Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image, Page 79.

the powerful economic group in Bangkok consisting of the Siamese elite and rich men. They consumed and duplicated the Western lifestyle as a fashionable trend.

2.3 Bangkok and the impact of imperialism

2.3.1 The influence of British imperialism on Southeast Asia and Siam

As a result of the Industrial Revolution in Europe during the middle of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, European countries were developed as industrial countries. These countries turned from the agriculture sector to producing mass products in the industrial sector. Thus, they needed to import food and material resources to provide for their people and factories. Furthermore, they needed markets for their industrial products. That is why these European powers competed to expand their influence into other regions, such as Asia, Africa, Australia and America, particularly during the later part of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The main purpose of this expansion was to control the trade routes and markets in these regions. The Europeans convinced the natives that colonization was their moral responsibility and burden, the “*White Man’s Burden*”, to bring “*civilization*” of the West to “*uncivilized land*”. In some cases, the European powers applied a “*gunboat policy*” to force and occupy “*uncivilized land*” to be their colonies. In Southeast Asia, Britain, France and the Dutch competed to expand their influence and settle their colonies in this region. In particular, Britain and France were a threat to Siam’s sovereignty.

2.3.1.1 The attack on Burma – China – Malay States

The relationship between European countries and Siam began in the seventeenth century during the Ayutthaya Period. The Dutch and the British arrived at Ayutthaya in 1604 and 1612, respectively. Both came to establish their factory in Ayutthaya for trade only, bringing new technologies from the Western world to

Ayutthaya's court, such as the art of shipbuilding, engineering, and many European things. Unfortunately, with the destruction of Ayutthaya most European cultural traces in the Siamese court were lost because of wars during the Thonburi and early Bangkok periods. In addition, this period coincided with that of the great French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic wars. Thus, the relationship between Siam and the European countries were suspended for 40 years.⁷⁹

After the end of the Napoleonic wars, the attention of the European powers was once more centered on the East, this time with increasing intensity. In fact, the West had never been completely absent from the scene in Siam, but its presence was almost imperceptible. After the fall of Ayutthaya, the Dutch still sent occasional ships from their base in Batavia to King Taksin's capital city and to Bangkok throughout the early Bangkok period. The British East India Company long had relied on private, country traders and Asians to conduct its minimal trade with Siam. The Portuguese and French Roman Catholic missionaries, in very small numbers, ministered to the needs of the tiny Christian Community in Siam. The situation began to change when Britain gained possession of the island of Penang in 1785.⁸⁰

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain began to penetrate into Southeast Asia after occupying India. Britain established bases in Penang and Singapore, and began to develop the tin industry and its diplomatic influence up the peninsula.⁸¹ Initially, Singapore was founded to set a standpoint to dominate the Chinese trade route in this region; in addition, Britain strongly wanted to eliminate the Dutch influence from the southern seas of Southeast Asia. By the 1820s, Singapore grew rapidly and became the most important Southeast Asian port for Siam, as well as its rival.⁸² To secure recognition of their possession of Penang and to increase Siamese trade with Penang and Singapore, the governor-general of British India

⁷⁹ H.R.H. Damrong Rajanubhab, "The Introduction of Western Culture in Siam," The Journal of the Siam Society for the Century of the Prince (1962): Page 108-109.

⁸⁰ David K. Wyatt, Thailand: A Short History, Page 164.

⁸¹ Christ Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, A History of Thailand, Page 39.

⁸² Anthony Reid, "Chinese Trade and Southeast Asian Economic Expansion." In Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880, Page 31.

dispatch John Crawfurd as an envoy to the Siamese court in 1822.⁸³ One could say that the establishment of Singapore and Penang as international free ports rendered Britain's opportunity to expand her commercial boundary into the Sultanate States in Malay peninsula and into Burma. This expansion was leading to the confrontation with Siamese court in Bangkok.

From the end of the reign of King Rama II onward, wars broke out between Britain and Burma. Britain had gone to war with Burma over Burmese skirmishes across the frontiers of India. The invasion of Britain in Burma also affected the diplomatic policy of Siam. The first war between Britain and Burma broke out in 1824, during the reign of Rama II. Within a year, the Siamese were alarmed by rumors that the British were preparing a great expedition to seize Kedah, after which they would proceed to attack Siam. In the case of Kedah, it would become a risk for going to war with Britain, if this problem would not bring to a negotiation.

The Malay states had accepted the authority of Siam in terms of a relationship of overlord and tributaries since the seventeenth century. However, the relationship had never been stable, dependent on the stability and power of the Siamese central government. Whenever Siamese power was weak, these states would ignore their obligation of sending a "*bunga mas* ('*Golden Flower*')" as a tribute to Bangkok, until Bangkok would send troops to the south and bring the restive vassals back under its umbrella.⁸⁴ Yet, when Britain attempted to extend her influential sphere and commercial activities into the Malay peninsula, this action threatened the tributary relation between the Malay states and Siam, particularly in the case of Kedah. The governor-general of British India dispatched John Crawfurd to Bangkok at the end of 1821 to solve this situation, but the Siamese court was implacable.⁸⁵ Finally, this problem was solved with the conclusion of the Burney Treaty in 1826.

⁸³ Davis Joel Steinberg, editor, *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*, Page 114.

⁸⁴ Kannikar Sartraproong, *A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871*, Page 5.

⁸⁵ David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History*, Page 165.

As a result of conflict involving the British in Burma and the Malay peninsula, the British India government appointed Henry Burney as its emissary to Siam to deal with these and related issues in 1825.⁸⁶ In 1824, the Anglo-Dutch Treaty had been signed between the British and the Dutch defining their respective spheres of influence in Southeast Asia. In addition, the end of the Opium War empowered Britain to expand her commercial and political influence in China; this event having a great impact on the stability and policy making of the native states in Southeast Asia at that time. In particular, growing French influence in Annam and the success of Singapore's foundation caused Siamese nobles to feel threatened by the stronger invaders from the West, such as Britain and France.

During the reign of King Rama III, the king was much concerned with foreign and military affairs, particularly with the West. In the beginning of Rama III's reign, the second British-Burma war broke out and the Siamese court paid more attention to the situation in Burma. It seemed that although the fall of Burma was welcomed by the Siamese court, they realized that the result of war brought the British one step nearer than before. More seriously, when events in China and elsewhere had proved the power of European countries, they considered the age-old policy of isolation had completely broken down and, henceforth, no Far Eastern country could shape its own policy independently without due regard to the Western powers. It was not long after the Burmese War that Siam changed its foreign policy from one of semi-isolation to one of opening the country to foreign intercourse.⁸⁷

As a result of these events, the Siamese court realized that the European powers were nearer than ever been before. Thus, before 1855, Siam was very careful when negotiating with the European powers. King Rama III defined the West as a new threat to the independence of Siam. At the end of his life, Rama III, as he was lying weakly on his bed, gave his last words to the ministers; *"There will be no more wars with Vietnam and Burma. We will have them with only the West"*, and also, *"Beware of the*

⁸⁶ David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History*, Page 168.

⁸⁷ Seni Pramroj and Kukrit Pramroj, *A King of Siam Speaks*, Page 87.

*Farangs. Learn from them as much as possible but do not worship them blindly. Don't let them take the country away from you".*⁸⁸

The spread of imperialism in the nineteenth century reached Southeast Asia kingdoms with liberal trade and Westernization. In some cases, these European powers used military force to occupy markets and obtain profitable resources from this region. As a result, each kingdom responded to this threat in different ways. Some had an aggressive response, using both policy and military forces, but finally they were defeated and colonized by European colonizers. Some recognized the power of these Europeans and attempted to reform their kingdom from being barbaric, for example, in the case of King Mindon Min of Burma.⁸⁹ Yet, in the end, they could not avoid occupation by these colonizers. In the case of Siam, at an early time, the Siamese government used a semi-isolated policy with Europeans. However, when the Europeans intensified their influential sphere into nearby kingdoms of Siam, they became an important threat for which the government had to be seriously concerned.

With the pressure of this threat, Prince Mongkut recognized the situation that Siam was confronting. After he came to the throne in 1851, the foreign policy of Siam changed significantly from semi-isolated to an opened policy toward the West. Not only the political factor, but the context of the world economy in the nineteenth century should be considered. The expansion of the Western world economy benefited foreign trade in Siam as well. It can be seen that prior to signing the Bowring Treaty, the Siamese government negotiated commercial treaties with Europeans. Thus, when King Mongkut came to the throne, Siam was ready to participate in the new world trade system. The “*Toward the West*” policy of the Siamese government during the reign of King Mongkut was a great change that allowed Siam to remain in the status of an independent state amidst the threat of the colonizers.

⁸⁸ เจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์มหาโกษาธิบดี, พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 3 (กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2538), หน้า 152.

⁸⁹ M.C. Richlefs and others, A New History of Southeast Asia, Page 170-171.

2.3.1.2 The coming of British Power to Bangkok in the nineteenth century (from John Crawfurd to Sir John Bowring)

To expand and promote the commercial benefits, the British regularized the relationship through the negotiation of treaties with the Siamese government in Bangkok. The first British mission was sent to Bangkok in 1822, headed by John Crawfurd. Unfortunately, that envoy did not result in a treaty because the Siamese government was not prepared to meet Crawfurd's demands and was not yet aware of the power and influence the British could bring to bear in Asia. Soon thereafter, a second British mission, headed by Henry Burney in 1826, did conclude with a treaty, known as Burney Treaty of 1826. The success of this treaty was that the British traders could buy anything they wished without interference, with the exception of rice; however, 15 years later, the king monopolized the production of sugar, and the monopoly on various products was fully reinstated by 1842. Thus, the British were not satisfied, and attempted to renegotiate the treaty in 1850, but failed.⁹⁰

Politically, the Burney Treaty of 1826 had formally established the spheres of influence in Malay states between Siam and British, which remained in place until the British decided to intervene in the northern Malay states in the 1870s. Because of the commercial considerations that existed since the foundation of Singapore in 1819, the Malay peninsula was to offer various entrepôt on the trading route between India and China and its natural resources aroused the British merchants to gain control over the Malay states, the northern most of which had been vassals of Siam. This caused a political confrontation between the British in Singapore and Siam in Bangkok. Tension came to the surface in 1857 when a civil war broke out in Pahang.

⁹⁰ Constance M. Wilson, The New World Order in the Nineteenth Century: King Mongkut and Thailand's Opening to the World, 1851-1868 (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University, [n.d.]), Page 2-3.

From 1826 to 1850, the political issues in the Malay states solidified Western feelings in their relations with the Siamese. The issues became clarified in their minds and encouraged them to press for a resolution of these matters. During this period, the British strengthened their position in Asia, concluded the first Anglo-Burmese war, defeated the Chinese in the Opium War of 1840, and oversaw the rise of Singapore as a British port in the center of Southeast Asia. Siam began to realize that the rights they had been able to preserve in the 1826 treaty* could not be maintained.

However, the treaties, including other treaties with the West, had established conditions for increased communication and interaction between Westerners and the Siamese people. A few British merchants, such as Mr. Hunter, had settled in Bangkok to trade with Siamese nobles. The treaties made it possible for several families of American Protestant missionaries to live in the capital and to discuss Western concepts of foreign relations, science, medicine, and technology with Siamese nobles and to teach the English language. Increasingly, contacts with Singapore, promoted by both Siamese and Western residents in Bangkok, assisted the study of Western affairs and technology. Although the issue of relations with the West was an ongoing controversy with the Siamese nobles during the reign of King Rama III, and although there was an increase in insecure situation among the foreign community as the king raised objections to Christian evangelism in particular during the end of his reign, Siam had come to a resolution of the matter by the time King Mongkut ascended the throne.⁹¹

Approaching mid-century, there was growing tension within the elite over the linked issues of the economy, social order, and the handling of the West. At that time, the elite were separated into two groups which had different opinions on policy making. Traditionalists wanted to keep the West at arm's length, and preserve the old social order,

* The treaty of 1826 concluded no exchange of consuls, Siamese jurisdiction over all foreigners, limits on foreign residence and internal travel, and the right to determine customs duties, fees, and taxes.

⁹¹ Constance M. Wilson, *The New World Order in the Nineteenth Century: King Mongkut and Thailand's Opening to the World, 1851-1868*, Page 3. And John F. Cady, "Nineteenth-Century Siam, Rama III and Mongkut," in *Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development* (New York, San Francisco, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book, 1964), Page 340.

especially traditional controls on forced labor. Another group, reformers, believed that more Western trade, freer labor, and access to new technologies would stimulate economic growth to the benefit of both government revenues and private fortunes. The leaders of this latter group were the younger generation of the Bunnag household and the group of aristocratic intellectuals around Prince Mongkut. When Prince Mongkut came to the throne in 1851, the reformers were rewarded with promotions and increasing powers. Both King Mongkut and Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong (Chuang Bunnag) knew better than anyone else the nature of the power that threatened the kingdom and the means by which Siam's sovereignty might be subverted or suppressed – they read the Singapore and Hong Kong newspaper.⁹² As evidence of this, when King Mongkut learned of the crisis in China that had been destabilized by an invasion of the West he made a decision to abolish the long tributary relationship with China in 1853 and formulated a foreign policy towards the West instead. Soon after, as evidence of his ability in diplomacy, King Mongkut spent four years preparing for negotiations with the West before he invited Sir John Bowring, the British governor of Hong Kong, to negotiate a trade treaty in 1855.

This treaty abolished the royal monopoly system, equalized the dues on Western and Chinese shipping, granted extraterritorial rights to British citizens, and allowed the import of opium for sale through a government monopoly. For Britain and Bowring, this treaty helped to promote both of them by claiming a victory of the principle of “*free trade*” and succeeded in gaining the benefits that they wanted.⁹³ On the other hand, for Siam, this treaty helped to release the tension of the political threat toward Siam at that time by compromising with the West.⁹⁴ This treaty also opened the door of modernity to Siam. As a result of this treaty and others, the Siamese government recognized the need to modernize Bangkok and Siam to become a civilized country like other countries in the Western world.

⁹² David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History*, Page 183-184.

⁹³ Christ Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Thailand*, Page 45.

⁹⁴ เพ็ญศรี ดูก, *รวมบทความประวัติศาสตร์: ศาสตราจารย์ ดร. เพ็ญศรี ดูก* (กรุงเทพฯ: สถาบันไทยศึกษา จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2531), หน้า 10.

2.3.2 Civilization and Modernization in term of the new world standard

2.3.2.1 Opening Siam toward the West Line

Prior to establishing an opened-policy toward the West in the reign of King Mongkut, Siam had had a close tributary diplomatic relationship and a huge volume trade with China since the Ayutthaya and the early Bangkok periods. Therefore, it was not surprising that the Sinicization of courtly taste had grown in the Siamese court and rich provincial towns. Initially, the tributary system represented an instrument of imperial diplomacy and served as the expansion of its civilization sphere. However, when the Bowring Treaty was launched in 1855, it not only terminated this pattern of trading and diplomatic relations, but also Britain replaced China as Bangkok's chief commercial partner. Similar to the acceptance of Chinese civilization, the signing of the Bowring Treaty implied acknowledgement of the diplomatic and even legal and philosophical premises of Britain's trading policy.⁹⁵

Prior to opening Siam to Westernization, the kings and nobles since the Ayutthaya period had maintained conflicting perceptions of and a cautious stance toward Westerner counterparts. Westerners were sometimes regarded as dangerous threats for economic and political interests of the kingdom.

Historically, Ayutthaya had a close commercial relation with the Europeans.* During the reign of King Narai, the Europeans increasingly penetrated their influence into the Ayutthaya Court, especially France under Louis XIV. At that time, this close relationship resulted in several official diplomatic missions between these two

⁹⁵ Maurizio Peleggi, Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image, Page 29.

* In the early seventeenth century, King Ekathotsarot sent the first diplomatic mission to The Hague in 1608. Because of good relations with the Dutch, the royal foreign trade of Ayutthaya was dominated by contacts with the Dutch through the first part of the seventeenth century. In Dhiravat na Pombejra, "Port, Palace, and Profit: An Overview of Siamese Crown Trade and the European Presence in Siam in the Seventeenth Century," in Port Cities and Trade in Western Southeast Asia (Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1998), Page 68.

realms.* On the other hand, a closer relationship made some Siamese courtly nobles worried that King Narai might be converted to Christianity. They thought that if the influence of France increased, it would eventually become a threat to the nobles themselves. Therefore, immediately after King Narai passed away, the new king eliminated the influence of the French faction in the Ayutthaya Court. Meanwhile, other Europeans had to settle outside the city walls of Ayutthaya.** The French did not come back until the middle of the nineteenth century.*** Because of this incident, the volume of trade with the Europeans did not flourish as in the former reign. After Ayutthaya was destroyed by the Burmese Army in 1767, the rest of the European traders withdrew all their business from Ayutthaya.

In the early Bangkok period, some Westerners came to Bangkok for trading and Christian evangelism, particularly the British and the Americans. They introduced new Western innovations and advanced knowledge, particularly Western medical treatment, to Siam. Even though some royal elite and nobles were impressed with these innovation and knowledge, the government under King Rama III did not trust the Westerner's motives. Because of the fear of the Westerners resulting from the political crisis during the reign of King Narai and their invasions into China and nearby kingdoms during the King Rama III's period particularly, not surprisingly, the Siamese

* According to foreign accounts, there were four Siamese embassies to France in the reign of King Narai. The first envoy was in 1681, departing from Mergui to Pondicherry in India, and then sailing to Europe. Unfortunately, they wrecked at Madagascar. ใน ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่มที่ 27 รวมจดหมายเหตุเรื่อง ราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษ เมื่อ พ.ศ. 2400 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การการค้าคุรุสภา, 2511), หน้า 90-99.

** The Ayutthaya court renewed and extended the treaty with the Dutch. So, the Dutch were the only Westerners with an official presence. In Derick Garnier, *Ayutthaya: Venice of the East* (Bangkok: River Books, 2004), Page 131-132.

*** Other Europeans moved out of Ayutthaya after the Ayutthaya-Burma War in 1767 and stopped their relationship during the Thonburi and early Bangkok periods. After the Napoleonic War in Europe had ended and Britain emerged as the most successful industrial country, the new imperialism expanded into Asia and Southeast, including Siam. Britain was the first European country to send an envoy mission to Siam in 1820.

government attempted to keep Western political influence at bay until the end of the reign of King Rama III.*

However, some leading elite well recognized the powers of the European countries, both with respect to military forces and the economy. On the other hand, they admired the scientific knowledge and advanced technology empowering these European countries. Thus, these Siamese elites sought to use Western learning to modernize their own country. Western modernity was first introduced by Christian missionaries. American missionaries had been ardently introducing new knowledge and technology to the young Siamese elite. Because of the role of American missionaries and their friendship with the young inquisitive nobles, some Siamese elite were able to extend their understanding of the world through the study of Western languages, science, and foreign ideas.⁹⁶ As Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong told George F. Seward, a consul of the United of America, *“Not gunboat policy that forced Siam to open the door likewise China, but, in fact, it is successful as a result of American Missionary’s roles”*.⁹⁷

The first American missionary who came to Bangkok was David Abeel. He arrived in Bangkok to spread Christian evangelism in 1831. Afterwards, many groups of American missionary came to Siam. From the reign of King Rama III to the reign of King Chulalongkorn, there were 286 missionaries in Siam.⁹⁸ Although they were not successful in proselytizing Christian evangelism among Siamese people, they had tremendous influence on spreading Western knowledge to the Siamese elite. The most well known American missionaries were Dr. Dan Beach Bradley, the Rev. Jesse Caswell, Dr. Samuel Reynolds House, the Rev. Stephen Mattoon. Most of the missionaries had a

* Since the 1840s, King Rama III raised serious objections to the missionary program and the policy of foreign trade was taken a reactionary turn to protect a profit of the royal treasury and the officials in charge of the foreign trade monopoly.

⁹⁶ Davis Joel Steinberg, editor, *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*, Page 117.

⁹⁷ George Haws Feltus, *Samuel Reynolds House of Siam: Pioneer Medical Missionary 1847-1976* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2007), Page 137.

⁹⁸ สุพรรณณี กาญจนรัชชิตติ, “บทบาทของมิชชันนารีในประเทศไทยตั้งแต่รัชกาลที่ 3 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 5 แห่งกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์,” (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2507), หน้า 35. อ้างถึงใน ทรงศิริ อัจฉอรุณ และคณะ, *รวบรวมบทความเกี่ยวกับ “ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างไทยกับสหรัฐอเมริกา พ.ศ. 2376 – พ.ศ. 2493 (ค.ศ. 1833 – ค.ศ. 1950)”* (กรุงเทพฯ: แพร่พิทยา, 2519), หน้า 35.

good education and expertise in many fields, such as medical sciences, engineering and sciences. Therefore, they introduced modern ideas and new knowledge to the Siamese elite, such as the knowledge of English, medical sciences, sciences, astronomy, the Western educational system and printing.⁹⁹ They also introduced new innovations to explain and conduct experiments.¹⁰⁰ The role of American missionaries during the reign of King Rama III was mentioned by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab as following:

*“When American missionaries contacted with Siam at that time (King Rama III)...this country implemented change to the policy to foreign affairs...there were many Siamese royal and high official elite who recognized the need for seeking the knowledge of foreign languages to develop their higher education. To fit the contemporary world, Prince Mongkut, who was ordained at that time, and other members of the royal family began to study English. Moreover, some young generation from noble families also paid attention to study this language. Not surprisingly, their teachers were American missionaries. After studying English language, they had further study in academic and technical fields such as history, political sciences, military sciences, medicine, engineering, technology of shipbuilding and others”.*¹⁰¹

This knowledge challenged the young Siamese elite to seek modern ideas and Western culture through these missionaries. As a result, in the later time, they became a famous group of officials who supported the royal reform under the reign of

⁹⁹ ทรงศรี อัจฉอรุณ และคณะ, *รวบรวมบทความเกี่ยวกับ “ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างไทยกับสหรัฐอเมริกา พ.ศ. 2376 – พ.ศ. 2493 (ค.ศ. 1833 – ค.ศ. 1950)*, หน้า 35-36.

¹⁰⁰ บัณฑิต ลิวชัยชาญ, *ภัยฝรั่งสมัยพระนั่งเกล้าฯ*, หน้า 44-45.

¹⁰¹ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *ชุมนุมพระนิพนธ์ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ*, หน้า 14-15.

King Mongkut. Certainly, they considered that the new knowledge and technology could modernize Siam to fit an “*international standard*” in order to become a modern country.

2.3.2.2 Awakening of Siamese elite towards civilization and modernization: imagination of Bangkok Modern from *The Voyage (Niras) to London to Singapore and Batavia*

The power of knowledge, particularly Western knowledge, helped the Siamese elite understand the real situation that Siam was confronting at that time. Wisely playing the international diplomatic game, Siam could keep its sovereignty and would not be colonized by the colonizers like her neighboring countries.

Among the prominent leaders of this group, apart from Prince Mongkut, were his young full brother, Prince Chuthamani, several other important princes, and the eldest son of Chao Phraya Phrakhleng and the Acting of Samuha Kalahom (Dit Bunnag), named Chuang Bunnag, who later became the regent during the early reign of King Chulalongkorn. Most importantly, Prince Mongkut, who later became King Mongkut, was well known as the most prominent leader in Southeast Asia who was undertaking reforms inspired by his own understanding of the Western challenge.

Prior to ascending the throne, the prince had been in the Buddhist monkhood through the reign of King Rama III. During 27 years in the monkhood, the prince paid attention to extending the frontiers of his knowledge to learn new knowledge, both religious and secular. For example, he reformed the Buddhist monastery by establishing a new Buddhist sect, the Dhammayut. Also, he spent time studying and traveling through the countryside.¹⁰² He was not only a leading scholar in Buddhism, but he was also interested in studying worldly knowledge, especially from the West. Wat Bowon Niwet, the temple where he was an abbot, became a centre of Western learning.

¹⁰² Davis Joel Steinberg, editor, *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*, Page 117.

Prince Mongkut had been in contact with foreign missionaries since 1830s. He had many foreign friends, particularly American missionaries and French priests, and learned the advancement and scientific knowledge of the Western world from them. Initially, the prince learned Latin from the Roman Catholic Bishop Pallegoix,* who stayed in Siam for some thirty years, and then learned English from American missionaries, for example, Dr. Bradley and Mr. Caswell. The excellent rapport which developed between Prince Mongkut and his Western missionary friends and tutors contributed much to the more sympathetic pro-Western orientation which developed during the course of his reign. The prince, as a monk-scholar, genuinely was interested in the outside world and in sciences. He even tried to eliminate some of the magic and superstition from Siam Buddhism of the day.¹⁰³ With his knowledge of English, the king was able to read books and extend his knowledge into modern sciences, geography, history and mathematics, especially astronomy, which was his favorite subject.¹⁰⁴ His interest in Western knowledge was known among the foreigners both inside and outside Siam. An article published in The Straits Times dated on 8 July 1851 described his ability in modern sciences:

“...while in the priesthood he made himself somewhat popular abroad by his free intercourse with foreigners, his creditable progress in the English language, and his attention to some of the modern sciences...he adopted the Copernican system of astronomy to introduce the true sciences and

* Bishop Pallegoix came to Siam in 1830s as a Catholic missionary. He also was an academic friend of King Mongkut from the time the latter was an abbot at Bowon Nivet Temple. He taught the inquiring Prince Mongkut to read Latin, in addition to giving him instruction in science. In John F. Cady, “Nineteenth-Century Siam, Rama III and Mongkut,” in Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development, Page 340.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Alec Waugh, Bangkok: The Story of a City, Page 49.

*improvement, and as a consequence throw off some of the superstitions of Buddhism”.*¹⁰⁵

Similarly, Prince Chuthamani,* who was one of the most Westernized Siamese men, began to learn English and also to be interested in sciences, such as navigation, iron casting and telegraphy.¹⁰⁶ The prince became enamored with European ways. He collected English books and periodicals. The furniture of his palace, which was situated on the left bank of the river, was entirely European, and his palace became the scene of European-style parties which the missionaries sometimes found uncongenial. As a private gentleman, he corresponded widely with Westerners in English. His interest in navigation and shipbuilding led him to construct the first European-type vessel in Siam. He later fitted a steam engine to a small river craft. He also developed his own lathe and machine shop and even wrote an essay on watch repairing.¹⁰⁷ He was a good example of one learning Western culture and knowledge both in theory and practice, and one who understood the backwardness of Siam, particularly Bangkok. Unfortunately, he died in 1866, two years before King Mongkut.

Moreover, there were other princes who were interested in Western knowledge, such as Prince Wongsa Dhiraj Snid,** who took up the medical profession

¹⁰⁵ “Siam,” The Straits Times (8 July 1851): 5.

* Above his duty in the army, Prince Chuthamani served King Rama III as official translator of English documents and secretary for English correspondence. In John F. Cady, “Nineteenth-Century Siam, Rama III and Mongkut,” in Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development, Page 343.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Page 342-343.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Page 343.

** His Royal Highness Krom Luang Wongsa Dhiraj Snid was a son of King Rama II and Princess Concorat Prang. He was born in 1808 and passed away in 1871. He was a famous scholar and poet during the early Bangkok period. During the reign of King Rama III, he was the principal doctor responsible for the king’s health as well as for members of the royal family, senior officials and members of the nobility of court. Later, because of his intelligence and expertise in various fields of both ancient culture and modern sciences, King Mongkut very much appreciated him and assigned him to accomplish many governmental affairs. Particularly, King Mongkut, his brother, appointed him to be the chairman of the committee to negotiate with Sir John Bowring. He also was entrusted with the task of negotiating trade treaties with the Western powers. Krom Luang Wongsa’s personality, seniority, and sincerity played a leading role in the policy of building up and presenting the image of Siam as a civilized country to earn the respect of the world community. He was the first ancestor of ‘Sanitvong’ family. อ้างถึงใน องค์กรศึกษา วิทยาศาสตร์และ

and learned European medicine from the American missionaries and received a certificate in medical sciences from a university in the United States of America. Furthermore, there were several from the young generation of the noble family who paid attention to studying Western knowledge and the English language. For example, Sri Suriyawong (Chuang Bunnag), already fascinated by the art of shipbuilding, continued to study building ships of war and steamers, more than knowledge of the language. He sent a student to England in order to learn navigation, and this student succeeded in obtaining a master's certificate and served in the reign of King Mongkut. Also, Nai Mode Amatyakul, who became director of the Mint, paid attention to studying chemistry and machinery.¹⁰⁸ Some were sent to study abroad, such as in Singapore and Western countries.¹⁰⁹

Knowing the modern world by having good friendship with the Westerners, these young Siamese men believed that it was very useful if Siam would establish a relationship with the West. Significantly, mastering English, they could closely follow the situation in Asia and neighboring countries, for instance, the course of the “*Opium War*” in China and the activities of the Western powers in the region. This helped them to be less likely to underestimate the West than their fathers or neighbors had done.¹¹⁰ Prince Mongkut and the intellectual Siamese group were concerned that Europeans were becoming more powerful and were aggressively extending their influential sphere into Asia. Additionally, the failure of many Asian countries in fighting the power of imperialism convinced them to recognize that Siam could not resist the European powers with military force. In contrast, the best way to deal with this situation was to establish diplomatic and commercial relationships with the Europeans so that Siam could be set to join the orbit of modernity in the global trend.

วัฒนธรรมแห่งสหประชาชาติ (UNESCO), “พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมหลวงวงศาธิราชสนิท ปราชญ์แห่งกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ บุคคลสำคัญของโลก” [นิทรรศการชั่วคราว]

¹⁰⁸ H.R.H. Damrong Rajanubhab, *The Introduction of Western Culture in Siam*, Page 112.

¹⁰⁹ ม.ร.ว. ราชทัณฑ์, *นิราศลอนดอน: จดหมายเหตุเรื่องราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษในรัชกาลที่ 4 (ฉบับปรับปรุง)*

(กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สยาม, 2553), หน้า [ค้ำนำ]

¹¹⁰ Davis Joel Steinberg, editor, *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*, Page 117.

This group was the new hope for the Europeans who desired to contact Siam without restricted conditions. In particular, the ascendance of Prince Mongkut was in the attention and expectation of the foreigners, both in Bangkok and Singapore, as reported in *The Straits Times* (8 July 1851):

*“...The large majority of the people undoubtedly entertain high hopes of the prosperity and success of the present reign (King Mongkut), and expect that many new laws and customs will be introduced from enlightened nations which will tend to elevate them and improve the present condition of the country”.*¹¹¹

When Prince Mongkut came to the throne in 1851, this intellectual Siamese group was promoted to higher positions and became prominent officials who assisted in a series of reforms during the reign of King Mongkut. Because of the benefits of knowing the West, King Mongkut considered that English was very important for his children and royal family members. Thus, he engaged the three wives of American missionaries to teach English to the high ranking women in the royal palace, with this class lasting for three years.¹¹² Later, the king hired Mrs. Anna Harriette Leonowens from Singapore to teach English and modern knowledge to his children. In particular, Prince Chulalongkorn received a Western education first from Mrs. Leonowens and later from

¹¹¹ “Siam,” *The Straits Times* (8 July 1851): 5.

¹¹² John F. Cady, “Nineteenth-Century Siam, Rama III and Mongkut,” In *Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development*. Page 342.

the English tutor, John Hassett Chandler.* This is one of important factors in his outlook toward modernization when he ascended the throne as King Rama V.¹¹³

Yet, more importantly, his father, King Mongkut, was the most important teacher of King Chulalongkorn. He was fundamentally educated by his father. King Mongkut implanted the idea of modernization in his son by providing a Western education; moreover, he taught public administration, the ancient customs, and archeology to his son.¹¹⁴ His father also took him to travel to many places around the kingdom to learn the geography, cultures and the livelihood of the people. Later, King Chulalongkorn applied this experienced-learning to modernize Siam. During King Chulalongkorn's reign, Western education was considered a necessity for other princes, many of whom were sent to England for schooling. Furthermore, in the early part of his reign, some royal members who had a basic knowledge of English were sent to Singapore to study at the Raffles School, and later established a school for teaching members of the royal family in English after visiting British India in 1872.** Thus, modern education, including English, was an important step in the opening up of Siam to modernization and civilization in the modern world.

Because of his acceptance of Western culture as the mode of the day, King Mongkut started to push his country closer to Westernization. At first, the king mobilized Siam on both civilizing and modernizing fronts, aiming to build a modern country by the

* John Hassett Chandler arrived Bangkok in the fall of 1843. He was the carpenter, printer and machinist. While staying in Bangkok, he served as translator to Hon. Townsend Harris when the U.S. treaty was negotiated with Siam in 1856. He also became the English tutor to Prince Chulalongkorn after Mrs. Anna Leonowens' departure in 1867. Lastly, he was appointed by King Chulalongkorn to represent Siam at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. In William L. Bradley, Siam Then: the foreign colony in Bangkok before and after Anna (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1981), Page 51-52.

¹¹³ D.R. SarDesai, Southeast Asia: Past and Present, Page 125.

¹¹⁴ ปิยนาด บุนนาค, ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยสมัยใหม่ (ตั้งแต่การทำสนธิสัญญาบาวริง ถึง "เหตุการณ์ 14 ตุลาคม" พ.ศ.2516) (กรุงเทพฯ: ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2550), หน้า 59.

** By 1872, Francis George Patterson came to Bangkok. Upon hearing of his visit, King Chulalongkorn sent him a request to stay as a teacher for the royal children and son of nobleman. He taught at a new English school which the King established in the Grand Palace. Later, in 1873, King Chulalongkorn wished to gain a full command of the English language in order to write books in English. Mr. Patterson was asked to give him evening lessons twice a week. Unfortunately, the class had to be abandoned after a period of time because of King Chulalongkorn's work pressure. In The Government Public Relations Department, King Chulalongkorn and the Teaching of English in Siam [on line], 21 June 2012. Source http://thailand.prd.go.th/view_news_phd?id=818&a=2

“*adopt-adapt*” parallel in order to preserve some ancient traditions as an identity. For example, the king knew that the traditional administrative and legal system at that time could not support the new economic system and the modern way.¹¹⁵ The king abolished old customs which the Westerners looked upon as “*uncivilized*” to fit with international standards of civilization; for example, the Siamese officials were ordered to wear Western dress when having an audience with the king.¹¹⁶ Thus, the king and his bureaucratic reformers wanted to transform Siam to be a civilized country like Western countries. That is why the reforming projects in the cultural and intellectual realms were first launched in Bangkok through outward-looking lenses to the West.¹¹⁷ The American missionary Bradley had discussed the idea of civilization to King Mongkut. Bradley pointed out that if young Bangkok wanted to be renowned among the countries which more enlightened and much strength, it must bring under consideration the construction of better roads and convert to Christianity. The king agreed with some of his friend’s advice. As a result, he started to contribute to road construction and to introduce Western technology to Siam, particularly in Bangkok, such as the printing press, the telegraph and steamships. The king accepted all the things which were called civilization in term of Western meaning, except Christianity.¹¹⁸ On this point, the king firmly affirmed “*Buddhism*” as the fundamental religion because Buddhism was part of the making of the identity of Siam.

For his own character, the king had shown his enthusiasm in learning Western knowledge and other cultural practices despite having never been to those countries. The king was an active student in acquiring Western languages, scientific and other knowledge from Western missionaries since his days as a Buddhist monk. The king engaged closely in intellectual debates with his Western counterparts on issues

¹¹⁵ David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History*, Page 185-186.

¹¹⁶ ปิยนาด บุนนาค, ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยสมัยใหม่ (ตั้งแต่การทำสนธิสัญญาบาวริง ถึง “เหตุการณ์ 14 ตุลาคม” พ.ศ.2516), หน้า 39.

¹¹⁷ Pattana Kitiarsa, *Farang as Siamese Occidentalism* (Singapore: Working Paper Series No. 49, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2005), Page 22.

¹¹⁸ Charnvit Kasetsiri, *Siam/Civilization-Thailand/Globalization: Things to Come*, Page 6.

concerning the West. The king was also a great admirer of Western inventions and luxurious goods, which he frequently ordered through his agents in Singapore, Hong Kong, New York, and London.¹¹⁹ A consequence of his energetic studied of Western humanistic and scientific culture was to push him to initiate an “*open policy*” toward the West as a milestone in his international diplomacy.¹²⁰

To strengthen the relations between Siam and the European powers* and learn how to be a civilized country by Western standards, the king sent diplomatic missions to London and France in 1857 and 1860, respectively, after an interval of nearly 200 years.** Upon the return of the diplomatic mission to London, Mom Rachothai,*** who was a principal translator on that mission, composed a book about London and other cities in England, titled The Voyage to London.

In The Voyage to London, Mom Rachothai describes what he saw, for example, the people, the landscape of cities along the route from Bangkok to London, particularly London in England and Western innovations and institutions, such as trains and railways, zoos and museums. After he came back to Bangkok, his book was read among the intellectual elite in Bangkok. Dr. Bradley, who was the first teacher of Mom

¹¹⁹ Pattana Kitiarsa, Farang as Siamese Occidentalism, Page 22.

¹²⁰ Maurizio Peleggi, Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy’s Modern Image, Page 29.

* It could be interpreted that the sending of diplomatic missions to European countries at that time demonstrated that Siam was a civilized nation in terms of diplomacy by Western standards.

** In the year 1607, the first embassy recorded was sent to Holland in the reign of King Ekatotsarot to deliver messages and establish a diplomatic relationship with Prince Maurice of Orange. The first official envoy occurred in the reign of King Narai. At that time, diplomatic envoys were sent to France several times during his reign. ใน ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่มที่ 27 รวมจดหมายเหตุเรื่อง ราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษ เมื่อ พ.ศ. 2400, หน้า 89.

*** He was a royal family member in the Chakri Dynasty. When he was young, his father gave him to serve Prince Mongkut. While Prince Mongkut was in the priesthood and made friends with American missionaries and studied English with them, Mom Rachothai studied English with them also. His English was very good and he was able to communicate with foreigners. After Prince Mongkut came to the throne, he was promoted in a higher position in the government to serve the king in foreign affairs. When the king planned to send the first diplomatic envoy to England in 1857, Mom Rachothai was given the mission as the main translator for the ambassador. Another mission was to record this voyage to be reported to King Mongkut. Moreover, he also wrote his own diary to explain what he saw throughout the route of this voyage and copied it after he returned from England. ใน ม.ร.ว. ราชเทย์, นิราศลอนดอน: จดหมายเหตุเรื่องราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษในรัชกาลที่ 4 (ฉบับปรับปรุง), หน้า 15-16.

Rachothai, asked to buy the copyright from him to publish it in 1861.* Not surprisingly, The Voyage to London not only described the picture of the civilized cities in England that impressed the poet, but this book awakened the elite group in Bangkok to support the reforms in Siam, particularly Bangkok. Forty years later, when King Chulalongkorn made his first visit Europe in 1897, he used this book as a guide book to Europe.

In The Voyage to London, additionally, the author described the physical landscape and environment in London and other industrial cities, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield.** For example, he compared the Thames River which flow through the city of London to the Chao Phraya River in Bangkok. Passing along this river, there were eight crossing bridges, and buildings and docks were located along both sides. On the river, various kinds of ship were floating, such as steamships and junks. In London there was a huge network of roads paved with stone and brick for carriages and passengers and security guards watched out along these roads all the times.¹²¹

“... There were more than a hundred roads in London both in big and small sizes. They were made of stone piece like brick and paved lying on one side to provide for carriages and horses. And both sides of road were made of big stones for a pathway. There were gas posts for giving light in the night time.

* This book was the first novel which paid copyright compensation to a Thai author. Dr. Bradley named this book Niras London (Voyage to London) In ม.ร.ว. ราชทัณฑ์, นิราศลอนดอน: จุดหมายเหตุเรื่องราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษในรัชกาลที่ 4 (ฉบับปรับปรุง), หน้า 16.

** These cities were the important industrial city of England. For example, Liverpool had a large shipbuilding industry and had big and modern docks. This city handled over 40% of the world maritime trade. Manchester was a major world manufacturing centre. Sheffield was a centre of the steel industry.

¹²¹ ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่มที่ 27 รวมจดหมายเหตุเรื่อง ราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษ เมื่อ พ.ศ. 2400, หน้า 31-32.

Both in day time and night time, polices kept watch on each road... ”¹²²

As mentioned in his book, there were three public zones in London for facilitating people’s life in the city; first was the public service consisted of foundations, banks,¹²³ schools, hospitals, prisons;¹²⁴ second was public space, such as forest parks for relaxation and riding horses;* third was places for public education, such as the British Museum which collected the bodies of animals,¹²⁵ and theaters. Moreover, manufacturing and machinery were situated in this city.

Certainly, the picture of London described in this book was far different from Bangkok, an oriental city and uncivilized in the eyes of Westerners. London was one of oldest cities in Europe and an origin of Western civilization which became a model for her imperial colonies. Furthermore, this city provided many facilities for the comfort and convenience of its inhabitants. To compare with Bangkok at the same period, the London where Mom Rachothai and the diplomatic mission had done their sightseeing was the perfection of the beauty of Western standard. However, duplicating a model of London for Bangkok was too difficult at that time. It was more possible to choose a colony of the British Empire for doing this instead. That colony was Singapore because it was recognized that Singapore was the most beautiful model in Southeast Asia and was located nearby Siam.

¹²² ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่มที่ 27 รวมจดหมายเหตุเรื่อง ราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษ เมื่อ พ.ศ. 2400, หน้า 41.

¹²³ ม.ร.ว. ภาโชทัย, นิราศลอนดอน: จดหมายเหตุเรื่องราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษในรัชกาลที่ 4 (ฉบับปรับปรุง), หน้า 30-31.

¹²⁴ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 40.

* ‘...in London, some areas provided for forest parks. People came to these parks for sailing, meeting, riding horses and carriages, walking...’ ใน เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 46-47.

¹²⁵ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 36-37.

By 1861, King Mongkut sent his high ranking official, Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong (Chuang Bunnag),* and his son, Prince Krommamun Vishnunarth Nibhadhom, to visit the Siamese Malay states and Singapore. At that time, this event was reported by the Bangkok Recorder¹²⁶ and The Straits Times¹²⁷ in Singapore. Even though no official report about that trip has been found, it could be assumed that King Mongkut chose Singapore as a model for transforming Bangkok during his reign. As evidence of this, after the visit to Singapore by Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong, the king ordered him to be the head of the road construction projects in Bangkok in response to request of the Westerners.¹²⁸ One of these roads was Charoen Krung Road, known most prosaically in English as *New Road*.

Not only Singapore, but Batavia of the Dutch East Indies was another model for modernizing Bangkok, especially when King Chulalongkorn first visited Singapore and Batavia in 1871. This was the first time the Siamese king traveled abroad not for war purposes. In previous times, an ancient custom did not allow any royal families to go abroad, except for an expedition of war, as Prince Mongkut explained the reason in a letter that wrote to his friend in New York (1849). Thus, the Siamese kings

* Chao Phraya Sri Suriyawong was the most important figures in King Mongkut's court. He was well known as part of the new generation among the court officials. He was interested in Western learning in various fields, such as the sciences, engineering and steamship buildings. In *The Straits Times* (3 August 1861): [n.a.].

¹²⁶ ญัฐวุฒิ สุทธิสงคราม, สมเด็จพระเจ้าพระยาบรมมหาศรีสุริยวงศ์ (ช่วง บุนนาค), เล่ม 1, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3 (กรุงเทพฯ: สว่างสวรรค์ บั๊คส์, 2551), หน้า 207. และ Dr. Bradley reported in 'the chronicle of Dr. Bradley' that on 17 July 1861, Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong departed from Bangkok to Singapore and return to Bangkok on 19 August. In พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, จดหมายเหตุเสด็จประพาสต่างประเทศในรัชกาลที่ 5 เสด็จเมืองสิงคโปร์และเมืองเบตาเวีย ครั้งแรก และเสด็จประพาสอินเดีย กับจดหมายเหตุของหมอบรัดเลย์ (พิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ นาวาตรี หลวงสุนทรเสณี (ร้อยเอก อ้น อมาตยกุล): กรมศิลปากร, 2512), หน้า 99.

¹²⁷ *The Straits Times* (6 July 1861): 2.

¹²⁸ ปิยนาด บุนนาค, "แนวความคิดและบทบาททางการเมืองของสมเด็จพระเจ้าพระยาบรมมหาศรีสุริยวงศ์ (ช่วง บุนนาค) ตั้งแต่สมัยรัชกาลที่ 2 ถึงสมัยรัชกาลที่ 5," (วิทยานิพนธ์รัฐศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2523), หน้า 106-107.

could not travel beyond the realm. However, proceeding outside the capital city of the Siamese kings could be done.¹²⁹

Yet, the need to modernize Bangkok caused the king to recognize that the influence of modernity penetrated into the rest of the world. Therefore, the ancient custom should not prevent him from seeing the outside world beyond the kingdom. That is the reason why the king planned to visit Singapore in person after returning from Wa Koh. Unfortunately, after the king went to observe an eclipse of the sun, he contracted a serious illness and died shortly afterwards. However, his desire was accomplished by his son, King Chulalongkorn.

Soon after Prince Chulalongkorn ascended the throne, his practical education was provided by Chao Phraya Sri Suriyawong (Chuang Bunnag). The regent was to accomplish the wish of the former king. He prepared an overseas journey to nearby colonial cities for the young king. He also informed foreign consuls that the young king would learn administration by traveling to nearby colonial cities such as Singapore and Batavia. As a result, the first royal trip occurred in 1871, for which Imtip Pattajoti significantly mentioned that the royal journey of 1871 was a study tour.¹³⁰ The following year, the king visited British India. These visits were related to the implemental reforms in his period.¹³¹ At the beginning, he started with reform at the royal palace and then transformed Bangkok to be a model of modernity for the whole country, the details of which will be provided in Chapter 3.

¹²⁹ กุลทรัพย์ เกษแม่นกิจ, บุษหง ศรีกนก และพรภักธา สารประสพ, บรรณานิการ, แนวพระราชดำรินใการเสด็จประพาสในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2552), หน้า 1.

¹³⁰ Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, Journeys to Java by a Siamese King, Page IX.

¹³¹ Maurizio Peleggi, Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image, Page 31.

CHAPTER III

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN BANGKOK

By the nineteenth century, because of the extension of the Western world economy in Southeast Asia, European imperialism spread to this region under the names of liberal trade and Westernization. Under pressure from a change in the world system, the Siamese government under King Mongkut reestablished relations with the European countries by signing commercial treaties. From the 1850s onwards, Siam was connected with the Western world economy and a new standard of civilization. After signing the commercial treaties in the 1850s, the system of economy in Siam gradually changed from a self-sufficient economy to a full market economy. This change resulted from the fact that the function and form of Old Bangkok could not efficiently accommodate the new trade system. As well, Old Bangkok did not fit the new international standard, namely “*civilization and modernization*”. Bangkok needed to transform her function and form to become a civilized city, similar to Singapore and Batavia.

This chapter will explain the need for the transformation of Bangkok to become a civilized/modern city, from “*Old Bangkok*” to “*Modern Bangkok*”. With an awakening movement toward modernization in Siam, included the challenge of liberal trade, and under pressure of political threat from the West, the Siamese government under King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn modernized Siam, starting with Bangkok. This process was learned and was adopted from the nearby European-like cities, such as Singapore and Batavia, British and Dutch colonies, respectively.

3.1 Transforming Bangkok to be a “modern city”

Under pressure from Western colonization and the expansion of trading activities in Southeast Asia, the Siamese government under King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn adjusted Siam to fit a “*new international standard*”.* In particular, this action released the political tension between Siam and the colonizers.

However, in fact, Siam was never colonized because it never needed to be. Ross King supports Nicholas Tarling’s argument that the British colonial policy did not attend to Siam and Southeast Asia mainly, but their interests were Europe, China and India. In the case of Siam, the status of an independent Siam had a value as a buffer state between British interests in India, Burma and the Straits Settlements, and the French in Indochina.¹ Yet, it should not be denied that Siam under the reigns of King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn was under pressure resulting from the expanding political sphere of the West into her neighboring countries. This tension led to the reform of the administrative system in Siam during the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

However, especially in the case of transforming Bangkok, it can be noticed that the threat of the invasion of Western colonization was not the factor directly forcing the Siamese government under King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn to transform Bangkok.** On the other hand, the pressure of Western modernization and commercialization forced the Siamese government to recognize the need to transform Bangkok to fit the Western form.

* In other words, the value of architecture, culture and lifestyle standardized during the Victorian period.

¹ Ross King, Reading Bangkok, Page 43-44.

** By the nineteenth century, Bangkok was the heart of the economy of Siam. The new trade system, namely the Western world economy, resulted in the transformation of Bangkok at that time.

3.1.1 Old Bangkok

Bangkok was not a new town when King Taksin established a new centre at the mouth of the Chao Phraya River. In fact, this town had been a trading post since the Ayutthaya period. During the Ayutthaya period, Bangkok was known as the village of “*Ban Kok*” located near the mouth of the Chao Phraya River. Because of its strategic location, this village was established as a small fortress-town to protect the waterway leading to Ayutthaya and to collect tax from the merchants who sailed to Ayutthaya for trading. With the function of a customs post of Ayutthaya, this town was strengthened by building fortresses to protect against large ships and vessels passing up toward Ayutthaya.² In addition, there were several European factories situated around that area, such as the British Factory and the Dutch Factory (named locally as “*Bang Amsterdam*”)* and the Portuguese community. When King Prapetraja eliminated European influence and expelled the Europeans from Ayutthaya, the trade activities at Bangkok faded away.

However, after Ayutthaya collapsed in 1767, Bangkok-Thonburi became a strategic location again to protect against Burmese troops. Phraya Tak, who later ascended to the throne as King Taksin of Thonburi (1768-1782), made the decision to establish a fortified city as the new capital at Thonburi on the west bank of the Chao Phraya River. The main reasons to situate the new capital here was because of its strategic position, ready-fortified character, and its attractive location for trade.³

² สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ, *กรุงเทพฯ มาจากไหน?*, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2 (กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2548), หน้า 47-48.

* On Western maps, it is marked simply as “Amsterdam”. At first, this factory might have been built in wood. Later, it was built of brick, the remains of which can be seen on the bank of the Chao Phraya River, near Samut Prakarn, at the village of Bang Plakot. In Derick Garnier, *Ayutthaya: Venice of the East*, Page 87.

³ Doosadee Thaitakoo, *The Thai Heritage, Krung Rattanakosin as the Live-in Historic City Centre of Bangkok*, (Bangkok: Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Chulalongkorn University, 1992), Page 1-3.

After only 15 years as the capital, Chao Phraya Mahakasatsuk came to the throne as the first king of Chakri Dynasty, or King Rama I (1782 – 1809), and he moved the centre across the river to the east side in 1782. The reason was that the east side had the Chao Phraya River and the east bound canal as ready-made moats. Also, the vast fan shaped swampy area stretching out to the east was considered to be suitably good for expanding the city, cultivating rice, and serving as an obstacle for weakening invaders.⁴ To reintegrate a disordered state after the downfall to Burma and to restore the glory of old Ayutthaya, King Rama I duplicated the model of Ayutthaya, both in terms of city planning and cosmological ideology when constructing Bangkok.

Initially, Bangkok was constructed to be a moat-fortified city, similar in form and function to Ayutthaya. At the beginning of Bangkok's establishment, Siam was involved in frequent warfare, thus the main purpose was to defend the city from an invasion of enemies. As a warrior-king, King Rama I tried to prevent the new capital from attacks by Burmese troops and other kingdoms. Therefore, the king made the city plan of the new capital following "*Naga Nam Map*" in the Treatise on Warfare, which noted "...the best location for strategic military should be 'mountains were encircled by rivers'. But if there had no mountains, it could have only rivers. This is called 'Naga Nam'"⁵ That is the reason why King Rama I chose the east side of the Chao Phraya River, where the Grand Palace could be encircled by the river and moat canals. The king renovated the former palaces surrounding the Grand Palace at each strategic location of the town. This was aimed at protecting the Grand Palace from attacks.⁶ Constructing city moat canals was to defend the city, along with some short-cut canals for navigation,

⁴ Doosadee Thaitakoo, The Thai Heritage, Krung Rattanakosin as the Live-in Historic City Centre of Bangkok, Page 4.

⁵ แม่งน้อย ศักดิ์ศรี, ไชแสง สุขะวัฒน์ และสุสติ ทิพทัส, สถาปัตยกรรมพระบรมมหาราชวัง เล่ม 1 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักเลขาธิการ, 2531), หน้า 4. อ้างถึงใน อนันต์ วงษ์แก้ว, "การเปลี่ยนแปลงและการขยายตัวของกรุงเทพมหานคร ตั้งแต่รัชกาลที่ 1 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 4 พ.ศ.2325-2411," (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2545), หน้า 43-45.

⁶ อนันต์ วงษ์แก้ว, "การเปลี่ยนแปลงและการขยายตัวของกรุงเทพมหานคร ตั้งแต่รัชกาลที่ 1 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 4 พ.ศ.2325-2411," เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 43.

which followed the Ayutthaya tradition.⁷ Since Bangkok was established, the character of a moat-fortified city did not change significantly until Siam started to engage in the market economy from the reign of King Rama III.

Bangkok began to be an urban center noticeably during the reign of King Rama III (1824 – 1851). Under his reign, wars with neighbors did not threaten the political stability for the kingdom as in previous times.* As a result, foreign trade increased, particularly the Chinese junk trade. Because of an increase in royal income, many temples and other buildings were constructed at the king's command. The city spread widely, both inside and outside the city walls. In particular, the Chinese community to the southward along the Chao Phraya River might have been the first urban area of the town. This area was known as “*Sampheng*” – market for Chinese goods. Later, this area was connected with “*a modern commercial zone*” by constructing Charoen Krung Road during the reign of King Mongkut.⁸

Bangkok was initially founded with an image of the prosperity that existed during the Ayutthaya period. The city also represented the character of a sacred and aquatic city as Ayutthaya had been, even if not exactly the same.

3.1.1.1 Old Bangkok as a city of antiquity: a divine and aquatic city

As mentioned above, King Rama I made Ayutthaya a model for constructing Bangkok. Bangkok grew with a canal network as Ayutthaya had done. These canals were not for facilitating trade and transportation only, but they served as a place for social activity as well. For example, with respect to Mahanak Canal, the

⁷ Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical geography of the canal system in the Chao Phraya River Delta (Kyoto: The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1977), Page 40.

* Even though Siam had several wars with neighbors, such as Vietnam, Laos and Kedah, during the reign of King Rama III, the Siamese government did not seriously consider these wars as a political threat. The reason is that they did not invade Siam's territory.

⁸ Takashi Tomosugi, Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society (Japan: The Institute of Oriental Culture, the University of Tokyo, 1993), Page 33.

similarity in the layouts of Bangkok and Ayutthaya was evoked as mentioned in the Dynastic Chronicles of the First Reign:

*“The King ordered the excavation of a large canal to the north of Wat Sakae (Saket), named the Mahanak canal. This canal was excavated so that the city people could assemble, in boats, to perform music and to recite poetry as in the rainy season ceremony of the old capital, Ayutthaya”.*⁹

Many canals in Bangkok were constructed to contribute to navigation within the city. Importantly, King Rama I ordered the digging of Banglampoo Canal – Ong-Ang Canal to the east of the Kho Muang Doem Canal (Lawd Canal), which had been dug in the Thonburi Period, with the aim to extend the boundaries of the city.¹⁰ These canals created a moat-city and fortifications similar to Ayutthaya.* Additionally, constructing canals was not only for transportation and recreation, but they also aimed at drainage, as well as for military purposes.¹¹

Moreover, the king ordered to be built a city wall along the inside of the city moat canal and the Chao Phraya River. The bricks which were used for constructing the city wall were brought from Ayutthaya ruins and Thonburi fortresses.** The walls and the citadel were constructed and fortified constantly to strengthen the city. 14 fortresses

⁹เจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์มหาโกษาธิบดี, พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 1 ฉบับเจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์มหาโกษาธิบดี (กรุงเทพฯ: คณะสงฆ์วัดพระเชตุพนวิมลมังคลารามและมูลนิธิ “ทุนพระพุทธยอดฟ้า” ในพระบรมราชูปถัมภ์, 2552), หน้า 60.

¹⁰ Steve Van Beek, Bangkok Only Yesterday (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Publishing, 1982), Page 7.

* During the Ayutthaya and early Bangkok periods there were three other types of canal: the city moat, the short-cut, and the transverse canal. For the city moat, a canal was dug to facilitate communication between political and religious centers, markets and settlements, and was also used for domestic water supply in the dry season. In Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical geography of the canal system in the Chao Phraya River Delta, Page 33.

¹¹ Larry Sternstein, Portrait of Bangkok: Essays in honor of the bicentennial of the capital of Thailand (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), Page 11.

** The land which was encircled by the city wall was only recently called Rattanakosin Island. In Takashi Tomosugi, Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society, Page 3.

and canals encircled the city, a pattern that duplicated Ayutthaya; these fortresses were built to protect Bangkok from invaders. The name of some of the fortresses illustrates the traditional idea of cosmology. As being a sacred city, a cosmological idea was needed to provide spiritual authority to govern a state with peace. Each fortress was named for an event, a courageous animal, or a Hindu god. For example, Phra Sumen Fortress* was named for the mythical mountain which stands at the center of the universe. Mahakan Fortress, named for Phra Kan, the Hindu God of Death, referred to the horrible fate bound to befall any enemy attempting to breach the gate.¹² Nowadays, only two fortresses remained: Phra Sumen and Makakarn as historical monuments;¹³ the other fortresses were demolished during the reign of King Chulalongkorn aiming to construct new roads and renovate the landscape of Bangkok to be a land based city.¹⁴

When founding Bangkok, King Rama I orderly divided the physically space into three parts.¹⁵ The **first part**, now called “*Rattanakosin Island*”, was bounded on the west by the Chao Phraya River and on the east by a canal dug in 1771 by King Taksin as a defensive moat.** This was the place where the Grand Palace and other palaces were situated. To construct the new capital as a centre of divine power similar to Ayutthaya, the Grand Palace and the Royal Temple represented the centre of cosmic supreme power and worldly power. Therefore, the king ordered construction of the Grand Palace and the Royal Temple within the city walls as the centre of supreme power in the

* Phra Sumen Fortress was located on the most northern point of Rattanakosin Island and was duplicated from Phet Fortress in Ayutthaya. ใน สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ, *กรุงเทพฯ มาจากไหน?*, หน้า 120.

¹² Steve Van Beek, *Bangkok: Then and Now* (Nonthaburi: AB Publications, 1999), Page 30.

¹³ สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ, *กรุงเทพฯ มาจากไหน?*, หน้า 124.

¹⁴ กระทรวงนครบาล. “การสร้างและบูรณะทางคมนาคม” (สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, ม – ร. 5 น/91).

¹⁵ ปิยนาด บูณนาค, *ดวงพร นพคุณ และสุวัฒน์ ภาดานิติ, คลองในกรุงเทพฯ: ความเป็นมา การเปลี่ยนแปลงและผลกระทบ ต่อกรุงเทพฯ ในรอบ 200 ปี (พ.ศ.2325 – 2525)* (กรุงเทพฯ: จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2525), หน้า 23.

** This moat canal was called “Klong Khu Muang Derm (Old City Canal)” during the Ayutthaya and Thonburi periods; after 1782, the northern half was re-named Klong Rong Mai (Silk Factory Canal), and the southern half was called Klong Talat (Market Canal). By 1900, this canal was known by a third name, Klong Lawd (Tube Canal), although this name had originally applied to two smaller canals connecting Klong Lawd with Klong Rob Krung paralleling it to the east. In Steve Van Beek, *Bangkok: Then and Now*, Page 28.

Brahmanic cosmos; while, the sites of the Front Palace and other palaces for royal relatives were placed at strategic locations to protect the Grand Palace and the capital, with the spatial relationship of the Front Palace and other palaces with the Grand Palace placed after the pattern of Ayutthaya.¹⁶

Under traditional ideas, the site of a king's palace was the place where the micro cosmos was connected with the macro cosmos, and therefore, was the very centre of the world under the influence of the universe. According to an area of the Grand Palace, the inner part of the palace was a place where the king and his family resided. The outer part of the palace functioned as administrative offices. To the northwest of the Grand Palace, beyond a square named Sanam Sumen,^{*} later called Sanam Luang by King Mongkut, which was also a reflection of a cosmological idea, was situated the Front Palace. Its size was smaller, but its structure was similar as the Grand Palace. In addition, royal family member residences, or wang, were located in an area between the Khu Muang Derm Canal and the Chao Phraya River. High ranking nobles who worked for a king or royal families dwelled around there as well.

The second part, covering an area from Khu Muang Derm Canal further eastward to Rob Krung Canal (Ong-Ang Canal),^{**} was primarily a residential area for court officials and common people, including some wild and uncultivated areas. People mostly lived along the waterways, mainly the Chao Phraya River and the Khu Muang

¹⁶ Doosadee Thaitakoo, The Thai Heritage, Krung Rattanakosin as the Live-in Historic City Centre of Bangkok, Page 5. and Takashi Tomosugi, Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society, Page 3-4.

^{*} Sanam Sumen's principle purpose was as a cremation ground for royal funerals. During the 1830s, when Siam was threatened by Vietnamese armies poised to pour across the border, King Rama III ordered that Sanam Sumen be sown in rice seed to intimidate the enemy In Steve Van Beek, Bangkok Only Yesterday, Page 10.

^{**} After 1783, Klong Lawd was encompassed by Klong Rob Krung (Canal Encircling the City), itself comprising two segments. The northern portion was known as Klong Bangklampu and the southern expansion, Klong Ong Ang, which was paralleled by the continuation of Prasumane Road, Mahachai Road. The latter canal was dug by King Rama I as a defensive moat. Most of bricks were brought from ruined Ayutthaya. In *Ibid.*, Page 28-29.

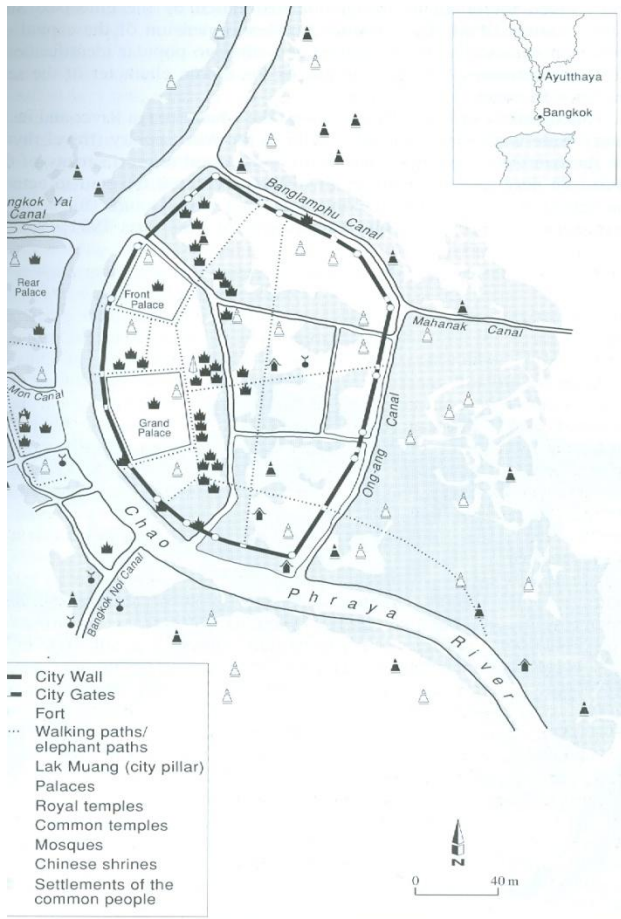
Derm Canal.¹⁷ In particular, the Siamese and Mons occupied floating houses and cultivated the orchards and rice fields which surrounded the small territorial nucleus settled by the elite.¹⁸

Lastly, **the third part** was an area beyond Rob Krung Canal. This part was an area situated outside the city walls. This area was composed of the west side of Chao Phraya River, or the inner section of former Thonburi city, and beyond the city wall eastward of the river. Mostly nobles and officials situated their compound-houses on the west side of river and some people also inhabited there. The area outside the city wall beyond Rattanakosin Island was cultivated and buffalo fields to produce food for the people in the city.¹⁹ In addition, each part was encircled by a fortified canal for a natural protection purpose, except the last part.

¹⁷ Takashi Tomosugi, Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society, Page 10-11.

¹⁸ Marc Askew, Bangkok: Place and Representation, Page 20-22.

¹⁹ สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ, กรุงเทพฯ มาจากไหน?, หน้า 128.



Map 1: Map of Bangkok during the early Bangkok period. This map shows the character of a moat-fortified city encircling by Ku Muang Derm Canal and Banglamphu-Ong Ang Canals.

Source: วาศี บุรุษรัตนพันธุ์ และปิยะพันธ์
 จำรอย, บรรณานิกการ, แผนที่ชุมชนกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักผังเมือง กรุงเทพมหานคร, 2547), หน้า 3.

As mentioned above, it can be seen that a city planned the traditional way focused on a system of defense surrounding the royal compound in an urban settlement. Evidence of this is the fortresses and city walls. Also, this system organized the settlements of dwellers in the city based on social relations rather than space in term of function (i.e., business zone, residential area, green area). Traditionally, a dense population gathered around centers of political and economic power within a loosely knit community. As Anthony Reid has indicated, the general Southeast Asian city was characterized “*by the marking of power on the basis of control over social relations*”.²⁰

²⁰ Imran bin Tajudeen, “Reading the Traditional City of Maritime Asia: Reconstructing the 19th century Port Town at Gelam-Rochor-Kallang, Singapore,” Journal of Southeast Asian Architecture, 8 (2005): 2.

Similar to the custom in Ayutthaya, foreign nationals were allotted an area scattered to the north and south along the Chao Phraya River and within the city, mostly Chinese and Portuguese. On the east side of the Chao Phraya River, within the city wall, was Ban Tanao comprising Mons who had come from Tenasserim, Burma.²¹ A Khmer community was situated along the Ong-Ang Canal,* the Chinese were at Sampheang, Malay Muslim who had arrived from Makassar, Indonesia were along the Mahanak Canal, Khmer and Vietnam were at Samsen, called Ban Yuan (Vietnamese). To the southwest was Ban Tawai, named for the Burmese timber merchants originally from Tavoy, Burma.²² On the west side of the river, there were many ethnic communities located along the river and canals, for example, Portuguese descendants and Chinese from Ayutthaya were at Kuthi Chin, Lao at Ban Chang Lo, Mon along the Mon Canal and the Bang Luang Canal, Muslim Shiah at Tonson Canal, Muslim Sunni along the Bangkok Yai Canal and Vietnamese at Mong Chieng Lu.²³ Non-Siamese ethnic groups occupied a great part of the population of Bangkok at that time, particularly Chinese. These ethnic groups were divided by a social division of labor; for example, Laos for foundry, Mon for pottery, Chinese for commerce, etc. The development of the social division of labor naturally promoted economic exchanges of their products at local and national levels.

For example, the Chinese, the major ethnic group in Bangkok, migrated to here in great numbers during the early Bangkok period because of the need for Chinese laborers in Bangkok and the flourishing Chinese junk trade. They were allotted an area to the south of city, later called *Sampheang*, for their residence and commercial activities. Because of the role of the trading activities of the Chinese, Sampheang is the oldest commercial zone in Bangkok, where Chinese goods and foreign products have been sold. Here, junks anchored in rows at piers on the Chao Phraya River and warehouses along

²¹ Steve Van Beek, *Bangkok Only Yesterday*, Page 10-11.

* The former area of the Khmer royalty occupied Ban Dokmai and Ban Baat, which became known as Ban Kamain (village of Cambodians). In *Ibid.*, Page 11.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Takashi Tomosugi, *Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society*. Page 13-14.

the river. In consequence of their prosperity, Chinese-styled houses at Sampheang and neighboring areas stood so close together that they resembled a south China town landscapes.* Moreover, Sampheang prospered by trading with foreign countries. Therefore, Sampheang was very noticeable for enjoying a different world from daily life, where there were only paddy lands and vegetable gardens on the northern and eastern areas beyond the city walls.

With the flourishing of trade and the growth of population, Bangkok expanded again during the early years of King Mongkut's reign. The Padung Krung Kasem Canal was constructed by command of the king to expand the city as in the former time, as well as to keep the city from attack by the enemy. As a result, the area of Bangkok roughly doubled to provide for the growth of the population. As the king mentioned in the Chronicles of King Rama IV (King Mongkut):

*“The previous three kings ordered canals to be excavated for the people's benefit. In these days, as the nation has attained prosperity and the population of the capital has increased greatly, the city area should be expanded. The population of common people has become much larger. Houses and residences of officials and common people are mostly outside the city area”.*²⁴

This canal was the last city moat canal of Bangkok. After the reign of King Mongkut there were almost no wars with the nearby kingdoms of Siam. Instead, Siam was significantly challenged by the European powers in the mid-nineteenth century as

* “Sampheang” was settled beyond the city walls through the Han Bridge until Pathum Khongka Temple. Most habitants were Chinese who settled in Bangkok from the Ayutthaya period. This area was developed to be the most prosperous commercial area and a dominant centre of trade in Siam. In Takashi Tomosugi, Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society, Page 16-17.

²⁴เจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์มหาโกษาธิบดี, พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 4, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 6 (กรุงเทพฯ: อัมรินทร์พรินติ้งและพับลิชชิ่ง, 2548), หน้า 67-68.

these European countries were more powerful in military and technology. Certainly, the ancient city wall and fortress were unable to protect the city from attack, both in terms of military and modernity.²⁵

Noticeably, Padung Krung Kasem Canal had no walls along the canal as the former kings had constructed, although several fortresses were built along the canal to protect against attack from nearby kingdoms that might occur.²⁶ When Bangkok joined the modern world with the liberalization of trade, this canal became a main waterway for transportation and commerce, not for military purposes anymore. Furthermore, with the growth of the commercial city, almost all the ancient fortresses were demolished in order to extend the road network within the city, particularly during the reign of King Chulalongkorn.²⁷ With the arrival of liberalization of trade and modernity, Bangkok needed to change from a moat-fortified and sacred city with the Grand Palace as a centre of the universe, to a commercial city, interested in foreign trade with European powers.

Not only was Bangkok a sacred city, but it was an aquatic city like other ancient cities in Siam. In the past, canals were the most important functions for developing the cities in Siam, such as Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, and Phitsanulok. Generally, canals were used for transportation and military operation, making the water system the heart of economic and social life of inhabitants in these cities. Not surprisingly, most of the communities were situated along the river, rather than in the hinterland, because it was more convenient and comfortable.

In terms of physical geography, Bangkok and the cities in the central region are in the lower delta of the Chao Phraya River and in a flood area. There are many rivers, with their branches flowing down through to the Gulf of Thailand. As a result, being in a flood area means the land is fertile and good for cultivating rice. Being a

²⁵ ปิยนาด บุนนาค, ดวงพร นพคุณ และสุวิวัฒนา ธาดานิติ, คลองในกรุงเทพฯ: ความเป็นมา การเปลี่ยนแปลงและผลกระทบ ต่อกรุงเทพฯ ในรอบ 200 ปี (พ.ศ.2325 – 2525), หน้า 28-29.

²⁶ สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ, กรุงเทพฯ มาจากไหน?, หน้า 163.

²⁷ ปิยนาด บุนนาค, ดวงพร นพคุณ และสุวิวัฒนา ธาดานิติ, คลองในกรุงเทพฯ: ความเป็นมา การเปลี่ยนแปลงและผลกระทบ ต่อกรุงเทพฯ ในรอบ 200 ปี (พ.ศ.2325 – 2525), หน้า 39.

commercial post and checking point before sailing to Ayutthaya, a number of canals in Bangkok were dug under the command of Ayutthaya kings for the transport of products and for military affairs, rather than for irrigation. Later, when Bangkok became the new capital of Siam, the function and form of the canals still remained the same as during the Ayutthaya time. As a center of administration and commerce, not surprisingly, the physical growth of Bangkok was considerably influenced by canals, both city moat canals and short-cut canals.²⁸ Many newly dug canals linked the water transportation system and supported trading activities in Bangkok. Additionally, many canals and dikes were built to keep sea water out of agricultural areas, and also as highways to assist tax collection or military operations, such as the Saensaep Canal. Other canals were dug or repaired to facilitate the flow of tax revenues to Bangkok. It should be noted that these canal projects were achieved because of wage-Chinese laborers.²⁹

Since the waterways were the main transportation route within Bangkok, many settlements were located along the river and canals. The general scenery in Bangkok at that time was that of floating houses facing the waterways and people paddling their boats to go out anywhere as there were no good roads in the city. Bangkok was a floating city as represented by the Westerners who visited Bangkok during that time. They described the scenery of Bangkok stunningly as:

“...numerous temples roofed by glazed tiles look sparkling in the sun and it makes the capital of Siam really a great city. On each side of the river, there are houses floating on the water on thick bamboo rafts in rows of 8, 9, or 10. The river presented a busy scene for number of boats, a row of Chinese junks and

²⁸ Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical geography of the canal system in the Chao Phraya River Delta, Page 40.

²⁹ Nidhi Aeusrivongse, Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok, Page 89-90.

*native vessels. Neither roads nor wheel carriages are there. In boats, people can go easily to almost every place”.*³⁰

These boats and floating houses served as residence, shop and vehicle for casual travel and to transport goods for the comfort of those living in the aquatic city. In addition, the scene of floating houses became the most remarkable aspect of the city. When John Crawford and his companion, Finlayson, came to Bangkok in 1821 for the purpose of trade negotiation with the Siamese court, they expressed their impression of the scenery of aquatic Bangkok as follows:

“The face of the river presented a busy scene, from the number of boats and canoes of every size and description which were passing to and fro. The number of these struck us as very great at the time, for we were not aware that that there are few or no roads in Bangkok, and that river and canals form the common highways, not only for goods, but for passengers of every description”.(**John Crawford**)³¹

“The city is continuous with the palace, extending on both sides of the river to the distance of three or four miles; it lies principally on the left bank... The town is built entirely of wood, the palaces of the king, the temples and the houses of a few chiefs being alone constructed of brick or mud walls...The few streets that Bangkok boasts are passable on foot only in dry weather: the principal shops, however, and the most valuable merchandise are found along the river in the floating houses.

³⁰ Doosadee Thaitakoo, The Thai Heritage, Krung Rattanakosin as the Live-in Historic City Centre of Bangkok, Page 7.

³¹ John Crawford, Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China, Page 79.

*These floating houses are occupied almost exclusively by Chinese". (Finlayson)*³²

When Sir John Bowring came to Bangkok in 1855, Bangkok had not significantly changed from the early period. He pointed out that since the city was in a flood area, during the rainy season Bangkok was flooded by water from the north. As well, it was difficult to travel during the dry season as many canals and creeks were shallow and the people could not travel to any place by boat. There were no good roads for transport in Bangkok at that time.³³

It can be noticed from these records, these Westerners admired the beautiful oriental scene of Bangkok as an aquatic city. They might think that the transportation by the water ways in the city was very convenient. While at the same time, they might be curious why no good roads existed in Bangkok. The latter comment might illustrate the “*uncivilized*” view of Bangkok in the sight of the Westerners in the nineteenth century because most of them commented about this matter in their records.

Prior to the year 1861,* there were no good public roads existing in Bangkok, particularly, outside the royal palace compound. Only around the royal palace, were there brick-paved roads. Additionally, these roads were not in daily common use as the primary purpose of the roads was for palace beautification, royal ceremonies, and to help the king to undertake personal meetings and public administration. Most of road construction, therefore, was within the royal palace compounds or in the areas adjacent to the palace.³⁴ Roadways for common use were described by the Westerners (1830s) as “*streets in Bangkok are narrow, dirty and muddy*”.³⁵

³² Michael Smithies, *Old Bangkok* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), Page 35.

³³ เซอร์จอห์น เบลูริง, *ราชอาณาจักรสยามและราชรัฐสยาม*, เล่ม 1, แปลโดย กัณฐิกา ศรีอุดม, ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ, บรรณาธิการ (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547), หน้า 359-360.

* The important events that occurred in this year, a turning point of modern Bangkok, were constructing New Road and the first visit to Singapore of Siamese high-ranking officials.

³⁴ Porphant Ouyyanont, “Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925,” Page 441.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

Being an aquatic city, the social life and trading activities of common people in Bangkok were mainly conducted along the waterways. Hence, the waterways were essential for the transportation of people and goods to the markets. Every early morning, vendors brought food stuffs and paddled a small boat to the markets, mostly located at convenient places for transportation, such as the junctions and intersections on the water routes.³⁶ The atmosphere of living along the river and canals was depicted vividly in the *niras* poetry (travel rhymes) and in some memoirs of foreign travelers during that time. E-Ngao, composed by King Rama II, described “*the lively scenery of a floating market at Lawd Canal*”:

*“When looking at the far sight of Klong Lawd full of water, there are a lot of boats going up and down along the stream of the canal, while a bulk of rafts float along the front of the city’s pier. The local vendors put up their goods for selling, including colored silks”.*³⁷

Other well known “*niras*” was composed by Sunthon Phu, a leading poet during the reign of King Rama II, which described the crowded floating markets with a lot of foreign traders and local vendors shouting louder to attract buyers along the main canals, such as Bangkok Noi Canal and Bangkok Yai Canal. Also, he described the features of different villages devoted to activities as varied as shrimp-paste making and bowl manufacture.³⁸ It can be seen that the economy at that time was mainly to provide for the local market. Thus, the floating markets were prosperous, especially at waterway

³⁶ Takashi Tomosugi, Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society, Page 13-14.

³⁷ หอสมุดแห่งชาติ, พระราชนิพนธ์ รัชกาลที่ 2, อิเหนา (พระนคร: โรงพิมพ์ประจำมหาวิทยาลัย, 2510), หน้า 5. อ้างถึงใน ปิยนาด บุนนาค, ดวงพร นพคุณ และสุวิวัฒนา ธาดานิติ, คลองในกรุงเทพฯ: ความเป็นมา การเปลี่ยนแปลงและผลกระทบต่อกรุงเทพฯ ในรอบ 200 ปี (พ.ศ.2325 – 2525), หน้า 37.

³⁸ ปิยนาด บุนนาค, ดวงพร นพคุณ และสุวิวัฒนา ธาดานิติ, คลองในกรุงเทพฯ: ความเป็นมา การเปลี่ยนแปลงและผลกระทบต่อกรุงเทพฯ ในรอบ 200 ปี (พ.ศ.2325 – 2525), หน้า 49-50.

junctions, such as Pak Klong Market and Mahanak Market, and they handled goods from one boat to another. Shopping for necessities of everyday life was done on water by boat.

Markets on land developed, particularly along streets and sections that were associated with trade. These communities were producers of the utensils for market. For example, there were some markets along the Bang Lampoo-Ong Ang Canal, such as Bang Lampoo for a small boats, Ban Phanthom for niello ware, Ban Bat for a iron-bowls for monk's alms-giving, Ban Dokmai for artificial flowers for religious occasions and Ban Mo for earthen pottery.³⁹ These communities were both residences and household industries. Most products were used in daily life and religion, so they were produced mainly for the local market, not for export. Similar to the earlier capital of Ayutthaya, Bangkok was not only an international trading mart, but also a space of small-scale craft production and economic transactions on numerous markets in which common people traded.⁴⁰ Not surprisingly, this enabled Bangkok to survive on a material dimension, and, moreover, to cope with the introduction of the market economy from abroad during King Mongkut's reign.⁴¹

In conclusion, from the time Bangkok was established, the city had Ayutthaya as its model, with both form and function duplicated from Ayutthaya, even if not exactly the same. Because of the threats of wars, at first the function of Bangkok was aimed at a military purpose, thus, city walls with fortresses were constructed to strengthen the city and protect people from invaders. In addition, constructing canals contributed to the defense of the capital and for navigation.⁴² As a result of constructing canal linkages within the city, Bangkok had the character of an aquatic city, or a floating city.

³⁹ Takashi Tomosugi, Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society, Page 15.

⁴⁰ Marc Askew, Bangkok: Place and Representation, Page 22-23.

⁴¹ Takashi Tomosugi, Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society, Page 15.

⁴² Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical Geography of the Canal System in the Chao Phraya Delta from the Ayutthaya Period to the Fourth Reign of the Ratanakosin Dynasty, Page 15-21.

Bangkok was also a divine city, similar to Ayutthaya. Bangkok was founded to be the centre of spiritual and worldly power. The Grand Palace and royal palaces, surrounded by fortresses and city walls, became a symbol of supreme power. However, after Siam became engaged to the European world economy, the fortified city surrounded by city walls and fortresses became less meaningful. Significantly, during the reign of King Mongkut, when Bangkok flourished and was peaceful, only a few fortresses were constructed encircling the new boundary without city walls. To respond to the growth of foreign trade after the Bowring Treaty, a number of transverse canals for water transportation between the nearby towns and Bangkok were dug under the king's command, not for military purposes anymore.

After signing the Bowring Treaty, the Siamese government needed a magnificent transformation to enable Bangkok to facilitate the new world trade system efficiently. In particular, a good network of modern transportation and communication was required to connect with the world market. In addition, a modern trend which standardized Western culture became the new social lifestyle of inhabitants in Bangkok.

A modern port city should be an internationally complex city, unlike a sacred city in the ancient time. That is why Bangkok needed to become a place for collecting and transshipping products efficiently. Additionally, Bangkok had to provide good infrastructure, such as land transportation, and a good shipment and communication network to facilitate the trading activities and provide for the comfort of foreigners, particularly Europeans, in the city. For example, a road system was initially constructed in the 1860s, and gradually increased parallel to the water ways. Moreover, public services, such as clubs, hotels, restaurants, department stores, post offices, electricity and public transportation, were provided to improve the living standard of the inhabitants.

With the expansion of the Western influential sphere, both trade and culture, during the middle of the nineteenth century, the Siamese elite were challenged to recognize a need to modernizing Siam to become a truly civilized nation. This is because Bangkok, in the old traditional function and form, could not fit a "*modern and*

international standard” in the new world system, and, thus, the transformation of Bangkok was urgently undertaken during that period.

3.1.2 Modern Bangkok

“From the palace to the southern stretches the New Road, the oldest of the roads built outside the city. Formerly an elephant track running parallel to the river, along the backs of the houses which faced the river, it now passes through a densely populated quarter and is the busiest road in the town. Lined on both sides by shops for some three miles, it is traversed by electric trams which follow one another every few minutes, while carriages, jinrikishas, bullock carts, and native omnibuses pass in perpetual stream...The river is hardly less crowded than the New Road. Both sides for miles above and below the palace are lined by floating houses, stream are anchored the ocean-going steamers flying the flags of many nation, sailing boats loading teak for the European and American markets, whilst in and out and from shore to shore scurry steam launches of every sort and shape. With the tide, huge rice-boats bring the harvest to the rice-mills, and rafts of teak logs, which may have been years on their journey from the north, follow a puffing launch which has picked them up above the city to tow them to the mill”.

■ A. Cecil, Carter, *The Kingdom of Siam, 1904**

The description above illustrates a picture of the newly modernized Bangkok as seen in the 1900s. These changes resulted from joining global modernity through liberalization of trade occupied by the European powers after the Bowring Treaty

* A. Cecil Carter was a Secretary-General of the Siamese Royal Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and a long-time resident of Bangkok. In Steve Van Beek, Bangkok: Then and Now, Page 15.

was concluded. In approximately half a century, Bangkok had gradually changed from an antiquity city to “*Bangkok Modern*”. Surrounded with the threat of liberalization of trade and colonization, Siam was able to adjust herself to the new global trend. To understand this change, the world context and its pressure on Siam first should be understood.

3.1.2.1 Needs of transforming Bangkok to become a “modern city”

In light of the negotiation of diplomatic and commercial treaties with the Western countries, Siam became engaged to the world economic system. In fact, but not officially, Bangkok had initially engaged in the market economy and the Western world economy since the reign of King Rama III. After the mid-nineteenth century, Bangkok and her role in world trade was more complex, more globally connected and more crowded. This is the reason why Bangkok needed to transform to become a modern city and fit an international standard.

By the nineteenth century, Siam started to engage in the new world economy, forsaking the Chinese economy to embrace the European economy. Formerly, because of the tributary relationship with China, Siam had been a vital trade partner and a regional market for Chinese goods. The royal junk trade could produce additional income to support annual stipends to the ruling class and for governmental affairs.

Yet, later, the expansion of production significantly increased the shipping business to the advantage of private local and international traders. As a result, under King Rama II the royal junk trade was at a disadvantage because the royal trade could not compete with the expansion of private enterprises. With his experience in the royal junk trade under his father’s reign, King Rama III agreed that the junk trade should be conducted by the Chinese, with the royal court gaining additional income from tax farming instead.* As a result of this policy, the royal court was able to reduce the risk of

* During the reign of King Rama III, 38 new tax farms were established. These new tax farms could be divided into three categories: newly produced export goods, such as sugar, pepper, tobacco and

investment and competition with private traders, such as the Chinese. Thus, when the king ascended the throne, on that day he announced he would not be a king-merchant and maintain monopolies; rather he would permit free trade which meant abolishment of the monopolistic role of the Royal Warehouse.⁴³ Additionally, the government allowed goods to be freely bought and sold under the conditions of the government. However, mostly the Chinese were given this privilege, not the Europeans.

At this time, the demand of mono-crops, such as coffee, sugarcane and cotton, significantly increased in the world market, making labor-produced goods for trade in Siam quite prosperous. Siam began to produce agricultural items and export them to the markets. To respond to demand in the world market, the need for laborers for production increased. Yet, during that period, most Siamese laborers were under a manpower control system, namely the *corvée* system. As a result, the demand for Chinese laborers increased.

Siam and other states in Southeast Asia became a major destination for the migration of Chinese people. One reason was that the political and economic crisis that occurred in China during the early part of the nineteenth century pushed Chinese people to immigrate to many places in Southeast Asia as waged-laborers. Siam became one destination because of its prosperous land and accommodating policy, under which the Siamese government gave privilege to the Chinese, motivating them to work in Siam. For example, the Chinese had no need to spend time working for the Siamese government as did the Siamese laborers under the *corvée* system, but they had to pay a tax to earn the right to work in Siam; they also gained permission to travel everywhere in Siam. Accordingly, an influx of Chinese laborers moved to Siam to work as waged-laborers for public works, plantations and mining. Not surprisingly, the Chinese, including Chinese newcomers and Sino-Siamese who had settled in many big cities in Siam, became the biggest ethnic group among the population in Bangkok at that time.

cotton; the former export monopolies, such as ivory, sapan wood, and red wood; tax from the Chinese immigrants. In Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism, Page 44-45.

⁴³ Ibid., Page 43.

The Chinese in the urban areas mainly operated in the commercial sectors, particularly in Bangkok. Not only did they meet the heavy demand for labor for the government's public works, but they also developed a commercial economy in place of the Siamese corvée peasants. It could be said that these Chinese supported the liberalization of trade when it arrived in Siam in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ With an increase in Chinese immigrants at that time, the population in Bangkok expanded and grew rapidly.* During this same period, Europeans were fewer in number, with just some Portuguese, American missionaries, and a few sailors and traders, a group that would become more powerful in the economy and politics of Siam, along with Western culture, which would become the new standard of civilization in Siam, as with the rest of the world.

Because of the growth of junk trade activities being mostly conducted by the Chinese, Bangkok became an outlet in Southeast Asia. Moreover, booming revenues allowed the court to expand infrastructure projects, support more officials, and broaden religious patronage. As a result, the economy expanded significantly by the early 1820s; Bangkok's shipping was five times greater than that of Rangoon and twice that of Vietnamese ports.⁴⁵ In addition, Bangkok became more global by connecting to the Western world economy through trading with Singapore during the reign of King Rama III.

Furthermore, trade brought prosperity and well-being to Bangkok. As Nidhi Eosewong pointed out in his book, Pen and Sail, foreign trade brought merchants and foreigners into the town, as well as strange new ideas and artistic forms. Bangkok

⁴⁴ Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical Geography of the Canal System in the Chao Phraya Delta from the Ayutthaya Period to the Fourth Reign of the Ratanakosin Dynasty, Page 49.

* D.E. Malloch estimated that Bangkok in 1839 had a population of around 160,000. Among these inhabitants, more than 70 percent were Chinese. By 1855, the city had grown to 300,000 people, which required a more efficient network for travel. In Steve Van Beek, Bangkok Only Yesterday, Page 12

⁴⁵ Victor Lieberman, Strange Parallels Southeast Asia in Global Context, c.800-1830, Vol.1: Integration on the Mainland, Page 309.

was lively, full of novelty and a dynamism of commerce.⁴⁶ Similarly, Bishop Pallegoix described the picture of Bangkok as a commercial and international city at that time:

*“Two rows of several thousands of shops float on rafts stretching out in front of us following the winding of a majestic river, crisscrossed in all directions by thousands of boats, mostly very elegant. The fortress, white as snow, the city, the gilded spire of the palace with its quadruple stacked up façade, the variety of edifices in Indian, Chinese and European styles, the singular dress of various nations, the sound of musical instruments, the chants of comedies, the movement and life animating this great city, all this is for strangers a spectacle which elicits a pleasant surprise”.*⁴⁷

Through the pre-Bowring Treaty period, Siam and Bangkok had never changed its function and form. When Siam initially engaged in the market economy, this change did not have much impact on the character of Old Bangkok. Both physical landscape and the way of life remained nearly the same as during its early establishment. Yet, after signing the commercial treaties with the Western countries in the 1850s, the characteristic of being a commercial city grew rapidly. These treaties broke the barrier of trade in Siam and let the Europeans expanded their trade freely. Their arrival challenged uncivilized nations, referring to non-Christian and non-European nations, to adopt “Westernization”, or “Civilization”. This challenge became the new standard in the modern world. Thus, Bangkok in its old function and form did not fit this new standard as influenced by Western cultures. If the government wanted to modernize Siam to fit this new standard, they needed to transform Bangkok to be similar to a European-like city.

⁴⁶ Nidhi Aeusrivongse, Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok, Page 104-105.

⁴⁷ Monsignor Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, Description of the Thai Kingdom or Siam: Thailand under King Mongkut, by Walter E.J. Tips (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2000), Page 30.

Noticeably, from the 1860s onward, a number of construction projects were launched to enable Bangkok to support the growth of the more complex function of the market economy. The most significant change was transforming the character of Bangkok under road and building construction. Dr. Bradley, the American Presbyterian missionary who started Bangkok's first printing press, expressed his opinion in his own publication in December 1866 that Bangkok needed better roads if Siam was to be released from being an undeveloped city and join the ranks of the capitals of the "civilized world".⁴⁸ In fact, King Mongkut, who well understood the change of the world powers, seriously wanted to modernize Siam from being a semi-barbarian place to become a truly civilized nation. Therefore, it could be said that "*Bangkok Modern*" was initially launched under his reign.

Under the pressure of the modern global trend, the king wanted to transform Old Bangkok to become a European-like city by duplicating the nearby European-like city, Singapore. King Chulalongkorn followed his father's policy by modernizing Bangkok through his eyes by visiting Singapore, Java and other Asian colonial cities in the early years of his reign. Noticeably, throughout the reigns of King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn, Bangkok changed gradually from an old city to become a modern city.

3.1.2.2 Function/Character of Modern Bangkok

"(the end of the nineteenth century) During the last thirty years the colonialists with mercantile enterprise have established godowns (warehouses), shipping houses, and wharves at the southern end of the city. The commercial zone spread southwards along the New Road from the palace walls to the east bank, which was the major commercial and banking area. Meanwhile, the pattern of land use in the city divided into two parts; first is the royal enclosure including the Grand Palace compound, the main government offices, the law courts, the royal palace and the principal Buddhist

⁴⁸ Charnvit Kasetsiri, Siam/Civilization – Thailand/Globalization: Things to Come, Page 3.

*temples; second is the area of residence of ordinary people, living on rows of floating houses along the canals, and the commercial city like Sampheang and New Road occupied by Chinese and European, respectively. Surrounding the whole of the area was a market-gardening zone”.*⁴⁹

▪ T.G. McGee

From the beginning of modernization, a number of modern infrastructures were introduced to facilitate trade and to provide comfort for the new social life in Bangkok. However, these did not produce an immediate change, particularly the change from a water to a land based city. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Bangkok retained the character of an aquatic city. As Henri Mouhot wrote (1864), “*Bangkok is the Venice of the East and whether bent on business or pleasure you must go by water*”.⁵⁰ At this time, the waterways were the main transportation and social space of inhabitants in Bangkok, while the number of roads increased gradually to increase the capacity of the land transportation and accommodate new residential areas for new inhabitants in the city.

- *waterways and land based city*

The growth of Bangkok in the second half of the nineteenth century paralleled that of other colonial port cities in the region, including Batavia and Singapore, since it reflected the expansion of the Western world economy as much as the dynasty’s designs. At this time, Bangkok began to expand beyond the city walls because of an increase in economic activities resulting from the commercial treaties. The liberalization of trade under the terms of the Bowring Treaty in 1855 afforded an opportunity for the development of the national economy of Siam by opened the door for the market economy on the basis of the treaty in the following period. For Bangkok itself, the

⁴⁹ T.G. McGee, The Southeast Asian City: a Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia, Page 73-74.

⁵⁰ Michael Smithies, Old Bangkok, Page 38-39.

character of the city was changed to support foreign trade in new terms. Bangkok gradually transformed from a military moat-fortified city, with the royal palace as a center of divine power, to an international port city, more complex and global. The city planning of Bangkok, however, developed before the political and economic impact of Western colonial powers was felt.

As a result of growth of the market economy, the population in Bangkok, mainly immigrants, increased significantly and expansion of the city area through the excavation of an outer city moat was needed. Traditionally, to extend the area of the city, the kings would order a canal to be dug encircling the city, and build forts with city walls along the canal to prevent an enemy invasion. People who settled around there could utilize the water way for transportation and agriculture. In 1852-1853, Padung Krung Kasem Canal was dug caused the area of Bangkok to double at once. The extended land encircled by this canal and the Chao Phraya River included Sampheang and Saket Temple. At that time, fortresses were built, but without walls encircling the city in order to develop the land mainly for commerce.

During that period, the liberalization of trade and political pressure from European powers challenged the Siamese government under King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn. Fortunately for Siam, King Mongkut established diplomatic and commercial relations with the West. These treaties gave “*Extraterritoriality*” rights to Europeans and their subjects who lived in Siam. As the number of European and their subjects in Bangkok increased, the king allotted an area to the southward along the river to these Westerners, which later became “*a European district*” in Bangkok. From that point, Bangkok joined the global modernity and eventually changed its function from a scared and fortress city to a commercial (global) city.

The arrival of Westerners after the 1850s had an impact on the transformation of Bangkok. These Westerners often requested that the Siamese government adjust the new residential areas and business zones in Bangkok, especially calling for road construction for transport and horse-carriage riding. For example, the Western trading companies that occupied the east bank of the Chao Phraya River wanted

to move far to the south because their ships took a long time from the mouth of the river to anchor at the piers in Bangkok. Also, they often quarreled with the Chinese at Kok Krabue (Buffalo field) and Sampheang. Therefore, they and their consuls requested that the government excavate a shortcut canal from Bang Na district to the Padung Krung Kasem Canal.⁵¹ At first, King Mongkut denied their requests because digging a shortcut canal at Bang Na might create a problem for water management. If they would dig a canal there, there would not be enough plain water for drinking and the canal might allow sea water to flow into Bangkok. However, these foreigners wrote another letter to ensure the Siamese government that they could solve these problems.* Thus, to avoid conflict with the foreigners, King Mongkut ordered Chao Phraya Tippakornwong (Kham Bunnag) to excavate the Thanon Trong Canal, and also the construction of a road along its north bank, which later became Rama IV Road. This was the first case of large-scale road construction in response to a foreign claim. However, after the canal construction was complete, the foreigners did not move to the south as they promised, but remained where they were.

Another important case was when the Westerners put pressure on the government to construct a road system in the capital to facilitate their trade and provide comfort for their life. By 1861, the Western consuls complained of ill health because there were no roads for their horse-drawn coaches as in other civilized cities, and put pressure on the government to construct a road system in the capital. Under this pressure, the king decided to initiate construction on a large scale of a road system, including Charoen Krung Road (Prosper the City) – “*New Road*”. At the beginning, road construction was typically undertaken in parallel with canal excavation. As a result, the

⁵¹ Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical Geography of the Canal System in the Chao Phraya Delta from the Ayutthaya Period to the Fourth Reign of the Ratanakosin Dynasty, Page 23-24.

* An interesting point is that they would solve the problem of a lack of plain water by constructing buildings that could collect water from the roof when it was raining following the Singapore design. ในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, จดหมายเหตุรัชกาลที่ 4 จ.ศ. 1224 เลขที่ 131, “เรื่อง พระราชกระแสว่าด้วย ชาวต่างชาติที่ตั้งบ้านเรือนอยู่ที่ลำเพ็ญและคอกกระบือ”.

landscape of Old Bangkok, which had consisted of city moats and a complicated network of canals, underwent a marked change with colonial buildings.⁵²

Although the Siamese government attempted to provide a road system for commercial areas in Bangkok as the foreigners requested, waterways still strongly dominated transportation within the city. Not surprisingly, the canals retained their function as a facility for developing the market economy until the late the nineteenth century. Generally, canals linked various regions of Bangkok and linked Bangkok with nearby agricultural areas.*

To promote trading activities in Bangkok, King Mongkut had begun to construct a transportation system, including improving the canal network to facilitate trade. At first, canals were dug under the king's command to link Bangkok and the central hinterland, occupied by plantation and agricultural areas. These canals also contributed to the growth of Bangkok as there was a close link between the canals and foreign trade.⁵³ For example, the principal canals dug since the 1850s onwards were: Padung Krung Kasem (1851), Hualumpong or Thanon Trong (1856/57), Phasri Charoen (1864), Prem Prachakorn (1870-72), Nakhon Nuang Khet (1876), Tawee Wattana (1878), Pravet Burirom (1878).⁵⁴ By the 1860s, the canals prompted further expansion of the city eastward. The Chao Phraya River was a major route of transportation linking Bangkok and the provinces to transport agriculture products to harbor in Bangkok. Digging canals caused Bangkok to expand gradually; in particular, the city was extended to the north when the Prem Prachakorn Canal was dug in 1870-1872. This canal, extending 51.3 kilometers, was built to facilitate transportation and communication between Bangkok and Ayutthaya. Another purpose was to encourage people to settle in the northern part of

⁵² Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical Geography of the Canal System in the Chao Phraya Delta from the Ayutthaya Period to the Fourth Reign of the Ratanakosin Dynasty, Page 51.

*From 1890-1910, more than 15 canals linking Bangkok and the central hinterland were dug to facilitate the rice trade. In Porphant Ouyyanont, "Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925," Page 439-440.

⁵³ Ibid., Page 440.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Page 439.

Bangkok.⁵⁵ It can be seen that the physical growth of Bangkok was considerably influenced by canals at this time.

Because of the growth of the market economy, mono-crops, such as rice and crop exports, were introduced to meet the demand of the market by a vast extension of cultivated areas. The government considered canal construction to support cultivation in the low delta. That is why through the 1860s, canals were dug for transporting products to Bangkok.⁵⁶ Many short-cut and transverse canals were constructed to irrigate the land and to facilitate the transportation of the cash crops from plantations to Bangkok, especially sugarcane. Thus, at this time, the physical growth of Bangkok as a commercial city was considerably influenced by canals as noted in The Bangkok Calendar in 1871:

“The great canal Klawng Padoong gave at once great expansion and life to suburban interests. Not far from the same time, the still longer canal Hua-Lumpong going eastward through thousands of acres of the richest-paddy fields to the head of the Big-bend, was cut... Such a convenience and privilege had never before been enjoyed by the residents of Bangkok. This canal shortened the distance from the Big-bend to Bangkok more than one half. The Canal Mahaswas, leading from Bangkok-noi to Tacheen River, near the town of Nakawn-Chaisee (Nakhonchaisri), a distance of about 20 miles, and thence to Pra-Pra Tom, 7.5 miles, was completed soon after. The canal also going to Tacheen River a distance of 17 miles, was made in the latter part of the same reign, and shortens the

⁵⁵ สวัสดิ์ จงกล, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวกับสภาพแวดล้อมของกรุงเทพฯ (กรุงเทพฯ: จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2533), หน้า 57.

⁵⁶ Doosadee Thaitakoo, The Thai Heritage, Krung Rattanakosin as the Live – in Historic City Centre of Bangkok, Page 12-13.

*distance to the part of the great Sugar district by full 24 hours of travel”.*⁵⁷

Therefore, it could be said that at the beginning of the transformation of Bangkok, roads constructed between 1861 and 1889 brought no sudden transformation from water to land. Usually the roads were undertaken in parallel with canal excavation. For example, in the case of Bang Rak, or Silom canal, the mud which was dug out from the canal trench was used for the road. Prior to 1890, roads acted as feeders to complement waterways and to facilitate the movement of products.⁵⁸ At the same time, bridges were built over many canals, and city planning based on a road system was gradually consolidated.* Furthermore, a substantial portion of Bangkok’s population remained living along the banks of the river and canals until well after the 1880s.

An interesting point is why the Siamese government did not invest in road construction alone within Bangkok. The reason could be that the river and canals had mainly occupied the transportation system here for a long time. Since Bangkok was established, the river and canals were keys in formulating the city plan of Bangkok and settlements. Traveling by the waterways was more convenient than using land transport. Furthermore, even under King Mongkut’s reign, there was local expertise for canal excavation; on the other hand, there was a lack of expertise for road construction, such as engineers and architects. Although there were few roads, these roads were built simply and not for daily common use.** So, it appeared impossible to change Bangkok, a low delta and flood land, to become a land based city at the beginning of the transformation.

⁵⁷ Bangkok Calendar (1871): 151. Cited in Porphant Ouyyanont, “Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925,” Page 440.

⁵⁸ Porphant Ouyyanont, “Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925,” Page 443.

* The author states that Bamrung Muang Road, Pheung Nakhon Road, and part of Charoen Krung Road constructed inside the Padung Krung Kasem Canal, complemented exiting canals and were important to commercial communication. In Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical Geography of the Canal System in the Chao Phraya Delta from the Ayutthaya Period to the Fourth Reign of the Ratanakosin Dynasty, Page 51.

** The few roads in Bangkok were used mainly for the kings. Also, these roads were not good for traversing because they were very narrow and muddy in the rainy season. อ้างถึงใน ปิยนาค บุญนาค, ดวงพร นพ

In the following periods, the government constructed a road system to facilitate trading activities. However, canals still were built parallel to constructing roads. Until the reign of King Rama VI, the scenery as Venice in Bangkok was forgotten because the government stopped digging canals and people traveled by waterways less than before. Finally, many canals were modified to become roads.

- *a modern city*

The opening of Bangkok to the world market was effective since the year 1855 when Europeans increasingly came to trade and run their businesses in the city. They not only brought capital to invest, they also brought their lifestyle and urban culture, as a model of civilized people at that time, to Bangkok, which influenced the transformation of Bangkok.

With greatly expanded foreign trade and contact, the tone of life in Bangkok changed rapidly. Harbor facilities, warehouses, and shops were constructed, and the king himself invested funds in new streets of shops.⁵⁹ In addition, some modern communications were first introduced to improve Bangkok. For example, the traffic of steamers and the installation of telegraph line (1861) and gas lighting (1866) progressively brought Bangkok into the orbit of global modernity. By the end of King Mongkut's reign, three areas had become established west and southwest of the city walls: the commercial hub, housing ethnic segments of the populace (mainly Chinese, Indians and Malays); the port area, on the lower course of the Chao Phraya River; and the downtown district, where European consulates and factories were located.⁶⁰

คุณ และสุวัฒนา ธาดานิติ, *คลองในกรุงเทพฯ: ความเป็นมา การเปลี่ยนแปลงและผลกระทบต่อกรุงเทพฯ ในรอบ 200 ปี (พ.ศ.2325 – 2525)*, หน้า 41.

⁵⁹ Larry Sternstein, *Portrait of Bangkok: Essays in honor of the bicentennial of the capital of Thailand*, Page 18.

⁶⁰ Maurizio Peleggi, *Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image*, Page 79.

To transform Bangkok as a European-like city, King Mongkut initiated construction of roads along with shop-houses within the city walls. The king assigned Chao Phraya Sri Suriyawong (Chuang Bunnag), who had been sent to Singapore in 1861, to construct “*New Road*” to respond to a request of the Western consuls. As the Chronicle of King Rama IV noted for 1861:

*“In the third month the foreign consuls all signed their names to a petition which they presented to the King (Rama IV). It said that the Europeans were used to going out in the open air, riding carriages or riding horseback for pleasure. These activities had been good for their health and they had thus not suffered from illness. Since their coming to live in Bangkok, they had found that there were no roads to go riding in carriages or on horseback for pleasure and they had all been sick very often”.*⁶¹

This road extended south of the city and there were several roads within its vicinity, for example, Bamrung Muang Road and Pheung Nakhon Road. Later, the road was connected with Sampheang, the Chinese commercial zone. Moreover, the king allotted land along both sides of the roads and along the front of his palace to build a row of shop-houses, mostly following the Singapore model.⁶² Initially, King Mongkut ordered construction of two-storey shop-houses, along both sides of the roads, belonging to the royal properties. The pattern was duplicated from the British colonies, Singapore and Penang. Documents of Public Works under the reign of King Chulalongkorn recorded:

⁶¹เจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์มหาโกษาธิบดี, พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 4, หน้า 169.

⁶² Porphant Ouyyanont, “Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925,” Page 443.

*“Charoen Krung, Bamroung Muang and Phueng Nakorn were constructed under the royal command of King IV. After completion, the following thing was to construct buildings along both side of Bamroung Muang and Phueng Nakorn. These buildings duplicated the model from Singapore”.*⁶³

After constructed, the king allowed foreigners, mostly Western and Chinese traders, to rent these building to sell their products. These Western traders imported strange and worthy products from Europe to sell to the court officials and the royal family.⁶⁴ Later, this area became the first new commercial zone situated within the city walls.

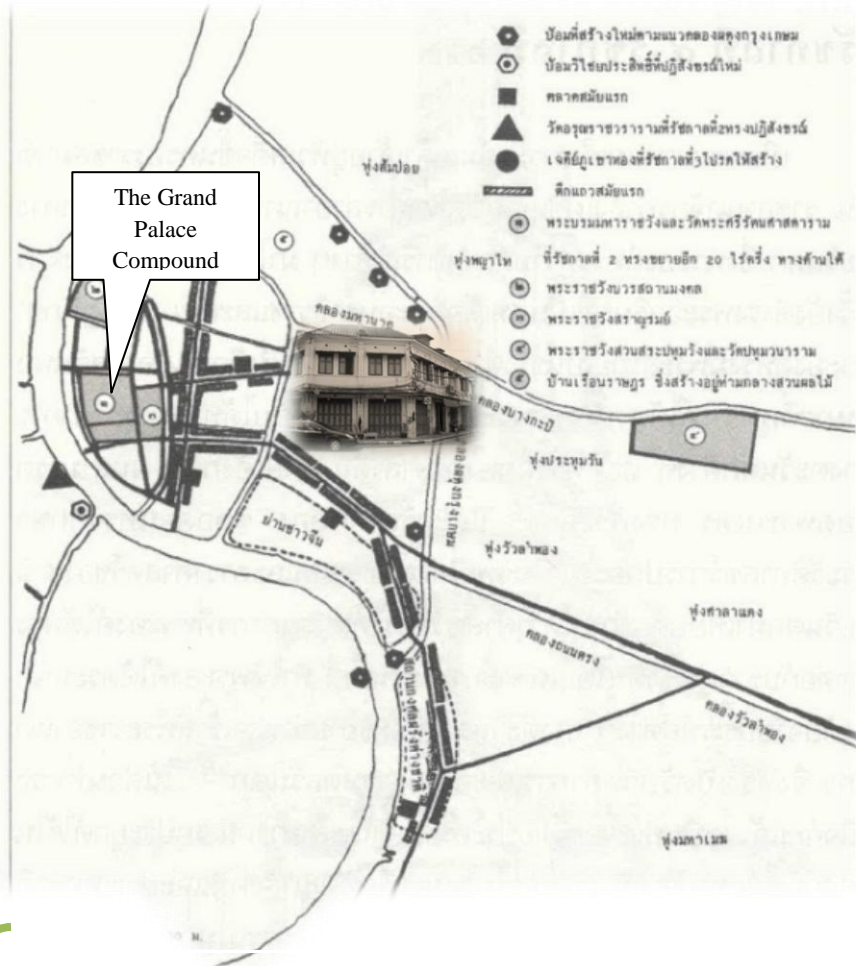
“New Road” extended from the inner city area through Bang Rak District, south of the Padung Krung Kasem Canal, where New Road was parallel and close to the Chao Phraya channel, with both water and road transport facilities. In this district, known as ‘the European district’, were where the consulates and residence consisting of multi-storey buildings in neoclassical styles, a harbor, docks, rice mills, sawmills, warehouses and churches were located on the main road,* and New Road became a new area in Bangkok for Western residential living. According to the study of Ross King, he called this area the *“third space”*, following the line of the river. The two other traditional spaces were the elite space of royal-religious places and the space of the aquatic city of villages, orchards and rice, within the lines of Khu Muang Derm and Rob Krung Canal, respectively.⁶⁵

⁶³ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กรมโยธาธิการ, 9/18,22.

⁶⁴ อนันต์ วงษ์แก้ว, การเปลี่ยนแปลงและการขยายตัวของกรุงเทพมหานคร ตั้งแต่รัชกาลที่ 1 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 4 พ.ศ.2325-2411, หน้า 84.

* Pictorial imagination of an urban landscape as seen on wall painting was represented in temple murals of the period’s leading artist, Khrua In Khong. In Maurizio Peleggi, Thailand: The Worldly Kingdom (Singapore: Talisman Publishing, 2007), Page 32-33.

⁶⁵ Ross King, Reading Bangkok, Page 45-46.



Map 2: Map of Bangkok during the reign of King Mongkut

This map shows the expansion of new commercial and residential zones in Bangkok during the reign of King Mongkut. The bold back line shows early buildings constructed, extending the city from the Grand Palace to the southward along the Chao Phraya River, known as ‘the European district’. The thin black line shows the line of Thanon Trong Canal, extending the boundary to the eastward of Bangkok. (modified by Author)

Source: ราชสี บุษกรรัตนพันธุ์ และปิยะพันธ์ จำราย, บรรณาธิการ, *แผนที่ชุมชนกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์* (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักผังเมือง กรุงเทพมหานคร, 2547), หน้า 4.

To construct a modern city, the physical landscape needed to be considered, as well as its character, such as beautification and hygiene, along with how the inhabitants would be able to conform to the new function and form of modern Bangkok. In this case, King Mongkut educated his people how to adjust their daily life to the new standard of living. For example, the king prohibited the throwing of carcasses of dead animals into the waterways to protect the hygiene of the supply water.⁶⁶ In addition, King Chulalongkorn adopted the character of a modern city from Singapore and Batavia when he visited there in 1871. As a result of that visit, many modernization projects were launched to modify the landscape and environment in Bangkok.

The transformed Bangkok had an effect on the traditional city plan, including the spirit of the ethnic communities and the way of life in an aquatic city. This was because some ethnic settlements were replaced by roads and shop-houses, and floating houses were moved to land settlements. The status of Old Bangkok as a divine city gradually declined and was substituted by the character of a commercial city, more complex and globalized. To characterize Bangkok in the new terms, European-like cities, such as Singapore and Batavia, became possible models at the beginning of modernization.

3.2 Singapore and Batavia as models for Bangkok

3.2.1 Political reason and stability

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, European activity in the Orient was partly a response to revolutionary changes in industry and communications. New demand for raw materials and markets for distribution of finished manufacturing were evident in many countries in Europe. In addition, the establishment efficiency of faster communication linked European ports directly with Southeast Asian

⁶⁶ Seni Pramoj and Kukrit Pramoj, *A King of Siam Speaks*, Page 53-54.

markets. In particular, because of the opening of the international ports of Singapore and Hong Kong, British power was actively extended into Asia and Southeast Asia. As a result, the Western world economy, with Britain as its centre, gradually dominated this region. Not only the British, but other European colonizers competed to occupy resources and markets in the Asian states, and Siam was challenged to respond to this expansion.

As referenced in Chapter 2, the expansion of trade activities of the European powers in the nineteenth century threatened the political stability and economic power of the regional states in Southeast Asia. In particular, the emergence of Singapore as a trading post of Britain in Southeast Asia became a more important strategy because Britain could control the route accessing China. With a liberal trade policy as its strategy, Singapore was developed to be a prominent international port city in a short time. In addition, Britain could eliminate the monopolized trade of the Netherlands from the China trade route. Finally, competition between the two nations ended when the Treaty of London of 1824 was signed.

This treaty caused the influential sphere of the Malay world to be divided into two parts along a line from the top of the Straits of Malacca into the South China Sea. As a result, the Malay peninsula and Singapore were under suzerainty of Britain; while the East Indies, later known as the Republic of Indonesia, was colonized by the Dutch.⁶⁷ After that, Britain actively expanded her influential sphere to protect her benefits in the Malay peninsula and the mainland. With respect to Siam, Britain attempted to resolve the conflict of Kedah by signing the Burney Treaty in 1826. However, political tensions between Siam and Britain finally occurred in the Malay states, especially in the case of the Sultan of Trengganu.*

⁶⁷ Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871, Page 5.

* Trengganu used to be one of tributary Malay states of Siam. In 1857, a civil war broke out in Pahang, which caused the Sultan of Trengganu to be sensitive to British overtures. As a result, the Siamese government, under the reign of King Mongkut, paid attention to making policy toward the tributary Malay states and with maintaining relations with the British government at Singapore. In *Ibid.*, Page 6-8. And สาคชิตอนันท์ สหาย, ๑.5 เสด็จอินเดียน, หน้า 16-17.

For political reasons, the Malay states became a focal strategy of Siam in her conduct of policy toward Britain. However, Siam could not ignore the problem of the French along the eastern line. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Siam was experiencing tension with the French in the case of Cambodia, when, in 1861, the French intervened in Cambodia acting as the representative of the Vietnamese ruler. King Mongkut sent his envoy to Paris to resolve this tension, but he was unsuccessful. Tensions between France and Siam over Cambodia intensified when King Narodom agreed to place his state under French protection in 1863 without informing Bangkok.⁶⁸ Even though King Mongkut attempted to convince the French how Siam had a close friendship with the British, sending Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong to Singapore in 1861 was partly involved with the Cambodia's issue.⁶⁹ In the end, Siam had to recognize the French as the one and only authority over Cambodia after the envoy of 1866.

Either from tension with the Malay states or the French, Siam was pushed into the arms of Britain. That is why making policy that favored Britain became a focal point for stabilizing political power over both the northern Malay states and defending against further expansion of the French. Singapore would become a corner stone of the foreign policy for Siam, at that time, to relieve the tension from the political threat. As well, Singapore was a center of modernity in Southeast Asia and was a suitable model for modernizing Bangkok for the government under King Mongkut and the early reign of King Chulalongkorn.

Furthermore, Siam attempted to maintain the balance of power in the Malay world with the East Indies of the Dutch. When Siam was confronted with an uncertain situation with Britain, it kept a close relationship with Batavia of the Dutch. As Kannikar Sartraproong claims, in order to maintain the balance in the Malay world, King Chulalongkorn paid a visit to Singapore and Batavia soon after he ascended to the throne

⁶⁸ David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A short history*, Page 185.

⁶⁹ Kannikar Sartraproong, *A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871*, Page 14.

to claim a status of Siam as on an equal footing with the European powers in this region.⁷⁰

Siam had had contacted with the Dutch from the seventeenth century during the Ayutthaya period until the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767. In 1826, the relationship between Siam and the Netherlands was re-established. As a result, the Dutch in Batavia became trading partners with the Siamese in Bangkok once again, even though on a small scale. In particular, as a result of the Burney Treaty of 1826, Singapore became the most important port for Siamese trade with the archipelago. By 1832, the Siamese junk trade had been diverted from Batavia to Singapore.⁷¹ When Siam, under King Mongkut, started to open the doors for Westerners by signing the commercial and diplomatic treaties, the Dutch government made the decision to send a second mission to Bangkok in 1857 to explore the treaties which Siam concluded with Britain, the United States of America and France. Recognizing the benefits from trading with Siam, King William III approved sending a Dutch envoy to conclude a treaty with Siam in 1860. However, Siam and the Dutch were dissatisfied after the treaty was applied in practice. Thus, the relationship between Siam and the Dutch only improved when King Chulalongkorn made his first trip to Singapore and Batavia in 1871.⁷²

As a result of the extension of the influential sphere of the British in the Malay world, tension in the Malay states impacted the balance power (the British – the Dutch – Siam) in the Malay world. That is why Singapore and Batavia became the main target for making policy toward the Malay states of Siam. Furthermore, Singapore and Batavia were the headquarters of administration and commerce of the colonizers, Britain and Netherlands, respectively. At mid-nineteenth century, both the British and the Dutch had already stabilized their political and economical powers so that their colonial cities

⁷⁰ Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871, Page 22.

⁷¹ C.M. Turnbull, The Straits Settlements 1826-1867: Indian Presidency to Crown Colony, Page 174.

⁷² Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871, Page 15-18.

became leading cities in Southeast Asia. Although the Dutch could not colonize the whole of the archipelago at that time, Java seemed to be a heart of their administration and they expanded their influential sphere from there. Batavia was the most beautiful European-like city from the time the city had been established, where the physical environment had been renovated and adjusted to be similar to the Netherlands. In the meantime, even though Singapore was a new settlement of the British, Raffles established Singapore with his intention to build this city to become a leading, beautiful a European-like city in Southeast Asia. Other colonies in this region that were newly colonized, such as Burma, the Malay states and Cambodia,* were undeveloped and unstable colonies. Even in the Dutch East Indies, the Dutch could not establish political stability over the whole colony. Only a few of principal cities in Java, such as Batavia and Semarang, were under the total control of the Dutch. Thus, when King Chulalongkorn made his first overseas journey, Singapore and Batavia-Semarang in Java were chosen for that trip because they were stable and secure.

In the meantime, the political situation in Europe was not stable because of the Napoleonic Wars and other conflicts in Europe. The wars also intensified to expand to Asia as well, mostly regional conflicts under the intervention of European colonizers; for example, in the case of India and the Asian states. Not surprisingly, prior to the First Grand Tour to Europe in 1897 by King Chulalongkorn, security of places in Asia or even in Europe became a vital factor that the Siamese government considered for a study tour. That is the reason why Singapore and Batavia were the best choice for learning of the Western modernity for Siam by the mid of nineteenth century.

* This group did not include the Philippines, even though it had been colonized by Spain for a long time. The reason was that this country was never recognized to be a part of Southeast Asia until the Second World War.

3.2.2 Personal favors of the kings

Traditionally, the king or high ranking elite in Siam were the leaders of new trends or change; however, this depended on their awareness of that change. King Mongkut, through his 27-year-monkhood, was both a scholar and reformist. In particular, he paid attention to new innovations from the West, learning English and science from the Western bishops and missionaries. The close friendship between the prince-monk and his Western missionary friends contributed much to the sympathetic pro-Western orientation which developed during the course of his reign. With an awareness of European power, both with respect to the economy and scientific knowledge, King Mongkut opened the doors of his country to global trade and invited foreign experts into his employ on generous term covering many areas of the economy, government and education. He even contributed articles to a Westerner's local newspaper, the Siam Times.⁷³ It was not only King Mongkut himself who recognized the need to modernize Siam, but there were others with pro-Western orientation to support his policy, such as the Second King, King Chudhamani, and other noble elite and court officials.

To modernize Bangkok and Siam to become a civilized nation, King Mongkut and his team looked to Singapore as a learning center of the Western world. Siam had been a trade partner with Singapore since the 1820s. In particular, since the Bowring Treaty was concluded, the volume of trade between Singapore and Siam increased. Both British and Chinese merchants benefited from this trade, especially the latter group who could link up with the Chinese network in Siam. It can be seen that Singapore became a more important market place for Siam, so King Mongkut appointed Tan Kim Ching,* one of Singapore's leading Chinese merchants who had sizeable

⁷³ John F. Cady, "Nineteenth-Century Siam, Rama III and Mongkut," in Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development, Page 339-342.

*The biography of Tan Kim Ching in historical documents is very confused. As the writing of Prince Phanuphanthuwong records, Tan Kim Ching had a close relationship with King Mongkut. Tan Kim Ching was a Chinese who the monk-prince Mongkut supported since he was a child. The prince also gave the family name 'Tan' to him. When he grew up, the prince sent him to study in Singapore. Afterwards,

business interests in Siam, to be the first Consul-General of Siam in Singapore to conduct the state affairs of Siam there under the king's command. For example, the king asked him to find an English governess for his children. Tan Kim Ching recommended Mrs. Anna Leonowens, a widowed English lady from Singapore, and sent her to Bangkok to teach the royal family the subjects of English language and Western sciences, literature and history. He was also assigned other state affairs in Singapore. As a businessman, he had founded his own company, Kim Ching & Co., which controlled rice mills in Saigon and Siam, steamships, revenue farms and large mining concessions in the Malay states, especially Salangor and Perak. In Siam, he held concessions in Patani, and later he was appointed Governor in Kraburi in 1868.⁷⁴

Moreover, the king had his own agents in Singapore to order and transport Western products through this port from 1849. When the king requested the purchase of a lithographic press from America, he asked his American friends to send the product with shipping through his agent at Singapore. According to a letter, the king gave the name of his agents as a Chinese agent of Singapore named Tan Tock Sing Esquire or Kongsee and an English agent named Messrs Hamilton & Grey & Co., Singapore.⁷⁵

Singapore was initially planned by Sir Stamford Raffles to be a leading beautiful and orderly city and a modern educational center in Southeast Asia.⁷⁶ By the latter part of the nineteenth century, Singapore had become a center of modern technology and knowledge. Not surprisingly, King Mongkut, who favored learning of the outside world and Western knowledge, did not hesitate to choose Singapore to be his

King Mongkut appointed him as a consul at Singapore. In contrast, documents based in Singapore record that he was the eldest son of the philanthropist Tan Tock Seng and grew up in Singapore. He also held a lot of business interests in Siam, Saigon and the Malay states. In the last period of his life, he was granted the title of 'Phraya Anukul Siamkij and died in 1892. ใน สมบัติ พลายน้อย, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าฯ พระเจ้ากรุงสยาม (กรุงเทพฯ: พิมพ์คำ, 2544), หน้า 143-149. และ ณัฐวุฒิ สุทธิสงคราม, ชีวิตและงานกงสุลไทยของพระยาอนุกูลสยามกิจ อุปนิทษิตสยามรัฐ (ต้นกิมเจ็ง) กงสุลเยนเนอวาลไทยคนแรก ณ เมืองสิงคโปร์ (กรุงเทพฯ: รุ่งเรืองสารานุกรมพิมพ์, 2525), หน้า 7. And P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: The travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), Page 4.

⁷⁴ Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1967), Page 92. Cited in Ibid.

⁷⁵ Seni Pramroj and Kukrit Pramroj, A King of Siam Speaks, Page 18.

⁷⁶ Gretchen Liu, editor, Singapore Historical Postcards from the National Archives Collection (Singapore: National Archives and Records Centre, 1986), Page 24.

Western learning centre in order to promote his policy toward the West. The king appreciated the city so much that he had a deep desire to visit there in person.

Even though King Mongkut would never see Singapore in person, the plan to visit Singapore passed through to his son, King Chulalongkorn. Soon after the young king came to the throne, he started to learn of administration in terms of the international relationship in the new global context. However, the king was only fifteen years old, so this plan was arranged by the regent, Somdej Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong (Chuang Bunnag), who had visited Singapore and mainly supported the modernization program of King Mongkut, and was well known among foreigners as one of the leading Westernized persons in Siam. One example is Alexander Loudon, who reported to his government partly about the regent that “...*the Kalahom was a man with a great and sincere knowledge of trade, road building and machines, and he expressed his deep desire to visit Batavia and Surabaya.*” * From this record, it could be assumed that the regent deeply desired to see cities in Java, such as Batavia and Surabaya, after he had seen Singapore. In light of his experiences contacting European countries, not surprisingly, he arranged the first overseas journey to Singapore and Java for the young king to learn how the colonizers governed and developed their colonial cities. The purpose of that trip was to improve the administration for modernizing Siam in the coming future.

Even though the plan to visit Batavia was initiated by the regent, the result of the visit to this city showed how much the king appreciated this city. More and more, he adopted many ideas of Western modernity to Bangkok, especially adjusting the environmental landscape surrounding the Grand Palace and royal compound. In addition, new buildings in the neo-classic architectural design were constructed. This point will be more detailed in the Chapter 4.

* Alexander Loudon was a Secretary to the government in Batavia and was sent to Bangkok as a diplomatic envoy at the end of 1861. In Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871, Page 16-17.

3.3 Methods of learning from Singapore and Batavia : Process of learning and educating people in Bangkok

At the beginning of modernization in Bangkok, Siam had to learn from nearby colonial cities in Southeast Asia acting as models. Beginning with a study tour of high ranking officials and King Chulalongkorn, the character of the European-like cities they had seen in Singapore and Batavia was introduced to Bangkok. However, '*modernization*' was also a process that impacted the whole society. It should be considered that as modernization was proceeding in Siam, how did the ordinary people, particularly in Bangkok, responded to this change, and, more importantly, how did they conformed to the new condition of society.

By the nineteenth century, when the Siamese elite and nobles recognized the need to transform Siam, including Bangkok, the rulers enthusiastically learned the secular world beyond the knowledge of the religious world, particularly learning about the West. At the beginning, King Mongkut attempted to support how to modernize Siam and Bangkok in many ways. Firstly, the king provided Western education for his royal family and officials. The king also promoted any person who had studied under a Western education; for example, supporting those who had ability in English to study abroad or to work in his government, especially in foreign affairs. With the ability to use English, the king and his court officials applied their skills to extend their knowledge in many sciences and situations in the outside world.

Not only did the king encourage Western education, he also supported overseas journeys to learn in foreign countries. He began by sending Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong and one of the king's older sons to observe administration in Singapore and visit the tributary Malay states for one month. This first study trip abroad under King Mongkut started a new trend to learn administration and make policy. In particular, this way of learning became a focal strategy for developing the country and conducting policy during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. After each visit, many ideas in administration

and city management were adopted to Bangkok and then Siam. For example, after the visit to Singapore in 1861, Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong adopted some ideas he saw in Singapore to adjust Bangkok. He constructed two-storey buildings along both sides of New Road, duplicating the pattern and design from shop-house in Singapore.⁷⁷

The “*modernization*” that proceeded in Siam was initiated by the ruling class, including the king, royal elite, and high ranking nobles. Under the absolute monarchy system that existed in Siam, the king, royal elite and nobles were the centre of the kingdom and had an important role in making change. In addition, this group had priority to access the educational system and new innovations. Likewise, during the Ayutthaya period, many Europeans brought new innovations from their countries to the court under King Narai. However, these innovations could not really enable the whole of society to change significantly. The benefit was limited only to the royal society. During the Bangkok era, the Europeans arrived in Siam again with Christianity and modernization. With the coming of modernization, King Mongkut started to transform Bangkok to become a civilized city. Initially, the king began with learning from Singapore, with the work of modernizing Bangkok extended continually by his son, King Chulalongkorn.

By the nineteenth century, European powers aggressively expanded their influential sphere in the economy and politics in Asia and Southeast Asia. Even though Siam was not the main target for this expansion, Siam could not stand by idly. Fortunately for Siam, King Mongkut recognized the change in the global trend, being more advanced in technology and thought. The king also realized that Siam, in traditional terms, could not fit into this trend. That is the reason why he opened the doors to the outside world to learn from the Westerners and the colonizers. However, it was not enough for the king to learn the outside world from his place only. To truly understand the civilized world, the king broke an ancient custom that obstructed his ways: the

⁷⁷ สมเด็จพระเจ้าฟ้ากรมพระยานริศรานุวัดติวงศ์ และสมเด็จพระยาต่อราชราชานุภาพ, *สาส์นสมเด็จ*, เล่ม 22 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การคำคุณุสภา, 2505), หน้า 75.

custom that prohibited the king and the royal family from going abroad if not the case of a war. As a result, modern knowledge was extended more than before. This also was the first time that an oriental kingdom was awakened from the illusion of the mighty and glorified ancient time.

To accomplish this, King Mongkut worked hard to change Siam to become a civilized nation. His most important work was providing a Western educational system for the Siamese, firstly for the royal elite. The king provided western education for his children, including his heir, Prince Chulalongkorn. The prince had studied English and other subjects with American and English teachers, so, not surprisingly, he had proficient skill in English which was a very important tool for learning and contacting European countries in his time.

During the early years of the reign, King Chulalongkorn accomplished his own “*kingly*” education from tours of colonial Asia in places such as Singapore, Java and India. Many historians, following Recollection by Prince Damrong, have linked the results of these trips to the beginning of reforms.⁷⁸ Noticeably, after the king returned from visiting Singapore and Batavia in 1871, he ordered to be built some public organizations that he had seen in Singapore and Batavia, such as clubs, museums, libraries and botanic gardens. These places were learning and entertainment centers for some groups of people in Bangkok.⁷⁹ Thus, it could be said that the overseas journeys of King Chulalongkorn resulted in the first steps for reforming Siam.

Last, but not least, when modernization came to Siam, the government had to make the people understand these new ideas and conform to new conditions. Generally, in the colonies, the colonizers established either an institute or school to produce new technicians to support the administrative system in the colony. Modern

⁷⁸ Maurizio Peleggi, Lords of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image, Page 31.

⁷⁹ วัฒนะ จุฑะวิภาต, สถาบันตยกรรมในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว: ช่วงหัวเลี้ยวหัวต่อของสังคมไทย (เอกสารงานวิจัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2552), หน้า 23-24.

subjects, such as geography, history and language, were provided for by the educational system of the colony aiming to be occupied and assimilated the native people with the culture of their colonizers. In the case of Siam, similarly, the Siamese rulers applied Western culture and education to transform Siam (Bangkok) to become a civilized nation; however, differently, the kings had authority upon the country, not a European colonizer.

Bangkok, as a center of administration and port for international trade, became a front line to meet modernization and Westernization. Certainly, the high ranking elite and nobles were the first group who recognized this new trend. However, more important was how they educated ordinary people in Bangkok to understand this change and challenged them to support the project of modernization which was launched by the Siamese government. More interestingly, King Mongkut communicated with his people about the changes happening in Bangkok through “*the national printing*”, or “*royal proclamations*”. Importantly, this was the first time that the king directly communicated with his people. Meanwhile, some intellectual elite promoted a trend of modernity through mass media, for example, The Voyage to London by Mom Rachothai and paintings by Khroa In-Klong.

3.3.1 The royal proclamations

When Bangkok was in an early process of modernization under the reign of King Mongkut, it was going through diplomatic and political transformation.⁸⁰ More and more, after the Bowring Treaty, Bangkok was transforming to become a modern city in terms of a new pattern of social and economic life. To communicate with his people, the king needed to issue proclamations to re-order the city and inform the people how to response to the modern trend.

⁸⁰ Seni Pramoj and Kukrit Pramoj, A King of Siam Speaks, Page 26.

The total number of King Mongkut's proclamations is not known. A collection of these proclamations published in the 1950s amounted to 343. The purpose of the proclamations was to clarify and inform the people what they should do and should not do. As mentioned in the Proclamation in the Year of the Horse B.E. 2401 (1858):

*“...the intent of His Majesty and the High Officers of the Realm as to the matter to be enforced and complied with is not generally known, nor does the same reach the knowledge of servants of the Crown and the general public, who, upon learning by hearsay of the order, notification or injunction, proceed to make private inquiries, each in so far as he is personally concerned”.*⁸¹

Public communication by royal proclamations had never before occurred in Siam. This might be the first time in the Thai tradition that the king directly communicated with the people by putting his words and thoughts in print and distributing them widely. The 343 issues can be divided into several groups aimed at receivers of varying background and status, from court officials to ordinary people. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the printing of a proclamation was changed to become the Royal Gazette.⁸²

A number of the proclamations concerning Bangkok were aimed at informing the people to recognize the arrival of modernity. In particular, after signing the treaties with European countries in the 1850s, the economy in Siam was transformed to become a full market economy focused on producing for export. As a result, the number of vessels and steamships increased dramatically in Bangkok; while, the Chinese junks decreased gradually. Not only that, Europeans and their subjects came to Bangkok

⁸¹ Seni Pramoj and Kukrit Pramoj, *A King of Siam Speaks*, Page 31-32.

⁸² ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ, บรรณารักษ์, *ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4*, หน้า (30) – (31).

increasingly for business and settlement. This phenomenon frightened the Siamese so much that the people were confused that Bangkok might be attacked by European colonizers. Thus, King Mongkut issued a proclamation concerning Treaty Farang (foreigner) to explain to his people what was happening in Bangkok resulting from signing the diplomatic and commercial treaties with the Westerners.

The proclamation explained that as a result of signing the treaties, many big vessels and steamships were anchored at Pak Nam (the mouth of the river) and along the Chao Phraya River. That proclamation also informed the people that normally when a number of ships sailed to anyplace for trading, they had a warship coming with them to protect the merchants and commodities. The king warned his people not to panic about any gossip when these ships anchored near Pak Nam and fired a salute from their ships to notify their arrival.⁸³ In addition, because of the signing of the treaties, foreigners with differences in appearance, race, language, manners and customs were increasingly arriving in Bangkok. They had come for trade and settlement, not for occupation, as per the agreements that had been signed between the Siamese government and their countries.* Therefore, the king asked his people not to panic and worried about the arrival of foreigners, as the coming of these foreigners would change the people's life in a good way. For example, with an increasing number of foreigners in Bangkok, many of them needed Siamese to work with them, such a work as housekeeping, teaching, or even working at docks. The Siamese government under King Mongkut considered that the people would make additionally income from working with these foreigners. To give a

⁸³ ชาลุมวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ, บรรณานุกรม, ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4, "ประกาศห้ามไม่ให้คนตื่นข่าวเรื่องเรือรบไปมา, ฉบับที่ 92," หน้า 109-111.

* For example, Westerners were to be permitted to reside permanently in the Divine City within a distance of 24 hours' journey at which ordinary boats of the country could travel, but they could not purchase land within a circuit of 200 sen from the City walls until they had live in Siam for 10 years. In Seni Pramroj and Kukrit Pramroj, A King of Siam Speaks, Page 42-46.

more economic chance to the Siamese, the king also gave permission to his people to work or even to trade with the foreigners and the foreign companies.⁸⁴

There were also some proclamations concerning the impact of economic change resulting from signing the commercial treaties. Most Siamese people were agricultural producers and did not know that much about the market economy. Therefore, King Mongkut worried that his people would be cheated and would not receive profit from the new economic system. For example, the king was particularly concerned about the selling and buying of rice. At that time, rice became an export product item to meet demand in both the local and global markets. The king warned the farmers to lay up stocks of rice to meet higher prices, or to keep stocks in case there was not enough rice for consumption within the country.⁸⁵ As well, the government strictly controlled the monetary system in the market.

Some proclamations were concerned with how to keep Bangkok in order and hygienic like other civilized cities. With an increase of Europeans in Bangkok, especially since the 1850s, these Europeans came with superior Western culture. Not surprisingly, they complained and made a request to the Siamese government about the uncomfortable and unhealthy environment in Bangkok. The Siamese government attempted to respond to their requests because the government recognized that these conditions were a standard of a civilized city. In addition, the government under King Mongkut encouraged the people to conform to a new standard of living which was totally different from the former ways. For example, in 1856, a notification, *The Inelegant Practice of Throwing Dead Animals into the Waterway, the Construction of Fireplaces, and the Manipulation of Window Wedges* pointed out how the people were convinced of cleanliness and hygiene. In particular, the king prohibited throwing dead animals into the waterways because the river and canal supplied all city dwellers. If anyone did not follow

⁸⁴ ชาลุมวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ, บรรณานุกรม, "ประกาศอนุญาตให้ชาวกรุงฯ รับจ้างฝรั่ง, ฉบับที่ 90," ใน ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4, หน้า 106-107.

⁸⁵ เรื่องเดียวกัน, "ประกาศไม่ให้จำหน่ายข้าวออกไปนอกประเทศ, ฉบับที่ 256," หน้า 413.

this rule, that person would be punished by the government. Moreover, this notification included a warning about fireplaces. Normally, the people, even the rich, preferred to build their houses with inflammable materials, such as wood or lath. That is why the king warned the people to be careful of their fireplaces to prevent their possession (included what belonging to their neighbors) from catching on fire.⁸⁶

An interesting point of this notification was that it showed a public consciousness of King Mongkut that he wanted his people to be concern about. The king educated his people to keep the river and canals clean, not only for their health, but became the waterways were used in the common daily life by all inhabitants. This indicated a standard of civilization for the inhabitants of Bangkok, and therefore, should be the new standard of living for which the people who dwelled in Bangkok had to aware. Why did the King have to be concerned with hygiene and the public mind of his people? After the Bowring Treaty, Bangkok developed gradually to become a modern city, more international and standardized. An increasing number of foreigners came from modern countries and they expected to see Bangkok as a civilized city. King Mongkut recognized this point that Bangkok and its inhabitants had to adjust to fit the “*new standard*”. Thus, the king attempted to modernize Bangkok not only in terms of the physical landscape, but to enable his people to conform to this new standard.

3.3.2 Mass publication

As mentioned in Chapter 2, during a diplomatic mission to England in 1857, Mom Rachothei, who was the principal translator, composed a poetry book called, The Voyage to London, describing the modernity in European cities, both London and other new industrial cities. His work was the first guide book for travelling to England written by a Siamese; Dr. Bradley, who had been his English teacher, asked to buy the copyright in order to publish this book. This book was very popular, evidenced by the fact that it was printed twice under the reign of King Mongkut, in 1859 and 1865, and

⁸⁶ Seni Pramoj and Kukrit Pramoj, A King of Siam Speaks, Page 53-55.

then was published again under the reign of King Rama VI in 1918.* This book awakened the intellectual elites in Bangkok to the importance of modernization. In particular, he showed in his book how the achievement of industrial development and development of technology and communication empowered the European country to become powerful.

This confirmed in the mind of King Mongkut how Western knowledge was important for the further development of Siam. Therefore, the king did not hesitate to provide for Western education, especially English, for his family and officials. For example, the king founded a school within his palace and provided an English teacher for his consorts and children. In addition, the king sent some of his officials to study short-term in Britain and France. After graduating, they returned to work in the Siamese government. Moreover, King Mongkut supported some young people who studied English and Western knowledge with missionaries to work in the government.⁸⁷ Under the reign of King Mongkut, whoever had ability using English was promoted in his government.

On the other hand, the majority of Siamese people had no chance to study English with missionaries or to get a picture of a European city like the intellectual elite. An interesting question, then, is how the common people could be educated to understand the picture of a modern Bangkok. Traditionally, the educational system in Siam was centered on the temple. King Rama III had established a school for people at Wat Pho to learn traditional knowledge to retort new innovations and sciences knowledge introduced by the American missionaries. The king reformed and collected traditional knowledge to be kept systematically, which was publicly open for the common people. It could be said

* The copy of 1859 was the first edition published, while the copy of 1865 was a revised copy because the British government gave permission to copy the governmental documents involving Siam and the diplomatic mission of 1857 from the National Library in London. To explain clearly the content that Mom Rachothai composed, the committee of the National Library of Siam (Ho Wachirayan) revised Voyage to London again by adding new information to this revised copy, with the third revision being printed in 1918 during the reign of King Rama VI. ใน ม.ร.ว. ราชโชทัย, นิราศลอนดอน: จุดหมายเหตุเรื่องราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษในรัชกาลที่ 4 (ฉบับปรับปรุง), หน้า (คำนำ).

⁸⁷ เรื่องเดียวกัน.

that Wat Pho was the first university for the public of Siam. So, the “*wat*” or temple became a channel by which ordinary people could access knowledge commonly.

With an idea of promoting modernization, the temple was used to complete this aim for the ordinary people. Paintings can be found that represented images of European city and Western life in the hall of temples both in Bangkok (Bowon Niwet Temple and Borom Niwat Temple) and in nearby cities, such as Samut Prakarn. Most of the paintings, using Western technique, were painted by the prominent artist, Khrua In-Khong.*

During the time of Khrua In-Khong, foreigners from various Western countries came to Bangkok, especially Christian missionaries. It is not surprise that the presence of many Westerners in Bangkok at that time might have motivated Khrua In-Khong to paint the allegoric Dhrama in Western form. All of his paintings about Westerners and Western life style were motivated by his indirect experience. His impression might have been derived from the Western government officials in Bangkok mainly. According to their customary style of living, they needed to have leisure activities after working, such as riding, walking in the park, and a meeting with friends in clubs. Therefore, they requested the Siamese government under King Mongkut to provide these things for them. The king kindly responded to the petition. Khrua In-Khong created scenes of horse-racing, strolling in the park and riding on horse-back in his paintings. Thus, even though Khrua In-Khong had never been to the West, the Western life in his paintings was inspired by his observation of the life of Westerners in Bangkok, Western commercial prints and from his own imagination. Also, he might have been motivated by his source material. For example, a collection of scenic photographs of America

* By the nineteenth century, Khrua In-Khong was the best known artist under the reign of King Mongkut. He is credited with introducing European painting techniques into Thai artistic practice. In particular, he painted a number of pictures about Western life in Bangkok on the wall of the temples at Wat Boron Niwat and Wat Borom Nives. In John Andrew Listopad, “The process of change in Thai mural painting: Khrua In Khong and the murals in the UBOSOTH of Wat Somanasa Vihara,” (Master’s Thesis, Department of Arts, University of Utah, 1984), Page 1.

belonging to King Mongkut,* and there were printed pictures of Western countries that were brought by the missionaries and which were readily available in Bangkok.⁸⁸

Some paintings produced by Khrua In-Khong can be seen in the hall of temples. For example, a painting in the hall of one temple in Samut Prakarn depicts a view of New Road showing a cityscape with several roads and exhibiting the social life of Europeans; there are also some people walking and riding on the roads, dissimilar to the traditional ways in Siam, and people are shown spending their leisure time relaxing in a public park. Another painting shows a pleasant scene with a background of large buildings and trees. The painting also shows large tall buildings along the both sides of roads with a huge monument.⁸⁹ His paintings not only represent a way of Western life in Bangkok at that time, they are a historical record about an interesting event that happened then.^{**} More interestingly, his work became a sort of mass media that awakening the ordinary people in Bangkok to feel that a new change was coming and was waiting for them at the front the door.

* These photographs were part of a gift sent to King Mongkut by the American president in 1856. In Wiyada Thongmitr, Khrua In Khong's Westernized School of Thai Painting (Bangkok: The Ancient City, 1979), Page 129.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Page 128-129.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Page 100-102.

^{**} In particularly, the steamship that was first invented by Luang Nai Sit (later titled Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong) in 1835 was so great that Khrua In-Khong could not afford to miss recording it in his paintings. In Ibid., Page 129-131.

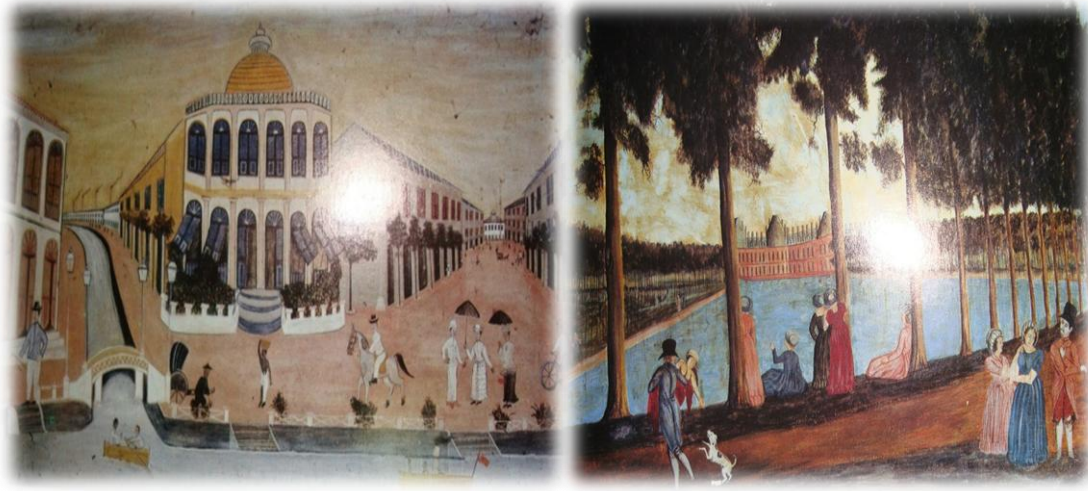


Figure 1: (Left) Painting of Khrua In Khong (1) This painting could be either New Road or around Ban Mo in Bangkok. The painting also shows social conditions when city roads were being constructed for the first time.

Figure 2: (Right) Painting of Khrua In Khong (2) This painting depicts people relaxing in a public park. The park for leisure activities could be seen generally in colonial cities; for example, Padang in Singapore and Koninsplein in Batavia.

Source: Wiyada Thongmitr, Khrua In Khong's Westernized School of Thai Painting (Bangkok: The Ancient City, 1979), Page 101-102.



Figure 3: Painting of Khrua In Khong (3) This painting depicts large, tall buildings along both sides of a road. This could be a scene of Commercial Square in a western city or perhaps, Raffles Place in Singapore, a centre of business and financial of Singapore until now.

Source: Wiyada Thongmitr, Khrua In Khong's Westernized School of Thai Painting (Bangkok: The Ancient City Company Ltd., 1979), Page 100.

In conclusion, with the expansion of colonization and Western modernization, Bangkok could not retain its former character as “*a divine city*”. To fit the “*global standard*”, Bangkok needed to transform to become a “*modern city*”. One of the important factors necessary to achieve this purpose was a good model for learning and duplicating “*a pattern of modernity*” for Bangkok. In particular, at the beginning of modernizing Siam, Singapore and Batavia were possible models for doing that. Since, Singapore and Batavia were modern and beautiful European-like cities in Southeast Asia, it is not surprising that King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn selected both cities to become models for modernizing Bangkok.

Another important point for modernization was to educate the people about this change. When King Mongkut pushed Siam to be a part of global modernity by signing the commercial and diplomatic treaties with the Western countries, the people had to confront the changes happening in Bangkok. Therefore, the most important thing to do was to communicate with the people to understand the new conditions so that they were comfortable with the new pattern, namely “*modernization*”.

CHAPTER IV

BANGKOK AND ITS TRANSFORMATION

This chapter focuses on the important character of Singapore and Batavia as models for transforming Bangkok. Both Singapore and Batavia were built by British and the Dutch colonizers, respectively, as models of a European colony. Thus, the Siamese government chose to learn from both of them through study tours, particularly after King Chulalongkorn visited both places in the early part of his reign. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a project of modernization, with Singapore and Batavia as models, had been actively launched. The Siamese government followed the character of both colonial cities to make “*Bangkok Modern*” under the concept of a “*city of beauty-hygiene-order*”. As a result, Bangkok was transformed from an aquatic to a land based city with a number of constructions and modern organizations newly emerging during this time.

4.1 Impact of Singapore and Batavia on “*Bangkok Modern*”

As the most beautiful and modern European-like cities in Southeast Asia, both Singapore and Batavia were models for modernizing Bangkok under the reigns of King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn. The project of modernization under King Mongkut and the first royal visit to Singapore and Java (Batavia) by King Chulalongkorn in 1871 made interesting changes occur in Bangkok.

4.1.1 A character of a modern city: Singapore and Batavia

4.1.1.1 Singapore

During the colonial period, Singapore and Batavia were the most beautiful European-like cities in Southeast Asia. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Singapore was well known among traders and travelers because of its strategic location for commerce.¹ Many Western travelers, traders or even missionaries came to Asia through Singapore. They stopped at this port to trade or rest before continuing their journey to their various destinations in Asia. In light of its commercial function and its beautiful environmental landscape, Singapore was able to impress most of its visitors. For example, the American missionary, Dr. Bradley, arrived in Singapore for the first time in 1835 and stayed there for a while awaiting to engage a ship to Bangkok. He admired the beauty of this city and wrote, “...*Upon our arrival in Singapore, which we found to be an attractive town laid out in European style*”.²

When Sir Stamford Raffles established Singapore in February 1819, he had a deep desired to build Singapore as a truly civilized city under the influence of European enlightenment, liberal education, progressive economic prosperity, and just laws.³ According to a letter written to Major William Farquhar in June 1819, he pointed out his aim for Singapore: “*Our object is not territory but trade; a great commercial emporium and a fulcrum whence we may extend our influence politically as circumstances may hereafter require*”. From this aim, he intended to blend commercial interests and political influence. In addition, he set out to ensure Singapore’s prosperity as a great port, to abolish slavery and injustice, and to devise a way of government giving “*the utmost possible freedom of trade and equal rights to all, with protection of property*”

¹ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, *Singapore: A Biography*, Page 135.

² William L. Bradley, *Siam Then: the foreign colony in Bangkok before and after Anna*, Page 20.

³ C.M. Turnbull, *A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005*, Page 26.

*and person', and to make Singapore a beautiful and orderly city, the intellectual and educational centre of South-East Asia".*⁴ Accordingly, Raffles planned to build Singapore not only for political and economic benefits, but he wanted to build this port with moral responsibility as well.

Before Raffles left Singapore for three years in June 1819, he gave an idea for the city planning to Farquhar that the area to the north of the Singapore River should be reserved for European residents and government buildings, including the Sultan's private compound in the area known as Kampong Glam (Glam Village), while, non-Europeans would settle on the south bank of the river. The commercial section was to be along the east coast. His plan was designed to ensure order and control by grouping the different communities in specified areas under their own headmen.⁵

Between 1819 and 1822, Singapore was under Farquhar's guidance, and there was disorder and chaos. During that time, the population rapidly grew to approximately 5,000 inhabitants, and the volume of trade through the harbor increased to 8 million Spanish dollars.⁶ A majority of the population were immigrants from all parts of the region, including Malays, Bugis, Chinese, Armenians, Arabs and Indians, while Europeans were small in number. Merchants, mostly from the Asian majority, clamored for land grants on the north bank to build warehouses and offices, not where Raffles had allocated them to the south bank because it was lower land and tended to flood.⁷

To govern this settlement colony, Farquhar allowed the Sultan and Temenggong to retain certain of their traditional rights over duties and slaves. Moreover, Farquhar sold licenses for gambling and the sale of liquor and opium, with the Farquhar's License Fund being used for pay for a police force, expeditions to put down piracy, street

⁴ Gretchen Liu, editor, Singapore historical postcards from the National Archives Collection, Page 24.

⁵ C.M. Turnbull, A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005, Page 31.

⁶ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 65.

⁷ Norman Edwards, The Singapore House and residential life 1819-1939 (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), Page 25.

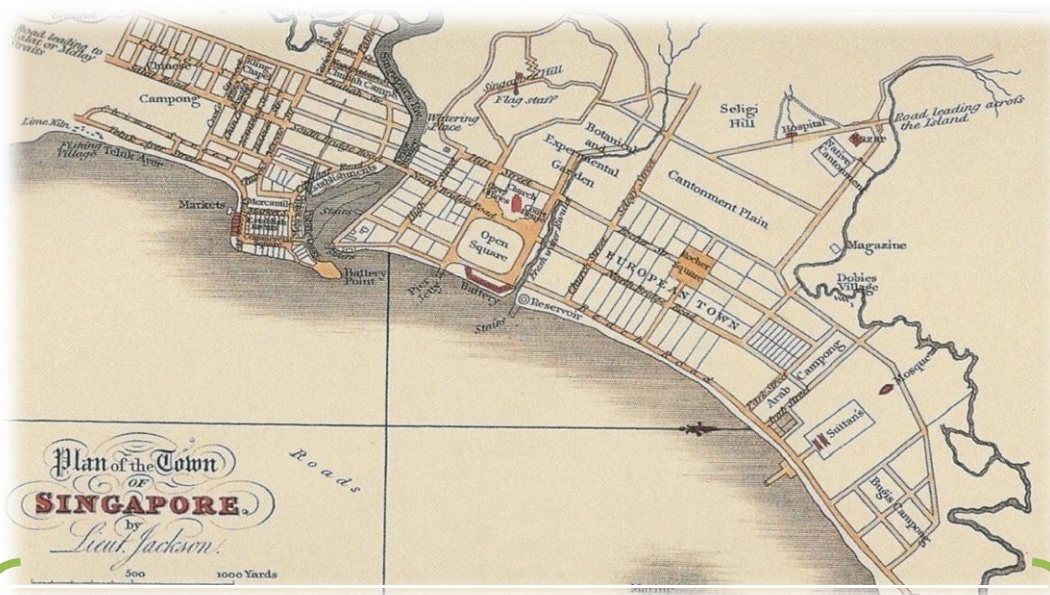
cleaners, and even grass-cutters.⁸ Because of Farquhar's policy, the image of Singapore as a model European colony (beautiful, orderly and progressive) as designed by Raffles was not carry out.

When Raffles returned to Singapore in October 1822, Farquhar claimed, in his defense, that he had done all that it was in his power to do, but, his policy disappointed Raffles, especially the policy of licensing vice for gambling, liquor and opium. Moreover, a key issue that prompted Raffles dissatisfaction was that Farquhar allowed Chinese godowns and Malay attap houses to be settled on the Padang and on the north bank of the river, the area that was to be reserved for government buildings and the European town. Again, Farquhar had a defense for this practical problem in that no one wanted to build on the south bank since it was low lying and liable to flooding, making it impossible to convince new arrivals to build there.⁹ Raffles commented that the administration under Farquhar was too traditional and old-fashioned.¹⁰ In the end, Raffles dismissed Farquhar and appointed a committee to revise the layout of Singapore town.

⁸ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 65.

⁹ Ibid., Page 65-66.

¹⁰ C.M. Turnbull, A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005, Page 38.



Map 3: Map of Singapore Town (1822)

A revised copy of Singapore City Plan drawn in 1822 by the engineer Lieutenant Philip Jackson, the settlement's Executive Engineer and Surveyor. The essence of this plan was that the former cantonment was enlarged and confirmed as the Government quarter, the European town was consolidated and extended, the public esplanade was delineated along the waterfront, the various ethnic communities further segregated, and areas were nominated for religious worship, commerce, education, and a botanical garden.

Source: Norman Edwards, *The Singapore House and residential life 1819-1939* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), Page 26-27.

With concern for a rationally enlightened order, Raffles worked on reorganization of the settlement. He recommended a Town Committee to allot separated areas within the town to the different ethnic communities to create an orderly community and maintain peace. To the north and the south of the river, ethnic neighborhoods were separated in each ethnic settlement. Firstly, Raffles anticipated that the Chinese would eventually form the largest single ethnic community in Singapore; thus, the entire area south of the Singapore River beyond Boat Quay and Commercial Square was set aside for their district.¹¹ Secondly, for the “*European district or European town*”, land on the east bank of the river and the Forbidden Hill (later named “*the Government Hill*”) and

¹¹ Gretchen Liu, editor, *Singapore historical postcards from the National Archives Collection*, Page 64.

the Rachore plain east of the government quarter was reserved for government buildings, religious sites, commercial and residential areas for affluent Europeans and Asians, and places for recreation, parks, and botanical gardens.¹² Thirdly, Malays, Arabs and the Bugis were situated at Kampong Rochor, Tanjong Pagar and Kampong Bugis.¹³ Lastly, the Indians were allocated land further upriver on the south bank of the Singapore River, around the area that is now Chulia Street. The zoning of Indians was extended to Bras Basah and Serangoon roads, later to become Singapore's "*Little India*".¹⁴ Regulations governed the width of streets, the size of houses and even the materials to be used in their construction. This plan was discussed by a Town Committee in 1822.¹⁵

To complete this plan, Raffles had to spend a lot of money for modification, reclamation, and displacement, particularly in the commercial quarter. Additionally, he decided to transfer the business sector across the Singapore River to the swampy southwestern bank. The Chinese settlers were moved further inland, and a hill was leveled to form Commercial Square using the earth to fill in the swamp to form Boat Quay. This area became the commercial heart of the city.¹⁶

Being a hub of commerce and shipping between the West and the East, Singapore developed infrastructure to facilitate shipping and transportation. Therefore, modern facilities, such as a harbor, godown, roads, hotels, shops and residences were gradually constructed to accommodate the economic and social life in Singapore. The initial intention of Raffles in founding Singapore was not just to develop this port to become a hub of commerce, he deeply intended to build Singapore to become a model European colony as well, not only for the Europeans, but for the convenience of the native residents. Expressing his concern about the British administration in India, he

¹² Michael Sweet, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles: Book of Days (Singapore: Antiques of the Orient, 1993), Page 112.

¹³ Gretchen Liu, editor, Singapore historical postcards from the National Archives Collection, Page 66-68.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Page 61.

¹⁵ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 66.

¹⁶ C.M. Turnbull, A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005, Page 38.

mentioned in a letter to Farquhar in June 1819 that the British government in India was not really concerned with improving the living standard of Indians, “...*(in India) those quarters of the town occupied principally by the native inhabitants, the houses have been built without order or regularity and the streets and lanes have been formed without attention to the health, convenience or safety of the inhabitants*”.¹⁷ Unlike British India, Raffles wanted to develop Singapore with the same standard as a European town.

The Singapore Town Plan of Raffles was laid out with an idea of “*hygiene-safety-convenience*”. Noticeably, the streets were laid down to pass through each ethnic community and were linked to the commercial zone in the town. Additionally, on both sides of these streets, two or three- storey buildings were built, called “*shop-houses*”. To renovate the housing and shop-houses, Raffles adopted the design of shop-house from Batavia, where he had been a resident from 1811-1819. The shop-houses that he saw there opening on to a space in front of the building for a covered walk way, called a “*Colonnade Footway*” or “*Arcade*”. Originally, the Dutch brought the Arcade in Western style and adapted the style with the architecture of shop-houses in a monsoon zone. This Arcade could protect pedestrians from sunlight and rain. Also, it could protect spices from being destroyed by humidity. In the city plan designed by Raffles, he wrote that “*all houses constructed of brick and tile should have a uniform type of front, each having a verandah of a certain depth open to all sides as a continuous and open passage on each side of the street*”. He also required that “*the buildings should keep a pathway with a width at least five feet, so this pathway was called ‘Five-footway’*”.¹⁸ It can be seen that all areas in Singapore town were fairly developed with rows of single and two-storey shop-houses along the coast. This kind of shop-house became ubiquitous throughout the region, including Siam.

¹⁷ Raffles to Farquhar, dated on 25 June 1819, Straits Settlements Records, L10, National Library, Singapore. Cited in Norman Edwards, The Singapore House and residential life 1819-1939, Page 28.

¹⁸ Michael Sweet, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles: Book of Days, Page 112.



Figure 4: Painting of the Padang in Singapore

This was painted by John Turnbull Thomson in 1851, entitled 'The Padang in Singapore'. This painting also shows romanticized depictions of Singapore, showing the image of a European Town.

Source: The National Museum of Singapore (Photo by Author, 2009)

With consideration of developing Singapore along a European colony model, the facilities and construction needed to be good for transporting people and vehicles and improving the standard of living in the town. Singapore, during the first half of the nineteenth century, reflected the image of the ordered regularity of a European town, such as Georgian London.* In particular, the character of a European town at the commercial part of town can be seen, such as the Padang and Esplanade in Singapore town.

In the painting above, the government surveyor and artist John Turnbull Thomson presents a scene of early colonial life in Singapore that reflects a high colonial life during the first half of the nineteenth century as could have been seen, particularly in the European district. Europeans spent their leisure time at the Padang, the centre of the town. In another part of the painting, other ethnic communities, such as Arabs and Chinese, take a break from a long day of trading or meeting to negotiate further business.

* In his earlier life, Raffles had been conducted the background of late eighteenth century Georgian London. This experience is reflected in the building of Singapore. In Norman Edwards, The Singapore House and residential life 1819-1939, Page28-29.

In the background of this painting, there are white neo-classical buildings symbolizing harmony and progress.¹⁹

However, Singapore during the first half of the nineteenth century was not nearly an image of what Raffles and the British thought their colony ought to be. Although the Raffles Town Plan was progressive, Singapore did not suddenly improve as he expected. One reason was that the British government in Calcutta had an uncertain policy toward the administration in Singapore during the earliest years of settlement. Between the 1820s and the 1860s, Singapore still had an underbelly of piracy, injustice and secret societies, vice and opium. At the time when Thomson painted “*the Padang*”, Singapore was dangerous and unsafe, especially in the non-European district. As the following description of Singapore in the 1850s states:

*“...Singapore still had only a rudimentary legal system, few public amenities, and it remained a place of wild rumor and potential riot...At eight o’clock each evening, the famous Revere Bell rang out to warn inhabitants of the impending curfew. The streets of Singapore were not a safe place to find oneself wandering after dark”.*²⁰

By the 1820s, there were two important events that affected the development of Singapore. Firstly, the British and the Dutch signed the Treaty of London in 1824. Under the term of this agreement, the issue of Singapore’s legality was resolved and British and Dutch territorial claims in the region were settled. The Dutch gave up Melaka and their claims on Singapore: the British handed over Bencoolen and promised

¹⁹ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 118.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Page 119.

no further interference in Sumatra.²¹ As a result, the conflict and disputes between both of them in the Malay world ended and they were free to intensify and extend their influential sphere into the new territorial claims.

Secondly, the political status of Singapore was strengthened by becoming a Crown Colony in 1867. Politically, Singapore had been under Indian rule since 1830. In 1826, the East India Company united Singapore with Penang and Melaka to establish the Presidency of the Straits Settlements. Singapore came under Penang's exclusive and judicial control. Yet, this system did not enable Singapore to develop effectively. Initially, the Strait Settlements Presidency was fraught with financial problems, creating a time of great hardship for Singapore. The government could not self-subsidize the bureaucracy and judicial system. Without a capacity of financial support, the presidency, the governor and his council were abolished. The settlements were reduced to the status of a Residency dependent on the Presidency of Bengal in 1830. As a result, the civil service was dramatically reduced. The administration in Singapore was hard to handle effectively because there remained only a few officials to work there with low salaries. In addition, the British government in Calcutta did not pay attention to the development of this settlement as was necessary. This difficulty remained almost unchanged until the end of Indian rule,* despite the fact that between 1830 and 1867 Singapore's population was rapidly rising and trade increased more than threefold.²²

In particular, the most difficult situation at that time was the financial problem. Even constructing the government offices was difficult to accomplish. In the early 1830s, the government did not have much money to build public buildings. Merchant's stores were used as government offices, and a private European house was rented as the courthouse. Even for the place for the Resident to live, they needed to use a

²¹ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 75.

* The Indian administration came to an end on 1 April 1867, and the Straits Settlements became a Crown Colony. The first colonial governor was Sir Henry St. George Ord. He was the person whom King Mongkut invited to observe the solar eclipse at Wah Ko. In C.M. Turnbull, A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005, Page 89.

²² *Ibid.*, Page 53-54.

former wooden bungalow that Raffles had built. Moreover, much of the town area was still swamp. Even at the Singapore River, the heart of the city and commercial life, whole districts were subjected to frequent floods and fire was a major hazard in the major Asian quarter and in the main business area.*

In contrast, while the officialdom was in trouble, private commerce flourished dramatically between the 1820s and the 1860s. The impression of English seaman George Windsor Earl, who arrived in Singapore in 1833, expressed a view of bursting port at Singapore waterfront:

*“Ships from all parts of the world are constantly arriving... and the flags of Great Britain, Holland, France, and America, may often be seen intermingled with the steamers of Chinese junks, and the fanciful colors of the native perahus. ...Singapore contains an epitome of the population of the whole Archipelago, and indeed of Continental India also. Chinese, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, Balinese, natives of Bengal and Madras, Parsees, Arabs, and Caffrees (Africans), are to be found within the circuit of a few miles”.*²³

The principle of free trade and its success assured that Singapore could keep its highest point of importance and prosperity over the long run, even though more free ports arose in the region – Hong Kong and the Chinese treaty ports from 1842, Makassar in Sulawesi from 1847. Moreover, Singapore became the centre of trade in

* By the 1830s, there was no fire-fighting service. The first voluntary fire brigade was established in 1869 In C.M. Turnbull, A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005, Page 64.

²³ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 84.

Southeast Asia in the 1850s and, by 1856, over half a million ships arrived in the harbor; a year later, the value of the island's commerce nearly doubled.²⁴

As a result, the population rapidly expanded, from less than 16,000 in 1827 to 81,000 in 1860. Most of them were immigrants coming to Singapore for trading and working. To facilitate trading activities in Singapore, commercial facilities and institutions were newly operated in an increasing number. That is the reason why many distinctive developments of the mid-nineteenth century were influenced by Singapore's immigrant communities.²⁵

Under the financial support of merchants, Singapore changed with an emergence of new colonial-style buildings, especially in the European district where affluent European and Asian merchants lived. The person who was largely responsible for this change was the Irishman, George Drumgoole Coleman (1795-1843), the most important architect largely responsible for this change. He came to Singapore in 1822 and was appointed Superintendent of Public Works in 1833. While in Singapore, Coleman was involved in several projects initiated by Raffles. He also implemented Raffles' vision for an attractive, orderly and well laid-out settlement. He set the architectural tone and high standards for successors in public works. Regarding his works, he built most of the island's early buildings in elegant late-Georgian and Palladian styles using local materials. Several of Singapore's most famous colonial buildings were designed by him, for example, the Armenian Church, the original Old Parliament House,* one of the earliest buildings that came to form the Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus, as well as several European merchant houses.**

²⁴ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, *Singapore: A Biography*, Page 90.

²⁵ C.M. Turnbull, *A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005*, Page 53-56.

* Originally built in 1827 for the merchant, John Argyle Maxwell, this house was designed by George D. Coleman. But it was never occupied by the owner, and later became a government office.

** George D. Coleman studied architecture in Dublin. He first visited Singapore in 1822 and died in Singapore in 1843. In Gretchen Liu, editor, *Singapore: A pictorial history 1819-2000*, Page 42, 119.

By the 1860s, the status of Singapore as a settlement ruled from the East India Company administration in Calcutta eventually came to an end, after which many of the first official buildings were constructed in Singapore, including St. Andrew Church (1862), Town Hall (1862) and the Government House (1868-1869), and including buildings on the outskirts of town, such as the Colonial Jail at Outram Park and the General Hospital which was completed in 1860. Empress Place Building (the old Parliament House)* commenced construction in June 1864 and was completed in December 1867.²⁶ Later, in 1873, the official buildings, of which the major work had been carried out by Indian convicts, became the responsibility of the Public Works Department.²⁷ It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that prosperity transformed the physical appearance of Singapore town. Additionally, after the end of Indian rule, the town was beginning to look impressive. By 1869, Commercial Square,** at the heart of the business and finance district, and the government quarter near the river mouth were linked by Cavenagh Bridge.*** The town was still small, but the rest of the island was accessible with a network of roads. Not surprisingly, Singapore town was considered one of the beauty spots of the East and was developed to become a new colonial style order.

* Currently, the building is the second wing of the Asian Civilization Museum. During the colonial era, the Empress Place Building was simply known as the Government Offices. Originally, it was intended to be a courthouse, but instead become offices for the government departments located in the adjacent Maxwell house. In the late 1980s, this building was converted to be a museum. In Empress Place Building, [online], 9 May 2012. Source www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empress_Place_Building

²⁶ Gretchen Liu, editor, Singapore: A pictorial history 1819-200, Page 45-46.

²⁷ C.M. Turnbull, A History of Modern Singapore 1819-2005, Page 123.

** Commercial Square was renamed Raffles Place in 1858. This place quickly filled up with business houses and became a focal point of congregation of Europeans in Singapore. They would gather here to get the latest news from home before heading off to work in the offices in the area. European banks, trading firms and retail companies were not the only ones to open in Commercial Square; firms from all over the world, including that of the pioneering Indian textile merchant Narayana Pillay and the large Japanese shipping company Nippon Yusen Kaisha also set up shop here. In Asian Civilization Museum of Singapore, "Commercial Square" [permanent exhibition], Singapore: Asian Civilization Museum, 2009.

*** Two years later, when King Chulalongkorn visited Singapore his first time, it is possible that the king passed over this bridge to visit a highlight of governmental landmarks and shopping centre in Singapore town.

Through the eyes of European arrivals, Singapore was clearly divided into two discrete parts, the European district and the native quarters. The European district was considered to be ordered, neat, tidy and pretty because this part, where all the major hotels, banks, department stores and government buildings were situated, was the heart of the economy and European living place. Not surprisingly, the town of Singapore, particularly this part, was impressive for travelers who had been to the city before.²⁸ With the large increase of inhabitants in Singapore, such population pressures forced the town of Singapore to spread out to new boundaries, namely “*suburbs*” – an essential feature of any modern city.²⁹ In addition, the growth in size after 1870 began to offer its European arrivals a considerably improved social life, both dining and recreation.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Singapore was quickly known as “*a tourist attraction place*”. The developing and improving physical landscape of Singapore was such that the city, in the latter of that century, was recommended as a good tourist attraction for visitors in Handbook to Singapore (1907) of the Reverend G. M. Reith.^{*} According to him, there were now several roads into the town to change and improve the scenery of Singapore town. For example, a road along the seashore was laid with tramways offering a cool breeze from the sea. One could view the fish market at Terok Ayer,^{**} Johnston Pier, the Singapore Club and the Exchange, together with the General Post Office. Not only that, another sign of improvement was the city’s hotels. Because of the junction of the seas, hotels were established to house an increasing number of explorers and traders travelling between the East and West. Later, from the

²⁸ Gretchen Liu, editor, Singapore historical postcards from the National Archives Collection, Page 45-48

²⁹ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 132-133.

^{*} This book was first published in 1892, and a new edition, prepared by Walter Makepeace, followed fifteen years later. In G.M. Reith and Walter Makepeace, editors, Handbook to Singapore, 1907 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), Page 31-36.

^{**} A Malay community inhabited Telok Ayer long before the first immigrants even set foot on Singapore. Fishing was their livelihood and they made their homes in *kelong* – huts on stilts over the water. When the British acquired the island in 1819, they designated Telok Ayer a Chinese area. By 1835, Telok Ayer Street boasted trading houses, emporiums and religious buildings, including three of Singapore’s most prominent Chinese temples. In The Government of Singapore, “Beginning at Telok Ayer” [permanent display], Thian Hock Keng Park: the Government of Singapore, 2009.

1870s, as European tourist numbers rose, hotels in Singapore improved to the point where a number became regarded as “*first-class houses*”. The well known hotels in Singapore among tourists were the Hotel de l’Europe,^{*} the Adelphi Hotel^{**} and the Raffles Hotel^{***}. These hotels provided luxurious services to their customers.³⁰

By contrast, the native district, including Chinatown, Kampong Glam and Little India, remained unhealthy and unsafe; was dirty and smelly, surrounded by polluted swamps and danger.³¹ However, after becoming a Crown Colony, the government and prominent leaders of each ethnic community co-operated to improve their standard of living.

Singapore did not grow just as a modern port city, it was an enlightened city as well. Because of Western education, there emerged a new generation of intellectual elite, known as “*Western Oriental gentlemen*”. They spoke English, dressed in the European fashions of the day and were completely at ease in their enjoyment of a European-style high life – the club, the reading room and the luxury hotel, as well as entertainments, such as regattas, races, cocktail parties and even cricket.³²

From the above, with a colonial-style order and beautification in Western standard, not surprisingly, the Siamese government under King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn paid attention in order to duplicate a form of modernity from Singapore. Likewise, Java (Batavia) became a model for modernizing Bangkok under King Chulalongkorn’s administration as well.

* The Hotel de l’Europe was well known for a long time, founded since 1857. It was rebuilt in the early 1900s. Its greatest asset was its location at the corner of High Street opposite the Padang. The Raffles Hotel was founded later in 1887. The Hotel de l’ Europe was renovated in 1900. ใน ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ และอรอนงค์ ทิพย์พิมล, บรรณาธิการ, รัชกาลที่ 5: สยามกับอนุชาคนย์และชมพู่ทวีป (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโดยดีประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547), หน้า 81-82.

** The Adelphi Hotel was established in 1863, and was rebuilt around 1900.

*** The Raffles Hotel is a colonial-style hotel in Singapore. It was founded by the Armenian Sarkies Brothers in 1887. Initially, they opened the 10-room colonial bungalow at Beach Road and Bras Basah Road. Presently, it is one of the world’s most famous hotels.

³⁰ Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, Singapore: A Biography, Page 140-141.

³¹ Ibid., Page 162.

³² Ibid., Page 144.

4.1.1.2 Batavia

Batavia was established before Singapore and Bangkok by more than two hundred years. By the seventeenth century, the VOC had established Batavia as a fortification and trading post, soon after which the Dutch developed this city to become the centre of intra-Asian trade that monopolized the spice trade. With the prosperity of this possession, the Dutch could build Batavia as the most beautiful European-like city in this region. By the eighteenth century, Batavia flourished and was praised for its beautiful buildings, shady canals, straight streets, many different types of markets, and lively trade; although, at one point, the city had to move toward the south of the former city because of pollution from the drainage system in the old town. It was the new Batavia that King Chulalongkorn saw while visiting Java.

At an early time, Batavia was called the “*Amsterdam of the East*” because this city was built by duplicated the beauty and layout from Amsterdam in the Netherlands. The character of the city was based on the canal system. The first structure of Batavia was the fort, originally built out into the sea at the mouth of the Ciliwung River, but soon landlocked as the coastline crept northward. Most of the buildings were situated and activities performed within the fort. Batavia had been developed as a canal town as in Holland because the land was so low-lying that the earth was dug out to raise the level of built-up areas. This resulted in the settlements being regularly flooded, similar to Bangkok. As in Holland, the canals were used for transport, as well as loading goods from the interior that came downriver and out along the canals to their destinations. The people aspired to live on the canals because it was both more convenient and more fashionable. Buildings within the town were constructed with bricks because of building regulations to prevent fires. As well, Europeans had a clear space in front of each house because there were no front gardens; houses had a “*stoop*” in front (separated from the footpath), where inhabitants could sit in the cool of the morning or evening to smoke a pipe or drink wine. Not surprisingly, the Dutch developed Batavia by duplicating the environmental landscape and lifestyle from Holland, mainly Amsterdam,

which resulted in Batavia being well known among visitors and travelers as the “*Queen of the East*”. One of them visiting Batavia in the 1680s even thought that this city was finer than Amsterdam.³³

Unfortunately, from the 1730s until the end of the eighteenth century, Batavia went into decline and became known as “*The Graveyard of Europeans*” because of the low standards of hygiene and water pollution from the sugar industry. As a result, the mortality of inhabitants within the walled city increased dramatically from an outbreak of malaria fever and epidemic deceases.* Also, contributing to the decay of the old city and the VOC itself were the collapse of monopoly profits from the spice trade and large-scale corruption among senior officials of the VOC. From the early decades of the eighteenth century, people moved to the uptown, such as Jacatraweg and Molenvliet, which supposedly had healthier environs,³⁴ and which became a new residential area for Europeans. Many Europeans during that time were to commute along Molenvliet from their homes in the south to their offices in the old city of the north.

Later in 1808, Governor-General Daendels demolished the old fort and town around the harbor and laid out a new city in the Neo-Classical manner with elegant civic buildings and tree-lined boulevards. In less than 10 years, Batavia was renovated to become a beautiful city again. As described in Dr. Arnold’s journal regarding the beautification of Batavia in 1815:

“Batavia appears now to be much deserted. The walls are thrown down, many of the canals filled up, and all much out of repair. The streets are, in many places, covered with weeds, and many of the houses without inhabitants. Most of the shops are kept by Chinese. European and Chinese goods are dear. Nankin

³³ Susan Abeyasekere, the revised edition, Jakarta a History (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989), Page 15-19.

* It partly resulted from poor quality of water and was exacerbated by the silting and stagnation of Batavia’s canal network and the building of fish ponds near the city which attracted malarial mosquitoes. In Scott Merrillees, Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs, Page 10.

³⁴ Ibid.

(a cotton cloth imported from China) is a dollar and a half a pie (sic); and what is extraordinary, I could find no tailor to make trousers (sic) for me; and they always charge as much for making as the cloth is worth... roads from the town are very beautiful, there being a row of fine trees on each side, and a canal on which canoes and boats are continually passing so that there is no necessity for land carriages, no vehicle being seen but carriages".³⁵

³⁵ Michael Sweet, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles: Book of Days, Page 82.

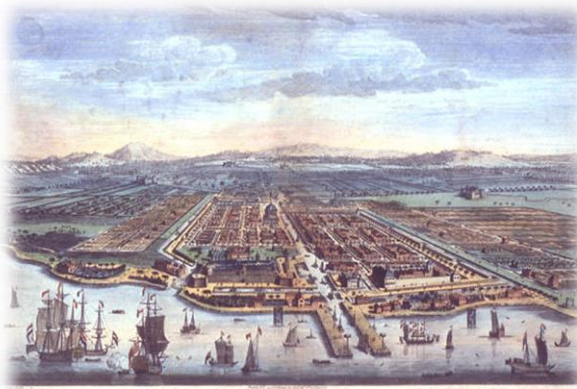


Figure 5 (above): Painting of the Water Front, Batavia

This painting shows the water front of Batavia. Initially, this city was constructed by duplicating Amsterdam based on a canal system and hydraulic management.



Figure 6 (below): Painting of Batavia Town (the 1800s)

This shows a scene of Batavia by the first decade of the nineteenth century. From this picture, roads and canals were used for transportation for the people in Batavia, as was done in Bangkok under the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

Source: Michael Sweet, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles: Book of Days (Singapore: Antiques of the Orient, 1993), Page 82.

The new area became a European district,* with an environment of beauty, order and hygiene. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the heart of Batavia had very clearly moved “*uptown*” where could be found the governor-general’s residence, key government buildings, the fine houses of the European elites, most of the major churches,

* The new district was situated at the south of Batavia in what are now Jalan Juanda, Jalan Veteran, Lapangan Benteng and Medan Merdeka, which was developed in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, and became known as *bovenstad* (‘uptown’) and *Weltevreden* (‘well contented’). After 1820, this area became the ‘new city’ of Batavia. In Scott Merrillees, Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs, Page 10.

the two main social clubs, the museum, the Freemasons' lodge, the European shopping districts and the major hotels.³⁶

During the second half of the nineteenth century, with a stable government and expansion of the economy through the "*Liberal Policies*", was a peaceful period in Batavia's history. During that period, Batavia was developed with the advance of technology that was improving the living standard in Europe. For example, the first telegraph line was installed between Batavia and Bogor in 1856, while Batavia's first international telegraph connection to Singapore began in 1859, even though there would not be a permanent line in place until 1870. Work on Batavia's first railway link with Bogor commenced in 1869 and the lines were officially opened in 1873.³⁷ During construction, the young King Chulalongkorn saw this railway during his trip of 1871.

As a result of the passing of the Agrarian Laws* in Holland in 1870, private enterprise had a greater role in the economy of the Indies. By the 1870s, the economy in private sector investment in sugar, coffee and tea plantations was growing considerably and caused the supporting services also to experience rapid growth, such as refining, trading, shipping, banking, broking and insurance. This wealth increased the small number of European elite who were able to enjoy lavish lifestyles in grand houses in the best parts of Batavia around Koningsplein, Prapatan, Tanah Abang, Gang Scott and the southern end of Molenvliet.³⁸ Thus, Batavia became another model for having a European district among colonial cities. In the meantime, the old Batavia retained its function as a front-water for shipping and commercial activities, with most of the area being occupied by Chinese laborers.

³⁶ Scott Merrillees, *Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs*, Page 12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Page 14.

* Prior to 1870, opportunities for European private capital in the Indies were limited to the wholesale and retail traders because the larger economy was in the hands of the colonial government and state-owned trading companies and financial institutions. Passing this law phased out any monopoly by the government and gave more economic chance to private investors.

³⁸ Scott Merrillees, *Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs*, Page 14-15.

Interestingly, both Singapore and Batavia had the character of a port city and a European city. Not surprisingly, as in the case of Bangkok, Batavia originally grew with the expansion of a canal system, with the water system being an important economic and social space. Accordingly, when Bangkok was developed to become a modern city, the ruling group of Siam did not hesitate to adopt Singapore and Batavia as models.

4.1.1.3 King Chulalongkorn and his first visit to Singapore and Batavia in 1871

Some Thai scholars have stated that the two elegant European Tours in 1897 and 1907 brought Siam into the modern world by pursuing policies of “*blending with the wind*”, and, accordingly, Siam’s status as an independent state would be accepted. Charnvit Kasetsiri expresses an interesting opinion about this point. He points out this interpretation of King Chulalongkorn’s reign is misleading because it puts too much emphasis on the two European trips for the adaptation of a European way to Siam and the success of the king’s attempts to use Britain and Russia against France. On the other hand, the first two royal trips in Asia were much more important, and had a powerful influence on the king’s administrative reforms and the larger modernization of Siam. The progress of Singapore and Java, including India,* impressed the young king at the start of his reign. It could be said that British and Dutch colonial government and administration had more of an influence on his early reforms, than the states in Europe. Even though the attempt at reform was forced to “*go slow*” for some years, by the 1880s the king and his government were in full control of the country, with the peak of the

* As a result of his first overseas journey, King Chulalongkorn was keen to see more of the world. He wanted to go to Europe, but the regent felt that Europe was too far and India was chosen as a kind of compromise. The following year, the king traveled to India and spent some time in Singapore and Penang. Upon his stopover in Singapore, the king planned to enroll fourteen Siamese boys in Raffles Institution. In P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page 27.

campaign for centralizing administrative reforms coming in 1892, before the First Grand Tour to Europe in 1897.³⁹

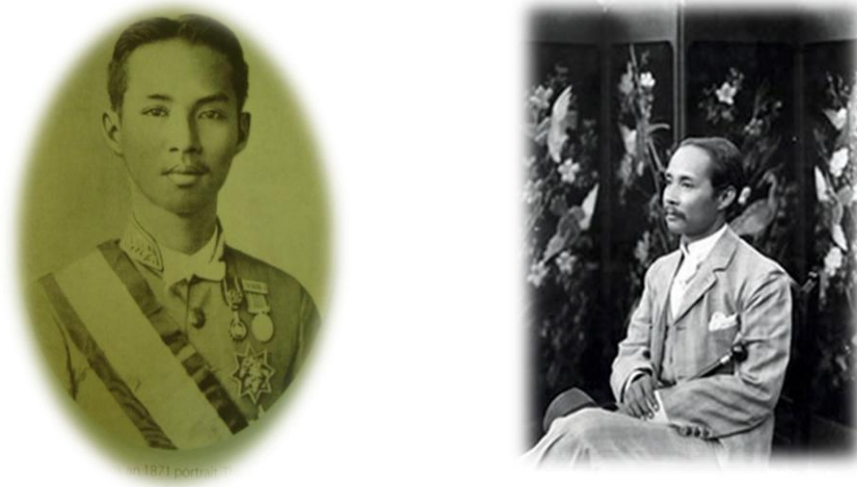


Figure 7 (left) : The portrait of the 17-year-old King Chulalongkorn in 1871

Figure 8 (right): The portrait of King Chulalongkorn in 1896
King Chulalongkorn was in western clothes, a photograph taken by Robert Lenz in Singapore in 1896, one year before visiting Europe.

Source: P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), Page (xvi).

As mentioned earlier, the Siamese elite had recognized the coming of modernization in Siam since the reign of King Mongkut. From that time, they attempted to learn modernization from the West, especially learning from European-like city, such as Singapore and Batavia.

³⁹ P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page (xi).

King Chulalongkorn was the first king to make an overseas journey, so he received the name, “*The King who Open the World of Traveling*”.⁴⁰ During his long reign, the king traveled to many countries. In particular, the king first visited the colonies of European colonizers in Asia, Singapore, Java and the British India, before he visited the European countries at the end of the nineteenth century. The main purpose of these trips was to study the administration of those colonies. Commenting on the second visit to Singapore-Java in 1896,* an editorial in the Singapore Free Press of 22 May 1896 stated that the king had seen everything of interest there was to see and added; “*The King is no more superficial traveler, and many things that a tourist would pass with unobservant eye have been made, through His Majesty’s intelligent examination and criticism, the means of acquiring much more information...*”⁴¹

From his ascension to the throne in 1868 until the First Grand Tour to Europe in 1897, King Chulalongkorn made trips to Singapore (the British) and Java (the Dutch) twice: 1871 and 1896.** The purpose of the royal trips to Singapore and Java were both as study tours and as excursions. The first trip was to study the administrative system in the British and Dutch colonies, while the second Singapore-Java trip in 1896*** was mainly for pleasure and recuperation.⁴² Thus, to explain the importance of the royal overseas journey for improving Siam, it will be necessary to clarify the focus of the first Singapore-Java trip.

⁴⁰ ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ และอรอนงค์ ทิพย์พิมล, บรรณานุกรม, รัชกาลที่ 5: สยามกับลัทธิชาตินิยมและลัทธิอนุรักษนิยม, หน้า 30.

* Prior to visiting Singapore in 1871, Singapore had become a Crown Colony in 1867. Its rule officially transferred to the Colonial Office in London, along with Malacca and Penang, which together formed the Straits Settlements. In Gretchen Liu, Singapore: A pictorial history 1819-2000, Page 97.

⁴¹ P. Lim Pui Huen, “In the Footsteps of the King: Recalling the Visits of King Rama V to Malaya,” ใน รัชกาลที่ 5: สยามกับลัทธิชาตินิยมและลัทธิอนุรักษนิยม, ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ และอรอนงค์ ทิพย์พิมล, บรรณานุกรม, หน้า 247.

** From 1871-1897, King Chulalongkorn visited Singapore alone and the Malay States several times.

*** The following year, King Chulalongkorn made the First Grand Trip in Europe. It could be possible the king visited Singapore and Java this year to prepare for the coming of Grand Trip in Europe.

⁴² Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, Journeys to Java by a Siamese King, Page 15-16.

His first trip in 1871 was planned by the regent who felt that the king should observe the British and Dutch systems of administration. The obvious purpose of this trip was to give him the opportunity to study European statesmanship to prepare the king himself to rule.⁴³ The king was very impressed by that trip such that he changed some traditional customs and modified the physical landscape around Rattanakosin Island after his return. Another purpose for visit Singapore was to increase commercial relations between Singapore and Siam, according to a speech by King Chulalongkorn in reply Thomas Scott, Chairman of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce:

*“Commerce is one of the chief sources of the wealth of nations. It stimulates industry, and promotes the welfare and prosperity of various classes. Our Revered Father during his reign sought treaties of friendship and alliance with European governments to increase commercial relations between the respective peoples. It will be our endeavor to follow in his footsteps, and to increase by every means in our power, the prosperity which had attended the policy thus initiated”.*⁴⁴

The Strait Times Overland Journal in Singapore commented that the trip would benefit the king, particularly with respect to commercial relations:

“...this being the first time a King of Siam has ever visited a foreign country, there is every reason to hope that his trip to

⁴³ B.J. Terwiel, A History of Modern Thailand, 1767-1942 (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), Page 217. Cited in P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page (xv).

⁴⁴ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, จดหมายเหตุเสด็จประพาสต่างประเทศในรัชกาลที่ 5 เสด็จเมืองสิงคโปร์และเมืองเบตาเวียครั้งแรก และเสด็จประพาสอินเดีย กับจดหมายเหตุของหมอบรัดเล, หน้า 11-12.

*Singapore and Java will not only prove of great benefit to himself and his people, but also lead to an extension of trade and closer commercial relations between his kingdom and dependencies and the civilized nations... ”.*⁴⁵

Siam and Singapore had closer commercial relations from the 1820s via a connection of Chinese merchants in both nations. With a long term relationship, the Siamese government under King Mongkut was familiar with Singapore more than other colonial Asian countries. Thus, not surprisingly, the government chose Singapore as a model for modernizing Bangkok. As a result of the good arrangement and political view of the regent, the young king could make such a distant and risky journey beyond the borders of his kingdom, even while the situation in the northeast and the south were uncertain.⁴⁶ Java, occupied by the Dutch, was chosen as a target place for this visit, even though the king had a chance to visit only Batavia and Semarang.

The young king departed from Bangkok on 9 March 1871 on the steam yacht *Regent*. The royal party consisted of sixty-five persons and included his brothers, the Minister of War and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The accompanying party included an artist, a photographer, doctors, pages, bodyguards, scribes and cooks. The *Regent* arrived in Singapore at Johnston's Pier on 15 March.⁴⁷ During the time in Singapore, the king met a number of prominent persons of Singapore, including government officials and merchants. Furthermore, he went sightseeing to many places in Singapore town, for example, the government buildings (the Government House, Town Hall, the military barracks), other public services (the Post Office, the church, the Raffles

⁴⁵ Straits Times Overland Journal (29 March 1871):1

⁴⁶ Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871, Page 19.

⁴⁷ Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, Journeys to Java by a Siamese King, Page 3-5.

Institution, a hospital, an asylum, a jail) and the city life (local market, Chinese community, the botanic gardens, stores at Raffles Place).⁴⁸

One of the places that impressed the king was Raffles Institution because he had his own plans for educational reform. This school was founded by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles with his strong inspiration, “*to be a means of civilizing and bettering the conditions of millions*”.⁴⁹ Accordingly, soon after returning, the king sent fourteen Siamese boys to study at this school. They studied there less than one year before they were called back Siam in the following year to study at a school which was established by the king. Furthermore, the king brought back some ideas from seeing the military barrack, “*Tanglin Barracks*”.* After his return, he ordered constructed a row of two-storey buildings for a residence of his own personal troops within the Grand Palace compound, the model being duplicated from Singapore. ** His tour also included botanical gardens, both those belonging to the government and private merchants. After his return, the king allotted an area of Saranrom Palace to arrange a botanic garden.

⁴⁸ Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, Journeys to Java by a Siamese King, Page 6-7.

⁴⁹ P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page 15.

* Tanglin Barracks was built on the site of an old nutmeg plantation and troops had been garrisoned there since about 1868. The Singapore garrison became part of the bulwark of British garrisons defending Britain’s far-flung empire. In P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page 12.

** However, after the building was constructed completely, it was used for an office of the Auditing Office (หอรัษฎากรณีพิพัฒน) instead. Presently, this building is being used for the “*Queen Sirikit Museum of Textiles*”, featuring various cultural fabrics and Her Majesty the Queen’s own outfits.



Figure 9: Johnston's Pier

When King Chulalongkorn visited Singapore in 1871, he landed at this pier. At that time, Colonel A.E.H. Anson had the duty to greet King Chulalongkorn at the pier and lead him to the Town Hall for an official reception.



Figure 10: "John Little" (the 1870s)

During the trip in 1871 or whenever King Chulalongkorn came to Singapore, he visited some shops around here. One of his favorite shop was "John Little" at the Commercial Square. Now this area has become a centre of finance and business in Singapore

Source: Ray Tyers, Singapore: Then and Now (Singapore: Landmark Books Pte Ltd, 1993), Page 100.

Source: Gretchen Liu (eds.), Singapore historical postcards from the National Archives Collection. (Singapore: National Archives and Records Centre, 1986), Page 59.

After a week in Singapore, the king departed from Singapore to Java of the Dutch. He visited mainly Batavia, where the government buildings, commercial zone, and European district were situated. As with Singapore, the king visited military barracks, schools, hospitals, jails, museums, custom houses and railways (in Semarang). Soon after the king came back to Bangkok, an idea of establishing the Auditing Office to reform the financial system and a museum for national unity were adopted. Furthermore, the king went sightseeing in “*Koningsplein* (‘the field of King’)”, which was surrounding by European residences, government buildings and clubs.⁵⁰ This area was called “*Weltevreden*”, a European district in Batavia. Here, by the nineteenth century, Europeans had adopted the colonial empire style: uniformly white-painted, simple single-storey buildings with colonnaded galleries. The Europeans lived in a relaxed fashion in airy rooms overlooking potted plants, palms, sweet-smelling frangipani and massive tamarind,* kenari and other tropical trees. At the north of Koningsplein was to be found the oldest and most famous of the clubs around which the European social life revolved – the Harmonie Club. Another club for governmental officers was the Concordia Club.** The first time King Chulalongkorn visited Batavia, he also attending a reception at town hall and a fancy-dress ball held at the Harmonie Club and the Concordia Club.

As he had done in Singapore, the king went sightseeing to many places presenting “*a standard of civilization*”, for example, the Supreme Court, a machinery workshop, the Custom House, a drawbridge, some shops, the church, the zoo, a museum, all in Batavia. In Semarang, he visited a gunpowder factory, a hospital, an asylum, a home industry, a missionary school for girls, and some train stations.⁵¹ Again, after his returning, the king established some of these things within the Grand Palace compound;

⁵⁰ Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, *Journeys to Java by a Siamese King*, Page 9-13.

* Tamarinds were planted surrounding Sanam Luang (the Royal Field) similar to Koningsplein when King Chulalongkorn ordered the renovation of this field from a square shape to become an oval shape and adjusted the environmental landscape around the royal palace compound after the Front Palace Crisis.

** Most visitors to Batavia or Weltevreden by the nineteenth century commented that this city was “*a beautiful city*”, “*Queen of the East*”, and “*is spacious, airy and elegant*”. In Susan Abeyasekere, editor, *Jakarta a History* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989), Page 54-55.

⁵¹ Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, *Journeys to Java by a Siamese King*, Page 10-11.

for example, an officers' club, which he named Concordia Club, the same name as the original one in Batavia, the Auditing Office and a museum.

Bangkok and Batavia were similarly laid out canal-cities. As Pensupha Sukkhata points out, Bangkok was similar to Batavia-Amsterdam because they had a network of canals and small crossing-bridges. According to Thai historical documents which illustrate the New Siam era under King Chulalongkorn, the king hired Dutch engineers to work as governmental advisors to formulate a city plan; particularly, the construction of a canal system and crossing bridges in Bangkok.⁵²

During the trip in 1871, King Chulalongkorn was very appreciative of their warm hospitality. Soon after returning,* the king ordered two bronze elephant statues to be made as presents, one each to Singapore and Batavia. Nowadays, one is situated at the front of the former Town Hall in Singapore and another sits at the front of National Museum in Jakarta, Indonesia.

The places that the king observed during his trips to Singapore and Batavia became models for developing and improving Bangkok to be closer to a civilized city, including the administration, customs and landscape. The king himself considered his first trip an important strategy for improving Siam. In 1874, King Chulalongkorn proclaimed the establishment of the Council of State and the Privy Council. In his speech, he mentioned “...travelling across the sea to visit foreign lands,** to observe the customs of more advanced nations, and to select those practices which might prove of value and use to Siam”.⁵³ This dissertation focuses on the change to the physical landscape and some modern ideas constructing a new character of Bangkok to fit the “international standard”.

⁵² เพ็ญสุภา สุขคตะ, *เยี่ยมเยือน เยือนอดีต* (กรุงเทพฯ: ร่วมด้วยช่วยกัน, 2543 (2000)), หน้า 41.

* The local newspaper in Bangkok reported that King Chulalongkorn arrived back in Bangkok on 15 April 1871. In Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, *Journeys to Java by a Siamese King*, Page 13.

** The foreign lands where King Chulalongkorn visited during 1871 – 1874 were Singapore, Batavia, Semarang, Burma and India.

⁵³ David M. Engel, *Law and Kingship in Thailand during the Reign of King Chulalongkorn* (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asia: University of Michigan, 1975), Page 33. Cited in P. Lim Pui Huen, *Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya*, Page (xiv-xv).

Before further discussion, below is a summary of the elements that impressed King Chulalongkorn that he then adapted them to Bangkok. This table shows the places that King Chulalongkorn saw in Singapore and Batavia, and after his return, the new buildings and modern sites in Bangkok that were constructed under the command of the king.⁵⁴

Table 1: Illustration of ideas that King Chulalongkorn adopted from Singapore and Batavia in 1871.

Singapore	Batavia	Bangkok
Botanic Garden	Botanic Garden (Bogor)	- The royal botanic garden “Saranrom Garden”
Tanglin Barrack	(the military barracks)	- a row of residential buildings for the royal guardsman
	museums in Batavia	- The Royal Museum in the Grand Palace
	The Custom House	- The Auditing Office
The Singapore Club	Concordia Club	- Concordia Building (Sahathai Club)
Padang/Esplanade	Koningsplein	- Renovating Sanam Luang into an oval shape circling with planting tamarind trees and used for several national (public) activities

⁵⁴ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอเจ้าฟ้าฯ กรมพระยาเดชาดิศร, *ความทรงจำ* (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2546), หน้า 167-168.

Singapore	Batavia	Bangkok
	Drawbridge/the brick carriage roads parallel to the canal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Vilanda” drawbridge - Rajini and Aussadang roads parallel to Ku Muang Derm - Modifying both muddy sides of Ku Muang Derm with brick dam
Raffles Place	Shops/stores	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Renovation shop-houses in Singapore and Batavia designs
Public Service: hospitals, prisons, asylums, schools	The Public Service: hospital, prison, asylum, school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New prison situated on Mahachai Road - Asylum at Thonburi - School situated within the Grand Palace

4.1.2 Bangkok Modern: modifying a modern zone

At the time Bangkok was growing with an increased population, the boundary of the city was extended to the south.* After the treaties with Western nations were signed, Europeans increasingly came to Bangkok. Even though they were not a majority of the population in Bangkok, they became a powerful group in the economy and culture.

* After establishing ‘Dusit Palace Compound’, Bangkok was increasingly extended toward the north and the east.

Between 1857 and 1861, after the Bowring Treaty was signed, Europeans and former Chinese traders became the group who handled most of the economic sector in Bangkok. With an active expansion of the economy, the physical landscape and land use changed significantly. Both the Westerners and the Chinese became more important in the development of the “*commercial and modern zone*” in the city; in particular, an area to the south of Bangkok, in a newly emerged “*European district*” situated from Padung Krung Kasem Canal, southwards along the Chao Phraya River, which was used for foreign consuls and as the European residential area.⁵⁵ As a result of signing the treaties, foreign consuls were established in Bangkok; furthermore, the Europeans were given extraterritorial rights under the conditions of the treaties. This resulted in a number of Europeans and their subjects became consider, particularly, to a change of Bangkok’s appearance.

Prior to 1855, the number of Westerners in Bangkok was few, with less than 50 Western dwellers. Yet, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the Westerners in Bangkok increased considerably as a result of the treaties. According to the census of 1882, the European inhabitants in Bangkok were approximately 300,⁵⁶ which increased to approximately 1,000 and 1,320 in 1900* and 1909**, respectively. However, while this number was not that significant, the Europeans were, nonetheless, powerful. Importantly, these Europeans convinced the Siamese government to improve the physical

⁵⁵ เขียวรัตน์ พุฒิมานรดิกุล, “การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทางสภาวะแวดล้อมต่อประชาชน,” (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ, บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2527), หน้า 21-22.

⁵⁶ Larry Sternstein, Portrait of Bangkok (Bangkok: Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, 1982), Page 77-78.

* By 1900, a rough guess would place the number of persons resident in Bangkok at between 500,000 and 600,000, including about 1,000 Europeans and Americans. In Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear, editor, Twentieth Century Impressions of Siam: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources, (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994), Page 248.

** Referring to the statistics of Western inhabitants in Bangkok in 1909, the Siamese government surveyed a number of Westerners from 25 districts in Bangkok. The three major Western inhabitants were the British, approximately 532; the Germans, approximately 162; and the Portuguese, approximately 150. ใน “ยอดสำมะโนครัวมณฑลกรุงเทพฯ ศก.128,” สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น.30/9. อ้างถึงใน สาวิตรี ทัพพะสุต, “ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชุมชนชาวไทย จีน และตะวันตกในกรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2398-2453,” (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ, บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2527), หน้า 106.

landscape and environment in Bangkok. Initially, they wanted their living to be as convenient as in their motherlands. Hence, a number of new roads were constructed in Bangkok in response to a request of the European traders and the foreign consuls. Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong, who had been in Singapore in 1861, was assigned to be a head of this project. As recording in the Collections of Chronicles:

*“King Mongkut ordered Chao Phraya Si Suriyawong (Chuang Bunnag) to go to Singapore in 1861, and returned to take charge of building three roads. The first was from Padung Krung Kasem canal near Wang Chao Khmer to connect with the road at Wua Lamphong field (Hua Lamphong at present). The second one separated from the first at Song Sawad (Song Wad) intersection down to Dao Khanong canal. Chinese and Westerners were situated along the Chao Phraya River. The third road was from the French consulate to connect Trong road at Sala Chao Phraya Wariwongsa Maha Kosathibodi (later called Sala Daeng). Then, the city walls, along old Khu Mueang canal, were demolished and iron crossing bridges built to connect with the roads in the inner city”.*⁵⁷

The first two roads were named together as Charoen Krung Road (New Road), except the branch from Song Wad Road to Hua Lamphong which is now a part of Rama IV Road. The third road is at present Silom road. At that time, water travel remained a main transportation option in Bangkok. Therefore, road construction was still constructed parallel to excavated canals. Bridges became more important for the comfort

⁵⁷ ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่ม 14, ภาคที่ 22-25 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การคำคุณฐา, 2507), หน้า 287-288.

of travel by boat and carriage. In this case, the king requested royalty, officials and merchants to subsidize the building of bridges across the canals.⁵⁸

These were the earliest modern roads within Bangkok, and their names also referred to the prosperity of Bangkok. At the same time, Chao Phraya Si Suriyawong built rows of two-storey rental shop-houses as in Singapore along Charoen Krung road.⁵⁹ As for two other new roads, Bamrung Muang and Pheung Nakhon, rows of shop-houses on Bamrung Muang were built by the landowners, while one-storey shop-houses on Pheung Nakhon were built by King Mongkut and dedicated to Bowon Niwet Temple and Rat Pradit Temple.⁶⁰ The style of these shop-houses can be seen today on Tanao Road which links Bamrung Muang Road with the area long Bang Lampu Canal.* Unfortunately, the original shop-houses on Tanao Road constructed during the reign of King Mongkut were destroyed by fire during the early years of the reign of King Chulalongkorn. However, after returning from Singapore in 1871, King Chulalongkorn issued a command to rebuild a row of new shop-houses duplicating shop-houses in Singapore along this road.⁶¹

An area from the Grand Palace compound eastward was contributed for developing a new commercial zone, the earliest modern zone in Bangkok. Here emerged modern architecture and buildings along both sides of the new roads from the east bank of the Chao Phraya River to the Padung Krung Kasem Canal; for example, Ta Tien, Ta

⁵⁸ เจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์, พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 4 ของเจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์มหาโกษาธิบดี, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2 (กรุงเทพฯ: บริษัทอมรินทร์พริ้นติ้งแอนด์พับลิชชิ่ง จำกัด (มหาชน), 2548), หน้า 170.

⁵⁹ ผุสดี ทัพพัธ และมานพ พงศทัต, บ้านในกรุงเทพฯ: รูปแบบและการเปลี่ยนแปลงในรอบ 200 ปี (2325-2525) (เงินทุนจากฝ่ายวิจัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย เนื่องในการสมโภชกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ ครบรอบ 200 ปี, 2525), หน้า 77.

⁶⁰ ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่ม 14, ภาคที่ 22-25, หน้า 295.

* Since the early Bangkok period, the area around Bowon Niwet Temple was the settlement of immigrants who moved from Tanasserim Division in southern Burma. At the beginning, they lived along Bang Lampu Canal, and then moved to this area when King Rama III built Bowon Niwet Temple as a centre of this community. Then, King Mongkut ordered construction of Tanao Road and Din-Sou Road to link Bamrung Muang with Bang Lampu. This area was developed to become a new zone with a row of Singapore-shop-houses. ใน ราชสี บุษกรรัตนพันธุ์ และปิยะพันธ์ ไร่ราว, บรรณาธิการ, แผนที่ชุมชนกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์, หน้า 48.

⁶¹ เรื่องเดียวกัน.

Chang, Mahachai Road, Charoen Krung Road, Bamrung Muang Road, Pheung Nakhon Road and in the Bang Lampu area. The purpose of constructing these buildings was to be residences for government hired-foreigners, offices for government officials and estates for rental by the king. Interestingly, these buildings duplicated a pattern design taken from Singapore. The construction of Singaporean shop-houses was widely popular during the early years of King Chulalongkorn's reign. For example, by 1870 the king ordered Bamrung Muang Road to be enlarged with construction of new buildings along the Singapore model, with the front of the buildings making an "arcade" which aimed to keep the pedestrians walking on the footpath.⁶²

⁶² สมบัติ พลายน้อย, เล่าเรื่องบางกอก เล่ม 2, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 6 (กรุงเทพฯ : สายธาร, 2544), หน้า 59.



Figure 11: Shop-house on Aussadang Road

Shop-house in the Singapore style built during the earlier years of King Chulalongkorn's reign. Initially, the front of these buildings provided a five-foot pathway, or 'arcade'.



Figure 12: Shop-houses on Phra Sumen Road

From Phra Athit to Phra Sumen and Tanao Road, partly in the Bang Lamphu area; the old shop-houses remain situating along this area.



Figure 13: Shop-houses on Ta Tian - Ta Chang - Mahachai roads

Source: Photos by Author, 2010-2011



Figure 14 (above): Shop-house in Bangkok

The left shows a row of shop-house on Charoen Krung Road in Bangkok. The right is Bamrung Muang Road during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. Nowadays, the “arcade” and walkway at the front of these building has been demolished to expand the road.

Source: คันสนีย์ วีระศิลป์ชัย, ย่านการค้า “ตะวันตก” แห่งแรกของกรุงเทพฯ: สามแพรง แพรงภูธร – แพรงนรา – แพรงสรรพศาสตร์ (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2547), หน้า 22.

Figure 15 (below): Shop-house in Singapore

Shop houses are renovated and preserved by the government in Singapore. The “arcade” generally can be seen in Singapore, Penang and Malacca. Also, this style influenced Phuket and Bangkok.

Source: Photos by Author, 2010-2011 and Gretchen Liu, Singapore: A pictorial history 1819-2000, Page 57.



Figure 16 (above): Early shop-house in Singapore

This is a sketch of an early Shop-house Style (1840-1900) in Singapore. This style is typified by a low and squat two-storey building with one or two windows on the upper floor façade.

Source: Photo by Author. Available from Singapore City Gallery, “Housing in Singapore,” [temporary exhibition] (Singapore: Urban Redevelopment Authority, 2009).

Figure 17 and 8 (below): Shop-house in Singapore today

Singapore government preserved shop-houses. These shop-houses are situated at Samaset and Dunlop Street, respectively.

Source: Photo by Author, 2009



During the period of early modernization in Siam, the rich and upper-class families began to build houses of permanent materials. Many buildings in this period were constructed incorporating foreign architecture, particularly influenced from Singapore. For example, Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong borrowed architecture design from Singapore when he made a trip to that city at the king's command. As was mentioned in The Prince' Correspondence:

“...not until the Fourth Reign did persons holding high-ranking positions begin to build their own brick houses. Among all the brick architecture of the period, only Itsaret Hall was of American architecture. The other new type was called ‘Kalapa (กะหลาป่า)’ , buildings which were two-storied and sometimes had rounded corners. Some had front porches; others had none. The shape of the roof was presumably done in the Thai style.... In about 1859, Somdet Chao Phraya Borommahasi Suriyawong made an official trip to Singapore at the King's request and brought back plans of various types of European architectural buildings found in Singapore. The buildings along the old section of New Road were designed after the buildings in Singapore. Even the two-storied buildings with front porches which are the residences of Krommaluang Phrommawaranurak, Krommamun Ratchasaksamoson, and Krommakhun Sirichatsangkat were designed according to the architecture in Singapore brought here by the same Somdet Chao Phraya. Originally the front porch of the buildings in Singapore was*

* The Singapore Free Press reported that the date that Somdet Chao Phraya Borommahasi Suriyawong arrived in Singapore was 10 July 1861. It could be possible the author counted the year inaccurately. In Singapore Free Press (4 July 1861): 3.

designed for car parking. Yet automobiles were not widely used in Thailand at that time. Therefore, the front porch of the Singapore-styled buildings in Thailand was used as an audience hall or living room instead. Thus only houses of the wealthy, high-ranking officials had front porches. As time went on, the front porch was even regarded as symbol of high social status, and many people who had just recently become rich were desirous of having a front porch for their houses, regardless of whether it was a wooden house or a brick one”.*⁶³

Not only architecture design was duplicated from Singapore, land transportation was also needed to characterize a commercial city in a modern form. In particular, the foreigners requested the Siamese government to construct more land transportation. For example, Thanon Trong (Road) and New Road were constructed in response to the request of the Westerners. In the case of Thanon Trong, the Westerners asked for a road and parallel canal so they could move their business to Bang Na,^{**} although, after the road was completed, they did not move to the new area because they complained that it was too far away and inconvenient.⁶⁴

* In 1904, there were three cars in Bangkok, which was the first time automobiles were seen here. In the same year, Prince Rachaburidirekrit offered his own car, a Mercedes Benz, to King Chulalongkorn when he returned from France. One year later, the king imported a Mercedes Benz from Germany. Therefore, the period that Prince Damrong mentioned in his letter might have been misunderstood because, prior to 1904, only horse-carriages were popular as land transport among the royal elite and nobles, as there were no cars in Bangkok.

⁶³ สมเด็จพระเจ้าฟ้ากรมพระยานริศรานุวัดติวงศ์ และสมเด็จพระอมรินทราบรมราชินี, สารนิพนธ์สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, สำนัสนสมเด็จฯ เล่ม 22 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การคำคุณุสสา, 2505), หน้า 73-74. Cited In Wiyada Thongmitr, Khrua In Khong's Westernized School of Thai Painting (Bangkok: Thai Cultural Data Centre, 1979), Page 33-34.

^{**} At that time, the road was built in parallel with canal excavation because the canals were still important as a main mode of transportation. The canal excavation came to an end in the reign of King Rama VI and Bangkok was transformed to become a land based city at that time.

⁶⁴ Malinee Khumsupha, “Changing in urban Bangkok 1855-1909: the impact of the settlement of the British and their subjects,” (Doctoral dissertation, Department of Thai Studies, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, 2011), Page 139.

As a result of signing the diplomatic and commercial treaties, developing the Western quarter in Bangkok was initiated from the reign of King Mongkut. Even though Bang Na did not become the Western quarter under his reign, the king kindly allotted land to southward along the Chao Phraya River for European inhabitants and their subjects.* By 1861, by the king's command, a canal was constructed to link Sala Daeng and the end of Charoen Krung Road, and then Silom Road was constructed parallel to this canal.⁶⁵ At the end of Charoen Krung Road, along the Chao Phraya River to Bang Koleam, was an area that the king allotted for a “*European district*”. Here became a “*new suburb*” for Europeans where their housing, banks and stores were situated, in addition to a former commercial zone nearby the Grand Palace compound where various ethnic groups had been situated since the founding of Bangkok.**

The digging of “*Thanon Tong Canal*” became the furthest extended boundary to the eastward of Bangkok in the following period.⁶⁶ Up to the reign of King Chulalongkorn, Bangkok was extending in all directions and became a centre of business and a modern city. In particular, the southern city, known as a new suburb where Sathorn Road, Suriwong Road and Si Phraya Road, was constructed, becoming an extending zone from the European district along the bank of river, called “*Khet Nok Muang Khet Mai (‘a new outer boundary zone of the city’)*”.

* The former European settlement during the early Bangkok period was situated on the west bank of the Chao Phraya River in a southward direction, known as “Kudi Chin”. Most of the Europeans and Americans who came to Bangkok before the Bowring Treaty resided there. For example, the Portuguese Consulate, the British Factory of Mr. Hunter (three-storey building of bricks) and Bradley’s house were situated in this area.

⁶⁵ เจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์, พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 4, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2 (กรุงเทพฯ: บริษัทอมรินทร์พริ้นติ้ง แอนด์พับลิชชิ่ง จำกัด (มหาชน), 2548), หน้า 125. และ ประทุมพร วัชรเสถียร, ฉันรักกรุงเทพฯ ตอน พระอาทิตย์ขึ้นที่ถนนสีลม (กรุงเทพฯ: แพรวล้านกพิมพ์, 2547), หน้า 25-26.

** The first Western zone of Bangkok was nearby Ku Muang Chan Nai and Chang Rongsri Bridge, which was close to Si Kak Phraya Sri Intersection. This zone was the first modern commercial zone to emerge during the reign of King Mongkut.

⁶⁶ สงัด อีสระทิพย์, “การศึกษาทางสังคม-ประวัติศาสตร์ ว่าด้วยการเปลี่ยนแปลงสภาพการใช้ที่ดินเพื่อการอยู่อาศัยของกรุงเทพมหานคร,” (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ, บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2529), หน้า 81.



Map 4: Map of Bangkok (1901)

This map shows the growth of Bangkok in 1901 under King Chulalongkorn. The expansion of the city beyond the city walls can be seen on this map. The new area was called “new suburb” or “European District” to the southward along the river and new road; Silom (1858), Sathorn (1888), Suriwong (1897) (Si Phraya was later completed in 1906). Hotels, godowns, shops, consuls, churches, clubs and housing of Europeans mainly were situated here.

Source: Steve, Van Beek, Bangkok Then and Now (Nonthaburi: AB Publications, 1999).

Before the European district emerged southward from the city walls, the earliest modern commercial zone within the line of Padung Krung Kasem Canal had been operated by constructing Charoen Krung Road along with shop-houses under the reign of King Mongkut. This road also linked this area to the old commercial zone of Sampheng, the trading zone of the Chinese. The building's design at the beginning was influenced by shop-houses in Singapore. Presently, two-storey shop-houses in colonial design exist in this area. Constructing roads and rental shop-houses, running from the Grand Palace compound to an area beyond the city walls, accelerated the change in the city's character from water-based to land settlements toward commercial areas extending to the suburb from the 1870s. As a result, the form of the divine city was gradually transformed.

As Bangkok was growing rapidly, the demand for land increased as well. To respond to this demand, the king reluctantly had to give permission to demolish a city wall and some fortresses, a spiritual symbol as the protector of the divine city. As the king wrote, “...*I feel uncomfortable to demolish a city wall. I am afraid that either the spirits or people would be angry*”.⁶⁷ As a result, Bangkok expanded in all directions. Unused forest area beyond Padung Krung Kasem Canal, where either roads or canals passed, became new settlements or communities. Land transport and living in buildings became a new way of life for inhabitants in Bangkok. Finally, the character of a divine city steadily declined and was substituted by the concept of a modern city.

Given the fact that it was an agricultural country, Siam became an important agricultural item exporter to the world market, especially rice. The central plains are fertile and suitable for cultivating rice. So, when the demand for rice increased significantly, the government promoted excavation of canals parallel with roads linking Bangkok and nearby agricultural areas in order to increase rice fields and transport

⁶⁷ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กรมโยธาธิการ, พ.ศ. 8.3/7.

agricultural items more quickly and conveniently.⁶⁸ That's the reason why rice mills and docks were situated increasingly along the Chao Phraya River in Bangkok to facilitate a business of rice export. Under King Mongkut, the government promoted the west side of the Chao Phraya River to become an agricultural area by excavating canals; for example, Jedi Bucha Canal, Mahasawas Canal, Pasi Charoen Canal and Damneon Saduak Canal. Later, under the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the king ordered excavation of Prem Pachakorn Canal from Somemanas Viharn Temple to Ayutthaya to develop "rice fields" on the east side of the river and shorten the route from Bangkok to Ayutthaya.⁶⁹ These canal-road construction projects connecting the inner town were mainly used for trading activities, services, industry, residence and governmental services, while the outer town, which was less densely populated, was used for cultivating. In short, the first part functioned as a market; the latter part was for producing.⁷⁰ Due to modernization and the growth of market economy, Bangkok was gradually transformed both function and form.

4.2 Bangkok Modern: City of Beauty – Hygiene – Order

*"Every year the Europeans come to Bangkok increasingly. Their countries have smooth and clean roads, while here there are dirty alleys and muddy roads. It is very shameful when the Europeans see these roads. So, it is a good thing that these Europeans advice us to improve our city to be more beautiful"*⁷¹

- *His Majesty King Mongkut*

⁶⁸ ยศวรัตน์ พุฒิมานรดีกุล, "การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทางสภาวะแวดล้อมต่อประชาชน," หน้า 37.

⁶⁹ สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *ความทรงจำ*, หน้า 151.

⁷⁰ ยศวรัตน์ พุฒิมานรดีกุล, "การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทางสภาวะแวดล้อมต่อประชาชน," หน้า 38, 44.

⁷¹ *ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่ม 14, ภาคที่ 22-25*, หน้า 292-293.

Since the arrival of a “*free trade policy*” with its “*civilized standard*”, King Mongkut recognized the need for transformation resulting from this coming trend, particularly improving land transportation. As Dr. Bradley recommended in the Bangkok Recorder* (1866) that Bangkok needed a good road for horse-carriages; moreover, Siam needed a light (sawang) to enlighten a nation to become “*civilized*”. Dr. Bradley interpreted that “*a light*” is Christianity. Even though King Mongkut admitted that Siam needed to change to become a civilized nation, he excluded “*Christianity*” from the terms of civilization: road construction, technology of communication and transportation.**

By the nineteenth century, the expansion of international standards influenced the world, including Siam and the colonies in Southeast Asia, which resulted in the European countries becoming the powers in economy, sciences and technology. They expanded their influential sphere and forced other countries to follow their terms. Sometimes they used military force to occupy the resources and markets of that country. Because of the achievement of expanding liberal trade and colonization, their culture and lifestyle became the new value in the world in the nineteenth century as the “*international standard*” of civilization.

To enable Siam to stand equal with the West, King Mongkut tried to improve Bangkok to become “*a civilized city*”, the same as a European city, soon after ascending the throne. In particular, the king adopted modernity from Singapore. As earlier mentioned, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles strongly intended to build Singapore to become a city of hygiene, safety and convenience. This concept would be taken as the

* King Mongkut supported the printing of local newspapers, the Bangkok Recorder and Bangkok Calendar, organized by Bradley. Both newspapers not only reported the incidents that happened in Bangkok or elsewhere, but also published articles about recommendation letters and complains from whomever pushed the government to improve Bangkok (Siam) to become a Westernized state. ใน คำร้องไต่ครวญ, การพิมพ์กับหมอบรัดเลย์, เอกสารทางวิชาการเพื่อประกอบการสัมมนา “หมอบรัดเลย์กับสังคมไทย” (กรุงเทพฯ: สถาบันไทยคดีศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์ และโครงการไทยศึกษา จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 16-17 กรกฎาคม 2528): 26.

** By 1828, Prince-Priest Mongkut established the “*Dhammayut*” and explained that Buddhism is a scientific belief and logical thinking. Thus, this religion could be a representative of Siamese civilization the same as Christianity for Western civilization.

model for an “*under civilized city*” in Southeast Asia, including Siam. Not surprisingly, the Siamese government under King Mongkut chose to follow the track of Singapore. The king began with hiring a Dutch engineer from Singapore to make a map of Bangkok. Dr. Bradley reported this news in his newspaper, the Bangkok Recorder, that the government hired a Dutch engineer from Singapore to survey the physical landscape of Bangkok.⁷² The benefit of mapping Bangkok was to rearrange the land use to make the city more beautiful and orderly. In addition, at the beginning of modernizing Bangkok, King Mongkut initially transformed Bangkok along the standards of a modern city similar to Singapore; “*beauty-hygiene-order*”.

4.2.1 Beautification

“*The sense of beauty*” of the city was one of the first things to consider when transforming Bangkok, especially its physical landscape. The construction of roads and buildings partly served in the beautification of Bangkok. As King Mongkut explained, a reason to construct new roads was to improve and beautify Bangkok.

King Mongkut started the transformation of Bangkok from water to land. As a result of the request of the Westerners for construction of a carriage road, the king commanded Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong to construct the first road within the city walls, New Road or Charoen Krung (Advance the City).^{*} This road went direct southward from the Grand Palace to Padung Krung Kasem Canal;⁷³ in addition, there were two more roads, (Bamrung Muang and Pheung Nakhon) to connect with Charoen Krung. This area became the first Western commercial zone within the city walls. A row of one-storey

⁷² วิลเลียม แอล. บรัคเลย์, “อินชะเนี่ยชาติดีชะ,” บางกอกเรคอร์ดเดอร์ (พฤศจิกายน 2409): 513.

^{*} Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong was responsible for constructing the southern part of this road (from the inner city moat-canal to Bang Koleam). Mr. Henry Alabaster was an engineer who surveyed and made a layout for constructing this road.

⁷³ ทองต๋อ กลัวยไม้ ณ อยุธยา และคนอื่น ๆ, 225 ปี กรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ (กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักงานผังเมือง, 2552), หน้า 156.

shop-houses* were built along both sides of the roads on property owned by the king and the royal family. Europeans, Chinese and Indian traders rented these shops to sell their foreign goods which had been imported from both Europe and Asia.

King Mongkut also built forty two-storey buildings on Sanam Chai Road nearby the Grand Palace compound. These buildings were used primarily for housing foreign teachers and officers. The king hired them either to teach English or to train Western military skills. In addition, they could be rented by foreign traders. Later, the king built four more buildings at the front of the Throne Hall of Sutthaisawan, situated at the eastern side of the palace walls. These buildings were used for a dormitory for Western military training troops. Thus, it could be said that “*the first image of beauty*” in Bangkok emerged in this area. This image was partly inspired by the experiences of Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong in seeing Singapore 1861.⁷⁴ Road linkages and buildings increased the capacity of Bangkok to facilitate the growth of commerce, as well as assisting in the beautification of Bangkok. “*Beautification*” was not the only factor for improving the standard of a modern city, but the living quality of inhabitants in the city, particularly the hygienic condition, needed to be considered. “*Hygiene*” will be discussed as the next topic.

Although the transformation under King Mongkut did not significantly change Bangkok in a short time, the things that the king did integrated Siam into an orbit of modernity. Being a scholar and with his ability using English, the king often discussed and exchanged opinions with foreign scholars about advancement and global issues. In addition, King Mongkut opened his mind to listen to requests and comments from foreigners, especially the European dwellers. Unlike the former Christian missionaries, after the 1850s, Europeans came with the perception of imperialism and a standard of

* During the reign of King Mongkut, shop-houses were built along inner Charoen Krung Road from Wat Po to Triangle sections at “the upper Iron Bridge” and along Bamrung Muang-Phueng Nakon roads. These shop-houses were duplicated from Singapore. Nowadays, some of them remain along Tanao Road.

⁷⁴ ม.ร.ว. ผนังน้อย ศักดิ์ศรี, มรดกสถาปัตยกรรมกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ เล่ม 1 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักราชเลขาธิการ, 2536), หน้า 217.

Western civilization. Further, they were protected by their own laws and their consuls resulting from the treaties. Therefore, they never hesitated to complain and request the Siamese government to respond to their demands. In particular, they desired the Siamese government to adjust the physical environment in Bangkok to be similar to a European-like city. Thus, the king responded to those requests that were appropriate for improving Siam.

To improve Bangkok, King Mongkut also paid attention to learning from nearby European-like cities, initiating “*a study tour* (‘การศึกษาดูงาน’)” to foreign countries. Even though the king could not go abroad in person, he sent his high ranking official to observe the administration in Singapore. This practice would become a new trend of learning after his period with King Chulalongkorn adopting his experience, visiting Singapore and Batavia in person in 1871.

As a result of the first royal trip to Singapore and Batavia, King Chulalongkorn adopted two important aspects from that journey. **Firstly**, the king observed European customs and administration, even if it was not the original “*metropolitan modernity*” from Europe. **Secondly**, the king acknowledged what can be called a standard of civilization that he hoped would occur in Siam in the near future.

After returning from Singapore and Batavia in 1871, the king commanded to be built governmental buildings with architecture and interior designs that were inspired by seeing the colonial cities. For example, in the Throne Hall of Phaisantaksin, the king had one specific room renovated and divided into three sectors: a dining room at the east, a living room at the west, a walkway to the front hall at the center.* This room was decorated with European designed furniture. Furthermore, when having an audience, the king requested his officials to dress in Western fashion: a shirt in Western style and Siamese purple panung (brocade worn over the trunks) with socks and shoes. Also, the

* Noticeably, the former guest house owned by the Thai Embassy in Singapore had been separated into dining room and living room, and the front door at the middle. Yet, last three years ago (2009), this house was demolished for reconstructing new building instead.

king dined with them in the Western custom.⁷⁵ It could be said that the Western custom became a royal value and a fashionable trend in the royal court under his reign.

To transform Bangkok along the lines of “*beautification*”, an area within the city walls was improved to be similar to a colonial city. For example, the king constructed roads circling the line of the city walls. Also, the muddy watersides of the Ku Muang Derm, from Chang Rongsi Bridge to the mouth of Talad (market) Canal, were made more beautiful with brick dams and crossing drawbridges, called “*Vilanda Bridge*” as he had seen in Batavia.* Along both sides of this canal, ran two new roads, Aussadang and Rajini roads. Also, the king adopted the “*sense of beauty*” of the botanic gardens that he saw at the Agri-Horticultural Gardens** and the botanic garden of Whampoa*** in Singapore to arrange the botanic garden in the Saranrom Palace† for the royal pleasure.

To further modify Bangkok with beautification, the city was transformed by extending roads and building colonial buildings along the roads.⁷⁶ Prior to emergence of the project of the Dusit Palace compound and “*Rajadamnern Avenue (‘the royal way for walking’)*”, the physical landscape of the inner section on “*Rattanakosin Island*” was adjusted for “*beauty and order*”. As the need for land in Bangkok gradually increased, land was reclaimed to provide the way for extending roads. As a result, a number of

⁷⁵ สมเด็จพระยาตากษัตริย์ราชานุภาพ, *ความทรงจำ*, หน้า 166.

* In Batavia, the canal was dammed in the early 1830s in order to prevent silt and mud flowing into it from the Ciliwung River, which made it too shallow to use. In Scott Merrillees, Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs, Page 26.

** Now the Agri-Horticultural Garden is known as the Botanic Gardens.

*** Hoo Ah Kay or Whampoa came to Singapore in 1830 at the age of fifteen. His knowledge of English gave him a distinct advantage and he built a successful business as a ship chandler and as a supplier to Her Majesty’s Navy. He diversified into other businesses and had a bakery, a department store, and an ice-house by the Singapore River. During the trip of 1871, King Chulalongkorn visited his mansion in Sarangoon Road, which was noted for its splendid ornamental garden. In P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page 20.

† The Saranrom Palace was founded under the royal command of King Mongkut. Initially, the king intended to live there after his retirement; unexpectedly, he died soon after returning from Wah Ko. Later, King Chulalongkorn duplicated the idea of a botanical garden from seeing such gardens in Singapore. This garden is situated between Charoen Krung Road and Rajini Road.

⁷⁶ Shigeharu Tanabe, Historical Geography of the Canal System in the Chao Phraya Delta from the Ayutthaya Period to the Fourth Reign of the Ratanakosin Dynasty, Page 24-25.

houses along the waterways were demolished and inhabitants were forced to move. Finally, living in floating houses was replaced by moving to shop-houses or buildings that were owned to the government. In the case of the construction of Krung Kasem Road linking Charoen Krung Road and Padung Krung Kasem Canal, the Department of Public Works demolished the houses along the northern canal to make the city more beautiful and to provide for a new road. After that, construction of any buildings, excepted by permission of Public Works, was not allowed.⁷⁷

However, the demolition of the houses to beautify the city created dissatisfaction among the former owners. In this case, the government attempted to solve a problem about the discontentment of the owners that their buildings would be demolished. As Prince Damrong wrote in his book, Recollection, when King Chulalongkorn ordered the extension of Bamrung Muang Road, there was a need to reclaim more land along that road and some buildings had to be demolished. Therefore, the king kindly compromised with the owners and the government compensated them for giving permission to construct a building (followed a blueprint that designed by the government) along the extended part of that road. However, if any person had no money to invest, the royal Privy Purse would invest for that person first and collect a rental fee from them. When that person had paid the rental fee until covering the cost of that asset, the government would transfer the right of possession to that person.⁷⁸

The building of shop-houses constructed by the government had been initially undertaken during the reign of King Mongkut. Several governmental historical documents in Thailand indicate that the early shop-houses along the earliest roads in Bangkok followed the Singapore model.⁷⁹ For example, a document of the Public Works

⁷⁷ กระทรวงนครบาล, “เรื่อง “ประกาศรักษาที่ดินริมถนนระหว่างคลองผดุง,” (สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, ม 5. 2/2).

⁷⁸ สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, ความทรงจำที่ทรงค้างไว้ 5 ตอน (พระนคร: สมาคมสังคมนิยมแห่งประเทศไทย, 2506), หน้า 237.

⁷⁹ Porphant Ouyyanont, “Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851 – 1925,” Page 443.

Department during the reign of King Chulalongkorn proves that the buildings along the earliest roads were duplicated from the Singapore model.

As mentioned above, most of the shop-houses at that time were duplicated from the model of shop-houses in Penang and Singapore, providing for an “*arcade*”, the same pattern of shop-houses in Singapore, called a “*Colonnade Footway*”. This arcade was blocked into separated buildings by an archway overhanging the building. The “*arcade*” was a unique design of Chino-Portuguese shop-houses which provided for a walkway for pedestrians. This arcade was adopted by the Dutch in Batavia to protect the spices. Later, Raffles adopted this design to build shop-houses in Singapore. He proclaimed the pattern of building shop-houses, including the “*five-footway*”.*

Afterwards, this kind of shop-house became a favorite design in the Straits Settlements and Siam, including the southern part of Siam and Bangkok. Under the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the government specified a pattern of building and forced non-government investors to follow this model. For example, an announcement of the Sanitation Department on behalf of the king stated:

*“...if any person wants to construct a buildings on the public road (thanon luang)** which has no walkway, that person would be expected to build a building providing a 5-*

* In Phuket, they call this arcade that “Ngo-kaki”. “Ngo” in Chinese – Hokkien language – means “five”, while “kaki” in Malay means “feet”. The word “kaki” was used widely among the carpenters in Phuket, which means a one-foot long board. So, a five-foot length is called *Ngo-kaki*. ใน ปัญญา เทพสิงห์ และ วุฒิ วัฒนสิน, *ลวดลายตกแต่งหน้าอาคารชิโน-ปอร์ตูกีสในจังหวัดภูเก็ต* (มหาวิทยาลัยสงขลานครินทร์ วิทยาเขตหาดใหญ่, 2545), หน้า 29.

** At that time, the word of “luang” was used for indentified anything that belonging to the king, but in practical, it was similar to the meaning of “public” in a term of the west.

feet-wide space at the front of that building for a water pipe and walkway purposes... ”⁸⁰

It could be seen that when the new order emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, the impact of commerce – technology – Western standard – transformed Siam, especially Bangkok, and “*beauty and order*” became a standard of a civilized city. To be a truly civilized nation, Siam needed to improve and modify Bangkok to fit this standard. Noticeably, Bangkok gradually transformed from “*tradition and disorder*” to “*beautification*” with a road network and brick buildings. Yet, beauty always comes with hygiene and order to build a good environment for dwellers in that city. Bangkok also had to improve the environment, not for only comfortable livelihood, but to facilitate the trading activity in the city as well.

4.2.2 Hygiene

With the tropical climate and a lack of awareness of sanitary matters, during the former period a large amount of the population in Bangkok was killed annually by the spread of tropical diseases, especially cholera and smallpox.

Bangkok was an aquatic city, so the river and canals were part of the daily life of inhabitants who lived along these waterways, which included throwing waste into the waterways. Prior to the arrival of Western medicine to Bangkok, hygienic and clean waterways were not really of concern. Therefore, epidemics brought vast death to the population caused annually.

⁸⁰ กรมสุขาภิบาล, “เรื่อง ประกาศเรื่องขยายที่ริมถนน/ประกาศสุขาภิบาล,” (สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น.5.2/8).

When the American missionaries came in the early time, some of them died because of these diseases, for example from smallpox, until Dr. Bradley introduced a method of inoculation to Siam instead of vaccination,* after which the Siamese were saved from smallpox epidemics. In addition, these American missionaries attempted to encourage a consciousness of “*cleanliness*” among the Siamese to prevent the epidemic of tropical diseases over the long run. They also requested the Siamese government to force their people by law to keep their house clean. As Dr. Bradley stated in his article regarding cleanliness being important for the prevention of an epidemic of cholera disease in Bangkok Recorder as follows:

*“...Usually, the Siamese can stay in a dirty house, but they cannot live without taking a bath...That’s why I want the government to proclaim to each house that they should keep their house always clean. If they would not follow a proclamation, they will be fined. This will be benefit for improving Bangkok similar to Europe and America. Those countries promulgate a law to force their people to always make their house clean. If they would not follow the law, they will be punished. Generally, a big city is very crowded, so it is easier to be dirty. So, Bangkok should follow Europe and America to save their people’s life”.*⁸¹

* Inoculation is when a portion of the diseased matter is introduced into a healthy individual in order to induce a mild form of the disease; vaccination is to produce immunity from the smallpox. Yet, unfortunately, Dr. Bradley could not achieve a smallpox vaccine, so, he introduced inoculation instead. This had been practiced by the families of missionaries and the success pleased King Rama III who encouraged the work of inoculation in Siam. In William L. Bradley, Siam Then: the foreign colony in Bangkok before and after Anna, Page 57-58.

⁸¹ วิลเลียม แอล. บรัดเลย์, “การจัดแจงในกรุงเทพฯ เพื่อจะแกโรคลงวากม,” บางกอกเรคอร์ดเดอร์, (สิงหาคม 2409): 427.

Therefore, “*hygiene and cleanliness*” was growing in awareness so that the government and people were more concerned with building hygiene, and “*a hygiene standard*” was initiated by King Mongkut. The king issued proclamations to guide the people on how to keep their housing and community from an unhealthy condition. For example, in 1856, a notification on *The Inelegant Practice of Throwing Dead Animals into the Waterway, the Construction of Fireplaces, and the Manipulation of Window Wedges* recommended that the people should be concerned about cleanliness and hygiene in their residence. Because of an epidemic of tropical diseases, particularly cholera,* the European inhabitants seriously were concerned about their health. Therefore, they complained about dirty and polluted water, noting that the people who inhabited Bangkok were great polluters of water because they threw carcasses of dead animals into the rivers and canals where they floated up and down in great abomination. The king advised his people that “*under no circumstance whatsoever should any person allow himself to throw a dead dog, a dead cat, or the carcass of any other species of animal into any river or canal, whether big or small*”. He also suggested that the people should find a place to bury dead bodies in the ground. This had to be done for **a healthy condition** in the city.⁸² However, at that time, there was no governmental organization responsible for arranging hygiene in Bangkok, until the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

Even though King Mongkut convinced his people to be concerned with a healthy condition of living, this was not effective in adjusting the normal behavior of the dwellers. People had a habit and ignored the rule. As a person recorded, he found one person was defecating down Khu Muang Derm, along Assadang Road. In addition, as the number of inhabitants in Bangkok was increasing rapidly, it was difficult to encourage

* Dr. Samuel Reynolds House had written about the cholera epidemic in 1849 that it partly resulted from the Siamese custom of always throwing the carcass of animals into the river. In George Haws Feltus, *Samuel Reynolds House of Siam: Pioneer Medical Missionary 1847-1876* (Thailand: White Lotus Press, 2007), Page 79.

⁸² ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ, บรรณารักษ์, “ประกาศทรงตั้งเดือนมิถุนายนให้ทั้งศพสัตว์ลงในน้ำ แลให้ทอดเตาไฟอย่าให้เป็นเชื้อเพลิง แลให้คิดทำลิ่มสลักรักษาเรือน, ฉบับที่ 97,” ใน *ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4* (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโดยตำแห่งประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547), หน้า 121-122.

the people to keep the waterways clean without punishment. Therefore, the government had to force the people by laws. That is why King Chulalongkorn proclaimed the Act of Canal of 1870 as follows:

*“...strictly prohibit any person living along the canals and creeks within or nearby the city walls from put their waste and death animals into the water ways. If they would defecate, they had to make a brick case along the canal or put a wooden case into the ground with movable closure to keep it closely. And they had to pay a fee to an official canal keeper for keeping this waste. If they would not follow the Act, they would be punished by law”.**

The government under King Chulalongkorn seriously considered the health condition, specifically in Bangkok. The king established the Department of Sanitation in 1897, responsible for the health of people and hygiene in Bangkok. It could say that it was the first step to making Bangkok to become the cleanest and most beautiful city in Siam.⁸³ In particular, by 1898 this department announced a number of proclamations to make Bangkok clean and beautiful, for example, they did not allow the city dwellers to write or draw on the city wall, temple wall or even a hall of temples. It included that they did not allow the city dwellers to take a bath, defecate down, and throw dead body of animals or even dirty water on the roads. Furthermore, the city dwellers

* The canals that mentioned in the Act were Ku Muang Derm, Lawd Canal and other canals within or nearby the city walls. ใน ชัย เรื่องศิลป์, ประวัติศาสตร์ไทย สมัย พ.ศ.2325-2453: ด้านสังคม, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 4 (กรุงเทพฯ: ไสภณการพิมพ์, 2545), หน้า 279.

⁸³ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 220.

would be fined if they would break any branch of trees that they were planted along the roads to beautify the city.⁸⁴

As the population in Bangkok grew and moved to settle along the roads, the water supply from natural sources, such as the river and canals, could not sustain the demand of dwellers, especially those living in the buildings along the road. Therefore, the need for clean water for them was considered. In fact, King Chulalongkorn had an interest in the water supply for dwellers in the city which can be assumed came from the second journey to Singapore-Java of 1896. During that journey, King Chulalongkorn visited the waterworks at Thomson Road Reservoir,^{*} which provided a clean water supply for the city dwellers in Singapore. Several years later, the king established a water supply to provide clean water for people in Bangkok in 1903, which was completed in 1914.⁸⁵

The government was not only concerned about the hygienic environment, they were also concerned about the health of the people. In fact, public health was initially launched by the American missionaries. At that time, Siam had no public hospital, only a small clinic belonging to missionaries. However, with due consideration of the health problem of the people, King Mongkut sponsored some nobles to study Western medical sciences in the United States of America.^{**} In addition, King Chulalongkorn was interested in the administrative system of hospitals in Singapore.

⁸⁴ กระทรวงนครบาล, “เรื่อง ห้ามราษฎรไม่ให้ปลูกเรือนโรงร้านติดถนน และไม่ให้มุงหลังคาแลฝา สิ่งที่เป็นเชื้อเพลิงและห้ามทำอันตรายต้นไม้ริมถนน,” (สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น/91 หมายเลข 4). และ ชัย เรื่อง ศิลป์, ประวัติศาสตร์ไทย สมัย พ.ศ.2325-2453: ด้านสังคม, หน้า 220.

^{*} The Thomson Road Reservoir was undertaken in 1857 to convey water to the town. In Singapore Municipality, “Water works: Opening of New Works (26th March 1912)”, The National Library of Singapore, NL 8801.

⁸⁵ สมบัติ พลายน้อย, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าฯ พระปิยมหาราช, หน้า 236.

^{**} Some Siamese had a chance to study English with American missionaries and then went abroad for their further study. For example, Mr. Tien He studied English with missionaries, after that he went to America to study medical sciences. After he got a certificate, he came back to Siam and worked as an official at the Royal Military under King Chulalongkorn. ใน สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, ชุมนุมพระนิพนธ์ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, หน้า 13-18.

When the king visited Singapore in 1871, Tan Tock Seng Hospital was included in his schedule.* Since that journey, the king observed the work of hospitals whenever he visited Singapore or Batavia in person or sent his officials.

As mentioned above, health services were initiated by Christian missionaries who came to Bangkok starting in the reign of King Rama II. They introduced medical knowledge from the West to heal Siamese patients, for example, vaccination, midwifery, operations, etc.⁸⁶ King Chulalongkorn recognized the need for health services for his people, and, as a result of observing a hospital in the British colony, the king intended to establish a hospital in Bangkok, but this did not happen until an epidemic of cholera occurred in Bangkok in 1881. At that time, the king commanded 48 temporary treatment areas in Bangkok be established to prevent this disease. After the epidemic was controlled, these treatment areas were closed. However, the king still considered the need for founding a permanent hospital for the health of the people. Therefore, in 1888, the king appointed a committee for founding a hospital owned by the government and allotted a part of the area in the Rear Palace, situated on the west bank of Chao Phraya River, buying a part of the land belonging to Madam Cole's school for constructing a new hospital. After completion, this hospital was named "*Siriraj Hospital*".** For this construction, the king invited other people, including the royal family, officials and foreigners, to subsidize and donate a sum of money for this project. At the beginning, it was difficult to encourage the people to see a doctor at a hospital because they were less confident in Western medicine than the traditional medicine. So, the government had to motivate people to try new medical treatments for "*free curing*".

* Tan Tock Seng Hospital was founded in 1844 by Tan Tock Seng, Tan Kim Ching's father. This hospital was established 'for the sick of all nations' run by the Chinese community. It was originally located at Pearl's Hill, but at the time of the king's visit, it had moved to Balestier Road, situated at Moulmein Road since 1909. Interestingly, during his visit, King Chulalongkorn donated to this hospital \$1,000. In P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page 5.

⁸⁶ จรัส เกรัมย์พงษ์, บรรณารักษ์, ประวัติการแพทย์ สมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์, (กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพยาบาลศิริราช, คณะแพทยศาสตร์, มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล, 2525), หน้า 30-33.

** This name came from the name of Prince Siriraj, the 53rd son of King Chulalongkorn, who died in 1887 at the age of 1 year and 7 months.

In addition, the government not only supported a hospital for the people's health, but producing medical students was considered necessary as well. As a result, after the first hospital was launched, a number of hospitals and school for medical sciences were established.*

Another aspect of “*hygiene*” is that it is a standard of a modern city. When “*beautification*” with roads and colonial buildings was considered a need for making a modern Bangkok, “*hygiene*” was considered a new standard for urban livelihood, especially as a value of “*beautification*” in a modern city.

The first road constructed in the 1860s did not make a radical change in Bangkok since livelihoods mostly depended on the waterways. Therefore, at the earlier time, many new roads were dirty without good management. For example, Charoen Krung Road, even in 1884, “*this main road is itself often partly under water during the south-west monsoon and the back lanes and bypaths which constitute the principal means of communication are in a chronic state of filth, wet or dry*”.⁸⁷ However, these roads were improved after the inhabitants had to move from their floating houses upon to the land.

Later, when trade flourished and big steamships were increasing on the Chao Phraya River, living in the floating houses was unsafe and traffic on the river became crowded. As a result, many floating houses gradually disappeared from the scene

* The following year, a school of medical sciences was established. Siriraj Hospital was the first medical school in Thailand. Initially, the curriculum included Western medical sciences and traditional medical healing. Later, the medical school became a place for teaching Western knowledge of medical sciences systematically and academically. ใน จรัล เกริญพงษ์, บรรณารักษาร, ประวัติการแพทย์ สมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์,

หน้า 42-46.

⁸⁷ Michael Smithies, *Old Bangkok* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), Page 38.

of Bangkok.* This partly may have caused many canals and creeks to become dirty and smelly because the people did not depend on the waterway as much as before.

Road and building construction served to solve some of the unhygienic problems and improved the environment in Bangkok. For example, there was the case of Chinese Cheng (March 1895), he complained that a canal at Tek Me Kei in Sampheang was shallow because people always threw garbage into this canal and caused it to be dirty and smelly. So, to solve this problem, he asked permission from the government to construct a road over this canal.⁸⁸ In the same year, Prince Pittayalappudthada asked permission to construct a road along the south side of the Lawd Canal because the old one was too narrow and dirty. At that time, a brick dam along the bank of canal was completed, so King Chulalongkorn allowed construction of the new road parallel to this canal.⁸⁹ Constructing roads became a new paradigm for solving the problem of the “*unhygienic*” environment in the city. If any canal was either unclean or unused, it would be replaced with a road. Otherwise, for “*beautification*” of the canal-land based city, roads were constructed or renovated parallel to the canal for “*cleanliness*” purposes.

* Dr. Bradley appended a description to his annotated map of Bangkok that the floating house had decreased from 1,000 to 833 after 8 to 10 years from 1860. In Larry Sternstein, Portrait of Bangkok, Page 79.

⁸⁸ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น. 8.1/70 กล่อง 2. อ้างถึงใน เยาวรัตน์ พุฒิมาน รดีกุล, “การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทางสภาวะแวดล้อมต่อประชาชน,” หน้า 128.

⁸⁹ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กรมโยธาธิการ, ย. 8.9/15 เล่ม 1. อ้างถึงใน เรื่องเดียวกัน.



Figure 18 (above): Canal parallel to the roads and crossing drawbridge in Batavia

Sources: Scott Merrillees, Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 2000), Page 67, 99.

Figure 19 (below): Ku Muang Derm and Viland Bridge in Bangkok
The canal with brick dams parallel to Aussadang and Rajini roads. Next, “*Vilanda Bridge*” in Bangkok is located at Lord Canal, Rajabopit Temple.

Source: เทพชู ทับทอง, ย้อนรอยกรุงเทพฯ (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สุวีริยาสาสน์, 2546).

Crossing bridges were also considered essential for the roads in a city with numerous canals. As in Batavia, Bangkok constructed roads parallel to canals because the waterways remained a main transportation system in the city. Hence a crossing bridge was necessary for connecting waterways and land transportation. Both the parallel-roads and crossing drawbridges in Batavia impressed King Chulalongkorn when visiting there in 1871. Soon after his return, he king adjusted a layout of inner section of Bangkok similar to Batavia by renovating both sides of the canals with brick dams and constructing roads parallel to the canal. Also, “*crossing drawbridges*”, or called “*Vilanda Bridge*” were constructed which could be lifted when ships passed through. These constructions beautified scenery of Bangkok likewise Batavia.

In addition to constructing roads to solve the problem of the “*unhygienic*” environment, constructing buildings was considered necessary to eliminate griminess in Bangkok. Because of the growth of the city without good management, unused land nearby new residential areas along the roads was a place for waste garbage. As a result, the new residential and commercial areas were dirty and unattractive. To solve this problem, the government agreed to the suggestion of Mr. Futto and responded to his request. In 1889, Mr. Futto complained to the Municipality Department that he had rented a building on Pheung Nakhon Road belonging to the government, but empty land at the back of his building was very dirty. Because this land belonged to the government, he submitted his suggestion to the government that this problem could be solved by constructing a building on that land. He also negotiated that if the government constructed a building on that land, he would rent that building from the government. According to his suggestion, the ministry of Public Work accepted his suggestion which benefited the government and solved the problem of the unhygienic environment.⁹⁰ Afterwards, the government promoted construction of buildings on any grimy land or as a

⁹⁰ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น. 18.1/2 กล่อง 1.อ้างถึงใน เยาวรัตน์ พุฒิมานรดีกุล, “การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทางสภาวะแวดล้อมต่อประชาชน,” หน้า 128.

substitute for makeshift huts. This resulted in the construction of buildings along the roads to increase dramatically.⁹¹ Thus, not only “*beautification*”, but the cleanliness in the public space, along the roads and buildings, was recognized for improving the standard of civilization.

4.2.3 Order

Renovating the landscape of Bangkok not only resulted in a change from water to land, areas were specified for civic spheres in term of space and utility. The purpose was to bring order to the urban society, and to modernize the people in the city.

A sense of “*public service*” was recognized initially in the reign of King Chulalongkorn. Partly, this resulted from making the overseas journeys in Asia, and later to Europe during his reign. From his experiences in foreign lands, he learned a lot of interesting Western ideology and progress from modern organizations there. After his return, the king established similar modern organizations under the government’s subsidy as learning centers of Western culture and modern life.

4.2.3.1 Western learning centre

- *Sala Sahathai Samakom or Concordia Club*

During the visit to Singapore and Batavia in 1871, King Chulalongkorn went sightseeing both to government offices and public and social organizations. After his return, the king established new organizations to duplicate a form of modernity, and to learn Western culture and social life; for example, the Auditing Office, a museum, a club, a botanic garden.

⁹¹ เขาวรัตน์ พุฒิมานรดีกุล, “การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทางสภาวะแวดล้อมต่อประชาชน,” หน้า 128.

Initially, King Chulalongkorn allotted an area within the Grand Palace compound for establishing a pilot modern organization that he had seen in Singapore and Batavia. The king founded an officers' club, namely "*Concordia Building*"* duplicated from an officers' club with the same name in Batavia.

Generally, it could be seen that establishment of a club was a popular trend in colonial society. During high noon, the "*club*" became an exclusive place for meeting and social activity between Europeans or high ranking local people in that colony. In particular, European clubs exercised a strict Europeans only policy. Similarly, the Singapore Club was the most exclusive and most influential club in Singapore. Membership was reserved only for Tuan Besar, the top men in the European companies and colonial civil service.⁹² Some clubs were restricted to specific privileged groups. For instance, in Batavia, the Harmonie Club was restricted to officials; while, the Concordia Club was restricted to officers. So, establishing a club became a value of high culture in European society.

King Chulalongkorn duplicated the establishment of a club within his residence compound to represent the consumption of European high culture of having a social space for meeting, chatting, reading and other social activities as with Europeans in the colonial cities. Initially, this club was used as a meeting place among the royal and noble military offices, and sometimes it was used for meetings, similar to the Concordia Club in Batavia. However, soon after, this club was abolished because its building was used for displaying artifacts and antique collections.**

* The Concordia Building was built as a military club soon after returning from Batavia in 1871. Later, in 1874, the king used this building for a museum. ใน วัฒนธรรม จุฑะวิภาต, สถาปัตยกรรมในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว: ช่วงหัวเลี้ยวหัวต่อของสังคมไทย (เอกสารงานวิจัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2552), หน้า 23.

⁹² P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page 75.

** Nowadays, this building is used as a reception house for royal guests.

- *Museum*

The first museum was founded within the Grand Palace compound by King Mongkut. This museum displayed a collection of relics which were collected during his monkhood and royal tributaries from foreign countries. The purpose was only for his pleasure, not to be opened for the general public.⁹³ Until the reign of King Chulalongkorn, three years after establishing the Concordia Club, the club's building was changed to be "*the Royal Museum (1874)*".⁹⁴ This museum displayed a lot of distinctive antiques, various kinds of jewelry and included bodies of terrestrial animals and aquatic animals. The king assigned Chao Phraya Passakorn (Pon Bunnag) and Mr. Henry Alabaster* to organize this museum.**

As a result of visiting Singapore and Java in 1871, King Chulalongkorn had seen museums during his first time to Batavia which displayed Javanese and foreign antique items, including museums of the Agricultural and Zoological Garden and the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia.*** Because of his sightseeing there, the king wanted to establish the same in Bangkok. So, the king renovated the building which used to be the Concordia club to display historical artifacts, as well as items of geology and zoology.⁹⁵

⁹³ วิกิพีเดีย สารานุกรมเสรี, **พิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ พระนคร** [ออนไลน์], 30 สิงหาคม 2555. แหล่งที่มา www.th.wikipedia.org/wiki

⁹⁴ กรมศิลปากร, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวกับการพิพิธภัณฑ์, เอกสารประกอบนิทรรศการพิเศษ งานเฉลิมฉลองพระเกียรติพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ในโอกาสที่วันพระบรมราชสมภพครบ 150 ปี (11-28 มีนาคม 2547), หน้า 23.

* Mr. Henry Alabaster (1836-1884) was one of the most noted experts in Western modern knowledge, such as survey and mapping, road construction, technology of communication, museum and gardening.

Anake Nawigamune mentioned in the 'Royal Gazette of 1878' titled 'the Decoration of Museum' and also assumed that Mr. Henry Alabaster might write this article. ใน เอนก นาวิกมูล, เที่ยวชมของเก่า (กรุงเทพฯ: แสงดาว, 2551), หน้า 26-43.

*** According to the Batavian Society, King Chulalongkorn was an honorary member of this association. In Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in, Page 75-76.

⁹⁵ สมบัติ พลายน้อย, พระราชวังวังเจ้านาย (กรุงเทพฯ : เมืองโบราณ, 2548), หน้า 105-106.

Later in 1896, King Chulalongkorn visited the museum in Batavia again. At that time, he admired the coin collection and the museum library where there was collected 150,000 books of odd Javanese items.⁹⁶ By 1905, the king gave permission to arrange a part of the museum building to be a “*library*”.* This library was the first public library. It was a place for collecting famous books in Bangkok.⁹⁷ During that time, this museum was first opened for the general public even though it was only on the King’s Birthday. The museum was a place for learning Western cultures and included a history of Siam for Siamese during his time. Similarly, when the king visited these places in the foreign lands, he learned about the Western customs and a history of that colony. The museum also was an important tool for educating the people, evidenced by the fact that the king included the museum to be a section under the Department of Education.⁹⁸

4.2.3.2 Recreation Places for inhabitants in Bangkok

- *Sanam Luang*

Since the establishment of Bangkok, Tung Phra Meru, later named “*Sanam Luang*”,** was built as a reflection of the cosmological universe which duplicated the political ideology of traditional Ayutthaya and was used for official affairs. In previous times, Sanam Luang had been used as a rice field*** and royal cremations,

⁹⁶ Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, *Journeys to Java by a Siamese King*, Page 29-30.

* King Chulalongkorn visited the library in Batavia (1896), England and France (1897). After his return, the king wanted to extend the library to the general public. Therefore, the king intended to change the library in the Grand Palace to be a library for Bangkok.

⁹⁷ วัฒนนะ จุฑะวิภาต, สถาปัตยกรรมในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว: ช่วงหัวเลี้ยวหัวต่อของสังคมไทย, หน้า 23.

⁹⁸ กรมศิลปากร, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวกับการพิพิธภัณฑ, หน้า 29.

** Up to the reign of King Mongkut, the king thought that the Royal Ground, the people usually called Tung Phra Meru, was not suitable and did not have a sensible meaning because there was no permanent crematorium in the ground, so the king called the area Tung Phra Meru as Sanam Luang, and King Mongkut advised people to call it that.

*** During the rainy season, Sanam Luang was flooded and muddy. Under the reign of King Rama III, the king commanded the cultivation of rice on this field to frighten any invader into thinking that Siam was so fertile that they even cultivated rice within the city.

including the royal ploughing ceremony. Until the reign of King Chulalongkorn, he renovated this field to function as a public space, not only for royal ceremonies, after seeing “*Koningsplein*” in Batavia.

The beautification of that place impressed the king so much, that he intended to renovate Sanam Luang to be similar to the *Koningsplein*.^{*} Regarding the scene of the *Koningsplein* that the king had seen, the following message is partly described by a traveler who had been there (1852):

*“...It is bordered by broad well kept roads planted with tamarind trees, along which one beautiful villa after another are linked together The Koningsplein, that is to say the roads bordering it, is the beloved walking place of that part of the Batavia population living in its vicinity.”*⁹⁹

After the position of the Front Palace was abolished, the king ordered to demolish a front part of the Front Palace in 1897/1898 to extend¹⁰⁰ and plant tamarind trees circling Sanam Luang, and this place was used for several public activities, in addition to royal ceremonies, under his reign. For example, it was used for performing the National Exhibition^{**} and the National Ceremony^{***} and, Cricket Games, a public market.¹⁰¹

^{*} Prince Damrong mentioned in his book, ‘the Correspond’ that King Chulalongkorn duplicated *Koningsplein* to adjust Sanam Luang. ใน สมเด็จพระเจ้าฟ้ากรมพระยานริศรานุวัดติวงศ์ และสมเด็จพระกรม พระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *ศาสตร์ในสมเด็จพระเจ้า*, เล่ม 22, หน้า 181.

⁹⁹ Scott Merrillees, *Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs*, Page 161.

¹⁰⁰ ชัย เรื่องศิลป์, *ประวัติศาสตร์ไทย สมัย พ.ศ.2325-2453: ด้านสังคม*, หน้า 219.

^{**} By 1882, the National Exhibition was opened by King Chulalongkorn and displayed for three months at Sanam Luang. This exhibition mainly showed the progress of agriculture in Siam. It also collected the handicrafts and products from all provinces in Siam, both for consuming within the nation and

- “Saranrom”: a botanic garden

During the first overseas journey, King Chulalongkorn took a sightseeing tour to the Agri-Horticultural Garden, namely the Botanic Gardens of Singapore, and the private garden, Whampao, of a prominent Chinese merchant in Singapore. At the Botanic Garden, the king saw a display of orchids, caladiums and flowering pots. There were not only decorative plants, but also useful plants.¹⁰² After returning, the king founded the botanic garden at the southern part of Saranrom Palace, and named this garden following the name of that palace. The purpose of this establishment was to build a place for studying botany and zoology as with other capital cities. More interestingly, this garden was opened for recreation to all people.¹⁰³ Hence, the king assigned Mr. Henry Alabaster to arrange this garden. Many ornamental plants and forest plants, which were rarely found, were planted in this garden.¹⁰⁴ At that time, Saranrom was a very decorative and beautiful garden; “a small road passed through the garden and was decorated with a fountain, orchid and fern houses, bird cases, and included wild animals and domesticated animals stalls. All of these were arranged orderly and separately”.¹⁰⁵

In addition, in 1896, the king had a chance to visit the Botanical Gardens in Buitenzorg (now Bogor). At that time, it was the best botanical garden in Asia having many kinds of plants. Each tree had a label showing its name in Latin, Dutch and

for exporting to the foreign countries, similar to the ‘OTOP (One Tambol One Product) Fair and Kaset Fair (the Agriculture Fair) at the present. ใน เอนก นาวิกมูล, เที่ยวชมของเก่า, หน้า 51-56.

*** In August 1899 the National Floral Exhibition was held at Sanam Luang (the first floral exhibition was held in 1892 at a field front of the Throne of Chakri Palace) to celebrate King Chulalongkorn and to receive Prince Chakrabongse Bhuvanadh, Prince of Phitsanulok, who returned from Russia to Siam in that year. At the celebration, there also was the bicycle parade, approximately 285 bicycles, which decorated with various kinds of flowers. ใน ชัย เรื่องศิลป์, ประวัติศาสตร์ไทย สมัย พ.ศ.2325-2453: ด้านสังคม, หน้า 219.

¹⁰¹ Abha Bhamorabutr, The History of Bangkok (Bangkok: [s.n.], 1987), Page 17-19.

¹⁰² P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page 16.

¹⁰³ เอนก นาวิกมูล, เที่ยวชมของเก่า, หน้า 68.

¹⁰⁴ สมบัติ พลายน้อย, พระราชวัง วังเจ้านาย, หน้า 105-106.

¹⁰⁵ เอนก นาวิกมูล, เที่ยวชมของเก่า, หน้า 68-69.

Javanese.¹⁰⁶ As mentioned in the king's diary, it could be assumed that one of the important purposes of this garden was to study tropical plants and educate people about botany. King Chulalongkorn was inspired by this idea, so he intended to encourage the study of botany in Siam as well. This idea commenced with the first establishment of a botanical garden at Saranrom Palace.

As a result of seeing foreign lands in person, King Chulalongkorn learned “*progress with the Western civilization*”. In particular, opening a learning space for all people was needed to build a modern Bangkok. Therefore, Bangkok was not a centre of cosmology anymore, but Bangkok became a centre of real worldly power to facilitate a complicated world trading system, as well as a modern city life.

Not only providing a space for public learning centre to the city dwellers, a sense of moral responsibility was recognized for the ordering of Bangkok also. To arrange order in Bangkok, the government under King Chulalongkorn made a survey to produce a map of Bangkok (1877), a postal of dwellings (1883) and a census of the population (1903). This was fundamental data for the further development, especially in physical terms. While the city was rapidly expanding, and the inhabitants were increasing significantly, the social problems had to be considered for a big city as well; while at the same time, moral responsibility needed to be of concern. Regarding arranging order with security and moral responsibility, a prison and asylum were considered by the Siamese government at that time.

4.2.3.3 Safety for inhabitants in Bangkok

- Prison for convicts

As a result of the rapid growth in the population, Bangkok became a more complex city. Normally, a component of city's life is crime. So, one of the responsibilities of the government is to protect city dwellers from crime to keep order and

¹⁰⁶ Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, Journeys to Java by a Siamese King, Page 36-37.

a house for criminals had to be considered. More importantly, adjusting the environment of the living place for prisoners and improving the prison administration system were more related with the modern trend.

In fact, since Bangkok was founded, a traditional jail had been built and situated opposite the eastern wall of Wat Po, called “*Wat Po Prison*”. A person who committed a crime and prisoners of war were incarcerated in this jail. The living condition there was unhygienic. It was a one-storey building with two doors but no windows. The prisoners slept on the muddy ground in their excrement.¹⁰⁷ Also, the prison administration system was the responsibility of the Metropolis Department, but the government had never supported a budget for the prison’s work. Mostly, financial support was received from fines and a prisoner’s free labor. The prisoner’s family had to bring food and clothes for the prisoner.¹⁰⁸ Photographer John Thomson* described the living of prisoners in the Bangkok jail when he asked for permission for taking photographs as follows:

*“...In one part of the prison grounds men heavily ironed, and covered, one or two of them, with old sores, were making bricks in a mud pool. Some had been in chains for years, and their condition reminded me of pictures of the Buddhist hells which I had seen on the wall of their temples”.*¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ คาร์ล บอกรี, ท้องถิ่นสยามยุคพระบาทเจ้าหลวง, แปลโดย เสฐียร พันธ์รังษี และอัมพร ทีชะระ (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2543), หน้า 44-45.

¹⁰⁸ สมบัติ พลายน้อย, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าฯ พระปิยมหาราช, หน้า 174.

* John Thomson was a Scottish photographer who spent a short time in Siam, and was called to photograph King Mongkut in 1865.

¹⁰⁹ John Thomson, The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China, or Ten Years’ Travels, Adventures and Residence Abroad (London: Sampson Low, Marston Low, and Searle, 1875), Page 102-103. Cited in Michael Smithies, editor, Descriptions of Old Siam (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995), Page 200.

Even though prison guards were unsalaried, they were expected to support themselves by using the prisoners as free labor on whatever money-making projects the guards could devise.¹¹⁰ In short, the prisoner had to be responsible for all payments, including the guard prison's salary. The living conditions of prisoners in the traditional custom had been ignored by the government until King Chulalongkorn saw the modern administration system of prisons in Singapore and Batavia.

As King Chulalongkorn built a progressive nation, the king recognized that prisons for keeping convicts were important. The king made a speech that a prison administration system was an important issue that the government had to be concerned with and reform.¹¹¹ When King Chulalongkorn visited Singapore in 1871, the Singapore government arranged a program to visit a prison.* The king was very impressed by the progressive administration of that prison, particularly the hygienic environment and good management.¹¹² After his return, the king adopted modern ideas to improve the prison in Bangkok.

In fact, before the year of 1871, King Chulalongkorn had sent Phraya Indratipbodi Singharajrongmuang (Niem), head of Krom Kong Traven (Police Department),** to observe the prison administration system in Singapore in 1870. The purpose of that trip was to study the administrative system of prison in Singapore to improve a new prison in Bangkok. Upon his return, a new jail was constructed under the

¹¹⁰ Steve Van Beek, Bangkok: Then and Now (Nonthaburi: AB Publications, 1999), Page 96-97.

¹¹¹ สมบัติ พลายน้อย. พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าฯ พระปิยมหาราช. หน้า 176.

* It might be that '*Outram Park Prison*' was the first civil prison, establishing on 6 February 1847. The prison was understaffed and the convicts were allowed a lot of freedom. This created a very progressive prison administration system, where convicts were supervised by senior convicts, rewarded for good behavior and taught practical skills. Mostly South Indians, the convicts were sent to work on construction projects, often without escorts. Many of Singapore's roads, grand colonial buildings and Government House (the Istana) benefited from this system. In G. Uma Devi and others, Singapore's 100 Historic Places (Singapore: National Heritage Board and Editions Didier Millet, 2002), Page 85.

¹¹² เทพชู ทับทอง, ย้อนรอยกรุงเทพฯ, หน้า 183-189.

** The police department was initially established under the command of King Mongkut. At first, the king hired Indians, Burmese and Singaporeans to be a police in this department. Also, he appointed Chaophraya Yommaraj (Krud Buangrab) to be a head of department.

command of King Chulalongkorn at Trok Kam (Kam alley), Mahachai Road* where the king purchased land east of city, approximately 29 rai (approximately 73.37 acre) for building a new prison. Unfortunately, the construction could not accomplish and delay until the 1880s.¹¹³ It could be possible that during his earliest year the king could not neither reform nor change any administration system. After ascending the throne, King Chulalongkorn could not handle the full power of the administrative system until the regent died. Hence, at that time, reforming any system of administration, including prison administration, was a risky situation.

However, King Chulalongkorn kept this desire in his mind. Until 1881 the king assigned Prince Krommamuen Phutharethamrongsak, a minister of the Metropolis Department, with foreign and Siamese architects to plan for the construction of this prison. Later in 1888, the king appointed Phraya Chaivichitsitthisartra (Nak na Pombejra)** and Mr. Joachim Grassi to construct the New Prison, later called “*Kong Mahantatod – prison for heavy penalty*”. This jail was completed in August 1889.¹¹⁴ After construction was accomplished, the government moved prisoners from all the jails situated at each governmental department to be incarcerated at the new prison.

Regarding to the administrative system of the new prison, King Chulalongkorn initiated a series of prison reforms. In 1893, the king sent a delegation of officials to Singapore to study “*the Old Bailey Jail*” in Singapore in that year.¹¹⁵ Upon their return, the progressive administration was adopted to reform the prison. In particular, the New Prison became the first progressive prison in Bangkok. To launch this prison successfully, first the practice of using prison labor had to be abolished. The

* Mahachai Road was newly constructed soon after King Chulalongkorn returned from Singapore-Java in 1871.

¹¹³ สมเด็จพระยามะยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *ความทรงจำ*, หน้า 153.

** Phraya Chaivichitsitthisartra was a former Siamese Ambassador in London. After this prison was completed, he was appointed to be a chief of the prison, or called *chang-wang*.

¹¹⁴ พีรศรี โกวาทอง, *ช่างฝรั่งในกรุงสยาม: ตำนานแผ่นดินพระพุทธเจ้าหลวง* (กรุงเทพฯ: คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2548), หน้า 57.

¹¹⁵ Steve Van Beek, *Bangkok: Then and Now*, Page 96.

government subsidized the financial assistance of the prison's administration, for example, prison guards became salaried government employees.¹¹⁶

Following the Singapore model, the new prison was divided into three parts: a kitchen, four prisoner residences, and a working place for training of practical skills. Each part was separated by a big wall and linked with a crossing bridge. In addition, the wall was circling with seven-high towers.¹¹⁷ Physically, the Bangkok Central Prison and Mahachai Road parallel to the city wall changed the area around there to be more beautiful with its modern architecture. According to moral responsibility, the government improved the living standards of prisoners to become more hygienic and ethical. As well, the city dwellers felt more secure that they were separated from criminal prisoner with a high wall.

- *Hospitals for the lunatic*

Interestingly, the Siamese government was concerned with not only physical health, but with the mental health of the people. After Siriraj Hospital was established, a number of hospitals were founded, particularly a hospital for lunatics in Thonburi. The first lunatic asylum was founded in 1889. According to the Western lunatic treatment, lunatic would be kept a in a room with balustrade and sometimes they were chained to prevent being hurt by each other. The concept of providing a hospital for lunatics initiated from visiting Singapore-Batavia by King Chulalongkorn in 1871. During that journey, the king visited and observed an asylum there.¹¹⁸

Yet, before founding a lunatic asylum, the problem of lunatics had been addressed by the social treatment of King Mongkut. During his time, lunatics disturbed and created problems for normal people. So, with a moral consciousness, the king was

¹¹⁶ Steve Van Beek, Bangkok: Then and Now, Page 96.

¹¹⁷ เทพชู ทับทอง, ย้อนรอยกรุงเทพฯ, หน้า183-189.

¹¹⁸P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page_14.

concerned with solving this problem through good care and control of those lunatics. This can be assumed from his proclamation of caring for a lunatic in 1859 as follows:

*“...If whoever has a lunatic relative, they will watch those lunatics carefully. Do not let them to go alone. But, if any relatives let a lunatic be lost or run away, they would report to ‘Krom Wang’ by describing the physical figure of that lunatic person in detail, then, inform ‘Krom Nakornban (metropolis)’ in order to pursue that lunatic. They should follow step by step seriously. In case, any relatives could not feed a lunatic under their responsibility, they would take that person to ‘nakornban’ (metropolis) to get food and clothes provided by a command of the King. But if any relatives let a lunatic hurt anybody or going into the palace’s compound, they would be fined”.*¹¹⁹

The proclamation above indicates two points that King Mongkut was concerned with: a social security and moral responsibility to lunatic. Firstly, because of the growth of Bangkok, a need for arranging of order and security increased, for example, a problem of lunatics. Lunatics are persons who lose control of themselves and might hurt others with their unconscious behaviors. Otherwise, these lunatics might be hurt by normal people because lunatics were a danger to them. If the government did not solve this problem, the city dwellers would feel insecure. Secondly, regarding the progressive thought and moral awareness of King Mongkut, he was concerned with caring for lunatics. He attempted to use social treatment. Additionally, with his sympathy to lunatics, the king convinced the family of lunatics to think about their moral responsibility, while forcing them to follow rules with punishment. Although there was

¹¹⁹ ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ, บรรณานุกรม, ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4, หน้า 220.

no lunatic asylum at that time, these lunatics were under the control of their families or under the care of the government. So, a lunatic would be safe in the place, while the society was more secure. This social treatment of King Mongkut shows humanity, comparing with the Western treatment.

After 30 years, the first asylum was founded in Bangkok under the reign of King Chulalongkorn. When the king visited Singapore and Batavia, he had seen a mental asylum, specific a hospital for lunatics. An asylum was one of the progressive organizations that the British and the Dutch presented to the Siamese king with other modern organizations, such as hospitals and jails.

In conclusion, under the period of modernization, Bangkok was transformed dramatically. With the purpose of making a truly civilized city, many ideas from European-like cities were duplicated and adopted to change Bangkok. The physical landscape of Bangkok changed with the beautification of a modern city; a network of roads and colonial buildings along the roads was established. New businesses and services were established in Bangkok to respond to the growth of foreign trade and the extension of the fashionable trend from the West. This included an idea of a modern city focused on the livelihood of the people in the city. So, “*hygiene and safety*” was considered important for improving the standard of civilization in Siam, as with other European-like city.

Lastly, it could be seen that in accordance with his visits to Singapore and Java (Batavia) of 1871, King Chulalongkorn learned “*progress and civilization is owned by the West*”. More importantly, he adopted and adapted “*a set of this knowledge*” to drive Siam to reach “*prosperity and to be equal with the civilized nations*”, as his attention to make this nation to be free and prosperous.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871, Page 71.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Nowadays, Bangkok is a centre of administrative systems, businesses and financial systems, and a hub of fashionable trends. Yet, if we trace back to the nineteenth century, Bangkok gradually transformed from an antiquity city to become a modern city. Initially, Bangkok duplicated Ayutthaya's cosmological ideology and city planning: a divine and a moat-fortified city. Yet, when the Siamese government absorbed "*a form of modernity*" from the West to adjust Bangkok, this city was transformed to become "*a modern city*", more secularized in its physical landscape and architecture.*

Physically, the heart of the Old Bangkok was the Grand Palace compound which was surrounded with fortresses, a moat-canal and city walls, with the main purpose to prevent the capital from an attack by enemies. In the traditional way, an antiquity Asian city built a defense system by constructing city walls and forts surrounding the king's palace and compound. Another significant appearance of the Old Bangkok was as an aquatic city. The waterways were an important part of the life of the inhabitants in Bangkok and upon which their social and economic life depended.

As for its economic function, Bangkok was a hub for Chinese products, with foreign trade mainly handled by the royal court and Chinese traders. On the other hand, the Siamese sustained themselves with their agricultural productiveness under a sufficiency economy. Production for the market significantly increased demand from the reign of King Rama III. However, this change did not have much impact on the appearance of Bangkok at that time, especially the physical landscape, until the signing of the Bowring Treaty in 1855.

* The Modern Bangkok initially emerged from the reign of King Mongkut when Siam joined to the world economy through signing the treaties with the West since the 1850s.

After the Bowring Treaty was signed, foreign trade in Siam flourished and Bangkok became a market for exporting agricultural items to the world market. In addition, the commercial treaties allowed Siam, especially Bangkok, to integrate into an orbit of modernity; the form of a moat-fortified and aquatic city gradually transformed to become a modern city with a form of Western modernity. When “*modernization*” first came to Siam under the reign of King Rama III, it seemed to challenge the political stability, economic benefit and traditional values of the Siamese court. Yet, after King Mongkut (King Rama IV) signed the commercial treaties with the Western countries, this threat changed to an opportunity.¹

The arrival of “*commercialization and modernization*” led to two significant changes in Bangkok. **Firstly**, the function of Bangkok changed to facilitate the new economic system, becoming more complex and global. After the signing of the commercial treaties in the 1850s, European traders could fully operate their trading in Siam without any restrictions. As a result, the market economy grew rapidly and demand for land for cultivation increased. To enable Bangkok to facilitate the new economy, many facilities were constructed by the government. For instance, a number of transverse-canals were excavated to connect the plantations and the markets at Bangkok. The purpose was to increase cultivated areas to meet the demand for agricultural items in the world market. Also, installation of a communication network to connect Bangkok and other ports in Asia and Europe effectively was undertaken.

Secondly, the form of Bangkok needed to transform to make Siam “*a civilized country*” within the Western standard. As a result of the Bowring and other commercial treaties, the number of foreigners in Bangkok increased significantly. With the growth of foreign dwellers, physical changes to the landscape of Bangkok were initially considered by the Siamese government. For instance, the fortresses and city walls in Bangkok, symbolic of the religion as the god-guardian of a city in the traditional custom, were demolished. This was done to respond to an expansion of trading activities,

¹ Charnvit Kasetsiri, Siam/Civilization-Thailand/Globalization: Things to Come, Page 5.

especially to open space for extending the road ways. In fact, these fortresses could not really protect Bangkok from the Western forces; much less protect from the attack of modernization. This is perhaps analogous to a wall that separated the ancient world from the modern world being broken.

As mentioned above, the coming of modernization transformed the physical landscape of Bangkok*, which started with the construction of roads and shop-houses during the reign of King Mongkut. Initially, a project of road construction was formulated by a request of the foreign consuls and the Westerners who came to settle in Bangkok under the condition of the treaties. As a result of their arrival, King Mongkut allotted an area along the Chao Phraya River parallel to Charoen Krung Road to the southward for them, later becoming known as the “*European district*” in Bangkok. Even though they were not a majority of the dwellers in Bangkok, their powerful requests enabled Bangkok to improve following the West. This can be seen in the case of the construction of Charoen Krung Road.

However, it should be noted that Bangkok did not totally and suddenly change; transforming Bangkok was a process of “*adopt-adapt*”, choosing a modern form to absorb into the typically traditional form of Bangkok. Initially, Bangkok had a distinctive character; therefore, adopting a form of modernity from both Singapore and Batavia could not change the whole appearance of Bangkok. A modern form was absorbed only with respect to the physical character of Bangkok and the town’s social pattern. The character of Bangkok was similar to Batavia; an aquatic city and a canal city, respectively. Thus, Batavia became a model for modifying a component of the canal system in Bangkok; for example, renovating canals with brick dams and constructing crossing-bridges to link water ways and the road system. At this point, the model of a canal city from Batavia was used to modify the canal city in Bangkok to have “*a modern look*”. Furthermore, under the consideration of a “*hygienic environment*” along Western

* In particular, at the beginning of transformation, Bangkok duplicated a form of modernity from Singapore and Batavia which examines this argument in the former chapters.

line, the Siamese were forced by the laws to be concerned with the “*hygiene*” of the water ways in Bangkok. Certainly, this was a new change in which the Siamese had to conform to a new social pattern.

According to the zoning of ethnic communities, Ayutthaya and the Old Bangkok were typically arranged in zones for ethnic communities, including the foreign communities for security and order. In particular, Westerners were allotted an area for dwelling beyond the city wall to the southward as a protection from the risk of political stability. After the Bowring Treaty was signed, the number of Westerners who came to live in Bangkok increased. With a strategic location for trading, King Mongkut allotted an area along the southward of Bangkok for the Westerners and their consuls. The aim of this arrangement was not to protect from a risky situation toward the stability of the capital as in the former time, but to respond to the growth of foreign trade and the shipping business resulting from the signing of the treaties. It can be seen that the pattern of communal settlements was not really different from the traditional one and, therefore, could be well integrated into the new pattern of a commercial city.

Under the pressure of the imperialism of free trade and the new world order in the mid-nineteenth century, the transformation of Bangkok was necessary in order to increase the capacity for competing in a world that had become standardized with Western ways. In addition, the new form of Bangkok had to conform to a modern city life which was dominated by the Western dwellers. Hence, Siam’s survival would have been impossible if nothing was done. However, observation of a “*metropolitan modernity*” in European countries was not possible for Siam. That is why European-like cities such as Singapore and later Batavia became models for transforming Bangkok at the beginning of modernization.*

*Regarding this study, it should be noted that transforming Bangkok was in response to the new trade system; therefore, the defense system of the city was destroyed and replaced by a road network and shop-houses. In the meanwhile, the administrative reforms for unifying Siam were commenced during the

The following question needs to be asked: why were Singapore and Batavia used as models for transforming Bangkok? According to the European-like cities in Asia, King Mongkut was more familiar with Singapore than other nearby colonial cities. Since Singapore was founded by the British, this city had become a trade partner with Siam. As a result, when Singapore developed into a hub of commerce linking markets between Asia and Europe, Siam was integrated into the Western world economy through trading with Singapore. In addition, Singapore was a beautiful and modern European colony model of the British with Victorian architecture, progressive technology, and a modern social life. Another reason is that it would be more convenient and logical for making a study tour in Singapore, or even Batavia. Because of their locations, both cities being situated nearby Bangkok, time and budget for traveling there could be saved. These cities and Bangkok had a similar physical geography and climate, culture and customs in Asian ways. More importantly, Singapore and Batavia had been improved and adjusted with a modern form. Thus it was not too hard to adopt “*this pattern*” to build “*a modern Bangkok*”.

Not surprisingly, King Mongkut chose Singapore to be a learning centre of Western modernity. As evidence of this, by 1861 the king sent his high ranking official, Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong (Chuang Bunnag), to observe the administrative system in Singapore. Even though the purpose of that trip was partly for political reasons, the experience of seeing Singapore was adopted to improve Bangkok, particularly the construction of roads and shop-houses.

reign of King Chulalongkorn to strengthen the defense system to prevent the country from the political threat by the European powers.

With an advice of Dr. Bradley* and the request of the Western dwellers in Bangkok, in the 1860s, King Mongkut initially assigned Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong to operate a project of road construction within the city walls.** The earliest roads in Bangkok consisted of Charoen Krung (New Road), Bamrung Muang and Pheung Nakorn. In particular, **Charoen Krung Road** became a prosperous road in Bangkok. This road started from the rear of the Grand Palace and went toward the south, with the end of the road at Bang Kolem,² connecting the new commercial zone within the city walls, the Chinese commercial zone, and the new residential area of the Europeans.

In addition to road construction, the government constructed “shop-houses” in Singapore-design along **Charoen Krung – Bamrung Muang – Pheung Nakhon** in the new commercial zone. After completion, many foreign traders, especially Europeans, Chinese and Indian, rented shop-houses that were the property of the king to operate their businesses. A number of new businesses and services from the West changed the livelihood of inhabitants in Bangkok, as stores or shops sold imported products from the West. Consuming Western products became a fashionable trend initiated by a group of royal elite and nobles in Bangkok. Moreover, many new services operated in Bangkok in response to the demand for consuming a new lifestyle, such as hair salons, dress making, shoe making, and photography. The favor for fashionable trends from the West was more popular after King Chulalongkorn visited the colonies of the British and the Dutch in the early part of his reign. Soon, this area became a new shopping centre for members of the royal elite and nobles. The scene of “*a modern city*” first emerged in this area.***

* Dr. Bradley had given advice to King Mongkut that if Siam was to be a progressive nation, the government should construct better roads for transport

** King Mongkut assigned Henry Alabaster (later King Rama VI gave a Thai family name to him, “*Savetsila*” or “*white stone*”) to survey and draw a map of New Road in 1861. This road was completed three years later.

² สมเด็จพระเจ้าฟ้ากรมพระยานริศรานุวัดติวงศ์ และสมเด็จพระเจ้า กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *สาส์นสมเด็จพระเจ้า*, เล่ม 22, หน้า 75.

*** The scenery of a modern Bangkok on Charoen Krung Road was also demonstrated by paintings of Khrua In Khong.

The construction of roadways and shop-houses that adopted the Singapore model created a change to the physical landscape of Bangkok during the reign of King Mongkut. In particular, the area surrounding the Grand Palace compound (within a line of Padung Krung Kasem Canal) was arranged as the early modern zone of Bangkok. Importantly, after signing the commercial treaties, it was necessary to implant understanding and change the perception of the people toward “*modernization*” and the new appearance of Bangkok. The government considered how the people could conform to “*the standard*” of the Western way. In particular, the increasing arrival of Westerners and ships in Bangkok after the signing of the treaties created panic for the Siamese at that time.

Therefore, King Mongkut issued a number of proclamations to inform and guide his people how to adapt their way of life to the new happenings. In addition, wall paintings in temples in Bangkok and nearby cities illustrated images of a modern city, for example, a tall building with Western architecture, the physical landscape of a European city, and a European social life. These paintings were drawn by Khrao In Khong.³ In the meantime, an awakening of a modernization movement occurred among the intellectual elite in Bangkok. For example, in the 1860s, Voyage to London by Mom Rachothai became so popular among the elite that Dr. Bradley purchased a copyright for publishing. An interesting point in this book is that the author magnificently described the “*modernity and advancement*” of London and other new industrial cities in England. This book awakened the Siamese elite to recognition the need for modernizing Bangkok. At the end of King Mongkut’s reign, it could be said that modernization had already been initially implanted into Siamese society.

King Mongkut had a progressive vision. He planned to visit Singapore to observe this city in person. Although the ancient custom did not allow the king and royal family to go aboard, except on an expedition of war, in order to provide for the progress nation, King Mongkut overlooked this obstacle and made a plan to visit a foreign land. In

³ Wiyada Thongmitr. Khrua In Khong’s Westernized School of Thai Painting, Page 129.

addition, with the pressure of the Cambodia's issue, and to relieve the fear of further expansion of the French in the north, Siam needed to gain recognition as an independent state from the British. That is why the plan to visit Singapore by King Mongkut had been launched. Yet, unfortunately for him, after returning from observing a solar eclipse at Wah Ko in 1868, the king had a serious illness and passed away. However, his plan was conveyed to the next king, King Chulalongkorn.

Three years after ascending the throne, the 17-year old King Chulalongkorn, as arranged by the regent, Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong (Chuang Bunnag) visited the nearby colonial cities of Singapore and Batavia. The regent was a leading Westernized official under the reign of King Mongkut. Being a progressive person and having experience in a foreign land, he became an important official who supported the project of modernization under King Mongkut. More importantly, he supported the “*study tour*” in Singapore and Java (Batavia and Semarang) for the young King Chulalongkorn in 1871. After Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong's visit, a “*study tour*” became the new trend for acquiring knowledge in Siam, particularly during the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

Throughout his reign, King Chulalongkorn traveled in Asia many times. He was the first king of Siam who traveled to foreign lands not for warfare. Among these journeys, the king most frequently visited Singapore and also Java of the Dutch three times (1871, 1896 and 1901). In particular, the first journey in 1871 to Singapore and Java (Batavia-Semarang) of King Chulalongkorn was for purposes of a study tour. The account of the first journey is based on the book Dispatches of 3 journeys to Java by King Rama V, collected and printed under consideration of Prince Damrong Rachanubhap. He revealed that “*this journey was recorded only by a scribe, who attended and traveled with His Majesty to (Singapore)-Java*”.⁴ This account presented His Majesty's daily activities of that journey, where the king had gone and what the king had seen. This record proves that King Chulalongkorn adopted many things that he had seen in

⁴ Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, Journeys to Java by a Siamese King, Page 3.

Singapore and Batavia to improve Bangkok and Siam and affirms the important role of Singapore as a place for learning about modernization.

The second journey to Singapore-Java in 1896, one year prior to the First Grand Visit to Europe, was mainly for restoring His Majesty's health. For this journey, two accounts were written; A Journey of Over Two Months to Java by King Chulalongkorn in a diary form, and the official dispatches of His Majesty's daily activities to the public in Bangkok, recorded by Prince Sommot Amornpan.* However, this research has not focused much on the second journey because the scope of study ends in the year 1897, including just the transformation in Bangkok that occurred from 1861 to 1896.

As a result of the first journey in 1871, the king was so impressed that he wanted to go to Europe after his return. However, the regent felt that Europe was too far for that time and India became an alternative. Therefore, the young king left for India in 1872.⁵ On that trip, King Chulalongkorn wished to spend some time in Singapore and Penang on the way.⁶

As mentioned above, initially King Chulalongkorn wanted to visit Europe, but his request was rejected by the regent. Before leaving for India, the king studied the situation in India, especially the event of the Sepoy Munity of 1857. On that journey, the king started his study tour from Calcutta and Bombay, going to Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Banares and Cawnpore.⁷ These cities were situated in the north of India, under the domination of the British government at Calcutta. It is noticeable that the purpose of that journey was not necessarily to observe the administrative system of India, as with the

* However, there were several other reasons specifically to visit Java: to have a good impression of the warm Dutch hospitality; a wish to see more of Java; to recovering his health; and to avoid political conflicts with the colonizers, like the British and the France. In Imtip Pattajoti Suharto, Journeys to Java by a Siamese King, Page 15.

⁵ P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page (xv).

⁶ Anson to Kimberley, 20 November 1871, CO 273/12744/283. Cited in *Ibid.*, Page 27.

⁷ สาคชิตอนันท์ สหาย, ๖.5 เสด็จอินเดีย, หน้า (16).

former trip to Singapore and Java, but seemed to be more a study tour of Indian history and civilization. As Paladisai Sitthithanyakij stated in his book about the journey to India, the purpose was to study Indian history and civilization along the ancient cities.⁸ It can be seen that the king visited the Asiatic Association and the museum at Calcutta, an archeological site of ancient kingdoms, and other historical and religious sites of Hinduism, Islam, and particularly, Buddhism. He also went sightseeing and learned about the places and events of the uprisings during the Sepoy Mutiny. This journey might be called an **Indian History and Civilization Trip**, an additional benefit from visiting India which has the oldest Asian civilization. As a result of this journey, the king also studied the historical development of India from the ancient period to the colonial period, including gaining an understanding that the great oriental religions of the world originated in ancient India.

Given the vast colony and various cultures of India, different races, religions, beliefs, and languages, the British found it hard work to centralize the regional administration under their control. The situation in India during the second half of the nineteenth century was insecure and unstable because of rebellions and political uprisings; the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was called “*the first independence struggle*”. This revolt frightened the British in India such that they recognized that, in fact, India had not really been colonized under their absolute power. Even during the period when King Chulalongkorn visited India, the king could feel their fear about that incident, even though it had occurred more than ten years ago.⁹ After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, there were many uprisings and incidences of violence in India to resist British rule. For example, three months before King Chulalongkorn visited India, the Chief Judge was assassinated while issuing judgment in the Wahabi case.*

⁸ พลาดิศจัย สิทธิธัญญกิจ, *รัชกาลที่ 5 กับการปฏิรูปเมืองสยาม* (กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักพิมพ์ กู๊ดมอร์นิ่ง, 2549), หน้า 61.

⁹ สาคชิตอนันท์ สหาย, *๖.5 เสด็จอินเดีย*, หน้า 28.

* The Muslim Wahabi Movement originates from Arabia. This movement had an influence on Muslims in India. The purpose of this group was directed against the syncretic tradition of Sufism and

During his journey to India in 1872, the most progressive innovation that King Chulalongkorn saw was the “*railway*”. For most of his journey in India, the king took a train to travel from the east to the west. He spent approximately 200 hours (8 days) on the train.¹⁰ This was the best kind of ‘study tour’ because he could see various ways of life, culture, and history, including Indian civilization along the line. This was not the first time that the Siamese king had seen a “*railway*”. When the king visited Java in the prior year, he saw a railway line at Semarang. His impression of this “*railway and service*” inspired him to introduce the first railway to Siam soon after returning.¹¹ Yet, unfortunately, his intend was not accomplish as he desired.* Although the “*railway*” was a new innovation that King Chulalongkorn adopted from visiting the colonies of Europeans, it did not make a change to the landscape of Bangkok. However, it should be noted that the “*railway*” marked a border line between the old area and a new zone in Bangkok; the railroad also was an example of the best logistics at that time linking provincial towns to Bangkok.

In addition, the king also visited the military affairs and administrative system of the British in India, including new industry and innovations in Calcutta. On the other hand, when King Chulalongkorn had visited Singapore and Java, his primary focus had been to learn a form of “*modernity*” and the Western way from both cities.

Regarding the India trip, King Chulalongkorn learned necessary information about the administrative system through the suffering experience of Indian’s rulers. For example, the king met the heirs of Sultan Tipu and Nawab of Murshidabad in Calcutta. Because of separation and internal political conflict, both of these kingdoms were defeated by the British and came under British rule. Following the history of

popular religious customs. In October 1871, a number of Muslims were arrested and judged in Calcutta. They were charged that they were members of “Wahabi”. While taking a break in the judgment, the Chief Judge was assassinated on his way back to the room of judgment. ใน สาคชิตอนันท์ สหาย, ๑.๕ เสด็จอินเดีย, หน้า 31-32.

¹⁰ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 35.

¹¹ The Friend of India (8 February 1871): 156. อ้างถึงใน เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 95.

* The first railway was operated in 1890 between Bangkok to Pak Nam.

colonization in India, the king understood the process of constructing an imperial British colony there. Internal political conflict, a lack of good administration, and ignorance of advance and improvement, were the weak points that the British and other colonizers used to interfere in state affairs. As an opinion of Sahai Sachchidanand, he points that this was the most important lesson that King Chulalongkorn learned from his experiences in India.¹² That is the reason why, soon after returning from India, the king hurried to improve the administrative system in Siam. However, his efforts were aggressively resisted by the old powers resulting in a political crisis, known as “*The Crisis of Front Palace (1874-1875)*”. After this crisis was resolved, the king recognized his immediate reforms might be a risk to the political stability of Siam and become a chance for foreign interference. Therefore, the king had to delay his “*Reform Project*” and await a new change to come about.¹³ That chance would come at the end of the 1880s, when the regent and the prince of Front Palace passed away in 1883 and 1885, respectively.

Accordingly, the main reason that King Chulalongkorn did not adopt what he had learned in India to improve Siam at the earlier period of his reign was because it aroused political conflict and he did not have a full power as a monarch at that time, as described above. As a result, the king could only adopt a form of modernity, in particular, that which did not threaten the traditional administration under control of the old groups. It could be said that during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, Singapore and Java (Batavia) were suitable models for saving Siam from that risky situation. That is the reason why the king initially improved some of the royal court customs, and particularly, physical landscape of Bangkok to fit a form of the Western modernity. A majority of such improvements were duplicated from Singapore and Batavia.

¹² สาคชิตอนันท์ สหาย, ๖.5 เสด็จอินเดีย, หน้า 311-312.

¹³ The Royal Letter of His Majesty King Chulalongkorn for Sir Andrew Clark, (27 November 1876) อ้างถึงใน เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 306.

Turning to the first journey in 1871, during this first time in foreign lands, the king appeared dressed in Siamese and Western styles. As reported by the newspaper in Batavia, “*the King was dressed in the short, light-greyish silk garment with golden buttons (adorned with knightly orders), the sarong arranged in the Siamese style, the long white silk stocking, black shoes, and the oblong (Buddhistic) crown with a bunch of feathers at the top*”.¹⁴ It was surprising and exciting for the people in both colonies because it was the first time that they had seen an Asian king in their homes.

During that journey, the king had a chance to meet many prominent statesmen, both in Singapore and Batavia. The purpose was to undertake a study tour and establish a closer commercial relationship as a trade partner. Also, the king took a city tour for sightseeing to many interesting places in the governmental area, the commercial centre and the civic sphere.* He attended many activities provided by the colonial governments. The second half of the nineteenth century was the “*height of colonialism and imperialism*” when both Singapore and Batavia progressively improved and were built duplicating their metropolitan models in Europe. Even the landscape of a land based city or the social life of the Europeans and affluent local elite groups was similar to the European cities.

After his return, the king made gradually changes, both in the traditional customs and physical landscape in Bangkok. Firstly, the king adopted Western fashions for the royal court, and then transformed Bangkok with Western architecture and civil organizations. Both The Prince’s Correspond and Recollection written by Prince Damrong Rachanubhap explained what the king adopted from having seen in Singapore and Batavia to adjust the fashionable taste in the royal court. As a result of this visit, many new business and services were operated in Bangkok, a trend that distinctively

¹⁴ Nieuw Bataviaasch handelsblad (27 March 1871) And The Singapore Daily Times (06 April 1871). Cited in Kannikar Sartraproong, A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam’s visit to Singapore and Java in 1871, Page 31.

* It also included a residential area of affluent Europeans and local elite. This area duplicated an environment of residential area from a European city, for example, “Koningsplein” in Batavia and “the Padang” in Singapore.

changed the lifestyle of the dwellers in Bangkok. Furthermore, the king adopted modern organizations that introduced a tone of modern life to Bangkok. For instances, the king established public places for association and recreation, such as a club, a museum and a botanic garden. Also, governmental services under “*moral responsibility*” concerns, such as a jail, hospital and asylum operated by the government, were improved modeled on the progressive administration from Singapore and Batavia.

With respect to the physical landscape, the king transformed the compound of the Grand Palace and residential area of governmental officials to be similar to the governmental and residential areas in Singapore and Batavia. As evidence of this, both sides of Ku Muang Derm were remade with brick, and roads were constructed parallel to this canal and drawbridge (Vilanda Bridge) for crossing this canal. This scenery was similar to the canal in Batavia when the king visited there. The government under his reign also promoted the construction of roads and shop-houses in Singapore design. The construction of “*roads and shop-houses*” also partly created a beautiful and hygienic environment in Bangkok. The government under the leadership of King Chulalongkorn actively promoted and subsidized roads and buildings in Bangkok. Also, many laws were promulgated to make Bangkok beautiful, clean and orderly. The Siamese conformed to the new standard of living by these laws. It could be said that the project of infrastructural construction gradually changed the physical landscape of Bangkok to become a modern city with Western modernity.

Approximate forty years of transformation (1861-1897) illustrate the influence of Singapore and Batavia when Bangkok was colored with architecture of the colonial style and by Western modernity. In particular, the transformation of Bangkok operated under the consideration of a modern city’s standard during the nineteenth century, “*Beauty – Hygiene – Order*”, and Bangkok advanced and progressed to become nearly a European-like city. It could be said that “*Modern Bangkok*” gradually emerged prior to the occurrence of the First Grand Tour to Europe by King Chulalongkorn.

Under the pressure of the imperialism in the 1890s, the Siamese government under King Chulalongkorn had to confront the harsh threat of the French at the mouth of the Chao Phraya River, known as “*The Crisis of Pak Nam in 1893*”. Because of the political impact of this crisis, the king and his government planned a visit to Europe in person. The purpose was to establish closer diplomatic relationships with European countries, especially with the great powers, such as Britain and Russia. To prevent further expansion by the French, Siam had to gain recognition as an independent state from the European powers to counterbalance the French. Thus, in politic-diplomatic terms, the king had to present Siam as a civilized nation to be acceptable as an “*independent state*” similar to other European countries. That is the reason why the First Grand Tour to Europe in 1897 took place, and, in the end, King Chulalongkorn accomplished the aim of this tour. Regarding to this achievement, one year before travelling to Europe, King Chulalongkorn paid a second visit to Singapore- Java.* On that trip, the king went along with his Queen Saowapha and court ladies in formal Western style dress, different from the first trip. The trip can be seen as a “*dress rehearsal*” before the “*Grand Tour*” to civilized European in the following year.¹⁵

With respect to visiting European countries in person, King Chulalongkorn gained great experience in seeing “*metropolitan modernity*”, or a real image of the layouts of European cities. The king duplicated the elegant landscape of the capital cities of Europe to be adopted in Bangkok. For example, the king was so impressed with the “*Avenue des Champs-Élysées*” in Paris that he duplicated its layout which became the project of the Dusit Palace compound and Rachadamnoen Avenue.** This project was launched according to the beautification of the environment similar to the European cities. In other word, Rachadamnoen Avenue imposed a European model of urbanism on

* On that trip, King Chulalongkorn spent time sending his children to study abroad and visiting his old friends, particularly, he spent two months visiting many towns in Java Island.

¹⁵ P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya, Page (X).

** This avenue was cut from Sanam Luang to the new area, north of the city walls (called ‘Dusit’ in the 1890s) In Marc Askew, Bangkok: Transformation of the Thai City (Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press, 1994), Page 9.

the oriental city.¹⁶ It can also be seen that when Siam developed from the mid-nineteenth century until the coming of the twentieth century, the traditional world was distinctively separated from modernity. Similarly, the Dusit Palace compound was built differently in ideology and design from the Grand Palace.

In conclusion, under the emergence of a new world order by the nineteenth century, the world was dominated by the Western world economy and imperialism. With increasing demand and high competition, Southeast Asia was forced, either by military forces or diplomatic strategy, to be under European occupation. In the case of Siam, the government under King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn changed this threat to become “*a great chance*”. With the flourish of commerce and the influence of Western modernity by the opening of Siam to the West through treaty negotiation, they had impacted on landscape and the functioning of Bangkok. In light of the closer commercial relations and for political reasons, Singapore and Batavia became models for transforming Bangkok during the earlier period of modernization. To fit “*an international standard*”, both kings adopted a form of modernity from Singapore and Batavia to transform Bangkok to become a European-like city. The transformation impacted not only physical changes to create a new form, but people conformed to a modern standard of living as well. Therefore, if King Rama I was the founder of the Old Bangkok, it could be said that King Mongkut was the founder of the New (Modern) Bangkok and the New (Modern) Bangkok was characteristically transformed by King Chulalongkorn. Lastly, the transformation and improvement of Bangkok initially occurred 36 years before King Chulalongkorn first visited European countries in 1897. This indicates that the European-like cities in Asia, Singapore and Batavia, were the earliest learning centers of “*western modernity*” for Siam, especially Bangkok.

¹⁶ Marc Askew, Bangkok: Transformation of the Thai City, Page 9.

Nowadays, the scenery of “*Venice of the East*” has almost disappeared from Bangkok because of the road network and the development of a city plan. However, even as Bangkok has further developed far from that beginning, a trace of Singapore-Batavian influence remains as a historical heritage memorializing the story of “*Bangkok Modern*”.

In the last part of this chapter, there are two opinions that should be considered. Firstly, how it is possible to preserve the old area of Bangkok preserved as a heritage area of the city. Under the trend of globalization, as with other metropolitan cities, Bangkok has grown rapidly with capitalism. Normally, a city plan is reproduced to fit the change in the living trend and the growth of the economy. Accordingly, the city should give more consideration to the preservation of “*a heritage area of history and the traditional ways*”, as well as to the development of modern high-rise buildings and advanced transportation systems.

Recently, many countries, such as Germany and Japan, have been seriously concern about land use in the city. Because of natural disasters and the energy crisis, both countries have thought about “*a creative area*”, namely that creative land use is necessary for making a city plan. Creative land use could include preserving an area in downtown as the environmental capital to be used for pioneering greening activities. This downtown area, in the sense of a compact city, is safe, people-friendly and car free. As evidence of this, the downtown can be preserved for bicyclists and pedestrians to reduce pollution and energy use and to increase the security of living in town. Creative land use could also be in the preservation of an old area as “*a heritage area*”. In the case of Singapore, the government considers the heritage value in making their city plan for development. A vision of the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Singapore (URA) is “*To make Singapore a Great City to live, work and play in*”, a mission of this vision is to “*make Singapore a home to cherish by safeguarding places of identity and heritage*”.* This small but powerful country attempts to preserve “*history*” in the city for

* See more details in <http://www.ura.gov.sg/>

remembering their own roots. Under the responsibility of the URA, many old shop-houses in Singapore where the people are still living have been preserved as the national heritage. These buildings were renovated to the original design with the government's support. Not only shop-house, but the old buildings with colonial architecture which had been used for the governmental affairs and religious services are preserved to their original condition and opened for public services and historical learning spots. These buildings and ethnic community are the national heritage about which the government of Singapore is seriously concerned. All of this is done to make Singapore be a place of heritage.

Turning back to Thailand, in Bangkok, the “*historical sites*” within the Rattanakosin Island situated with old shop-houses cannot remain without serious attention. This area consists of buildings with old architecture and design, and people with their lively memory to tell the history of Bangkok. It would be unfortunate if the government or the Thai people were not concerned with how to preserve the historical sites for the next generation. This could be possible for Bangkok, with the old shop-houses or areas like Charoen Krung – Bamrung Muang – Pheung Nakhon* brought under consideration by the government for learning about the history of the community.** In fact, the buildings and inhabitants in the community can tell the historical development of Bangkok as well as other historical artifacts that are display in a museum. It is possible for Bangkok to be resurrected with the spirit of the “*City of Angels*” to be a place of happiness, prosperity and heritage.

Secondly, this study extends the knowledge sphere of Thai Studies, including aspects of history and geography in term of physical and cultural landscape to understand events in the past. In particular, this study demonstrates an aspect of

* This area was the earliest modern zone of Bangkok, being the most popular shopping centre of dwellers in this city at that time.

** Unfortunately, only some individuals show concern to preserve the old houses. They attempt to renovate these old houses in the original design and construction to use for their business. However, it would be better if the government or the community partly support this preservation.

Bangkok's development during the modern period that can contribute to the knowledge or inspire further study. Also, this study found that learning about ourselves through the written history of our neighbors is important, which can help us to extend our knowledge and understanding of ourselves, the regional neighboring countries and certainly the global community as well. Therefore, the skill of using languages, especially regional languages, is very important equipment for constructing knowledge with comprehension of the neighboring countries.

This is similar to how King Mongkut promoted the study of the English language for the Siamese to extend their knowledge and perception toward the Western world. The skill of using the English language was not only used for negotiating with the Western countries, but it was important to enlighten Siam toward the modern world at that time, and to save Siam from the political crisis by the European powers during the colonial period. As King Mongkut mentioned in the letter to Phraya Suriyawongse Vayavadhana (1864): “*..Being, as we are now, surrounded on two or three sides by powerful nations, what can a small nation like us do?..The only weapons that will be of real use to us in the future will be our mouths and our hearts, constituted so as to be full of sense and wisdom for the better protection of ourselves*”.¹⁷ Transforming Bangkok by learning from a European-like city such as Singapore and Batavia was a wise strategy that proved his thought to be right.

¹⁷ Letter to Phraya Suriyawongse Vayavadhana, Siamese Ambassador to Paris (1864). Cited in Seni Pramroj and Kukrit Pramroj, A King of Siam Speaks, Page 178.

REFERENCES

ภาษาไทย

กรมศิลปากร. พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวกับการพิพิธภัณฑน์. เอกสารประกอบนิทรรศการ

พิเศษ งานเฉลิมฉลองพระเกียรติพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ในโอกาสที่วันพระบรมราชสมภพครบ 150 ปี (11-28 มีนาคม 2547).

กริสโวลด์, เอ.บี. พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้ากรุงสยาม. แปลโดย หม่อมเจ้าจงจิตรถนอม ดิศกุล.

พิมพ์โดยเสด็จพระราชกุศลในมหามงคลชัย พระชนมายุเสมอด้วยสมเด็จพระราชบิดา, 2508.

กุลทรัพย์ เกษแม่นกิจ, บุญหลง ศรีกนก และพรภัทรา สารประสพ (บรรณาธิการ). แนวพระราชดำริในการเสด็จ

ประพาสในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2552.

จรัล เกร็งพงษ์ (บรรณาธิการ). ประวัติการแพทย์ สมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพยาบาลศิริราช,

คณะแพทยศาสตร์, มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล, 2525.

จอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระบาทสมเด็จพระ. จดหมายเหตุนครกาลที่ 4 จ.ศ. 1224 เลขที่ 131. “เรื่อง พระราช

กระแสดำด้วย ชาวต่างชาติที่ต้งบ้านเรือนอยู่ที่สำเพ็งและคอกกระบือ”.

จอห์น เบาว์ริง, เซอร์. ราชอาณาจักรสยามและราชรัฐสยาม, เล่ม 1. แปลโดย กัณฐิกา ศรีอุดม. ชาญวิทย์

เกษตรศิริ (บรรณาธิการ). กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำรา

สังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547.

จุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระบาทสมเด็จพระ. จดหมายเหตุเสด็จประพาสต่างประเทศในรัชกาลที่ 5 เสด็จ

เมืองสิงคโปร์และเมืองเบตาเวียครั้งแรก และเสด็จประพาสอินเดีย กับจดหมายเหตุของหมอ

บริดเด. พระนคร: กรมศิลปากร, 2512 . พิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ นาวาตรี หลวงสุรินทร์

เสนี (ร้อยเอก อ้น อมาตยกุล).

จุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระบาทสมเด็จพระ. พระราชหัตถเลขาในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้า

เจ้าอยู่หัวพระราชทานแก่เซอร์แอนดรู คัลลาจ, (วันที่ 27 พฤศจิกายน 2419). อ้างถึงใน สหาย,

สาครชิตอนันท์. ร.5 เสด็จอินเดีย. แปลโดย กันฐิภา ศรีอุดม. กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทย

และมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2546.

ชมรมสายตระกูลบุนนาค. เสนาบดีตระกูลบุนนาค: สมเด็จพระยาบรมมหาประยูรวงศ์ (ดิศ บุนนาค)

พ.ศ.๒๓๓๑ – ๒๓๙๘ (1788-1855). [ออนไลน์]. 2548. แหล่งที่มา:

<http://www.bunnag.in.th/history6-ditbunnag.html> [21 กันยายน 2555]

ชัย เรืองศิลป์. ประวัติศาสตร์ไทย สมัย พ.ศ.2325-2453: ด้านสังคม. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 4. กรุงเทพฯ: ไสภณการ

พิมพ์, 2545.

ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ (บรรณาธิการ). ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4. กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าแห่งประเทศไทย

และมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547.

ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ และอรอนงค์ ทิพย์พิมล (บรรณาธิการ). รัชกาลที่ 5: สยามกับอุษาคเนย์และชมพูทวีป.

กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์,

2547.

ณัฐวุฒิ สุทธิสงคราม. สมเด็จพระเจ้าพระยาบรมมหาศรีสุริยวงศ์ (ช่วง บุนนาค), เล่ม 1. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3.

กรุงเทพฯ: สร้างสรรค์บุ๊คส์, 2551.

ณัฐวุฒิ สุทธิสงคราม. ชีวิตและงานกงสุลไทยของพระยาอนุกุลสยามกิจ อุปนิภิตสยามรัฐ (ตันกิมเจ็ง) กงสุล

เยเนอรัลไทยคนแรก ณ เมืองสิงคโปร์. กรุงเทพฯ: รุ่งเรืองสานันการพิมพ์, 2525.

ดำรง ไคร่ครวญ. การพิมพ์กับหมอบรัดเลย์. เอกสารทางวิชาการเพื่อประกอบการสัมมนา “หมอบรัดเลย์กับ

สังคมไทย”. กรุงเทพฯ: สถาบันไทยคดีศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์ และโครงการไทยศึกษา

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 16-17 กรกฎาคม 2528.

ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยา. ความทรงจำ ที่ทรงค้างไว้ 5 ตอน. พระนคร: สมาคมสังคมศาสตร์

แห่งประเทศไทย, 2506.

ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยา. ความทรงจำ. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2546.

ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยา. ความทรงจำ. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ศิลปาบรรณาคาร, 2516.

ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยา. ชุมนุมพระนิพนธ์ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ. กรุงเทพฯ:

สำนักพิมพ์บรรณกิจ, 2534.

เดอะ เฟรนด์ ออฟ อินเดีย. (8 กุมภาพันธ์ 2414): 156. อ้างถึงใน สหาย, สาคชิตอนันท์. ร.5 เสด็จอินเดียน.

แปลโดย กัญจิกา ศรีอุดม. กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโดยต่างประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำรา

สังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2546.

ทรงศรี อัจจุรณ และคณะ. รวบรวมบทความเกี่ยวกับ “ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างไทยกับสหรัฐอเมริกา พ.ศ.

2376 – พ.ศ. 2493 (ค.ศ. 1833 – ค.ศ. 1950). กรุงเทพฯ: แพร่พิทยา, 2519.

ทวีศักดิ์ เผือกสม. การปรับตัวทางความรู้, ความจริง, และอำนาจของชนชั้นสยาม พ.ศ. 2325-2411.

วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารธุรกิจ, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์

มหาวิทยาลัย, 2540.

ทองต่อ กล้วยไม้ ณ ออยุธยา และคนอื่น ๆ. 225 ปี กรุงรัตนโกสินทร์. กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักงานผังเมือง, 2552.

ทิพากรวงศ์, เจ้าพระยา. พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 4. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 6. กรุงเทพฯ:

อัมรินทร์พรินติ้งและพับลิซซิง, 2548.

ทิพากรวงศ์, เจ้าพระยา. พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 1 ฉบับเจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์มหา

โกษาธิบดี. กรุงเทพฯ: คณะสงฆ์วัดพระเชตุพนวิมลมังคลารามและมูลนิธิ “ทุนพระพุทธยอดฟ้า”

ในพระบรมราชูปถัมภ์, 2552.

ทิพากรวงศ์, เจ้าพระยา. พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 3. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร, 2538.

ทิพากรวงศ์, เจ้าพระยา. พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 4 ฉบับเจ้าพระยาทิพากรวงศ์, เล่ม 2.

กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การคุรุสภา, 2504.

เทพชู ทับทอง. ย้อนรอยกรุงเทพฯ. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สุวีริยาสาสน์, 2546.

นริศรานูวัตติวงศ์, สมเด็จพระเจ้าฟ้ากรมพระยา และดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระกรมพระยา. สาส์นสมเด็จพระ

เล่ม 22. กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การคำคุณุสภา, 2505. อ้างถึงใน วิยะดา ทองมิตร. จิตรกรรมแบบ
สากลสกุลช่างจรัลอินโข่ง. กรุงเทพฯ: ศูนย์ส่งเสริมและค้นคว้าศิลปวัฒนธรรมไทย, 2522.

แน่น้อย ศักดิ์ศรี, ม.ร.ว. มรดกสถาปัตยกรรมกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ เล่ม 1. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพระราชเลขาธิการ,
2536.

แน่น้อย ศักดิ์ศรี, ม.ร.ว., ไชแสง สุขะวัฒนะ และดุสิต ทิพทัส. สถาปัตยกรรมพระบรมมหาราชวัง เล่ม 1.

กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักเลขาธิการ, 2531. อ้างถึงใน อนันต์ วงษ์แก้ว. การเปลี่ยนแปลงและการขยายตัว
ของกรุงเทพมหานคร ตั้งแต่รัชกาลที่ 1 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 4 พ.ศ.2325-2411. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญา
มหาบัณฑิต ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2545.

บรัดเลย์, วิลเลียม แอล. การจัดแจงในกรุงเทพฯ เพื่อจะแกโรคลงราก. บางกอกรีคอร์เดอร์. (สิงหาคม
2409): 427.

บรัดเลย์, วิลเลียม แอล. อินชະเนยชาติตชะ. บางกอกรีคอร์เดอร์. (พฤศจิกายน 2409): 513.

บอซซ์, คาร์ล. ท้องถนนสยามยุคพระพุทเจ้าหลวง. แปลโดย เสฐียร พันธรังษี และอัมพร ทีชะระ. กรุงเทพฯ:
สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2543.

บัณฑิต ลิวชัยชาญ. ภัยฝรั่งสมัยพระนั่งเกล้าฯ. กรุงเทพฯ: มติชน, 2550.

ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่ม 14, ภาคที่ 22-25. กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การคำคุณุสภา, 2507.

ประชุมพงศาวดาร เล่มที่ 27 รวมจดหมายเหตุเรื่อง ราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษ เมื่อ พ.ศ. 2400.

กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การคำครุสภา, 2511.

ประทุมพร วัชรเสถียร. ฉันรักกรุงเทพฯ ตอน พระอาทิตย์ขึ้นที่ถนนสีลม. กรุงเทพฯ: แพร่สำนักพิมพ์, 2547.

ปัญญา เทพสิงห์ และวุฒิ วัฒนสิน. ลวดลายตกแต่งหน้าอาคารชิโน-ปอร์ตุเกสในจังหวัดภูเก็ต.

มหาวิทยาลัยสงขลานครินทร์ วิทยาเขตหาดใหญ่, 2545.

ปิยนาด บุนนาค, ดวงพร นพคุณ และสุวัฒนา ธาดานิติ. คลองในกรุงเทพฯ: ความเป็นมา การเปลี่ยนแปลง

และผลกระทบต่อกรุงเทพฯ ในรอบ 200 ปี (พ.ศ.2325 – 2525). กรุงเทพฯ: จุฬาลงกรณ์

มหาวิทยาลัย, 2525.

ปิยนาด บุนนาค. แนวความคิดและบทบาททางการเมืองของสมเด็จพระเจ้าพระยาบรมมหาศรีสุริยวงศ์ (ช่วง

บุนนาค) ตั้งแต่สมัยรัชกาลที่ 2 ถึงสมัยรัชกาลที่ 5. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญามหาบัณฑิต, บัณฑิต

วิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2523.

ปิยนาด บุนนาค. ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยสมัยใหม่ (ตั้งแต่การทำสนธิสัญญาบาวริง ถึง “เหตุการณ์ 14 ตุลาคม”

พ.ศ.2516). กรุงเทพฯ: ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย,

2550.

ผุสดี ทัททัส และมานพ พงศทัต. บ้านในกรุงเทพ: รูปแบบและการเปลี่ยนแปลงในรอบ 200 ปี (2325-2525).

เงินทุนจากฝ่ายวิจัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย เนื่องในการสมโภชกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ ครบรอบ 200

ปี, 2525.

พลาตีสัย สิทธิธัญญิก. รัชกาลที่ 5 กับการปฏิรูปเมืองสยาม. กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักพิมพ์ กู๊ดมอร์นิ่ง, 2549.

พีรศรี โกวาทอง. ช่างฝรั่งในกรุงสยาม: ตันแผ่นดินพระพุทธรเจ้าหลวง. กรุงเทพฯ: คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2548.

เพ็ญศรี ดูก. รวมบทความประวัติศาสตร์: ศาสตราจารย์ ดร. เพ็ญศรี ดูก. กรุงเทพฯ: สถาบันไทยศึกษา
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2531.

เพ็ญสุภา สุขคตะ. เยี่ยมเรือน เยือนอดีต. กรุงเทพฯ: ร่วมด้วยช่วยกัน, 2543.

ภาวดี มหาชนธ์. รัตนโกสินทร์ยุคปรับปรุงประเทศ กรุงเทพฯ: ไทยวัฒนาพานิช, 2527.

มอฟแพท, แอ็บบ็อด โลว์. แผ่นดินพระจอมเกล้า. แปลโดย นิจ ทองโสภิต. กรุงเทพฯ: สมาคมสังคมศาสตร์
แห่งประเทศไทย, 2520.

เยาวรัตน์ พุฒิมานรดีกุล. การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทางสภาวะ
แวดล้อมต่อประชาชน. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, บัณฑิต
วิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2527.

วาไรทัย, ม.ร.ว.. นิราศลอนดอน: จดหมายเหตุเรื่องราชทูตไทยไปประเทศอังกฤษในรัชกาลที่ 4 (ฉบับ
ปรับปรุง). กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สยาม, 2553.

วาสี บุรุษรัตนพันธุ์ และปิยะพันธุ์ ร้ารวย (บรรณาธิการ). แผนที่ชุมชนกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักผัง
เมือง กรุงเทพมหานคร, 2547.

วัฒน์ จุฑะวิภาต. สถาปัตยกรรมในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว: ช่วงหัวเลี้ยว

หัวต่อของสังคมไทย. เอกสารงานวิจัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2552.

วิกิพีเดีย สารานุกรมเสรี, พิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ พระนคร [ออนไลน์]. 2555. แหล่งที่มา

www.th.wikipedia.org/wiki [10 กันยายน 2555]

วิยะดา ทองมิตร. จิตรกรรมแบบสากลสกุลช่างจรัลอินโขง. กรุงเทพฯ: ศูนย์ส่งเสริมและค้นคว้า

ศิลปวัฒนธรรมไทย, 2522.

คันสนีย์ วีระศิลป์ชัย. ย่านการค้า “ตะวันตก” แห่งแรกของกรุงเทพฯ: สามแพร่ง แพร่งภูธร – แพร่งนรา –

แพร่งสรรพศาสตร์. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2547.

ศุภรัตน์ เลิศพาณิชย์กุล. หาอยู่หากิน เพื่อค้าเพื่อขาย: เศรษฐกิจไทยรัตนโกสินทร์ตอนต้น. กรุงเทพฯ :

สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2544.

สกินเนอร์, จี.วิลเลียม. สังคมจีนในไทย. แปลโดย พรรณี ฉัตรพลรักษ์. กรุงเทพฯ: มุลนิธิโตโยต้าและมูลนิธิ

โครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2548.

สังัด อิศสระทิพย์. การศึกษาทางสังคม-ประวัติศาสตร์ ว่าด้วยการเปลี่ยนแปลงสภาพการใช้ที่ดินเพื่อการอยู่อาศัย

อาศัยของกรุงเทพมหานคร. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทบริหารบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาการวางแผนภาคและ

เมือง, บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2529.

สมบัติ พลายน้อย. พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้า พระเจ้ากรุงสยาม. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์ภาพพิมพ์, 2544.

สมบัติ พลายน้อย. เล่าเรื่องบางกอก เล่ม 2. พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 6. กรุงเทพฯ : สายธาร, 2544.

สมบัติ พลายน้อย. พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าฯ พระปิยมหาราช. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์พิมพ์คำ,

2553.

สวรรณค์ ตั้งตรงสิทธิกุล. กรุงเทพฯ ไม่มีพิพิธภัณฑ์กรุงเทพฯ. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2545.

สวัสดิ์ จงกล. พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวกับสภาพแวดล้อมของกรุงเทพฯ. กรุงเทพฯ:

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2533 .

สหาย, สาคชิตอนันท์. ร.5 เสด็จอินเดีย. แปลโดย กันจุงกา ศรีอุดม. กรุงเทพฯ: มุลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทย

และมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2546.

สาวิตรี ทัพพะสุต. ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชุมชนชาวไทย จีน และตะวันตกในกรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2398-2453.

วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์

มหาวิทยาลัย, 2527.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. กระทรวงนครบาล. “เรื่อง ห้ามราษฎรไม่ให้ปลูกเรือนจวนร้านติดถนน และ

ไม่ให้มุงหลังคาแฝง สิ่งที่เป็นเชื้อเพลิงและห้ามทำอันตรายต้นไม้ริมถนน”. สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุ

แห่งชาติ. เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น/91 หมายเลข 4.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กรมโยธาธิการ, ย. 8.9/15 เล่ม 1. อ้างถึงใน เยวรัตน์

พุดมิมานรดีกุล. การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทางสภาวะ

แวดล้อมต่อประชาชน. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, บัณฑิต

วิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2527.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น. 18.1/2 กล่อง 1. อ้างถึงใน
 ยาวรัตน์ พุฒิมานรดีกุล. การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทาง
 สภาวะแวดล้อมต่อประชาชน. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, บัณฑิต
 วิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2527.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น. 8.1/70 กล่อง 2. อ้างถึงใน
 ยาวรัตน์ พุฒิมานรดีกุล. การเปลี่ยนแปลงของกรุงเทพฯ ในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 5-7 และผลกระทบทาง
 สภาวะแวดล้อมต่อประชาชน. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, บัณฑิต
 วิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2527.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. กรมสุขาภิบาล. “เรื่อง ประกาศเรื่องขยายที่ริมถนน/ประกาศสุขาภิบาล.”

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น.5.2/8.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. กระทรวงนครบาล. “การสร้างและบูรณะทางคมนาคม”. สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุ
 แห่งชาติ. เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, ม – ร. 5 น/91.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. กระทรวงนครบาล. “ประกาศเรื่องขยายที่ริมถนน/ประกาศกรมสุขาภิบาล”.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, น.5.2/8.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. กระทรวงนครบาล. “ยอดสำมะโนครัวมณฑลกรุงเทพฯ ศก.128”. สำนักหอ
 จดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, ร.5 น.30/9. อ้างถึงใน สวัสดิ์ ทัพพะสุต. ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชุมชน
 ชาวไทย จีน และตะวันตกในกรุงเทพฯ พ.ศ. 2398-2453. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต,
 ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2527.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. กระทรวงนครบาล. “เรื่อง “ประกาศรักษาที่ดินริมถนนระหว่างคลองผดุง,”

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กระทรวงนครบาล, ม 5. 2/2.

สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. เอกสารรัชกาลที่ 5, กรมโยธาธิการ, 9/18, 22.

สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ. กรุงเทพฯ มาจากไหน? พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2. กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2548.

สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ. แม่น้ำลำคลองสายประวัติศาสตร์. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2544.

สุพรรณิ กาญจนัฐิ. บทบาทของมิชชันนารีในประเทศไทยตั้งแต่รัชกาลที่ 3 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 5 แห่งกรุง

รัตนโกสินทร์. วิทยานิพนธ์มหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์, บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย, จุฬาลงกรณ์

มหาวิทยาลัย, 2507. อ้างถึงใน ทรงศรี อัจฉอรุณ และคณะ. รวบรวมบทความเกี่ยวกับ

“ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างไทยกับสหรัฐอเมริกา พ.ศ. 2376 – พ.ศ. 2493 (ค.ศ. 1833 – ค.ศ. 1950).

กรุงเทพฯ: แพร์พิทยา, 2519.

หอสมุดแห่งชาติ. พระราชนิพนธ์ รัชกาลที่ 2. อิเหนา. พระนคร: โรงพิมพ์ประจักษ์วิทยา, 2510. อ้างถึงใน

ปิยนาด บุนนาค, ดวงพร นพคุณ และสุวิธมา ธาดานิติ. คลองในกรุงเทพฯ: ความเป็นมา การ

เปลี่ยนแปลงและผลกระทบต่อกกรุงเทพฯ ในรอบ 200 ปี (พ.ศ.2325 – 2525). กรุงเทพฯ:

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2525.

องค์การศึกษาศาสตร์และวัฒนธรรมแห่งสหประชาชาติ (UNESCO). พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมหลวง

วงษาราชสุนทร ปราชญ์และกวีแห่งกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ บุคคลสำคัญของโลก [นิทรรศการชั่วคราว].

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, ห้องหนังสือหายาก, 2555.

อนันต์ วงษ์แก้ว. การเปลี่ยนแปลงและการขยายตัวของกรุงเทพมหานคร ตั้งแต่รัชกาลที่ 1 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 4 พ.ศ.

2325-2411. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโทมหาบัณฑิต ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย , 2545.

เอนก นาวิกมูล. เที่ยวชมของเก่า. กรุงเทพฯ: แสงดาว, 2551.

ENGLISH

Abeyasekere, Susan (ed.). Jakarta a History. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Akin Rabibhadana. The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782 – 1873. Cornell Thailand Project, 1969.

Anson to Kimberley. 20 November 1871. CO 273/12744/283. Cited in P. Lim Pui Huen, Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing, 2009.

Asian Civilization Museum of Singapore. Commercial Square [permanent exhibition]. Singapore: Asian Civilization Museum, 2009.

Askew, Marc. Bangkok: Transformation of the Thai City. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press, 1994.

Askew, Marc. Bangkok: Place and Representation. London: Routledge, 2002.

Baker, Christ and Pasuk Phongpaichit. A History of Thailand. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Bangkok Calendar (1871): 151. Cited in Porphant Ouyyanont. Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925. Southeast Asian Studies. 36, 4 (March 1999): 437-474.

Beek, Steve Van. Bangkok Only Yesterday. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Publishing, 1982.

Beek, Steve Van. Bangkok Then and Now. Nonthaburi: AB Publications, 1999.

Bhamorabutr, Abha. The History of Bangkok. Bangkok: [s.n.], 1987.

- Blusse, Leonard. *On the Waterfront: Life and Labour Around the Batavian Roadstead*. In Haneda Masashi (ed.). Asian Port Cities 1600-1800: Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions, pp.119-138. Singapore: NUS Press, 2009.
- Bradley, William L. Siam Then: the foreign colony in Bangkok before and after Anna. Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1981.
- Cady, John F. Nineteenth-Century Siam, Rama III and Mongkut, In Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development, pp. 324 – 352. New York, San Francisco, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book, 1964.
- Charnvit Kasetsiri. Siam/Civilization-Thailand/Globalization: Things to Come. Bangkok: International Association of Historians of Asia, Chulalongkorn University, 1996. (Unpublished Manuscript)
- Chew, Ernest C.T. and Lee, Edwin (eds.). A History of Singapore. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Crawford, John. Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China. The Second published. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Cushman, J.W. Siamese Trade and the Chinese Go-between, 1767-1855. Journal of Southeast Asian Studies. 12, 1 (March 1981). Cited in Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead. *The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism*. Oxfordshire: Routledge Curzon, 2004.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, His Royal Highness Prince. The Introduction of Western Culture in Siam. The Journal of the Siam Society for the Century of the Prince (1962): 107-114.

- Dhiravat na Pombejra. Port, Palace, and Profit: An Overview of Siamese Crown Trade and the European Presence in Siam in the Seventeenth Century, In Port Cities and Trade in Western Southeast Asia, pp. 65-83. Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1998.
- DKK, Richard Bennett. Jakarta: Jayakarta, Batavia. Bali: The Bali Purnati Center For The Arts, 1980.
- Dobbs, Stephen. The Singapore River: A Social History 1819-2002. Singapore: NUS Press, 2003.
- Doosadee Thaitakoo. The Thai Heritage, Krung Rattanakosin as the Live-in Historic City Centre of Bangkok. Bangkok: Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Chulalongkorn University, 1992.
- Edwards, Norman. The Singapore House and residential life 1819-1939. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Empress Place Building. Wikipedia [online]. 2011. Available from: www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empress_Place_Building , [2012, May 9].
- Engel, David M. Law and Kingship in Thailand during the Reign of King Chulalongkorn. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asia: University of Michigan, 1975. Cited in P. Lim Pui Huen. Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing, 2009.
- Feltus, George Haws. Samuel Reynolds House of Siam: Pioneer Medical Missionary 1847-1976. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2007.

- Flood, T. and C. The Dynastic Chronicles, Bangkok Era, the First Reign, vol.2. Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1978. Cited in Lysa Hong. Thailand in the 19th century: Evolution of the Economy and Society. ISEAS, Singapore, 1984.
- Frost, Mark Ravinder and Balasingamchow, Yu-Mei. Singapore: A Biography. Singapore: Edition Didier Millet and National Museum of Singapore, 2009.
- Garnier, Derick. Ayutthaya: Venice of the East. Bangkok: River Books, 2004.
- Hong, Lysa. Thailand in the 19th century: Evolution of the Economy and Society. ISEAS, Singapore, 1984.
- Huen, P. Lim Pui. In the Footsteps of the King: Recalling the Visits of King Rama V to Malaya. In ชาญวิทย์ เกษตรศิริ และอรอนงค์ ทิพย์พิมล (บรรณาธิการ). รัชกาลที่ 5: สยามกับอุษาคเนย์และชมพูทวีป. หน้า 227-265. กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโตโยต้าประเทศไทยและมูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2547.
- Huen, P. Lim Pui. Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing, 2009.
- Hussin, Nordin. Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang 1780-1830. Singapore: NUS Press, 2007.
- Ingram, James C. Economic Change in Thailand 1850-1970. USA: Stanford University Press, 1971.
- Kannikar Sartraproong. A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871. Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2008.
- King, Ross. Reading Bangkok. Singapore: NUS Press, 2011.
- Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead. Thai-European Relations at the Beginning of King Chulalongkorn's Reign. In International Conference to commemorate 'The Century of King Chulalongkorn of Siam's First Visit to Europe in 1897'. Chulalongkorn University European Studies Programme and the Consortium of European Partner Universities, 1997.

- Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead. The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism. Doctoral dissertation, The School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London, 2000.
- Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead. The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism. Oxfordshire: Routledge Curzon, 2004.
- Lim, Jon S.H. The Shophouse Rafflesia: An Outline of its Malaysian Pedigree and its Subsequent Diffusion in Asia. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. LXVI, Part 1 (1993): 47-66.
- Listopad, John Andrew. The process of change in Thai mural painting: Khrua In Khong and the murals in the UBOSOTH of Wat Somanasa Vihara. Master's Thesis, Department of Arts, University of Utah, 1984.
- Liu, Gretchen (ed.). Singapore Historical Postcards from the National Archives Collection. Singapore: National Archives and Records Centre, 1986.
- Malinee Khumsupha. Changing in Urban Bangkok 1855-1909: the Impact of the Settlement of the British and Their Subjects. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Thai Studies, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, 2011.
- Malloch, D.E. Siam: Some General Remarks of Its Productions. Calcutta, 1852. Cited in Sarasin Virapol. Tribute and Profit Sino-Siamese Trade 1652-1853. London, The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1977.
- McGee, T.G. The Southeast Asian City: a Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1967.
- Merrillees, Scott. Batavia in Nineteenth Century Photographs. Singapore: Archipelago Press, 2000.
- Nidhi Aeusrivongse. Bourgeois Culture and Early Bangkok. Thammasat University Journal, 2, 1 (1982): 75. Cited in Hans-Dieter Evers, Trade and State Formation: Siam in the Early Bangkok Period. In Modern Asian Studies (October, 1987): 751-771.
- Nidhi Aeusrivongse. Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok. Chiang Mai: Silk Worm Books, 1982.

- Nieuw Bataviaasch handelsblad (27 March 1871). And The Singapore Daily Times (06 April 1871). Cited in Kannikar Sartraproong. A True Hero: King Chulalongkorn of Siam's visit to Singapore and Java in 1871 Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2008.
- Pallegoix, Monsignor Jean-Baptiste. Description of the Thai Kingdom or Siam: Thailand under King Mongkut. by Walter E.J. Tips. Bangkok: White Lotus, 2000.
- Pattajoti Suharto, Imtip. Journeys to Java by a Siamese King. Indonesia: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, 2001.
- Pattana Kitiarsa. Farang as Siamese Occidentalism. Singapore: Working Paper Series No. 49, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2005.
- Peleggi, Maurizio. Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image. Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Peleggi, Maurizio. Thailand: The Worldly Kingdom. Singapore: Talisman Publishing, 2007.
- Porphant Ouyyanont. Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925. Southeast Asian Studies. 36, 4 (March 1999): 437-474.
- Raffles, Thomas Stamford. Raffles to Farquhar, dated on 25 June 1819, Straits Settlements Records, L10, National Library, Singapore. Cited in Norman Edwards, The Singapore House and residential life 1819-1939. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Raffles, Thomas Stamford. The History of Java. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Reid, Anthony (ed.). The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900. London: Macmillan Press, 1997.
- Reid, Anthony. Chinese Trade and Southeast Asian Economic Expansion. In Nola Cooke and Li Tana (eds.). Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880, pp.21-34. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004.

- Reith, G.M., Walter Makepeace (eds.). Handbook to Singapore, 1907. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Ricklefs, M.C. A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.1300. the second edition. London: MacMillan, 1991.
- Royal Thai Embassy in Singapore. Ode to Friendship: Celebrating Thailand – Singapore Relations. The second edition. Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Diplomatic Relations between Thailand and Singapore, 2005.
- Sarasin Virapol. Tribute and Profit Sino-Siamese Trade 1652-1853. London, The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1977.
- SarDesai, D.R. Southeast Asia: Past and Present. The third editions. Boulder: Westview Press, c.1994.
- SarDesai, D.R. Trade and Empire in Malaya and Singapore, 1869-1874. Ohio, Ohio University Center for International Studies Southeast Asia Program, 1970.
- Seni Pramoj and Kukrit Pramoj. A King of Siam Speaks. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1987.
- Siam. The Straits Times (8 July 1851): 5.
- Siang, Song Ong. One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore. Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1967. Cited in P. Lim Pui Huen. Through the Eyes of the King: The travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing, 2009.
- Singapore Free Press. (4 July 1861): 3.
- Singapore Municipality. "*Water works: Opening of New Works* (26th March 1912)". The National Library of Singapore, NL 8801.
- Steinberg, Davis Joel (ed.). In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, c1987.
- Sternstein, Larry. Portrait of Bangkok. Bangkok: Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, 1982.
- Straits Times Overland Journal (29 March 1871):1

- Sweet, Michael. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles: Book of Days. Singapore: Antiques of the Orient, 1993.
- Tajudeen, Imran bin. Reading the Traditional City of Maritime Asia: Reconstructing the 19th century Port Town at Gelam-Rochor-Kallang, Singapore, In Journal of Southeast Asian Architecture, 8 (2005): 1-25.
- Tana, Li. The Water Frontier: An Introduction. In Nola Cooke and Li Tana (eds.) Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880. pp.1-17. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004.
- Tanabe, Shigeharu. Historical geography of the canal system in the Chao Phraya River Delta Kyoto: The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1977.
- Terwiel, B.J. A History of Modern Thailand, 1767-1942. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983. Cited in P. Lim Pui Huen. Through the Eyes of the King: the travels of King Chulalongkorn to Malaya. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing, 2009.
- The Government of Singapore. Beginning at Telok Ayer [permanent display]. Thian Hock Keng Park: the Government of Singapore, 2009.
- The Government of Straits Settlements. Telegraph Cables, May 1887. The National Achieve of Singapore, NL 999.
- The Straits Times (3 August 1861): [n.a.].
- The Straits Times (6 July 1861): 2.
- The Straits Times (January 1870). Cited in Stephen Dobbs. The Singapore River: A Social History 1819-2002. Singapore: NUS Press, 2003.

- Thomson, John. The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China, or Ten Years' Travels, Adventures and Residence Abroad. London: Sampson Low, Marston Low, and Searle, 1875. Cited in Smithies, Michael (ed.). Descriptions of Old Siam. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Tomosugi, Takashi. Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society. Japan: The Institute of Oriental Culture, the University of Tokyo, 1993.
- Tsang, Steve. A Modern History of Hong Kong. I.B. Tauris, 2004.
- Turnbull, C.M. A History of Modern Singapore, 1819-2005. Singapore: NUS Press, 2009.
- Turnbull, C.M. A History of Singapore 1819-1975. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Turnbull, C.M. The Straits Settlements 1826-1867: Indian Presidency to Crown . University of London, London: The Athlone Press, 1972.
- Tyers, Ray. Singapore: Then and Now. Singapore: Landmark Books, 1993.
- Vlkrkr, B.H.M. Nusantara: A History of Indonesia. The Hague, 1959. Cited in C.G.F. Simkim. The Tradition Trade of Asia. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Waugh, Alec. Bangkok: The Story of City. Bangkok: Orientations, 1987.
- Wayne, Cushman Jennifer. Fields from the Sea : Chinese Junk Trade with Siam During the Late Eighteenth-Century and Early Nineteenth-Century. Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University, 1975.

Wilson, Constance M. The New World Order in the Nineteenth Century: King Mongkut and Thailand's Opening to the World, 1851-1868. DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University, [n.d.].

Wiyada Thongmitr. Khrua In Khong's Westernized School of Thai Painting. Bangkok: The Ancient City, 1979.

Wright, Arnold and Oliver T. Breakspear (ed.). Twentieth Century Impressions of Siam: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994.

Wyatt, David K. Thailand: A Short History. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1984.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Table: The itinerary of the First Visit to Singapore – Java (Batavia and Semarang) of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th March and 15th April 1871

Date	Singapore and Java
9/3	- Departing from Bangkok on the steam yacht 'Regent'
15/3	- Arriving in Singapore harbor and stayed overnight on the yacht one night
16/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Landing to Johnston's Pier (now Clifford Pier) to ceremonial welcome - Going to the Town Hall for the official reception - Going to the Government House (the residence of the Government prepared for the royal stay in Singapore) - Visiting 'the barracks on the hill' (Tanglin Barracks)
17/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Visiting a British warships, the Post Office, St. Andrew's Cathedral, Raffles' school, an asylum, a hospital and a jail - Having an official dinner at Government House
18/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Visiting the Telegraph Office (the king sent a telegram to Queen Victoria here), a court, the fire-brigade and the lighthouse - Attending a flower show at the Agri-Horticultural Gardens (now known as The Botanic Gardens) - Attending an amateur theatrical performance at night
19/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Having breakfast with Tan Kim Ching, the Siamese Consul-General in Singapore, at his residence (Siam House) in North Bridge Road - Visiting the ornamental garden of Whampoa, a wealthy and hospitable Chinese in Singapore
20/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Going shopping - Attending the State Dinner at the Town Hall

Appendix A: Table (Continued – 2): The itinerary of the First Visit to Singapore – Java (Batavia and Semarang) of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th March and 15th April 1871

Date	Singapore and Java
21/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meeting Major J.F.A. McNair, R.A., a senior Colonial Engineer - Visiting to a local market, a Chinese Temple, a shipyard and a workshop - Dining with Sir Benson Maxwell, the Chief Justice
22/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Going shopping and sightseeing - Dining privately with Anson
23/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Departing from Singapore by the Siamese steamer ‘Impregnable’
27/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arriving to the water front of Batavia - Visiting His Excellency’s Palace at Weltevreden - Going to sight-seeing - Attending a gala dinner at the Government Hotel, Ryswijk
28/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting a rifle-maker’s shop and the military school in Meester Cornelis by riding the tram for half an hour ▪ Visiting the Gymnasium William III School and an orphanage, a Cardet Acedemy, a military hospital in Weltevreden and the Arsenal ▪ Going on a city tour

Appendix A: Table (Continued – 3): The itinerary of the First Visit to Singapore – Java (Batavia and Semarang) of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th March and 15th April 1871

Date	Singapore and Java
29/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to Koningsplein to inspect the troops that were quartered in Rijiswijk, Weltevreden, and Meester Cornelis ▪ Visiting Djati gesticht, the Christian technical school, the School of Religious Sisters, and the Institution of the Holy Vincentius à Paulo in Weltevreden, the School of the Ursulinen Sisters at Noordwijk and the Parapattan Orphanage ▪ Visiting to the shops of Mr. John Price, Mr. Van Vleuten and Cox and Mr. Loonen ▪ Attending a ball held at the Club Harmonie, a civilian social club.
30/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the Council of Justice, the offices of legal administration, the station of the Tramway-Maatschappij ▪ Visiting the gas factory, the Custom House, a drawbridge and some shops ▪ Attending a reception at the Government Hotel
31/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the Agricultural and Zoological Garden ▪ Going to the Willem Church (a British Protestant Church) and to the Roman Catholic Church (a French Roman Catholic Church) ▪ Visiting to ‘Batavian Society of Arts and Humanities’ ▪ Attending the festivities (a fancy-dress ball) organized on Koningsplein by and for ‘native’ population of Batavia ▪ Attending a gala dinner at Club Concordia, an officer’s club
1/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Departing from Batavia

Appendix A: Table (Continued – 4): The itinerary of the First Visit to Singapore – Java (Batavia and Semarang) of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th March and 15th April 1871

Date	Singapore and Java
3/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Arriving in Semarang ▪ Visiting a gunpowder factory, a hospital, an asylum and a home industry that produced Javanese batik ▪ Visiting a missionary school for girls (the orphanages), some train stations along the railroad
4/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Making a trip by train to Kedong Djatti and Bringin to inspect the site of a railway bridge which was under construction
5/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the fort, the military prison and the Town Hall ▪ Attending an official reception, arranged a Tandakpartij (Javanese dance party)
6/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Departing from Semarang to Singapore
9/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Arriving in Singapore
10/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to the residence of the Siamese Consul-General ▪ Having lunch at Government House ▪ Touring the city ▪ Having dinner at Government House and attending a performance
11/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Departing from Singapore to Bangkok
15/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Arriving in Bangkok

Appendix B: Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore – Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
9/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Departing from Bangkok, The royal yacht ‘Maha Chakri’ moved on to Singapore
14/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Arriving in Singapore, landed at Johnston’s Pier ▪ Going to call on Sir Charles Mitchell, the Governor of the Straits Settlements at Government House ▪ Going to Hurricane House (built by Praya Wisuth Sakoradith (Capt. John Bush) and bought by His Majesty as a temporary place to stay when visiting Singapore. It is in the vicinity of Orchard Road and is now the attractive Royal Thai Embassy) ▪ Visiting the Botanical Gardens
15/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Corporation to check on an account ▪ Shopping at the John Little Store, the ‘universal provider’ of Singapore, for something to decorate the yacht and some clothes.
16/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the waterworks at Thomson Road and rowed about in a boat with the Queen ▪ Dining at Government House
17/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Royal’s family visited the Robert Lentz Studio (this studio was located at the corner of Stamford Rd. and Hill St. in Singapore and at the corner of Charoen Krung and Bahurat Rd. in Bangkok) ▪ Having lunch privately at the Singapore Club and shopping at John Little ▪ Calling Mr. John Anderson, the Siamese Consul in Singapore, at the Majesty’s residence

Appendix B (Continued – 2): Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore –
Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
18/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Attending the Assizes at the Supreme Court ▪ Shopping at Robinson's Store
19/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the Chartered Mercantile Bank, ▪ Shopping at Messrs. Kelly and Walsh to buy some stationery, Messrs. Katz Brother store ▪ Going to the New Harbour at Tanjong Pagar to see a group of princes and princess leaving for Europe ▪ Going to Pulau Brani to inspect the tin-smelting works of the Straits Trading Company
20/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the General Hospital ▪ Having an inspection of the Singapore Aerated Water Company's work and the Singapore and Straits Printing Office, the Straits Times Office, The Singapore Free Press ▪ Holding a garden reception at Hurricane House
21/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Spending the day on a visit to Jahore ▪ Going back to Johnston's Pier
22/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Departing from Singapore by 'Maha Chakri'
25/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reached new harbor of Batavia at Tanjungpriok ▪ Taking train and carriage to the Hotel des Indes in the Weltevreden
26/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the Museum of Batavia ▪ Riding to the old town, Jayakarta

Appendix B (Continued – 3): Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore –
Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
27/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting a new craft school ▪ Going to the opera house
28/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting Meester Cornelis, zoological
29/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to jail to see how it was built, how the prisoners lived, what they ate and how they were treated ▪ Attending a ball at the Club Harmonie
30/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting the old palace at Waterlooplein (Legislative Council Office) ▪ Visiting the Government Printing Office ▪ Attending a garden party at Club Concordia
31/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting a Roman Catholic Church ▪ Visiting a girl's school run by nuns
1/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to Buitenzorg (Bogor) – Botanical Gardens ▪ Staying at Hotel Belle View (Hotel Salak the Heritage)
2/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting a large estate in the Ciomas vicinity ▪ Visiting the Botanical Gardens
3/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving Buitenzorg by train for Cianjur
4/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Seeing a military barracks
6/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving Buitenzorg for Garut
7/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taking a short trip to Cipanas (His Majesty went to Cipannas 3 times for bathing)

Appendix B (Continued – 4): Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore –
Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
12/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taking an eight-mile trip to Bagendit Lake (Situ Bagendit)
13/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Seeing a typical Sundanese house
14/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving the hotel to go to Mt. Papandayan, a volcano ▪ Seeing the local cultural performance - - wayang golek (wooden puppets), ronggeng (group dance)
15/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Riding horse to Mt. Papandayan
17/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving by train for Bandung and stayed at Hotel Homann (looked like hotel in India) - - here local dishes are excellent ▪ Visiting a Teacher Training School and another school attended by Javanese and Sundanese children of high status families ▪ Seeing horse racing ▪ Visiting the new Raden Temanggung of Bandung and see cultural performance
18/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting of inspection to the government train factory, the biggest of the Nederlands Indies factories ▪ Attending at the Concordia Club (now Gedung Merdeka) ▪ Visiting tea factory and plantation in the Ciumbuleuit district
19/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to Dago waterfall by carriage ▪ Attending a reception at the Resident's house
20/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving the hotel and taking train to Cianjur and Sukabumi ▪ Dining with the Bupati and the Assistant Resident and the new Resident of Bali - - see cultural performance (ronggeng dance)

Appendix B (Continued – 5): Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore –
Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
21/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving for Garut and stay at the Hotel van Horck
22/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Riding in a carriage to Wanaraja ▪ Seeing different kinds of performances – wayang kulit, tandak, ronggeng and reog
23/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving on horseback continue the trip at a crater lake called Telaga Bodas (white lake)
24/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Accompanied with the resident to see a market ▪ Having Thai Dinner ▪ Going to a sunat ceremony at a Patih's house
25/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving from Garut for Manonjaya – Banyumas – Maos (half way between Batavia and Surabaya)
26/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taking train from Maos to Cilacap (only important seaport on the Indian Ocean coast) ▪ Returning to the train and leaving for Yogyakarta and stay at Hotel Tugu ▪ Riding with the Assistant Resident for sight-seeing along the main road which led to the Keraton
27/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Receiving the Sultan and Ratu and many members of the royal family at the hotel and going to the Pendopo where Sultan and his royal member attendents. ▪ Going to the Resedent's house ▪ Going to a club where the Sultan was also present.

Appendix B (Continued – 6): Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore –
Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
28/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taking train from Yogyakarta to visit Candi Kalasan, a big four-cornered stone temple that had stairs on all sides. Then, going to Prambanan, a complex of temples with the Siva temple
29/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to visit the water palace, which had been abandoned since the earthquake in 1867. ▪ Watching a wayang wong performance of the Mahabarata story at the Sultan's palace
30/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to the Borobudur temple in Kedu
1/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Backing to Borobudur again to inspect it in more detail ▪ Going to the town of Magelang Attended by the Resident of Kedu, visited Dutch military camp (big hospital and barrack) ▪ Seeing Wayang Wong performance
2/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting Borobudur again, paid homage to the Buddha in the main stupa and inscribed his insignia 'จ.ล.จ.' there ▪ Visiting Candi Mendut
3/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Returning to Yogyakarta ▪ Going to Kota Gede to visit a royal family cemetery
4/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to a Dutchwoman's house to see the process of kain making (now popularly known as batik) ▪ Going to the race course ▪ Attending a reception at the keratin to watch the traditional palace dances of Bedoyo and Langendrian.

Appendix B (Continued – 7): The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore – Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
5/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Seeing a market and the irrigation engineer (big new irrigation project to be carried out in Yogyakarta) the engineer explained –the plan was to take water from the Progo River and distribute it to all the land in the region.—the project was so interesting that His Majesty became extremely absorbed in the information and asked many questions about it. ▪ Taking train to Solo (officially known as Surakarta) and seeing the city
6/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Receiving the Susuhunan and his queen at the hotel and return to call to the Susuhunan’s place
7/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ On the way to Raden Adipati’s house, the coach passed a busy Chinese community which looked similar to Singapore. ▪ Going to Mangkunegoro’s palace to see the performance of Panji
8/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Being invited to a tea reception at the keratin ▪ Going to the keratin again to watch Bedoyo and Serimpi dance
9/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving Solo for Surabaya by special train (Surabaya an aristocratic westernized city with many two-storeyed buildings like in Singapore and Melaka)
10/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting some shops and going to a petroleum production site on the bank of the river Kali Mas
11/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Making a tour of inspection of the Dutch Royal Dockyard (seeing workshops of the carpenters, blacksmiths and the foundry)

Appendix B (Continued – 8): Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore –
Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
12/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting a coffee factory to the production process. ▪ Going to see how diamonds were cut ▪ Attending a Dutch garden party
13/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to the Royal Dockyard to take a boat ride to visit the island of Madura
14/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taking a train trip from Surabaya to Pasuruan and met with high-ranking officials and stayed at Hotel Marine ▪ Going sight-seeing the city
15/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to Tosari and having lunch at a hotel in a town called Puspa
16/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going on horseback to see some villages on the hill ▪ Visiting a Dutch farmer and his family
17/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to see some more villages and met with the villagers
18/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taking a long trip to Mt. Bromo, a volcano in the Tengger range that had the biggest crater in the world.
19/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going for a walk to a doctor's house ▪ Visiting the chief priest's house and made some queries about their beliefs
20/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Riding on horseback to the garden
21/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving the Hotel Tosari on horseback to Puspa ▪ Visiting one house owned by a Polish man and his Javanese wife and gave some money to repair their furniture ▪ Visiting a liquor storage depot near the hotel (liquor imported from Holland and supplied to many places, including Singapore)

Appendix B (Continued – 9): Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore –
Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
22/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leaving for Paseban ▪ Attending a concert at the club
23/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ An irrigation engineer working on a project in Malang came to show His Majesty the project maps and explain how it worked. ▪ Taking train to Kediri and stay at Hotel Indies
24/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting a market in Kediri and leaving for Semarang (stayed at Hotel du Pavillon (now Natour Dibya Puri))
25/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Doing some shopping ▪ Visiting a cigarette factory to see the production process
26/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taking a tram ride and continued by carriage to climb uphill to the Candi district to visit the Chinese-owned reservoir that distributed water to the houses on that hill ▪ Boarding the royal yacht
27/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The royal yacht left the Semarang anchorage and sailed along the north coast of Java
28/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The royal yacht reached Cirebon ▪ Visiting an old Sultan's recreation place called Sunyagiri that man-made hill and waterfalls ▪ The royal yacht left Cirebon harbor and continued sailing along the north coast of Java

Appendix B (Continued – 10): Table: The itinerary of the Second Visit to Singapore –
Java of King Chulalongkorn between the date of 9th May and 12th August 1896

Date	Singapore and Java
31/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The royal yacht arrived at the anchorage of Singapore and going to dine at Raffles Hotel ▪ Staying at Hurricane House
1/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to Mr. Seah Liang Seah's house at Serangoon ▪ Going to Government House where a tea reception was offered
2/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Going to have lunch at a government lodge on top of Bukit Timah, a hill located in the middle of Singapore ▪ Attending a tea reception at the Sultan of Jahore's Residence in Singapore
3/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visiting Tan Kim Kiat's garden in Balestier Road ▪ Watching a private magic performance by a British man on the royal party
4/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Departing from Singapore
12/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Maha Chakri proceeded to Bangkok

Appendix C: Table: Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1851-1852	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The excavation of <i>Padung Krung Kasem Canal</i> ▪ The establishment of a troop as a European model ▪ King Mongkut started to publicize the proclamations to make a standard of western civilization. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Prince Mongkut ascended to the throne as King Rama IV ▪ Changing the name of kingdom from <i>Ayutthaya</i> to <i>Siam</i>
1852	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Establishment of the first boy school by the missionaries, <i>The Bangkok Christian College</i> ▪ The construction of fortresses along the moat-canal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Second Anglo-Burmese War
1853	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Wang Suan Sra Prathumwan</i> and <i>Wat Prathumwanaram</i> were constructed out of Bangkok city wall. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The British government first installed a telegraph line in India. ▪ King Mongkut stopped sending the tribute to Peking.
1854		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Japan was forced to trade with America
1855	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The first steam-ship was build in Siam, namely <i>Royal Siamese Seat</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Bowring Treaty was signed. ▪ King Mongkut changed a name from <i>Tung Phra Meru</i> to <i>Sanam Luang</i>
1856		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Siamese government completed the diplomatic treaty with The United States of America and France ▪ King Mindon of Burma sent an envoy to Siam

Appendix C: (Continue -2): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1857	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The construction of <i>Khlong Thanon Trong</i> and <i>Thanon Trong</i> (Rama IV Road) ▪ The creation of <i>Nanta Uttayan Garden</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Siamese government sent the diplomatic embassy to England ▪ Sir John Bowring published his book 'the Kingdom and People of Siam' ▪ The Sepoy Munity of 1857 in India ▪ The civil war broke out in Pahang (This intensified to become a tension between Siam and British in Singapore)
1858	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The first rice mill was launched in Siam, operated by an American treader 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The French gunships attacked the port of Da-Nang. ▪ The negotiation with Denmark
1859	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Americans brought a steam-ship to run their business along the Chao Phraya river 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The negotiation with Portugal ▪ King Mongkut made a tour to the Southern of Siam.
1860	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Mahasawas Canal</i> was completed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The negotiation with the Netherlands ▪ Vietnam was defeated by France and Saigon was under control of France ▪ The Siamese government sent the diplomatic embassy to France

Appendix C: (Continue -3): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1861-1862	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The construction of <i>Charoen Krung Road or New Road</i> along the Chao Phraya River and the bridges to link the transportation as well as <i>Khlong Kwang</i> and <i>Thanon Kwang</i> (Silom canal & road) ▪ The establishment of Police, namely <i>Kong Traven</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ King Mongkut sent Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong to Singapore ▪ The American Civil War (1861-1865) ▪ The Siamese government sent the diplomatic embassy to Paris ▪ A political conflict arose in Cambodia (1861)
1862		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The France forced Vietnam to open 3 ports in the Central Vietnam ▪ Mrs. Anna Leonowens leaved from Singapore to be an English tutor for the royal families
1863	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The establishment of <i>Police Department</i> in Bangkok ▪ <i>Thanon Sao Ching Cha</i> was renovated as <i>Thanon Bamrung Muang</i> from Sanam Chai to the Giant Swing, and <i>Thanon Feuang Nakorn</i> was constructed to connect <i>Charoen Krung</i> and <i>Bamrung Muang</i> Roads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ King Narodom of Cambodia signed a treaty of protection with France without informing Bangkok.
1864		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The first publication of <i>The Siam Times</i> that run by Mr. Chandler ▪ Marking a border line between Siam and the British Burma along the Western border

Appendix C: (Continue -4): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1865		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The first photograph of King Mongkut by Mr. John Thompson ▪ Dr. Bradley printed <i>Bangkok Recorder</i> in English and Thai versions ▪ An agreement of border line between the British Burma and Siam
1866	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The excavation of <i>Phasi Charoen Canal</i> and <i>Damnoen Saduak Canal</i> ▪ The first establishment of telegraph line through Bangkok ▪ The construction of <i>Saranrom Palace</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Second King passed away
1867		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mr. Chandler became an English tutor to Prince Chulalongkorn after Mrs. Leonowens resigned ▪ Siam signed a treaty with France to transfer the Siamese overlordship over Cambodia to the French colonial rule. ▪ The Siamese government sent the artifacts to show at the Exhibition in Paris ▪ Singapore became a Crown Colony

Appendix C: (Continue -5): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1868	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The establishment of the royal guard for juniors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tan Kim Ching was appointed to be the first Siamese General-Consul in Singapore ▪ The negotiations with Sweden, Norway, Belgium and Italy ▪ The sun eclipse at Wah Ko ▪ King Mongkut passed away ▪ Prince Chulalongkorn ascended to the throne as King Rama V
1869		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The negotiation with Austria-Hungary ▪ Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong became “Regent”
1870	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Extending <i>Pheung Nakhon Road</i> ▪ The excavation of <i>Prem Prachakorn Canal</i> ▪ The Act of Canal, 1870 ▪ King Chulalongkorn abolished a custom of bending down on the floor when having audience with the king. ▪ The government enlarged Bamrung Muang Road and constructed the Singapore shop-houses along this road 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The first publication of <i>Siam Repository</i> run by Dr. Smith ▪ The Liberal Policy was launched in the Dutch East Indies ▪ King Chulalongkorn sent Phraya Indratipbodi Singharajrongmuang (Niem) to observe the prison administration system in Singapore.

Appendix C: (Continue -6): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1871	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rickshaws were ordered from China to use in Bangkok at first time ▪ The opening of <i>Concordia Club (Sala Sahathai Samakom)</i> within the Grand Palace compound ▪ The extension of the royal guard regiment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ King Chulalongkorn first visited Singapore-Java ▪ King Chulalongkorn abolished the traditional hair style (Mahad Thai) and changed to European style. ▪ Sending the some young members of the royal family to study at the Raffles Institute, Singapore
1872	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The establishment of the English school within the Grand Palace compound ▪ The establishment of the militant school for his brothers entourage ▪ The renovation of the both sides of Ku Muang Derm with brick dams from Chang Rongsi Bridge to Mon Bridge. ▪ Aussadang and Rajini roads are constructed parallel to Ku Muang Derm. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ King Chulalongkorn visited Singapore, Malacca, Penang, Burma, and India
1873		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Second Coronation of King Chulalongkorn ▪ The first railway between Batavia and Bogor was officially opened. (commenced in 1869)

Appendix C: (Continue -7): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1874	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The establishment of <i>the Auditing Office</i> ▪ The establishment of <i>Council of State and Privy Council</i> ▪ The arrangement of a botanic garden at Saranrom Palace, called <i>Saranrom Garden</i> ▪ The opening of <i>The Royal Museum</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ France occupied Tong-kin of Vietnam ▪ The Pangkor Engagement
1875	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The construction of <i>Chakri Palace</i> under supervision of John Crunish, a British architect from Singapore (completed by 1880) ▪ The installation of telegraph line between Bangkok and Pak Nam 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Front Palace Crisis (December 1874- Febuary1875)
1877	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Making a survey to produce a map of Bangkok 	
1878	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The installation of telegraph line from Saranrom to Bang Pa-In 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Siamese government sent Jamuen Sarapai Sariddikarn (Cherm Sang-Chutoe) to observe a military affair at England ▪ Henry Alabaster offered a telephone to King Chulalongkorn
1880	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ King Chulalongkorn changed the working custom to be like the western custom. (ex: standing while having an audience with the king, working on an office desk) ▪ The establishment of the <i>metropolitan police</i> in Bangkok 	

Appendix C: (Continue -8): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1881	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The construction of <i>Wang Klang Thung</i> or Windsor Palace ▪ The establishment of a school for training the military officers, or called in Thai <i>cadet tahan na</i> at the Saranrom Palace ▪ A plan for constructing <i>the New Prison</i> was remade 	
1882	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The electricity was first introduced to Bangkok 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Bangkok Centennial Celebrations National Exhibition</i>, Sanam Luang.
1883	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The establishment of <i>the Postal and Telegraph Department</i> ▪ The telegraph was first launched in Bangkok ▪ Making a postal of dwellings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Somdej Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong, the regent, passed away.
1885	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The installation of the telegraph line between Bangkok and Battambang 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ice-cream was first introduced to the royal court ▪ The prince of Front Palace was passed away ▪ The position of Front Palace was abolished ▪ The Third Anglo-Burmese War ▪ Burma became a colony of Britain
1887		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The negotiation with Japan ▪ Prince Vajirunnahis was appointed as the Crown Prince of Siam ▪ Chiang Tung became a colony of Britain

Appendix C: (Continue -9): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1888	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The constructions of <i>Khlong</i> and <i>Thanon Poh Yom</i> (Sathorn canal & roads) ▪ The installation of telegraph line from Bangkok to Sai Yoke ▪ <i>Siriraj Hospital</i> was founded ▪ <i>The New Prison</i> on Mahachai Road was initially constructed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ King Chulalongkorn visited the tributary states of Siam in Northern Malay States (Kelantan, Trenggana, and Pattani)
1889	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The construction of <i>Thanon Krung Kasem</i> along the inner part of <i>Khlong Phadung Krung Kasem</i>, linkage road from north to south. ▪ The first lunatic asylum was founded. ▪ Began to provide an electricity for dwellers in Bangkok ▪ The foundation of the medical school ▪ <i>The New Prison</i> on Mahachai Road was completed. 	
1890		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ King Chulalongkorn visited Langkawi, Penang, Malacca, and Singapore
1892	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The creation of 12 ministries functionally organized on Western lines 	
1893	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The opening of <i>Paknam Railway line along Khlong Hua Lampong</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Paknam Incident of 1893 ▪ King Chulalongkorn sent a delegation of officials to Singapore to study <i>the Old Bailey Jail</i> in Singapore

Appendix C: (Continue -10): Timeline of Bangkok's growth as a modern city during the mid-nineteenth century

Time	Constructions/Establishments	Events
1894	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ King Chulalongkorn started to construct the <i>Chalerm Bridge Series</i> ▪ Began to excavate <i>Rangsit Canal</i> to extend a land for rice cultivation ▪ The electric tram began service 	
1895	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The opening of the first <i>Chalerm bridge, Chalerm Sri 42</i>, over <i>Khlong Bang Khun Phrom</i>, Samsen Road. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Crown Prince Vajirunahis passed away.
1896	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Windsor Palace became the Map School ▪ The opening of <i>Chalerm Sakdi 43</i> Bridge, over canal between <i>Thanon Prathumwan</i> (Rama I Road) to <i>Thanon Hua Lampong</i> (Rama IV Road) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Second Singapore-Java Visit of King Chulalongkorn ▪ Robert Lenz operated the Studio in Bangkok ▪ Britain and France negotiated a treaty of non-interference into Siam
1897	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The completion of Surawongse and Decho Roads ▪ The opening of <i>Chalerm Kiat 44</i> Bridge, over <i>Khlong Hua Lampong</i> and <i>Thanon Sathorn Tai</i> (South Sathorn Road). ▪ The expansion and renovation of Sanam Luang ▪ The establishment of the Department of Sanitation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The First Grand Tour to Europe
1898	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The opening of <i>Chalerm Yot 45</i> Bridge, over <i>Khlong Wat Phra Phiren</i> and Vorachak Road. 	
1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Began the construction of <i>Dusit Park Palace and Raj Damnern Avenue</i>. ▪ The opening of <i>Bang Ko Leam tramway</i> to the Grand Palace. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Flora Exhibition was held at Sanam Luang

BIOGRAPHY

Miss Udomporn Teeraviriyakul was born on August 8th, 1974 in Bangkok, Thailand. She graduated B.A. and M.A. degrees in History from the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Thammasat University in 1995 and 1999, respectively. Between 2009 and 2011, she was granted a scholarship by H.R.H. Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn to do her PhD research in Singapore as a visiting scholar at the Asia Research Institute (ARI) and a fellow under a scholarship contributed by Asian Research Institute of Singapore. At the present, she is a lecturer at History Department, Faculty of Social Sciences, Naresuan University.