

Changing Bangkok 1855-1909: The Effects of European Settlers and Their Subjects

Malinee Khumsupha¹

Abstract

The changes to Bangkok's urbanization appeared after the Bowring Treaty came into effect. Significant articles in the Treaty impacted the prosperity of the Bangkok port, the exportation of crops, and the expansion of cultivated agricultural fields. Additionally, the Treaty provisions affected two kinds of Bangkok transformations, the urban landscape and the municipal administration. The physical urban change was most likely transformed when the Europeans and their subjects settled in southern Bangkok, which caused a change to the municipal form and function thereafter. Bangkok had to face many new problems involving surveillance, sanitation, public health, and public works at the beginning of twentieth century; among these new difficulties, the new inhabitants played crucial roles for the betterment of services of municipal management. As a result, Bangkok formulated new terms of municipality and established several new governing bodies to tackle all these challenges. In addition, in the process of the changes and transformations in Bangkok, the root idea of local self-governing in Siam was planted.

¹ Ph.D. candidate (Thai Studies), Chulalongkorn University. The research for this article was partially funded by the Empowering Network for International Thai Studies (ENITS), Institute of Thai Studies, Chulalongkorn University with support from the Thailand Research Fund (TRF).

Introduction

The conclusion of the Bowring Treaty between Siam and Britain in 1855 was a remarkable turn in Bangkok's urbanization because the Treaty provisions bounded Siam with the opportunity for the settlement of European settlers and their subjects in Bangkok. The three significant articles of the Treaty were: Article No. III, which set up extraterritoriality;² Article No. IV, which cited the permission to reside, rent and purchase land nearby Bangkok;³ and Article No. VIII, which let the British and their subjects sell or purchase goods without interference.⁴ These significant provisions of the Treaty caused the three following simultaneous consequences for the first time in Siam: the establishment of extraterritorial rights, land ownership and title deeds, and no restrictions on rice exportation and opium importation.⁵ Seemingly, the significant changes in Bangkok occurred after the Europeans and their subjects migrated and settled in southern Bangkok. After the beginning of their settlement, the first road was built across their community along the Chao Phraya River known as the 'European Quarter'. This quarter grew rapidly as a result of the economic growth and prosperous economic activities. Many new places appeared, such as consulates, churches, schools, hospitals, cemeteries, banks, hotels, manufacturing offices, mills, department stores, clubs and libraries.⁶ This indicates that the increasing land

² John Bowring, *The Kingdom and people of Siam*, 4th edition, Vol. II (London, New York, Bangkok: Oxford University Press, 1977) 216.

³ Bowering 217.

⁴ Bowering 220. This article stated directly the right to the free importation of opium, but the opium had to be sold only to opium-farmers or agents. Additionally, the article stated as follows: "Whenever a scarcity may be apprehended of salt, rice, and fish, the Siamese Government reserve to themselves the right of prohibiting, by public proclamation, the exportation of these articles."

⁵ Opium and rice were not permitted to be traded according to the Burney Treaty (1826). The Treaty set the terms of trade for important articles, and, in particular, included an explicit denial to the right to import opium, and the British explicitly agreed to the Siamese ban on the export of rice. See Walter F. Vella, *Siam Under Rama III* (Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin Incorporated Publisher, 1957) 120-121.

⁶ Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Siam*, Reprinted 1908 (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994) 199-290.

demands became a crucial part of the reason to issue the Title-Deed Act in 1901.⁷

Public security and surveillance, public works, public health, epidemic prevention, and public sanitation in this period, all required new tools and management to tackle the issues satisfactorily. With respect to concerns regarding these new troubles, it appears that continual petitions and complaints of Europeans in Bangkok who asked for better service occurred in significant numbers during this time. In this respect, several new government offices appeared as a consequence, such as a public works department (*Krom Yothathikan*) (1889),⁸ the Constable Department (*Krom Kong Tawien*) (1890),⁹ the Minister of Local Government (*Krasuang Nakhonban*) (1892), and the Sanitation Department (*Krom Sukhapiban*) (1897).¹⁰ These new ministries and departments had to cooperate to undertake all the new duties.

Regarding the new Siamese economic pattern based on the effects of the treaties and the impact on the transformation of Bangkok urbanization, this article tries to explain in depth through five sections. Firstly, the trade pattern of the British Empire in Southeast Asia that influenced Siam to conclude treaties will be explained. Secondly, the effects of the treaties that resulted in the expansion of the cultivated landscape of rice and sugar nearby Bangkok will be focused upon.

⁷ Orathip Tessiri, "Land Holding in Thailand from 1901-1932: A Case Study of Monthon Krungthep," M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1981 (in Thai); Orawan Sriudom, *Silom Road* (Bangkok: Amarin Printing, 1992).

⁸ Warunee Osatharom, *109 years Krom Yothathikarn* (Bangkok: Public Works Department, 1999).

⁹ Thaweesak Sukbhasa, "The Management and the Role of Police in Monthon Krung Thep During the Reign of King Rama V," M.A. Thesis, Srinakharintaravijit University, 1977 (in Thai); Rossukon Charasri, "The Role of Foreign Officials in The Thai Police Department under Absolute Monarchy," M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1977 (in Thai).

¹⁰ Maetheepat Jeongwarotai, "Sukhaphiban: Local Administration in Siam. 1897-1933," M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2006 (in Thai); see also Voranart Keowkeri, "Epidemic Diseases in the Communities of Central Thailand (1897-1932)," M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1992 (in Thai).

Supported by a canal network, Bangkok finally became a thriving port. The third part will examine the settlement of European and Asiatic subjects who influenced the urban changes in the south and the construction of many roads. The fourth and final parts will describe how these people finally became part of Bangkok's changes to the new administrations and tasks.

The Commercial Capitalism and the Anglo-Siamese Treaties

The British economic pattern as a result of their territorial acquisition and colonial expansion in Southeast Asia resulted in replacing the former monopoly trade pattern with 'free trade', known as 'commercial capitalism'. This phenomenon caused Siam to conclude two treaties, the Burney Treaty (1826) and the Bowring Treaty (1855). Afterwards, Siam's economy inevitably changed, bound by the conditions of the provisions of the treaties. In general, the economic pattern at this period, termed 'mercantilism', trusted the role of the state to maintain the wealth of the kingdom by supporting international trade through state licensed monopolies. This was affected in Europe from the sixteenth to eighteenth century.¹¹ Later, when state licensed monopolies were obstructed by many problems in the nineteenth century, free trade was pursued and came to exist in Southeast Asia. Considering the British East India Company,¹² problems arose from the holders of the company licensed by the state that needed the abandonment of monopolies because they received strong theoretical support from the Manchester school of free trade, including the aggrieved Glasgow followers of Scotsman, Adam Smith.¹³

¹¹ Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead, "British Capitalism in Southeast Asia," *Samesky* 4 (2006): 94-109.

¹² The British East India Company (BEIC) or "John Company" was launched in December 1600. The company was empowered to trade in its own right and to license "country" ships for trade to the Orient until denied for the continuation of its monopoly in 1813. For more details see, John F. Cady, *Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development* (New York: McGraw- Hill Book Company) 108 and 315; Kullada, "British Capitalism in Southeast Asia" 97.

¹³ Cady 315.

The staunch advocates of free trade were supported by private 'country' traders in the Orient and American traders. Based on this liberal ideology, the British replaced a free trade pattern to establish a commercial hegemony in Southeast Asia. Two persons who put their trust in free trade and worked assiduously to propagate this idea in this region were Thomas Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore, and John Crawfurd, the ranking member of the British service in Java.¹⁴ They worked for the British to introduce this new pattern of economy. The territorial acquisitions of the British in Southeast Asia during this period of transition were also vastly expanded as never seen before. For example, the British acquired Penang Island in 1786, Malacca in 1795, Province Wellesley in 1800, temporary possession of Java under proconsul in 1811, Java in 1816, Singapore during 1819-1824 and annexation of two coastal regions of Burma, Arakan and Tenasserim, in 1826. As a consequence, the British were able to extend their control over almost all the major ports in Southeast Asia. Therefore, British commercial power seemed to relate to the larger geographical context extending from India to China.¹⁵

The proliferation of commercial power by the British in Southeast Asia was more akin to 'commercial capitalism', meaning to gain more profit from trading. Particularly, the role of the British in this region needed a large amount of goods and resources to make profit in these markets. For Siam, opium and rice were the profitable goods that the British needed.¹⁶ In 1821, John Crawfurd, the envoy of the Governor General of India, was sent to Siam for two principal purposes, to support and impose free trade for the East India Company of Britain and to set the definition of Siamese claims on the Malay Peninsula.¹⁷ The mission did not establish any formal agreements, but was well received by the Siamese in general. At that time, Siam did not need to trade directly with the West, except for needing some weapons, because presumably there were no more profits to be

¹⁴ Cady 317-318.

¹⁵ Cady 304.

¹⁶ Kullada, "British Capitalism in Southeast Asia," 96, 101.

¹⁷ Vella, *Siam Under Rama III*, 115.

obtained than trading with Malacca or Singapore and they were afraid of Western interference.¹⁸

The Burney Treaty (1826) was the first agreement of Siam to open free trade by abolishing her royal monopoly. This treaty had two major consequences to Bangkok: in the north and in the suburbs, the extension of large-scale agricultural crop cultivation around the gulf near Bangkok and settlement to the south of the city appeared. The first consequence occurred from the canal network which made Bangkok a thriving port, and the second was due to the King granting permission for the settlement of Western foreigners in the city.

Henry Burney was sent to fulfill two instructions: to facilitate good relation between Britain and Siam as 'entirely complimentary and conciliation' and to give information about the Anglo-Burmese war.¹⁹ The treaty was signed on July 20, 1826. To abolish monopoly trade in Siam, the general provisions of the treaty contained 24 articles that defined the British and Siamese spheres of influence in the Malay Peninsula. Six articles of commercial agreement were designed to permit freedom of trade, clearly the levies on trade.²⁰ A single consolidated duty of 1,700 baht on each Siamese fathom of a ship's beam replaced all former taxes. Rice was banned as an export and opium was denied as an import, and there was no establishment of extraterritoriality rights. A consulate was not permitted, but permission was granted for land rent to locate a factory.²¹

The reason why Siam had to accept this treaty was probably the news about the Anglo-Siamese war.²² Even though the monopoly on trade was abruptly ended, noble private vessels did not decrease. Siam found a way to deal with the revenue decline by changing the revenue structure to tax farming, which was introduced into Siam during the reign of King Rama II. These taxes enforced almost 38 types of

¹⁸ Waraporn Thinanont, "Junk Trade of Thailand in the Early Bangkok period 1979," M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1979, 82 (in Thai).

¹⁹ Vella, *Siam Under Rama III*, 118.

²⁰ Waraporn 84.

²¹ Vella, *Siam Under Rama III*, 120.

²² Trachoo Suwananond, "The Economic and Political problems of Siam During 1855-1910," M.A. Thesis, Srinakharinrajavidyalaya University, 1976, 52 (in Thai).

enterprises. Most of them were in export production and most of the tax farmers were Chinese. Significantly, the increase in the numbers of private traders in spite of the monopoly was interrupted.²³

Thus, the government was able to switch its revenue policy from foreign trade to internal production, and the Siamese economy finally shifted toward exports. The more production for the foreign markets, the more taxes were able to be collect.²⁴ In 1842, at least 55 ships, mostly under the British flag, called at the Bangkok port, with nine of them regularly coming each year. Three or four ships came directly from Britain, Bombay, Singapore, or China. Most of them loaded sugar, with the exported volume in 1844 a total of 110,000 *hap* (a Thai measurement).²⁵ There was significant sugarcane growing and manufacturing around *Bangplasoi*, *Nakorn Chaisi*, *Bang Pakong*, and *Paetrio*. The sugarcane growers were all Thai, while the sugar makers were Chinese.²⁶ Chinese immigrants arrived in Siam increasingly because Siam opened her policy for Chinese labor. Certainly, the Burney Treaty changed Siam by forming an economy depended on the export production of crop goods. The extension of the cultivated sugarcane plantation areas appeared largely nearby Bangkok.

Private traders came to play a crucial role for producing crops, for example sugarcane, pepper, or rice, to foreign markets. Undoubtedly, Bangkok became part of the port network by increasing the number of canals linking Bangkok and the surrounding areas. During the reign of King Rama III, after the Burney Treaty came into force, several canals were dug. For example, *Bang Khun Thian* (1831), *Sunak Hon* (1834), *Saen Saep* (1837) and *Bang Khanak* (1837). Most of them linked to these rivers: Chao Phraya, Tha Chin, and Mae Klong.²⁷

²³ Waraporn 88.

²⁴ Nidhi Eowseewong, *Pen and Sail*, Eds. Chris Baker and Ben Anderson (Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 2005) 71.

²⁵ Nidhi 71.

²⁶ Nidhi 81.

²⁷ Piyanart Bunnag, *Canals in Bangkok: History, Changes, and Their Impact (1782-1982 A.D.)* (Research Affairs Office: Chulalongkorn University, 1982) 32-33.

These canals were dug to link the crop manufacturing areas and the plantations. As mentioned, Chinese labor was an important worker to the sugar manufacturers. The manufactures grew to 54 and laborers around 10,800-16,200 workers. There were 200-300 laborers for each manufacturer in the areas around the Gulf of Siam near Bangkok.²⁸ In 1847, two manufactures were run by the government in *Nakorn Chaisi* and *Chachoengsao*.²⁹ The loan of investment totaled 30,712 baht in the plantation of 232 *rai* (a Thai measurement).³⁰ The manufacturing community along the coast of the gulf was concentrated with Chinese workers.³¹ Twelve canals were dug, four older and eight new ones, most of them linked the Chao Phraya River and the Bangkok port.

Apart from the agricultural landscape transformation of Bangkok and outskirts, another provision of the Burney Treaty created a change to the core of Bangkok city. With respect to the Europeans in Ayutthaya, Westerners were recognized by Siam differently from the Chinese. Particularly, they were set to reside outside the city walls to the south of the city. Prior to the Bangkok era, traditionally similar to the past, their communities could be divided into four quarters. The first was the Catholic Church community in the north of the city. Another quarter was outside the royal palace near *Sampheng*, which was a small community of Protestant missionaries. A latter site to the south at *Bangrak* was where the Portuguese consul was located since the reign of King Rama II.³² In *Thonburi*, opposite the palace, on the left bank of the Chao Phraya River, known as *Kudi Chin*, near the Bunnag family, a Portuguese community had settled since the Ayutthaya period.

²⁸ Adisorn Miokpimai, "Khom Thæ and Thai Economy: An Analysis of Structure and Change since the Thonburi Period up to the Concord of Bowring Treaty," M.A. Thesis, Thammasat University, 1988, 280 (in Thai).

²⁹ Adisorn 297.

³⁰ Adisorn 291.

³¹ Adisorn 242.

³² In the reign of King Rama II, a Portuguese consul was accepted in 1818, but there was an absence of trade, and a commercial agreement made with the Portuguese was not ratified. This is different from the later treaties between the British and Siam, such as the Burney Treaty or the Bowring Treaty. See Vella, *Siam under Rama III*, 115.

Because of the absence of strong objections, Siam chose to take a risk by imposing a monopoly again.³³ The reason why this was done was because, as mentioned, when the Burney Treaty came into force, Siam had to find new ways of compensation to offset the revenue decrease. Tax farming was one solution and another was the exportation of crop goods. Importantly, the exportation flourished as long as Siam was able to bring the products to access the markets. Therefore, the government had to trade with foreign market very hard. For this reason, Bangkok necessarily transformed to be a convenient waypoint for the canal network because the royal vessel trade was one way to bridge the gap between internal production and external markets. Thus, the government collected all domestic goods and delivered them to foreign markets to maintain her income.³⁴ That was the reason why Siam decided to monopolize trade because it would secure her income. However, the result caused a problem to the British at the same time. Thus, it was necessary to conclude a new treaty soon after.

The second treaty was the Bowring Treaty, which was concluded between the British and Siam in 1855, after the first treaty lasted for twenty-nine years. The treaty's provisions had many consequences, in particular the provision of rice exporting which affected the extension of the area of agricultural cultivation near Bangkok; and another two major provisions, extraterritoriality and the right to reside and settle close-by to Bangkok. Concerning free trade, the British were certainly in the best position, so the monopolistic trade policy of Siam became a problem for the commercial capitalism of Britain that needed open markets.³⁵ In this respect, the Bowring Treaty was, therefore, needed to serve the British economic interests. The negotiations were eventually based on the Burney Treaty, but some points were new, such as the avoidance of Siam jurisdiction, the rights of British merchants to build, hire, and buy shops or houses in Siam, and the authority to export or reserve rice.³⁶

³³ Vella, *Siam Under Rama III*, 128.

³⁴ Nidhi 69.

³⁵ Trachoo 82-83.

³⁶ Ingram 34.

Moreover, the Treaty also included these other following topics: the establishment of consular jurisdiction granted extraterritoriality to British subjects; giving the right to trade freely in all seaports; permission to own land within limited territories; and the fixing of import duties at three percent for all articles. In addition, British merchants were allowed to buy and sell directly with individual Siamese, but with reservation of the right to prohibit the export of salt, rice, and dry fish depended on scarcity. Most importantly, this treaty also addressed “A most-favored-nation” that agreed to accord the same favorable terms to other Western nations.³⁷

Soon after, the exportation of rice to foreign countries caused Siam to become a chief port of rice exportation by the extension of large agricultural areas and attracted the influx of settlers to Bangkok. At the same time, the changes to the agricultural landscape initiated the transformation of land ownership into private property. Private property was recognized in agricultural areas, as well as evoking the development of land investment in the core city.

Transformation of Agricultural Landscape Surrounding Bangkok

Most significantly, rice was the important condition of the two treaties. In the Burney Treaty, rice was prohibited to be exported freely; however, was exported in some volumes in the later part of King Rama III’s reign because Siam had to seek the important portion of exporting other crops, especially sugar and pepper. The Bowring Treaty allowed for rice exportation more freely than in the past, depending on scarcity. However, before 1890, rice production was not significant because such production shared market portion with other exported goods in this period, such as sugar, pepper, salt, and dry fish. The government had tried very hard for decades after the Treaty to facilitate the portion of sugar in the foreign market. For example, the Siamese Government particularly operated canal-digging areas to link the sugarcane production areas; in particular the *Chedi Phut Bucha*

³⁷ Manich Jumsai, *History of Anglo-Thai Relations* (Bangkok: Chalermnit, 1970) 55-56.

canal was excavated first in order to link the cultivated sugar area from the *Nakorn Chaisi* canal. Subsequently, other canals followed soon. In particular, *Maha Sawat* canal followed in 1860, linking the Chao Phraya River and the *Nakorn Chaisi* canal. This canal was significant in that King Rama IV initially dug it to provide for preempted land along its banks to nobles and his sons. This was the first time that lands were allocated to individuals as property. At the same time, canals were dug for the same purpose, but operated by nobles; for instance, *Chao Phaya Sri Suriyawong* excavated the *Damneon Saduak* canal in 1860 (linking the Tha Chin and Mae Klong Rivers). He gained profit from land rents of preempted plot of lands along the canal. Another canal emerged by hiring Chinese laborer, this was the *Phasi Charoen* canal that was created from the budget from opium tax in 1866. This canal linked the *Bangkok Yai* canal and the *Samut Sakhon* canal. Therefore, this means that the *Maha Sawat* canal was the first preempted land that was proclaimed as individual property in Siam.³⁸ This proved that land could become property since then. With the supporting fact of the extension of large-scale production of exported goods to the foreign market, the increased number of canals in this period was the most significant aspect to push Bangkok as a crucial hub of internal and international markets. Her landscape could be connected with the crop manufacturing areas in all directions.

Nonetheless, Siam's export composition before 1890 was more diversified thereafter.³⁹ It was apparent that even though Thai farmers produced increasing amounts of marketable rice, a low growth rate of the labor force and a low level of technological innovation in rice production existed.⁴⁰ From the late 1880s, the interest of the private sector to dig canals for land developing on both banks of the Chao Phraya River for commercial purpose increasingly appeared. The business was quite profitable because the prices of accessible land rose very sharply. Since the late 1880s, three-fourths of the total

³⁸ Piyanart 57-60.

³⁹ Sompop Manarangsan, *Economic Development of Thailand, 1850-1950* (Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies Chulalongkorn University, 1989) 13.

⁴⁰ Sompop 15.

investment in canal digging was undertaken by the private sector.⁴¹ Particularly, the enormous land transformation in the northern Bangkok landscape for rice cultivation changed during the reign of King Rama V. During 1890-1900, many canals were dug directly to serve rice cultivation, similar to the sugar cultivation fields in the previous reign. The suburbs in the vacant areas of Bangkok in this period were transformed into large fields of rice production. The first canal was dug and the granting of preempted land along the canal to Siamese subjects appeared. This was determined to be an extended area of rice cultivation, and the granting of land rights to serve the free labor after slavery abolition.⁴² This was known as the *Phraeng* canal, which emerged in 1888. After that, many dug canals also followed by the operation of the government in order to develop these vacant lands, such as *Prem Pracha Kho* (1870), *Nakorn Nueang Khet* (1876), *Prawetburi Rom* (1878), *Thawi Watthana* (1878), *Nara Phi Rom* (1880), *Niyom Yattra* (1898), *Ratdamri* (1902), *Phai Singto* (1903). Some other ones operated by the private sector were: *Luang Phang* (1890), *Udom Chon Jon* (1890), *Chareon* (1890), and *Phaya Ban Lue* (1892). Presumably these canals appeared through the increased demands of crop products for foreign markets, as mentioned, resulting in higher land values due to the expansion of rice plantation. Siam became a major rice exporting nation at that time.

Considering land ownership, in the past, land holding did not equal individual property rights, as in the present, because all the lands in Siam belonged to the king. In case of land holding, this was only by the king's permission and was not an individual right. The king granted land to the people, but the ownership still rested with the king.⁴³ However, the introduction of preempted land as individual property began since the reign of King Rama IV, in particular the *Maha Sawat* canal as mentioned. In the following reign of King Rama V, the *Phraeng* canal was similar in that the privileged plots were

⁴¹ Sompop 14.

⁴² Ingram 62-63.

⁴³ Chatthip Nartsupha and Suthy Prasartset. *The Political Economy of Siam, 1851-1910*, 2nd edition (Bangkok: The Social Science Association, 1981) 23.

divided specifically for royal sons.⁴⁴ In this reign, a radical change of landscape in the outskirts of Bangkok occurred due to the expansion areas of rice fields which gradually created individual land ownership at the same time. After the King initiated the granting of lands to his sons, the nobles followed the King to gain more profit from land rent. As a result, many conflicts among nobles, Siamese subjects, and foreigners increasingly appeared. Europeans and their subjects were protected by extraterritoriality rights and by the right to purchase land based on the Bowring Treaty. When the need to purchase large amount of lands arose, conflicts increased.⁴⁵ Finally, the government had to promulgate the Act of Reformed Title-Deeds of 1901 to end of the disputes arising from preempted lands.⁴⁶

Bangkok's Urban Landscape's Changes

As previous mentioned, the Bowring Treaty caused Bangkok's urbanization to be transformed in two points: the first one is the prosperity of the Bangkok port attracted by the arriving of immigrants to do commerce and settle, and the second is the provision in the Treaty with respect to the right to reside, occupy, or rent land near Bangkok, as well as the force of privileged extraterritoriality. To consider the Treaty in detail, Article No. III discussed extraterritoriality setting upon British law,⁴⁷ and Article No. IV permitted free trade and land purchase.⁴⁸ These two prominent articles stated extraterritorial rights and land transmission to Europeans and their subjects since then. Notably, one year later when the treaty was ratified in 1856, it cleared up the ambiguity of occupation by the installation of stone pillars in all important directions of territories surrounding Bangkok.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Piyanart 73.

⁴⁵ Piyanart 60.

⁴⁶ Orathip a.

⁴⁷ Bowring 216.

⁴⁸ Bowring 217.

⁴⁹ Bowring 239-240.

The Europeans previously in Ayutthaya were called *farang*, which originally referred to Portuguese who were the first Westerners who traded with Ayutthaya. Later, the term was extended to include all Europeans, such as the British, French, Dutch, and Spanish.⁵⁰ In the Rattanakosin period, the Siamese called them Europeans for all European races, including American.⁵¹ For this study, 'European' refers to all Westerners from all Western nations. With respect to European subjects, sometimes called in this work 'Asiatic subjects', this present study means all European subjects who came from colonies in Asia, such as Mon, Burmese, Shans, Karen, Malay, Indian, Chinese from Singapore or Hong Kong, and various mountain tribes.⁵² To accommodate these Asiatic subjects under the Bowring Treaty, modifications by Henry S. Parkes were made at that time. He revised the definition of British subjects to mean the ones who came from these countries: Mergui, Tavoy, Tenassarim, and Ye. They were all subjects of the British. If the Royal Commissioners agreed, all traders under British rule could travel from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenassarim, Pegu, or other places, and could trade with Siamese traders, provided authorization by the British authorities and the proper certificates.⁵³ In so doing, British subjects did not include only the British alone, but included all Asiatic subjects of the British in the region. Moreover, the term "Most Favored Nations" covered other countries bounded by treaties with Siam. Based on this article, the subjects of these nations were included under the Treaty: United States (1856), France (1856), Denmark (1858), Portugal (1859), Netherlands (1860), Germany (1862), Sweden (1868), Norway (1868), Belgium (1868), Belgium (1868), Italy (1868), Austria-Hungary (1869), Spain (1870), Japan (1898), and Russia (1899).

⁵⁰ Charnvit Kasetsiri and Michael Wright, eds., *Discovering Ayutthaya* (Bangkok: Dream Catcher Graphic Co., Ltd, 2007) 145.

⁵¹ Michael Smithies, ed., *Two Yankees Diplomats in 1830s Siam* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2002) 66.

⁵² Manich, *History of Anglo-Thai Relations*, 55-56.

⁵³ Manich Jumsai, *King Mongkut and Sir John Bowring* (Bangkok: Chalermnit, 1970) 140.

Yet, the subjects of two nations, the British and French, outnumber the others, in particular, in 1894 British subjects reaching 10,000 and French subjects about 6,000. France tried to increase her subjects all the time, until there were about 185,000 in 1907.⁵⁴ In short, it is clear that the ratification of the Bowring Treaty initiated the term of British subjects covering their Asiatic subjects; additionally, the term "Most Favored Nation" extended this term to include all subjects of European nations that concluded treaties later. The population of Bangkok at that time was approximately 169,000, composed of many nationalities, such as Thai 93,000, Chinese 23,000, Malays 1,800, Indians 700, Other Asians 900, and Westerners 300. From the record of the postal roll in the south of the city, the largest communities were along the river, and half were Westerners and more than a third Malays and Indians.⁵⁵ The European subjects could be categorized into several races, such as Burmese, Ceylonese, Javanese, Cambodians, Annamites, Laos, Shans, Mons,⁵⁶ Malays, Singhalese, and Indians.⁵⁷

These foreigners impacted Bangkok gradually. For example, they called upon the government to cut the first road to link the port to their settled communities, which became the start of Bangkok cutting roads and the subsequent building of row houses along the roads. After that, Bangkok simultaneously changed from a fortified city, developing new commercial zones, especially in the south. This quarter integrated with the upper north and with the former Chinese community, as well.

Regarding the conditions of urban changes brought about by the Bowring Treaty, in fact, some topics were certainly discussed before conclusion of the treaty. In particular, the right of the British to rent houses, hire natives, and practice their own religious rites. In the case

⁵⁴ Chariyawan Apornrattana, "The Problems of Thai Government Concerning the Asian British and the Asian French Subjects During the Reign of King Rama V," M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1982, 49 (in Thai).

⁵⁵ Larry Sternstein, *Portrait of Bangkok* (Bangkok: Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, 1982) 80-82.

⁵⁶ Wright 244.

⁵⁷ J.D.G. Campbell, *Siam in the Twentieth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1902) 55.

of British dwellings, they were considered not over twentieth–four hours from Bangkok by local paddle for safeguarding.⁵⁸

As mentioned, in the urban areas, the former Western communities were separately settled in Bangkok along the Chao Phraya River since the reign of King Rama III. However, in the reign of King Rama IV, the newcomers were different from the past. They were not only missionaries or small individual traders, but more diverse than the former settlers. Due to the good vision of townscape planning during the reign of King Mongkut, Bangkok was very well prepared for the development and extension, in particular the excavation of the *Phadung Krung Kasem* canal since the beginning of the reign. This canal connected the city to the east and joined to the Chao Phraya River in the south. Traditionally, Bangkok was fortified by city walls, having many royal temples and palaces within. The *Phadung Krung Kasem* canal, which cut into the south, became the main factor providing for many changes later. As well, after the Bowring Treaty, roads began to play an important role for transportation instead of canals. Road cutting in Bangkok started since 1856* when Robert Hunter and Samuel John Smith wrote a petition to King Mongkut to let them settle outside the city walls, resulting in 1861 with King Mongkut allocating *Bangna* (in the southernmost part of Bangkok) and for them to cut a road and dig a canal known as *Thang Thanon Trong* and *Khlong Thanon Trong* to link this area with the city.⁵⁹

However, later, the foreign community did not grow there, but turned to settle at *Bangrak* instead. Moreover, in the same year, other petitions followed. It was the petition of the European consul who complained about illness resulting from no roads to make excursions in their horse-drawn coaches that influenced King Mongkut to order *Chao Phaya Srisuriyawong* and *Phaya Inthraphibadi* to construct “New Road” or *Charoen Krung* Road. Soon, other roads followed.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Trachoo 90.

⁵⁹ Sayomporn Tongsari, “The Impact of the Building of Roads in Bangkok During the Reign of King Rama V (1868-1910),” M.A. Thesis, Silpakorn University, 1983, 19 (in Thai).

⁶⁰ Porphant Ouyyanont, “Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925,” *Southeast Asian Studies*, 36 (1999): 437-474, 441.

Nearby the road, King Mongkut also planned to build row houses similar to Singapore that Chaophaya Srisuriyawong had seen there.⁶¹ Two years following, in 1863, another two roads were constructed known as *Bamrung Mueang* and *Fueang Nakhon*, extending further from *Charoen Krung* Road. Prior to 1890, roads acted as feeders to complement waterways and to facilitate the movement of products and economic activities. The economic growth of *Charoen Krung* gradually increased and led to rapid changes in the *Bangrak* district. After the 1880s the building of row houses mostly followed the model of Singapore in the core city.⁶² Furthermore, the international rice trade developing on a large scale in the global markets caused the influx of Chinese coolies to Bangkok, in particular the centers of trade and commerce at *Bangrak* and *Sampheng*. So, these two quarters were where much road cutting emerged, more than in other parts of Bangkok.⁶³

It should be noted that the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910) was a significant time for the transformation of Bangkok. Two factors largely stimulated the increased construction of roads and row houses in Bangkok. The first was the experience of the King Chulalongkorn on his tours in Asia and Europe and the second was the advent of direct government offices with the duty of allocating a budget and operating road construction. King Chulalongkorn, in 1871-1872, went to some colonies of the British in Asia, such as Singapore, Java, Burma, and India.⁶⁴ The result of his experiences came to light when he ordered the building of many row houses along the roads. An important government office, the Privy Purse, was responsible for road construction, and cooperated with the Ministry of Local Government at that time to build 110 roads.⁶⁵ Then, many row houses were boosted by the Privy Purse by being close to the King's palaces

⁶¹ Sayomporn 31.

⁶² Porphant, "Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925," 443.

⁶³ Porphant, "Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925," 445.

⁶⁴ Kuakul Yuanyonganan, *The Development of Land Communications* (Bangkok: Department of Teacher Training, 1977) 52 (in Thai).

⁶⁵ Sayomporn 129.

at first,⁶⁶ and then were later extended to neighboring sites. At the same time, road cutting also increased parallel to these row houses. The core city and southward of the city were dense with roads and row houses. For the north of city, such density began one year after the first European tour of King Chulalongkorn in 1897; he turned to develop land use in the north. His project was the building of a new palace, *Suan Dusit* Palace, which was planned to have many roads for convenience. Moreover, at the same time, there were other significant places. For example, there were 38 roads within the city walls and 38 roads in *Sampheng*. The most outstanding project in this period was the *Rajadamnoen* Avenue construction which started in 1899 to pass from the Grand Palace to *Suan Dusit* Palace. The three parts of the road were completely connected in 1903. At *Suan Dusit* Palace, there were about 50 roads in 1906.⁶⁷

In brief, road and row house construction largely changed Bangkok since the reigns of King Rama IV and King Rama V, which emerged from the petitions of foreigners, the experience of the King and nobles going aboard, and the establishment of government offices to handle this directly. Significantly, the Europeans in Bangkok seem to be part of the changes, including the prototype of their civilized cities in their own countries and colonies.

The Settlement in Southern Bangkok

The changes in Southern Bangkok emerged with the coming of trading activities which grew along with the development of land use and road cutting. This quarter was differentiated from other parts by land development and investment soon after the Treaty took effect. Many roads in this area were cut by private nobles instead of the government. In particular, Luang Sathornrachayut (Chao Sua Yom) operated *Sathorn* and *Silom* in 1890. He divided the land into small plots and sold them. *Surawong* Road, was initiated by Chaophaya Surawong Wattanasak in 1893, running parallel to *Silom* and *Decho*. In 1905, four noblemen of the rank *Phaya* wrote a petition for the

⁶⁶ Porphant 450.

⁶⁷ Sayomporn 130.—

construction of “*Si Phaya*”, parallel with *Silom* and *Surawong*. All of these roads were eventually joined together.⁶⁸ Due to developing the economic land uses and making profit at the same time, this quarter was purchased by foreigners totally 421 *rai*.⁶⁹ The foreigners could purchase land through the privileged nobles who could see the channel to join the developing city by making profit at the same time. Other supporting facts which opened more chance for Europeans appeared later when treaties were concluded with the French in 1907 and the British in 1909. The treaties set land ownership for their subjects equal to Siamese subjects. The conditions exchanged were the French acceptance of the Siamese international court and equal rights of land ownership in Siam.⁷⁰ The British, afterward, negotiated on the grounds of the French treaty, and reached a similar goal.⁷¹

Even though the Bowring Treaty was able to bring many changes and good profit in the markets, some difficulties appeared in the city at the same time. In this regard, land along the newly cutting roads that passed through the foreign residences brought about many conflicts.⁷² Then, most of these cases protected their interests by their consuls. To solve these problems, subsequently, the government had to promulgate an act of compensation to them in 1904.⁷³

These foreigners became a part of the influences, conflicts, and catalysts of change. Regarding two significant communities of Asiatic subjects in this quarter, they came to settle the communities and played a major role in the economic activities of Bangkok. The first community was of Javanese Thai who came from Indonesia as Dutch

⁶⁸ Porphant, “Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925,” 437-474, 446.

⁶⁹ Sayomporn 150.

⁷⁰ Patrick Tuck, *The French Wolf and Siamese Lamb* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1995) 321-323.

⁷¹ Thomas Marks, *The British Acquisition of Siamese Malaya (1896-1909)* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1997) 79-105; Walter E. J. Tips, *Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns and the Making of Modern Siam* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996).

⁷² Piyanart Bunnag, *The Foundation of The Communication in The Reign of King Chulalongkorn* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1975) 46.

⁷³ Piyanart, *The Foundation of The Communication in The Reign of King Chulalongkorn*, 50.

subjects.⁷⁴ They gradually immigrated to settle in southern Bangkok since 1881-1920. Most of them actively operated activities of commerce associated with Europeans. They were able to occupy many pieces of lands in the south of Bangkok,⁷⁵ and mostly inhabited *Sathorn*, *Bangrak*, or *Yannawa*. These Muslims could occupy lands within the mentioned areas above and establish four mosques permanently there.⁷⁶ The second was a Straits-Born Chinese community or *Chumchon Baba*. They came from the Straits Settlement which meant departure from Chinese Penang, Malacca, or Singapore and mostly were half-caste people.⁷⁷ Male were called *Baba* and female called *Nyonya* or *Nonya*. Their quarter was nearby the harbor and the European quarter at *Surawong*, *Silom*, or *Chan Road*. Almost all worked with the Europeans, and were British subjects. They cooperated and communicated very well with the following races: Chinese, Thai, and European. Because their English language skill were quite good, they became the main mediator of foreign trade. Their cultures could assimilate and retain well in Bangkok; there were two associations supported by the British, Straits Born Chinese Association (1904) and Straits Chinese British Union (SCBU) (1922).

New Term of Municipal Administration

The settlement of the Europeans and their subjects clearly caused the Bangkok landscape to change in the south of the city. *Chareon Krung* Road was convenient to their settlement and the settlement also boosted real estate investment. The obvious changes were the appearance of many new places there, such as commercial places, manufacturing offices, mills, department stores, and banks; new religious sites, churches and cemeteries; and new important places, consuls, schools, hospitals, hotels, and clubs.⁷⁸ Both groups of

⁷⁴ Kannikar Chutamas Sumali, "The Javanese Thai in Bangkok Metropolis 1902-1949," M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1985, 46-49 (in Thai).

⁷⁵ Kannikar 63.

⁷⁶ Kannikar 79-85.

⁷⁷ Nawaporn Ruengsakul, *Silom Nonya and Cookbook* (Bangkok: Knowledge Plus, 2008) 31.

⁷⁸ Wright 199-290.

European and Asiatic subjects influenced Bangkok rulers to change their views on various issues. The changed views were not only with respect to public works, public security, and surveillance system, but also to public health, rudimentary epidemic prevention and sanitation. Such demand required a new form of a particular municipal body for better management and responsibility.

In fact, it is evident that after the Bowring Treaty took effect, European settlers continually pressured the Siamese government to provide good services. The response was the establishment of the Minister of Local Government (*Krasuang Nakhonban*) in 1892 as an official body in Bangkok. The beginning of the transformation in this area was included in the plan of King Chulalongkorn's reformation since the beginning of the Ministry of Metropolis. In fact, a major department in the capital in the past was known as *Krom Nakhonban*, an old department since the Ayutthaya period. Until the Rattanakosin era, this department carried on all tasks in the capital, and in 1892 was developed into a new form and function as *Krasuang Nakhonban*. Then, the government promulgated several Royal Decrees to be single-handedly responsible for the duties of several departments. These new departments needed to work together with several Ministers and departments, particularly within the Minister of Local Government. The form of all new departments followed a model of Europe or European colonies that was introduced by foreign officers. Accordingly, the significant new principal divisions were the following departments: the police department (1890) (*Krom Kong Trawen*),⁷⁹ public works department (1889) (*Krom Yothathikan*),⁸⁰ and sanitation and public health department (1897) (*Krom Sukhaphiban*).⁸¹

Previously, before the reformation in 1892, the administration of Siam was composed of two Prime Ministers or *Akkaramahasenabodi*, one for civil affairs known as *Mahatthai* and one for military affairs known as *Kalahom*. Four supporting Ministers were known as *Senabodi Chatusadom*, the Minister of the Metropolis-*Wiang*, the

⁷⁹ Thaweesak.

⁸⁰ Warunee.

⁸¹ Maetheepat.

Palace-*Wang*, Finance-*Khlang*, and of Agriculture-*Na*. The Minister of the Metropolis collected the taxes and fines for minor offences within the metropolis.⁸²

In 1886, the Minister of the Metropolis was undertaken by the King's close brother, Prince Phutharet Thamrongsak as the Ministry of *Nakhonban* (*Senabodi* in Thai). He had to deal with crimes and illegal cases all over the capital. After that, four committees, known as *Komitee Phra Nahorn*, was appointed instead, with Prince Naret Worarit as chairman.⁸³ After that, *Krom Nakhonban* was upgraded again to be the Minister of Local Government (*Krasuang Nakhonban*) and Prince Naret Worarit acted as the Minister.

At that time, Bangkok administrators faced many troubles parallel to the development of new appropriate municipal administrations. Since the period of King Mongkut's reign, after the Bowring Treaty, the Police Department was the first municipal office that really faced serious problems because it often had to cope with the actual conflicts. The difficulties increased day by day with the increasing numbers of foreign immigrants. Therefore, the police had to know carefully how to deal with the new cases because of extraterritoriality rights. Significantly, in 1861, the reform of *Kong Tawen* appeared when King Mongkut sent Prince Witsanunat Niphakorn and Chao Phraya Srisuriyawong to Singapore.⁸⁴ The consequences from this trip were road cutting and police improvement.⁸⁵

The Police Department was later called the Constable Department or *Kong Polit Khonsatepoen* in 1862, which took charge of the new responsibilities of surveillance and security similarly to the European police. Captain Samuel Joseph Bird Ames was put in the position of superintendent; his first urgent task was responsibility for

⁸² Tej 5.

⁸³ Prayut Sittiphan, *Khunnang Siam* (Bangkok: Siam Publishing, 1977) 19; see also Rossukon Charasri, "The Role of Foreign Officials in The Thai Police Department under absolute Monarchy," M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University. 1977, 42 (in Thai).

⁸⁴ Nattawut Suthisongkham, *Somdetchaophraya Borommaha Srisuriyawong*, Vol. I, 3rd edition (Bangkok: Sangsan Book, 2008) 207.

⁸⁵ Nattawut 211.

Sampheng.⁸⁶ Thereafter, in 1877, during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the police constable was reformed again and renamed to the older name of *Kong Tawen*,⁸⁷ and was strongly applied with European style by Prince Naret Worarit again in 1890.⁸⁸ Another important office was founded simultaneously, the Military Engineers of the Royal Bodyguard, which significantly surveyed Bangkok for improvement to the land tax.⁸⁹ To produce an important map in 1875, certain officers were trained as surveyors, and the state-sponsored mapping of Bangkok soon occurred after that.⁹⁰ Additionally, in 1882, a surveyor training school was established. A map of a large-scale survey of *Sampheng* finally appeared to expedite the collection of the Chinese head taxes in this quarter.⁹¹ Three years later, the Royal Survey Department was founded to take charge of government mapping and surveying. Prior to 1896, the first cadastral survey was started, which gave very detailed and plotted territory based on title deeds, diminishing the conflicts of land ownership by title deed.

Another problem that Bangkok faced, similar to all port cities at that time, was epidemic disease outbreak. When Bangkok was developed as an important port in the global network, it often had to face severe epidemic outbreaks.⁹² The prevention was of serious concern, for example, in 1881, a cholera epidemic spread widely in Bangkok. King Chulalongkorn had to set up 48 temporarily sanitariums in Bangkok to take care of patients. Later, in 1886, a public health committee was formed; then, two years later, Siriraj Hospital was founded.⁹³ Prevention of these severe epidemic diseases was very necessary because the foreigners in Bangkok urged the government to stop them. Another problem that needed solving at that

⁸⁶ Rossukon 5.

⁸⁷ Rossukon 34.

⁸⁸ Rossukon 77.

⁸⁹ Wright 121.

⁹⁰ Pirasri Povatong, "The Mapping Bangkok, 1789-1907," Presented Paper, The 10th International Conference Thai Studied 11 January, 2008, Thammasat University, 3.

⁹¹ Pirasri 4.

⁹² Voranart 60.

⁹³ Voranart 71.

time was the need to control the coolie immigration from China, with around 80,000 coolies on 200 ships each year arriving; they were quarantined at *Phra Island* (or *Koh Phra*) where all of passengers were checked by the quarantine inspector before being allowed to enter.⁹⁴ At that time, public health was the most important consideration of these foreigners. Particularly at *Bangrak*, one hospital established under the charge of T. Heyward Hays, American principal Medical officer,⁹⁵ and two pure foreign medical institutions were there, St. Louis hospital and the Bangkok Nursing Home.⁹⁶

Apart from state responsibility, public health in Bangkok was also covered by private medical care or dispensing businesses. During 1888-1906, five dispensing firms were established, British Dispensary, Bangkok Dispensary, Union Dispensary, Saphan Lek and Sikak Dispensary. All of them were located along *Charoen Krung* Road and associated areas. They were started by foreign qualified chemists with considerable experience as professional druggists.⁹⁷ Still, foreign thoughts had circulated officially and publicly to suggest further improvement asking for a water clean supply and proper system of drainage.⁹⁸ The poor sanitation at that time, in particular, was the inadequate removal of household human waste and the necessity of lavatories. In this respect, the government finally built public lavatories during 1898-1907, reaching 65-109 places.⁹⁹

The metropolitan task improvements were included within the plan of Reformation since 1 April 1892 when King Chulalongkorn appointed twelve ministers to handle many important main tasks.¹⁰⁰ Previously, the Ministry of Local Government mainly controlled the prisons, police departments, and police-courts in the capital and some

⁹⁴ Wright 132.

⁹⁵ Wright 132.

⁹⁶ Wright 134.

⁹⁷ Wright 275-281.

⁹⁸ Monruetai Chaiwiset, *Toilet and Sanitary Ware in Social Thai History* (Bangkok: Matichon, 2002) 129.

⁹⁹ Monruetai 155.

¹⁰⁰ Henry Norman. *The Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 7th edition (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907) 441-442.

duties of Home secretary.¹⁰¹ Therefore, the ministry inevitably was impacted by these urban changes, along with the beginning of changes substantially associated with the reformation in 1892. The reformation really had to improve the functions of the juridical system and the legislative framework to be accepted by European or world standards of justice and to be operated administratively rather than constitutionally.¹⁰² By this year, Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns, General Advisor (Chao Phraya Aphai Raja) warned about the biggest danger arising from inside, meaning the undeveloped administration.¹⁰³ He urgently addressed the important tasks of reformation regarding the police and justice because the foreigners were waiting for improvement.¹⁰⁴ The result appeared when a draft was brought to the Legislative Council for comment, and King Chulalongkorn, therefore, set the work for the Legislative Council after he returned from the first Europe tour in 1897, and some ideas of reformation were publicized in the newspaper, *The Times*, which conditioned the urgent pressure for the reformation.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, Jaequemyns officially offered an outline of the achievements contained in two significant pieces of legislation, the Law of 21 November 1897 regarding the sanitary administration of the capital, and the regulation of the police (quarantine etc.) against pests.¹⁰⁶

After that, the sanitary department, known as *Krom Sukhaphiban*, was found on 1 December 1897, with a supporting agent, the Department of Public Health. The department was established as a branch of the Local Sanitary Department under the Ministry of Local Government to carry on the following duties: the ordinary sanitary service for Bangkok and suburbs; port medical work with the inspection of ships and the quarantine station at *Koh Phra*; responsibilities for the Government hospitals, such as Bangrak

¹⁰¹ Norman 441.

¹⁰² Tips 214.

¹⁰³ Tips 220.

¹⁰⁴ Tips 220.

¹⁰⁵ Tips 229.

¹⁰⁶ Tips 256.

Hospital, Samsen Hospital, Infectious Diseases Hospital, and Lunatic Asylum; and medical work for the Customs, Survey, and Irrigation Departments.¹⁰⁷ During 1888-1892, the column “Correspondence” in the *Bangkok Times* published these topics: *Possible Improvements in Bangkok, A Municipal Tax, For Bangkok, Wanted, A Municipality, Municipal Functions, and Municipal Revenue*.¹⁰⁸ These articles included critical writings, which appeared before the Sanitary Department was found. During this time, the Europeans paid attention to two points regarding participation in self-governing and tax paying for the local administration. In fact, Jaequemyns had recommended these since 1892, but he emphasized them again in 1897, along with the significant document known as *The Outline of Scheme for the Creation of Municipality of Bangkok*.¹⁰⁹

Accordingly, even King Chulalongkorn agreed with the recommendations, but he worried about these following problems. Firstly, the absence of political participation experience of the Siamese; secondly, that the Siamese may be forced to pay tax alone because the refusal to pay tax by Europeans and Asiatic subjects who claimed extraterritoriality rights; and lastly, it was not suitable to apply at that time.¹¹⁰ In spite of the fact that there were some arguments, *Sukhaphiban* was established by *The Sanitary Decree* of 1897.¹¹¹ However, the adoption of participation did not appear in Bangkok at that time, but eight years later came to term in 1905. The application of local self-governing was known as *Sukhaphiban Hua Muang* (Sanitary District) at *Tha-Chalom* District in *Samut Sakhon* Province, and was called *Sukhabaphiban Hua Muang Thambon Tha-Chalom, Changwat Samut Sakhon*. Two years following, the Act of

¹⁰⁷ Wright 132.

¹⁰⁸ Maeteepat 17.

¹⁰⁹ Prapatsorn Indhisan, “The Role of Sanitary Administration in the Establishment of Local-Self Government during B.E. 2441-2476,” M.A. Thesis, Silpakorn University, 1980, 15-16 (in Thai).

¹¹⁰ Prapatsorn 16-19.

¹¹¹ Maetheepat 19.

Sanitary District was enacted in 1908.¹¹² Throughout the following years, other sanitary districts were formed in certain major cities, and played a significant role in public services at the local level until the end of the absolute monarchy when the Act was modified in 1915 and abolished by the Municipality Act in 1933. The sanitary districts during 1915-1933 increased to thirty six districts for 25 years.¹¹³

Conclusion

In conclusion, Bangkok urbanization developed due to the impact of Europeans and their subjects since the Bowring Treaty took effect. In Northern Bangkok and suburbs, the agricultural landscape was stimulated to produce marketable goods, such as rice and sugar, as well as land ownership being established by the issuance of title deeds. In addition, in the south, there was the coming of the foreign immigrants who settle as a result of the provisions in the treaties. They urged the cutting of roads and the running of economic activities, including having influence to take care of their troubles of living. Finally, new necessary offices were established to support their well being and good administration. Several departments in Bangkok changed their form and function. *Krom Kong Trawen*, the municipal police department, applied the European style as Police Constable at first. Additionally, concerning land ownership, these foreigners who were privileged by extraterritoriality rights, forced The Royal Survey Department to survey, produce maps, and register lands for title deeds. Accordingly, public health, medical care, and good management of sanitation were serious issues at that time, especially the severe spreading of epidemic outbreaks. As a result, the sanitary department, or *Krom Sukhaphiban*, was established. By way of solving these problems, even though the municipality ideal did not appear in Bangkok, it could be applied to local self-governing in other places known as *Sukhaphiban Hua Muang*.

¹¹² Prapatsorn 35-39.

¹¹³ Maetheepat 25.

Therefore, Europeans and their subjects in Bangkok played a significant role before Bangkok turned to be a chief port and influenced the certification of land ownership and boosted land investment along new roads. Bangkok responding to these demands with changes by transforming her form and function. Parallel to these changes, the root thought of local self-governing was planted to be applied further.

References

English

- Bowring, John. *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, 4th edition. Vol. II. London, New York, Bangkok: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Cady, F. John. *Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
- Chatthip Nartsupha and Suthy Prasartset. *The Political Economy of Siam, 1851-1910*, 2nd Edition. Bangkok: The Social Science Association of Thailand, 1981.
- Charnvit Kasetsiri and Michael Wright, eds. *Discovering Ayutthaya*. Bangkok: Dream Catcher Graphic Co., Ltd., 2007.
- Campbell, J.G.D. *Siam in the Twentieth Century*. London: Edward: Arnold, 1902.
- Ingram, James C. *Economic Change in Thailand 1850- 1970*, Second Edition. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971.
- Kuakul Yuanyonganan. *The Development of Land Communications*. Bangkok: Department of Teacher Training, 1977.
- Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead. *The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism*. Oxfordshire: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Kullada Kesboonchoo Mead. "British Capitalism in Southeast Asia." *Samesky* 4 (2006): 94-109.

- Manich Jumsai. *King Mongkut and Sir John Bowring*. Bangkok: Chalermnit, 1970.
- Manich Jumsai. *History of Anglo-Thai Relations*. Bangkok: Chalermnit, 1970.
- Marks, Thomas. *The British Acquisition of Siamese Malaya (1896-1909)*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1997.
- Smithies, Michael, ed. *Two Yankees Diplomats in 1830s Siam*. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2002.
- Monruetai Chaiwiset. *Toilet and Sanitary Ware in Social Thai History*. Bangkok: Matichon, 2002.
- Nattawut Suthisongkham. *Somdetchaophraya Borommaha Srisuriyawong*, Vol. I, 3rd edition. Bangkok: Sangsan Book, 2008.
- Nawaporn Ruengsakul. *Silom Nonya and Cookbook*. Bangkok: Knowledge Plus, 2008.
- Nidhi Eoseewong. *Pen and Sail*. Chris Baker and Ben Anderson, eds. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1998.
- Norman, Henry. *The Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, Seventh Edition. London: T. Wisser Unwin, 1907.
- Orawan Sriudom. *Silom Road*. Bangkok: Amarin Publication, 2006.
- Pirasri Povatong. *The Mapping of Bangkok, 1797-1907*. Presented Paper, January 11, 2008, The 10th International Conference on Thai Studies, Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Piyanart Bunnag. *The Foundation of the Communication in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1975.
- Piyanart Bunnag. *Canals in Bangkok: History, Changes, and Their Impact (1782-1982 A.D.)*. Research Affairs Office: Chulalongkorn University, 1982.

- Porphant Ouyyanont. "Physical and Economic Change in Bangkok, 1851-1925." *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 36. No. 4. March 1999: 437-474.
- Porphant Ouyyanont. "Aspects of the Place and Role of Chinese in Late Nineteenth Century Bangkok." *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 39. No. 3. December 2001: 384-397.
- Prayut Sittiphan. *Khunnang Siam*. Bangkok: Siam Publishing, 1977.
- Sompop Manarangsan. *Economic Development of Thailand 1850-1950*. Chulalongkorn University: Institute of Asian Studies, 1989.
- Sternstein, Larry. *Portraits of Bangkok*. Bangkok: Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, 1982.
- Tej Bunnag. *The Provincial Administration of Siam 1892-1915*. Bangkok: DuangKamol Book House, 1977.
- Tips, Walter E. J. *Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns and the Making of Modern Siam*. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996.
- Tuck, Patrick. *The French Wolf and Siamese Lamb*. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1995.
- Van Beek, Steve. *Bangkok, Then and Now*. Nonthaburi: AB Publications, 1999.
- Vella, Walter F. *Siam Under Rama III, 1824-1856*. New York: J.J. Augustin Incorporated Publisher, 1957.
- Vella, Walter F. *The Impact of the West on Government in Thailand*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1955.
- Warunee Osatharom. *109 years Krom Yothathikarn*. Bangkok: Public Works Department, 1999.
- Wright, Arnold and Oliver T. Breakspear. *Twentieth Century Impressions of Siam: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*, reprinted 1908. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994.

Thai

- Adisorn Miokpimai. "Khom Tha and Thai Economy: An Analysis of Structure and Change Since Thonburi Period up to the Concord of Bowring Treaty." M.A. Thesis, Thammasat University, 1988.
- Chariyawan Apornrattana. "The Problem of Thai Government Concerning the Asian British and the Asian French Subjects During the Reign of King Rama V." M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1982.
- Kannikar Chutamas Sumali. "The Javanese Thai in Bangkok Metropolis 1902-1949." M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1985.
- Kuakul Yuanyonganan. "The Development of Land Communications." Bangkok: Department of Teacher Training, 1977.
- Maetheepat Jeongwarotai. "Sukhaphiban: Local Administration in Siam, 1897-1933." M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2006.
- Orathip Tessiri. "Land Holding in Thailand from 1901-1932: A Case Study of Monthon Krungthep." M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1981.
- Prapatsorn Indhisan. "The Role of Sanitary Administration in the Establishment of Local – Self Government during B.E. 2441-2476." M.A. Thesis, Silpakorn University, 1980.
- Rossukon Charasri. "The Role of Foreign Officials in Thai Police Department under Absolute Monarchy." M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1977.
- Sayomporn Tongsari. "The Impact of the Building of Roads in Bangkok During the Reign of King Rama V (1868-1910)." M.A. Thesis, Silpakorn University, 1983.
- Thaweesak Sukbhasa. "The Management and the Role of Police in Monthon Krung Thep during the Reign of King Rama V." M.A. Thesis, Srinakarintaraviroj University, 1977.

- Trachoo Suwananond. "The Economic and Political Problems of Siam During 1855-1910." M.A. Thesis, Srinakarintaraviroth University, 1976.
- Voranart Keowkeri. "Epidemic Diseases in the Communities of Central Thailand (1897-1932)." M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1992.
- Waraporn Thinanont. "Junk Trade of Thailand in the Early Bangkok Period 1979." M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1979.