The Eagle and the Elephant
H. Con. Res. 409

Agreed to June 22, 2006

One Hundred Ninth Congress
of the
United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Began and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday,
the third day of January, two thousand and six

Concurrent Resolution

Whereas on June 9, 1946, His Majesty Bhumibol Adulyadej
ascended the throne and this year celebrates his 60th year as
King of Thailand;
Whereas His Majesty King Bhumibol is the longest-serving monarch
in the world;
Whereas on May 26, 2006, His Majesty King Bhumibol received
the inaugural special Human Development Lifetime Achievement
Award from the United Nations Development Program for his
dedication to social justice, growth with equity, human security,
democratic governance, and sustainability;
Whereas during the reign of His Majesty King Bhumibol, Thailand
has become a democratically governed constitutional democracy
in which Thai citizens enjoy the right to change their government
through periodic free and fair elections held on the basis of
universal suffrage;
Whereas His Majesty King Bhumibol has enjoyed a special relation-
ship with the United States, having been born in 1927 in Cam-
bridge, Massachusetts, where his father, Prince Mahidol of
Songkla, was studying medicine at the Harvard Medical School;
Whereas the United States and Thailand have enjoyed over 170
years of friendship since the signing of the Treaty of Amity
and Commerce in 1833, the first such treaty signed between
the United States and any Asian country;
Whereas the United States and Thailand are treaty allies, and
on December 30, 2003, President George W. Bush designated
the Kingdom of Thailand as a major non-NATO ally; and
Whereas the bonds of friendship and mutual respect are strong
between the United States and Thailand: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concur-
ing), That Congress—

(1) commemorates the 60th anniversary of the ascension
to the throne of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thai-
land;
(2) offers its sincere congratulations to His Majesty King
Bhumibol and best wishes for continued prosperity to his Maj-
esty and the Kingdom of Thailand; and
(3) looks forward to continued, enduring ties of friendship
between the Thai and American people.

Attest:

Clerk of the House of Representatives.
The Eagle and the Elephant
Thai-American Relations Since 1833
5th edition
This sword, featuring an eagle and an elephant on a gold handle, was presented to His Majesty King Rama III by American envoy Edmund Roberts in 1833, as a gift from President Andrew Jackson. The sword was kept in the royal treasury for more than one hundred fifty years before being photographed and has remained there since.
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INTRODUCTION

The Eagle and the Elephant, now in its fifth edition, combines historical and contemporary texts and illustrations to tell the story of Thai-American relations from 1833 to the present. This volume serves as history, reference, and guide to the scope of Thai-American contacts and cooperation, which have endured over 175 years. This edition spans the 1833 Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and His Majesty King Bhumipol’s eightieth birthday anniversary.

The first and second editions (1982 and 1983, respectively) commemorated the anniversary of 150 years of Thai-American relations and the Rattanakosin Bicentennial, which marked the founding of the Chakri Dynasty and the capital city of Bangkok. The Editors acknowledged that the book’s rare photos and descriptive text could capture only “the essence of the long and cordial relationship between two nations of goodwill.” Full treatment of all aspects of the relationship, then as now, remains beyond the reach of this work. The third edition, printed in 1987, celebrated His Majesty King Bhumipol’s Fifth Cycle, the sixtieth anniversary of his birth in the United States in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The fourth edition in 1997 reflected the evolving relationship between the two countries and marked an important period in Thai history: His Majesty’s Golden Jubilee. This fifth edition preserves most of the materials collected in the four previous editions and combines them into three parts: part I (1833–1945), part II (1945–1975), and part III (1976–2008), thematically arranged. In this edition, as in previous editions, there is no attempt to make this a scholarly work. It is intended to be a popular introduction to the history of these bilateral relations, and readers are encouraged to look further into source material for additional and more detailed information on Thai-American relations.

The editors invite readers to send corrections and contributions to the Royal Thai Embassy to improve future editions of this volume.

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SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT

On learning that U.S. Information Service (USIS) planned to publish a book in 1982 commemorating the 150th anniversary of Thai-American relations, His Majesty instructed court official M.R. Sangsoon Ladawan to locate the golden sword with the elephant and eagle engraving—which U.S. President Andrew Jackson presented to King Rama III in 1833—and have it photographed for use as the book cover for the first and all subsequent editions.

For the fourth edition, His Majesty kindly granted permission to reprint Their Majesties’ photographs taken with President and Hillary Clinton at the royal banquet during the latter’s state visit to Thailand on November 25–26, 1996. His Majesty also granted permission for the reproduction of the royal speech given on that occasion.

The editors are indebted to H.R.H. Princess Kalayaniwattana for her kind permission to reproduce photographs depicting various poses of H.R.H. Prince Mahidol and H.R.H. the Princess Mother.
ACRONYMS

ABCFM  American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AFRIMS  Armed Forces Research Institute of Medical Science  Walter Reed Hospital
AFS  American Field Service
AIT  Asian Institute of Technology
AMCHAM  American Chamber of Commerce in Thailand
ARF  ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN  Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUA  American University Alumni
AUAA  American University Alumni Association
BBG  Broadcasting Board of Governors
BNDD  Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs
CDC  U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CMU  Chiang Mai University
DEA  Drug Enforcement Administration
DEA  U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration
DVC  Digital video conferencing
EWC  East-West Center
FAS  Foreign Agricultural Service
FCS  Foreign Commercial Service
GMS  Greater Mekong Sub-region
IEIP  International Emerging Infection Program
IIEA  U.S.–Thai International Law Enforcement Academy
ILO  International Labour Organization
IPRB  International Program on Rice Biotechnology
IRC  Information Resource Center
KIA  Kenan Institute Asia
LOC  Library of Congress
MBDS  Mekong Basin Disease Surveillance
MIT  Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NGO  Nongovernmental organizations
NSB  Royal Thai Police Narcotics Suppression Bureau
NSB  Thai Royal Thai Police Narcotics Suppression Bureau
ONCB  Office of the Narcotics Control Board
OSS  Office of Strategic Services
RELO  Regional English Language Officer
RF  Rockefeller Foundation
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<tr>
<td>RIRO</td>
<td>Regional Information Resource Officer</td>
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<td>SEARP</td>
<td>Southeast Asia Regional Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEATO</td>
<td>Southeast Asia Treaty Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>TUSEF</td>
<td>Thailand–United States Educational Foundation</td>
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<td>University Development Program</td>
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PART ONE

THE PAST, 1833–1945
The Foundation

IN 1821, during the Reign of Rama II in the Rattanakosin (or Bangkok) Period (1782-present), the first American ship to visit Siam* sailed up the Chao Phraya River to Bangkok. The ship carried in its cargo one particular item of merchandise in which the Siamese government was especially interested: flintlock guns. Captain Han presented five hundred of these guns to the king, who in return bestowed upon the captain the rank and title of Khun Pakdiraja and decreed that a part of his merchandise be exempted from taxes.

After Captain Han’s visit, Siam’s next recorded contact with the United States came with the arrival of American missionaries. Christianity reached Siam for the first time with the arrival of Roman Catholic priests during the reign of King Narai the Great (1656–1688) of the Ayudhya Period. However, it was not until the Rattanakosin period that the first Protestants began to propagate the Christian faith in Siam. The first two pioneers—the Reverend Jacob Tomlin of the London Missionary Society and Carl Frederick Augustus Gutzlaff of the Netherlands Missionary Society—arrived in Bangkok from China in August 1828. They were houseguests of Portuguese consul Carlos de Silveira, the first consul representing a Western nation in the Rattanakosin Period. These two pioneers brought with them copies of a Chinese version of the Bible as well as medicine, which they distributed to the Chinese people residing in the capital.

The government was at first wary of the missionaries’ intentions. As a consequence, Consul de Silveira was criticized for his hospitality to the newcomers, and his guests were ordered to leave the country. Their subsequent appeal to remain, submitted to Chao Phraya Phra Klang, was granted only on the condition that they refrain from distributing Bibles to Siamese citizens. This

*Before June 1939, and from 1945–1949, Thailand was known as Siam. In this work, the editors have tried to preserve the contemporaneous name for the government and country, while referring to the people and language as “Thai” throughout. Before 1941, the Thai New Year began on April 1. As a result, B.E. and A.D. dates do not always correspond perfectly.
The famous “Siamese Twins” who made the name of Siam familiar to millions around the world, were born in 1811 to a Chinese fisherman and his Thai wife. The two boys, Eng and Chang, were joined to each other by a tissue of flesh extending from the chest-bone to the waist, and were members of a large family of ten children who settled near Wat Ban Laem in Samut Songkram province.

As children, the boys learned to walk, run, and swim with extraordinary ability. Occasional quarrels did arise between them, but they had a remarkably harmonious relationship that continued throughout their life together. When their father died in 1819, the twins had to help their mother earn a living, partly from trade and partly from raising ducks. Five years later, they attracted the attention of an English merchant named Robert Hunter, one of the first foreigners to open a shop in Bangkok. Hunter recognized the commercial potential of the boys and persuaded their mother to allow them to accompany Abel Coffin on his ship to the United States. In 1828, at the age of 17, they set sail for America.

Captain Coffin soon began to display the twins in major cities in Europe and America, at considerable profit to himself. In time, however, the boys developed a business sense of their own, and after leaving the captain’s custody in 1831, started performing on an independent basis. Their act, consisting of various athletic and intellectual feats such as horseback riding and playing chess, proved a great hit with audiences and they became one of the leading attractions of the era. They also became so fond of America that they were naturalized as citizens in 1839, adopting the name of Bunker.

After eight years of touring in Europe and the United States, the twins were wealthy enough to purchase about 275 rai (110 acres) of property in North Carolina, where they built a house. Four years later, in 1843, they married two American sisters, Sarah and Adelaide Yates. Eng and Sarah eventually had twelve children, while Adelaide and Chang had ten. Though from time to time they left their homes to appear again on stage, they never returned to Siam. They did, however, remain in touch with their mother.

In 1874, Chang contracted pneumonia and died. The twins had agreed that if this happened, a doctor would be summoned to attempt severing the band of flesh between them, but Eng died two and a half hours later, before the doctor arrived. They were buried in the White Plains Baptist Church cemetery, a few miles south of Mount Airy, North Carolina.

The fame of the brothers was so great that after them all twins so joined were called “Siamese.”
restriction did not deter the missionaries from acquiring some knowledge of the Thai language. They translated a few books of the Bible into Thai and got as far as the letter “R” in compiling an English-Thai dictionary. They asked Captain Abel Coffin to convey to Protestant churches in America the need for more missionaries in Thailand. Captain Abel Coffin’s cargo ship carried the first Thai travelers to the United States, the famous “Siamese Twins,” who made their historic voyage in 1828 (see box on the previous page).

The Protestant missionaries, meanwhile, persisted in their efforts to work in Siam. Because of poor health, the Reverend Tomlin left Bangkok for Singapore in 1829. A few months later, Gutzlaff followed him there to have a Thai version of the Bible printed. After his return to Siam, this time with a wife whom he had married in Singapore, Gutzlaff embarked upon a project to translate into Thai a number of books on Christian doctrine. Possessing some knowledge of medicine, he also proceeded to treat simple diseases, thus prompting the Thai custom of calling all missionaries “doctors,” whether or not they were qualified as physicians. In 1831, Gutzlaff, whose wife and daughters had died in Siam, returned to China. He and his associates paved the way for the arrival that year of the first American missionary, Rev. David Abeel, and others who were sent in response to Gutzlaff’s requests.

Thirteen years before the first American missionary set foot in Siam, Americans had begun working with Thais in Burma. These pioneers were Rev. Adoniram and Anne Hazeltine Judson, who, in 1818 went to a village in Rangoon populated by descendants of Thais captured by the Burmese after the fall of Ayudhya fifty-one years earlier. Anne Judson began learning Thai from the villagers and, after a little over one year in the village, translated some books of the Bible into Thai. The following year, Anne Judson and printer George Hough cast the first Thai type and printed her translation. This printing press and type were later transferred from Rangoon to the Baptist Printing House in Serampore (Calcutta), India, before coming into the possession of members of the London Missionary Society in Singapore. It was on this press in Singapore that Gutzlaff and Tomlin printed their Thai version of the Bible over a decade later.

**EARLY AMERICAN MISSIONARIES**

The first American missionary to come to Bangkok, Rev. David Abeel, arrived on June 30, 1831, along with Rev. Tomlin, who was returning from Singapore. Again, the Portuguese consulate served

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as residence for these missionaries. Tomlin dispensed medicine and, with Abeel, distributed books on Christian teaching in both Chinese and Thai. Abeel appealed urgently to the Protestant churches in America to send more missionaries. In January of the following year, ill health forced the two missionaries back to Singapore. Returning to Siam in May, Abeel continued his mission until November before leaving Siam for the last time, but his requests sparked a flow of American missionaries to all parts of Siam.

The American missionaries who worked in Siam represented several different organizations. From the American Baptist Board and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions came important personalities such as Abeel, Rev. John Taylor Jones, Rev. Charles Robinson, Rev. Stephen Johnson, Rev. Dan Beach Bradley, Rev. William Dean, and Rev. Jesse Caswell. Most of them were joined by their wives in the mission work.


A strict Buddhist himself, King Nang Kiao (Rama III) did not oppose Christian missionary activities. While the government initially prohibited the distribution of Christian writings, this was only because the authorities at that time did not yet have a clear idea of the intentions of the newly arrived missionaries. The missionaries themselves soon realized that Siam was a nation of genuine religious tolerance where they met with no protest or oppression, even though the king did not look favorably on them and their activities. It is surprising, therefore, that the missionaries' attempt to convert the people to Christianity, though successful to some degree in the Chinese community, yielded miserably disappointing results as far as Thai converts were concerned.

One of the first two American missionary houses built at Samray (1848–1849).
In few countries did the missionaries meet with so little opposition and yet achieve so little in their efforts to propagate Christianity. Their achievement rests instead on removing Thai mistrust of Westerners, and convincing Thais that the Americans came as friends.

After Abeel’s short stay, Rev. John Taylor Jones and his wife arrived in Bangkok on March 25, 1833, immediately after U.S. envoy Edmund Roberts had concluded the first American treaty with Siam. The couple brought with them their adopted son, a twelve-year-old boy named Samuel J. Smith, who later became a Baptist missionary and well-known printer in Siam. Rev. Jones and his wife, who were members of the American Baptist Board, settled in a house they built for themselves on rented grounds behind the Portuguese consulate. They continued Bible translations begun by their predecessors. In 1835, a third group of American missionaries, this time from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), arrived and built two houses on a site rented from Nai Klin just north of Wat Koh (Sampantawong Temple). In September, however, following an altercation between an English captain and a monk at the temple that tangentially involved the missionaries, the Siamese government ordered the missionaries to leave the area.

Those who had to move included Dr. Dan Beach Bradley and his wife, Emelie, ABCFM missionaries who had arrived the previous July to join the others. Along with two other families, the Bradleys settled briefly at Santa Cruz Village, near the Catholic Church in Thonburi. Soon thereafter, Bradley obtained a lease of land from Chao Phraya Phra Klang (equivalent to the present-day finance minister), who had built two houses on the riverbank in front of Wat Prayoon and leased them to the missionaries. The two large houses, rented at 65 ticals per month, served as a center for the American missionaries for many years. Although the missionaries’ main task of preaching Christianity was not meeting with much success, Rev. William Dean organized the first Protestant church in Siam in 1837, and more Presbyterian missionaries arrived to strengthen the group the following year.
Bradley was born in New York in 1804. He received his medical degree from New York Medical College, and then practiced medicine for two years to gain experience. Under sponsorship of the ABCFM, he sailed from Boston to the Far East in 1834, accompanied by his wife, Emelie, whom he had met and courted entirely by mail.

In Singapore, at the request of ABCFM, Bradley obtained a primitive printing press with Thai type, which had originally been made in Burma. He brought it to Bangkok and it became the first press to be used in Siam. The Bradleys arrived in Siam in July 1835 and within a month had established a dispensary that was soon treating a hundred patients a day. Conditions were primitive—an ordinary table served for operations, usually performed before crowds of curious spectators—but the record of success was impressive.

Soon after his arrival, Thai authorities asked him to treat slaves and captives suffering from smallpox and cholera. Although the cases were beyond help, Bradley opened a small medical office near Wat Koh, where he gave medical treatment and dispensed medicines. Bradley is remembered, among other things, for introducing smallpox inoculation into Siam. Because the vaccine he brought from America did not survive the journey, Bradley developed his own vaccine in Bangkok using scabs sent from Boston, finally succeeding in 1840. Recognizing the importance of this achievement, King Rama III awarded the American 400 baht and sent his court physicians to learn inoculation techniques from Bradley.

In addition, Bradley performed the first surgical amputation in Siam. During temple celebrations at Wat Prayoon, a cannon burst, killing eight people and wounding several more. Chao Phraya Phra Klang sent for Bradley to treat the wounded, but some three quarters of them, firmly believing in Thai traditional medicine, refused to be treated. Bradley, however, saved the life of one monk by amputating his shattered arm without the use of chloroform or ether. This operation surprised many of the Thai people, who did not believe that it was possible to cut a limb off a living body without causing death. Bradley also performed Siam’s first surgical operation for cataracts.

Emelie Bradley died in 1845. The following year, Bradley made his only return visit to the United States, where he changed affiliations to the American Missionary Association, before returning to Siam, he married Sarah Blachley, whom he had also courted by mail.

King Mongkut (Rama IV), whom Bradley had met when the former was still a Buddhist priest, called on Bradley for treatment whenever he or others in the royal palace were ill. Bertha McFarland, the wife of a later missionary, described the basis of the friendship as follows: “Both were versatile men to an unusual extent; both were avid seekers of knowledge; both were interested in seeing Siam get the best things; and, in addition, both had the ability to see greatness in others.” The king donated a piece of land to the mission and gave permission for the construction of a cemetery and a Protestant church. Bradley, in turn, genuinely admired the king and was grateful for the favors shown him and the other missionaries.

Dr. Bradley died on June 23, 1873, after nearly forty years in Siam. King Chulalongkorn himself contributed to the costs of the funeral and paid for an iron fence around the burial site in honor of the man who had done so much for the kingdom. Sarah Bradley lived for another twenty years, continuing to operate the printing press. One of the Bradley daughters, Irene, survived until 1940. She lived on the property that had been granted her father by the king.

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In 1861, the missionaries established their first mission beyond Bangkok when Presbyterian Board members Rev. S. G. McFarland, and Rev. Daniel McGilvary went to the province of Petchburi with their families. The governor of Petchburi at the time, Phraya Petchpisai Srisvasti (the late Chao Phraya Bhanuwongse Mahakosatibodi) fully cooperated, in the hope that the missionaries would set up a school for the benefit of the province. Two years later a church was built.

McGilvary next conceived the idea of extending their mission to Chiang Mai. He had met Prince Kaviloros of Chiang Mai on several occasions in Bangkok when the latter came to pay tribute to the king. While in Petchburi, McGilvary became acquainted with some Lao Song people, who had been driven to Petchburi as captives. This minority group prompted McGilvary to move to the northern province of Chiang Mai, a journey that took him and his family three months in 1867.

Prince Kaviloros, who had previously approved the missionaries’ proposal to start a religious mission in the northern capital, now strongly opposed the whole idea. Christian converts in the north were oppressed and punished, and missionary work was obstructed. After Prince Kaviloros’ death, his heir proved equally opposed to missionary activities. This state of affairs finally came to the attention of King Chulalongkorn, who in 1878 sent an edict to the inhabitants of Chiang Mai through the governor stating:

Religion cannot be an obstacle in secular administration. Every person has the right to choose his own religious belief, and whether or not that particular religion teaches the truth is a matter that concerns him alone. According to our agreement and in practice in Bangkok we do not make any restrictions concerning religion. If anyone considers the religion of Jesus Christ good and true, he is free to profess it. Whenever the country needs his services there is no reason why a man following Jesus’ teachings should not be able to render them. Religion is no hindrance to a man’s duty to his country.

IMPACT IN THE FIELD OF MEDICINE
Like Gutzlaff, many American missionaries rendered medical services to the general public while trying to spread the gospel. Certainly the best known among the Thais was Dr. Dan Beach
Bradley. While, by his own admission, Bradley was not very successful in winning new converts to Christianity, he was a pioneer in a variety of fields, and he made many vital contributions to Thai society (see page 8).

Although Western medical knowledge was only beginning to develop, the American missionaries in Siam experimented with great ingenuity to combat local diseases. During the cholera epidemic in Rama III’s reign, Rev. Dr. Samuel House saved many lives despite the lack of proper equipment and supplies, discovering that a mixture of concentrated alcohol and camphor taken every two to three minutes was effective. House was the first to use ether in Siam, only a few years after its efficacy was first discovered in America. Around the same time, Rev. Daniel McGilvary introduced quinine in the malaria-infested north. In 1882, the first American missionary hospital was established in Petchburi with an initial donation from the king.

Apart from their own practices, the American missionaries encouraged the Thais to acquire knowledge and experience in this field. Many traditional Thai doctors, notably H.R.H. Krom Luang Wongsathirajisankit, learned from the missionaries. Two of the Americans who contributed significantly to the development of modern medicine in Siam were Dr. Thomas Heyward Hays and Dr. George Bradley McFarland. Hays was a pharmacist and a physician. He joined the Presbyterian Board of Missions, arriving in Bangkok in October 1886.

After approximately two years with the mission, Hays resigned to take an appointment in the Siamese navy. In 1887, Hays married Jennie Neilson, a missionary stationed in Petchburi. In January 1888, Hays opened a pharmacy on New Road, which later merged with the British dispensary. In addition to his work as a naval doctor and pharmacist, Hays served as superintendent of government hospitals and the mental-health institution.

As a navy doctor, Hays usually accompanied the royal family on their travels aboard the royal yacht. He attended at the birth in 1892 of King Chulalongkorn’s youngest son, and in 1893 was appointed consulting physician to the court. After a Thai-French border dispute in 1893, during which Dr. Hays cared for the wounded at Bangrak Hospital, King Chulalongkorn conferred on Hays the Fourth Class of the Crown of Siam.

In later years, Dr. Hays was appointed medical advisor to the Royal State railways and Surgeon Major in the navy. In 1902, he brought the first X-ray machine to Siam.

McFarland, son of one of the early Presbyterian missionaries, was trained in the United States as a qualified dentist as well as a
physician. In 1892, he was asked to assume the position of head instructor of the Royal School of Medicine at Siriraj Hospital (founded in 1889), succeeding Hays, who had limited knowledge of the Thai language. McFarland spent many years building up this medical school, translating many textbooks into Thai, and simultaneously practicing dentistry in his spare time at a private office at Seekak Phraya Sri. In those days, betel chewing was still a very common habit, so the first dentist of Siam had to produce false black teeth. A great name in the history of Thai medical education, McFarland was given the rank and title of Phra Ajvidhyakom by H.M. King Vajiravudh in 1916. He died in Bangkok in 1942.

The missionaries also encouraged Thai students to go to the United States for medical training. Nai Thianhee Sarasin was the first Thai to receive a medical degree from the United States. Before going to New York University with the encouragement and support of House, Nai Thianhee had studied at the Mission School and had converted to Christianity. The first Thai woman to study nursing and midwifery in America was Esther Pradepasena, who was also the first Thai woman to convert to Christianity. Esther returned to Siam around 1859 with her foster parents, Rev. and Mrs. Stephen Mattoon, to work as teacher, nurse, and midwife.

Beginning with the arrival of Dr. C.W. Vrooman in 1872, Americans introduced medical techniques such as surgery to the northern part of Thailand. American doctors also brought medicines such as quinine, the concept of sanitation, the smallpox vaccine and devices such as the x-ray. By 1900, Americans had established hospitals in five northern provinces—Chiang Mai, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, and Chiang Rai—with financial support and approval from northern princely families and local communities.

In 1888, Vrooman built the first medical establishment in northern Thailand, the American Mission Hospital, on the west bank of the Ping River. The hospital’s second director, Dr. James W. McKeon established in 1904 a lab for the production of smallpox vaccine, which reached people throughout the country. In 1920, the hospital was moved and renamed McCormick Hospital in recognition of a far-away benefactor, Cyrus McCormick of Chicago. Prince Mahidol, widely known as the father of Thai medicine, practiced at McCormick Hospital in 1929 after completing medical training in the United States at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Edwin C. Cort set up a nursing school at the McCormick Hospital in 1929 after completing medical training in the United States at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Edwin C. Cort set up a nursing school at the McCormick Hospital in Chiang Mai. The missionaries also worked with lepers, who were previously shunned by society. In 1908, Dr. James W. McKeon, who had played an important part in establishing

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**The Eagle and the Elephant**

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*Dr. Dan Beach Bradley.*

*Dr. Bradley’s second wife, Sarah.*

*Presbyterian missionary Harriet M. House pioneered education for girls in Siam. She founded Wang Lang, later called the Harriet M. House School and now known as Wattana Wittaya Academy.*
Clockwise from top: Esther Pradepasena, the first Thai woman Protestant convert and the first Thai woman to travel to America; Phraya Sarasin Swamipakdi (Thianhee Sarasin), the first Thai sent by missionaries to study medicine in the United States. He graduated in 1871; King Prajadhipok presides over the opening ceremony of McKean Hospital in Chiang Mai, founded in 1929 by American missionary Dr. James W. McKean; Dr. Thomas Heyward Hays.

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McCormick Hospital, founded the first leprosy sanatorium in Chiang Mai. Six years later he set up a laboratory for the production of smallpox vaccine.

Thus, within one century, medical facilities grew from a small medical office near Wat Koh in Bangkok to ten hospitals in various parts of the kingdom, plus two leper asylums and a nursing school in Chiang Mai.

**The Development of Education**

The work of the American missionaries in the field of education—the teaching of English, the creation of schools, the introduction of the printing press, and the publishing of newspapers—contributed greatly to Siam’s social development. During the Rattanakosin Period, the language barrier was one factor contributing to the lack of success in diplomatic relations between Siam and Western countries. With the arrival of the American missionaries, Thai princes and nobility realized it was necessary to study Western languages, science, and technology. While serving as Abbot of Wat Bovornnives in 1840, Prince Mongkut asked the newly arrived Rev. Jesse Caswell to be his tutor in English, and he offered Caswell the use of two houses on the temple grounds. Others who studied with the missionaries included Prince Chudhamani (Chao Fa Noi, later appointed Second King concurrently by his brother King Mongkut) and a royal page named Luang Nai Sit (later to become Somdej Chao Phraya Borommaha Srisuriyawongse), the eldest son of Chao Phraya Phra Klang. Luang Nai Sit was not only a student, but also a close friend of the missionaries.
In his journal Dr. Bradley wrote:

Oct. 24. Mrs. B. and myself have just returned from a visit to Luang Nai Sit. He lives a little distance from us, in a house which he has built and furnished in European style. There is an engraving at the door in large Roman characters, which cannot fail to attract the attention of every visitor. It reads “This is Luang Nai Sit's house—welcome friends!”

In his book on the history of missionaries, Prince Damrong emphasized the impact of the American missionaries on Siam’s educational development:

The establishment of the first American missions in Siam coincided with the times when changes began to take place in this country on the question of her foreign policy. Siam’s old antagonist, Burma, had fallen to the British, who thus became a close neighbor to us. The British had established a trading center at Penang, and had begun to carry on commerce with Siam. On the East we went to war with Annam, and it brought us more into touch with foreign powers ... Many Siamese of high standing, notably the younger members of royalty, realized the necessity, in order to keep up with the times, of acquiring a knowledge of foreign tongues as a step to further learning, and King Mongkut (then in monkhood) and some of his brothers, began to take lessons in English. They were followed by many of the younger members of the nobility. Needless to say, it was the American missionaries who taught them. After acquiring a fair knowledge of the English language, the Siamese went on to the study of subjects such as history, politics, military science, medicine, engineering, shipbuilding, and so on. By the middle of the nineteenth century (Christian Era) their expectations proved correct, for our relations with Europe and America increased to a degree not realized by men of the older generation.
The educational activities of the American missionaries began to develop rapidly after King Mongkut ascended the throne in 1851. Four months after taking the throne, King Mongkut persuaded three missionary wives—Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Mattoon, and Sarah Bradley—to take turns giving lessons to the court ladies. Soon after, the missionaries began to teach children of other people as well, with Mrs. Mattoon beginning with a group of girls in a Mon village in September 1852. About the same time, one of the earliest Chinese converts, Ki-eng Kuay-sian, began teaching boys under the supervision of Dr. House. By the end of the year, there were twenty-seven boys, mostly Chinese, being educated. In 1860, this school—the forerunner of Bangkok Christian College—moved to more spacious premises in Samray. After the death of Ki-eng, a Thai was engaged to take his place and the language of instruction was changed from Chinese to Thai. Subjects taught included philosophy, arithmetic, geography, composition, and astronomy. Rev. John Eakin and Rev. John Dunlap came to teach at the school in 1891. The school was moved to a new site on the Bangkok side of the river in 1901, taking its present name in 1913.

The missionaries did not ignore education for girls. Mrs. S.G. McFarland opened a handicraft school for girls in Petchburi in 1865. In 1871, Mrs. John Carrington's school joined the Harriet M. House School (in honor of Harriet House, who had worked at the school and had raised funds to finance the school's development after her return to the United States). The combined institution was re-named in 1874 as the Wang Lang School. Later, when Edna S. Cole was headmistress, the school moved to a new location on the bank of Sanae Canal on the Bangkok side of the river and was given its present name of Wattana Wittaya Academy.

Before the establishment of the Department of Education in 1887, the American missionaries had already provided a foundation for the newly formed government schools. In 1878, King Chulalongkorn founded a school for English language instruction at Suan Anand and invited McFarland to be its headmaster. This school later merged with Sunandalai School. American teachers included Dr. George Bradley.
Edna S. Cole worked to develop education for girls in Siam, 1878–1924.

Rev. John Anderson Eakin of the Presbyterian Mission came to Siam in 1880 and worked to further the cause of education until his death in 1929. He helped run the Bangkok Christian College.

Arabella Anderson and the first class of her “Infant School” in 1872.

Wang Lang School in 1875.

Women who studied with Harriet House in 1857.

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McFarland, son of the first headmaster, who was born in Siam and taught for many years at the Royal School of Medicine of Siriraj Hospital.

After the English governess Anna Leonowens left her position teaching English to the palace children, King Mongkut hired Rev. J. H. Chandler to tutor Prince Chulalongkorn. King Pin Klao (the Second King concurrently with King Mongkut, formerly known as Prince Chudhamani or Chao Fah Noi) also had lessons with American missionaries and often sent for Dr. House, with whom he conversed fluently in English. His affection and admiration for the Americans was such that he named his eldest son Prince George Washington, or Prince George, as he was known among the Americans. House would often discuss various scientific subjects at the palace, where he carried out scientific experiments to satisfy the curious King Mongkut and his brother King Pin Klao, as well as their entourage.

Luang Nai Sit, the eldest son of Chao Phraya Phra Klang, was also interested in science and, like Prince Chudhamani, in shipbuilding. His attempt to build the first square-rigged ship in Siam was surprisingly successful, according to Dr. Bradley’s description of the brig Ariel:

Considering that this is the first assay made in this country to imitate European shipbuilding, that the young nobleman had but poor models, if any to guide him, and that all his knowledge of shipbuilding had been gathered here and there or from observation of foreign vessels in port, this brig—certainly reflects very great credit on his creative genius.

It was to this ship that Luang Nai Sit and family invited several American missionaries with their families to go on an excursion to Chantaburi. Apart from a change of air, Luang Nai Sit, together with his wife and children, wanted to take the opportunity to learn English.

By the mid-1870s, the missionaries began to set up schools in the north as well, noting that in Chiang Mai there were only two women who could read and write and not many more men. Generally only those men who had been monks were literate.

The first Western school in northern Thailand was directed at educating girls. Dara Academy, now co-educational, traces its origins to American missionary Sophia McGilvary’s decision to open her Chiang Mai home to girls in 1875. Mrs. McGilvary taught needlework and other home crafts, as well as scripture. As the popularity of these gatherings increased, Mrs. McGilvary

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The Eagle and the Elephant 17
The Eagle and the Elephant sought out land to develop a school for girls. In 1879, Edna Cole and Mary Campbell founded and became the first directors of the American Girl's School in Chiang Mai. The school was named Dara Academy in memory of its early patron, Chiang Mai Princess Chao Dararasmi, consort of King Chulalongkorn.

The Chiengmai (Chiang Mai) Boy's School, the forerunner of the Prince Royal's College, was founded under similar circumstances. In 1887, American Presbyterian Rev. David G. Collins moved from Bangkok to Chiang Mai to set up a school on the west bank of the Ping River. The school began with 2000 baht and about thirty students. As the first Headmaster, Collins oversaw the administration of the school and laid the foundation for Western education in northern Thailand, leaning the local Lanna dialect, seeking networks of support from the community of Thais, managing the continual campaign for funding from American donors, and establishing the first printing press in northern Thailand.

By 1906, the school had relocated to the east side of the river and was renamed by the Crown Prince the Prince Royal's College, more commonly called PRC. In 2006, PRC celebrated its 100th anniversary under this name and commemorated the early contributions American missionaries made in the school's development.

Americans also introduced Western-style education in other northern provinces. In 1886, Rev. Dr. Samuel C. Peoples and his wife founded the Kenneth MacKenzie Memorial School in Lampang, the first Western school outside of Chiang Mai. Rev. Peoples and his wife also founded the Lincoln Academy in Nan in 1904. By 1897, Rev. McGilvary and Dr. William Briggs had constructed a small school in Chiang Rai, as well. Today, eleven schools with American roots educate Thai students in northern provinces Chiang Mai, Lampang, Chiang Rai, Phrae, Nan, and Phitsanulok.

Heartened by the success of these schools, American missionaries began planning the construction of a northern private university. In the first part of the twentieth century, a group of American Presbyterians drafted plans for the Laos Christian University. Konrad Kingshill, a young Presbyterian missionary, arrived in Chiang Mai in 1947 to lay the groundwork for an enterprise that culminated in the establishment of Payap College almost thirty years later.

In 1974, after the Thai government approved plans for private colleges, the Foundation of the Church of Christ in Thailand opened Payap College, the first private college outside of Bangkok. Payap combined several American-founded institutions, primar-
ily the McGilvary Theological Seminary and McCormick Hospital's Nursing School. The college added a humanities faculty and absorbed the Theological Seminary's church music department, making Payap the first higher school in Thailand to offer music as a course of study.

When the Thai government decided in 1956 on Chiang Mai as the site for the first medical school outside Bangkok, the U.S. government agreed to pay half of the construction costs and to train Thai physicians in the United States. After a survey team visited Chiang Mai in 1961, the University of Illinois College of Medicine embarked on an eight-year program of cooperation and assistance to the Faculty of Medicine of Chiang Mai Hospital, with support from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Operations Mission in Thailand.

In 1965, construction began on a seven-story medical school-hospital building. Their Majesties the King and Queen presided over the dedication ceremony in January 1970. During the eight years of the project, the U.S. government committed nearly $3.8 million. Although the formal contract ended in 1970, exchanges continued based on mutual academic benefit to the two institutions.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRINTING
American missionaries introduced the printing press to Siam. In 1835, Dr. Bradley brought from Singapore the Thai language press that Mrs. Judson had acquired over fifteen years earlier in Rangoon. Apart from Mrs. Judson's version of the Scriptures, the first Thai book to be printed on this press was a book on Thai grammar by Captain James Low, an Englishman, who sent the manuscript to be printed in Calcutta in 1828 before the press was moved to Singapore. After the press had been brought to Bangkok, Dr. Bradley reported in his journal (June 3): “Reverend Robinson has just sent me a sheet which he has printed in Siamese with the improvement of separating each word. This is, I think, the first printing ever done in Siam.” Over the next several years, Bradley designed more attractive type that was cast abroad and both the Baptist and the ABCFM missions brought newer presses to Bangkok for printing religious tracts and hymns. The first official document printed
Lead story of the Bangkok Recorder describing the early history and discovery of America by "Christopher Colombo."

American missionaries owned all the early newspapers published in Siam. Dr. Bradley introduced the first Thai newspaper, the Bangkok Recorder, on July 4, 1844. Apart from the Bangkok Recorder, which in 1865 was published in both Thai and English, there was the Bangkok Calendar, published 1847–1850 by mission printer J. H. Chandler and revived by Bradley in 1859. Chandler also owned the Siam Times Weekly, established in 1864. The Bangkok Daily Advertiser began in 1868 and lasted until 1872. Similarly, the Siam Daily Advertiser, begun in 1868 by the Reverend Samuel J. Smith, closed in 1871. From 1868–1878, Smith published the Siam Weekly Advertiser and, from 1869–1874, the Siam Repositories. In 1882, he launched Chodmaihed Siamsai. Smith set up his printing house at Bang Kor Laem and published literary works as well as newspapers, much as Bradley did. Smith printed the epic poem "Phra Apaimani," while Bradley was more inclined toward printing prose works, such as Sam Kok and Liad Kok.

Apart from presenting world news and information on scientific and technological progress, the American missionaries’ publishing ventures encouraged the Thais to publish their own newspapers. King Chulalongkorn’s younger brother, Prince Kasemsanta Sopark, published the first Thai-owned newspaper, the Darunovad, in 1874, although Prince Mongkut, while the Abbot of Wat Bowornnives, had earlier set up a press in the temple to print books on Buddhism. Later, a royal press, Aksorn Pimpakarn, was set up within the precincts of the Grand Palace.

At this time, during the reign of King Mongkut, the French were exerting their power in Indochina to take Kampuchea from Siam. Bradley’s Bangkok Recorder launched an attack on French consul M. Gabriel Aubaret, whose behavior offended the Siamese government. Observers called the Western-owned press “a perpetual thorn in France’s side.” The diplomat brought a libel suit against Bradley, claiming $1,500 in damages. For political reasons, Bradley was not able to produce witnesses of sufficient weight. He therefore lost the case and was ordered to pay the French consul $207.75, which included the $100 fine plus fees and other expenses. The court reduced the sum to $48, after which contributions poured in from fellow missionaries.
and other foreign residents in Bangkok to a total amount of 300 ticals or $180.

The American missionaries made a considerable impact on Thai society in this transitional period. Particularly significant was the trust and friendship that those missionaries were able to win from Thais at all levels, from the monarch himself to ordinary people. During the mid-nineteenth century, when countries in Asia were being threatened by Western colonial powers, Siam’s attitude to the West was one of mistrust and fear of exploitation. It was the American missionaries who, both directly and indirectly, managed to change that attitude slowly over the course of several decades. Through the window on the outside world provided by the American missionaries, Siam could assess her situation and see that pragmatism and flexibility were essential for survival.

First page of the April 15, 1865, edition of the Bangkok Recorder.
THE FIRST THAI–U.S. TREATY

In 1833, one year after the arrival of the first American missionary in Siam, President Andrew Jackson sent envoy Edmund Roberts to Bangkok. The American interest in trade opportunities in Asia and the Pacific had, of course, begun much earlier. The first American trading vessel reached Bangkok in 1821, and four years later the U.S. consul in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) recommended to the United States government that an embassy be sent to open trade relations with Siam. After British envoy Henry Burney concluded a treaty of commerce with Siam in 1826, the United States became even more interested in trading with Siam.

Britain was the second country to try to revive friendly relations with Siam after a gap of more than a century. During the beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain was keenly interested in trading with countries in Asia, and was looking for both markets and sources of raw materials. British commercial and political policy in East Asia was consequently increasingly aggressive. Siam was one of the countries that interested Britain, but the Thais preferred to trade with Asian neighbors, particularly China. Western nations who wanted to trade with Siam met several obstacles, such as the king’s monopoly of certain goods, the tax collection system, and the strict routine of Thai officials. Britain’s first attempt to open trade relations with Siam in 1821 was a complete failure. Neither the commercial nor the political goals of the embassy, set by the governor of India, were reached, at least partly because of Thai conviction that contact with the West would bring trouble. A passage in the Rattanakosin Chronicles remarks:

Among the foreigners who have come to trade with us, the Westerners, the Indians, and the Chinese have proved to be very different since Ayudhya days. The Western traders tend to bully other nationalities, including fellow white men. In a situation of conflicting interests their competitive spirit would go as far as fighting, or even killing. In addition, they would not hesitate to use power and, given a chance, would impinge on our politics and administration. For instance, they would ask for land to build warehouses and business offices and would take an opportunity to include a fortification. The Chinese and the Indians, on the other hand, stay under the complete control of the King. They only want commercial gains. For this reason Siam prefers to trade with Chinese and Indian merchants to Westerners.
After capturing Rangoon in 1824, the British were suffering from the effects of wars with Burma and wanted to persuade Siam to join them against the Burmese. King Rama III sent Thai troops to help at several points, but Thai relations with Britain were far from smooth. By early 1826, the British had conquered almost all of Burma. Lord Amherst, the governor general of India, sent Captain Henry Burney for another round of talks with Siam. Burney spent five months in Bangkok, concluding a fourteen-point treaty and a trade agreement in June. On the political front, Britain recognized Thai suzerainty over the northern Malay states of Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu. On the issue of commerce it was agreed that only measurement duty would be levied on imported goods, although the rate would be high. British merchants could trade freely in Siam except in rice, firearms, and opium. For this first Western treaty with Siam since the beginning of the Bangkok period, much credit was due to Captain Burney.

The Treaty of Amity and Commercy, written in Thai, Portuguese, Chinese, and English, marked the opening of official Thai-U.S. relations.

The Treaty of Amity and Commercy, written in Thai, Portuguese, Chinese, and English, marked the opening of official Thai-U.S. relations.
Edmund Roberts, the first American envoy, arrived in Bangkok on February 18, 1833, on the American warship Peacock. The Thai government arranged for the American representative and his party of fourteen to stay at the official guesthouse, in the compound of the Chao Phraya Phra Klang’s residence, near Wat Prayoon. On March 18, King Rama III granted the U.S. representative an audience. Roberts brought a number of gifts from President Andrew Jackson, including a silver basket, a gold watch, and silk. The most important item was a ceremonial sword with a gilt scabbard. An eagle and an elephant were carved into the gold handle. Rama III in turn sent local products, including ivory, tin, wood, incense, pepper and sapan wood, as gifts to President Jackson.

Negotiations between Roberts and Chao Phraya Phra Klang, representing Thai interests, took three weeks. The ensuing ten-clause treaty, concluded on March 20, 1833, was substantially similar to the one Siam concluded with Britain in 1826, allowing free trade for American merchants except in rice, firearms, and opium. This treaty contained a “most favorable nation” clause, under which any concessions made to any other nation could also be claimed by the United States. Written in Thai, Chinese, English, and Portuguese, Roberts considered the treaty a success, and the American delegation departed Bangkok on April 6. (The text of this treaty is in appendix 1.)

Despite these treaties, foreign trade did not flourish. Foreign merchants alleged that the Thai government did not respect the agreement on free trade. One problem was the system of tax-farming, which increased the cost of commodities. Under this system, tax farmers, most of whom were Chinese and had been granted concessions by the king, would collect taxes and give to the government annually an agreed sum for each item, keeping the rest for profit. Although this system had been used since the end of the Second Reign, during the Third Reign the government allowed many more goods to be taxed in this way, evading the free trade agreement with the British and the Americans. Foreign merchants also complained that the government increased the number of trade monopolies in commodities such as sugar, which was in great demand by foreign traders. The government sent officials to buy sugar from private producers all over the land and sold it
to foreign merchants, who were denied permission to travel to the provinces. This practice pushed the sugar price so high that in 1838 the American trading vessel *Stag* left Bangkok without any sugar in its hold. Between that year and 1850, no American ship sailed up the Chao Phraya River to Bangkok.

Unhappy with this situation, both Britain and America tried to improve trade by revising the treaties toward the end of the Third Reign. In early April 1850, the United States sent former American consul in Singapore Joseph Balestier to Bangkok in hopes of amending the 1833 treaty. As the Chao Phraya Phra Klang was away in the provinces, Balestier went with an interpreter to see Phraya Sripipat. Phraya Sripipat refused Balestier’s demand for an audience with King Rama III to present President Zachary Taylor’s letter. The following account from the *Chronicles* explains the Thai view:

Phraya Sripipat replied that in the past an envoy always came with a retinue of officials. This time Joseph Balestier, with an umbrella held underarm, came alone and unattended except for a Mr. Smith, apparently the adopted son of Rev. John T. Jones picked up here in Bangkok, carrying a letter casket. The whole thing was most unlike our usual custom and therefore it was not possible to arrange an audience with the King for him. Joseph Balestier, thereupon, replied that European protocol had changed, and it was the custom now to send an envoy alone, who is all-important, hence there being no seal affixed upon the letter. Balestier then asked whether or not Phraya Sripipat would accept the letter from the American President. Thereupon the Thai Minister replied that if the letter was transmitted it would be received, but no audience with the King could be granted since the manner of the Mission was not in accordance with our court etiquette.

Upon Chao Phraya Phra Klang’s return, Balestier petitioned him, accusing Phraya Sripipat of contemptuous behavior to himself and to the head of the United States government, but Chao Phraya Phra Klang did not respond. Balestier further said that at no point was he given a warm welcome, not even an honorable reception at Paknam, at the mouth of the Chao Phraya River. One reason Balestier was unattended by a diplomatic retinue was that he arrived immediately after a serious outbreak of cholera, so the captain of the U.S. vessel *Plymouth*, which brought him to Bangkok, would not let more passengers go ashore than necessary. Balestier’s mission failed, and he left Bangkok at the end of April.

1. A few months later, Britain sent Sir James Brooke on a similar mission, but he was no more successful than Balestier.
A NEW ERA IN THAI-AMERICAN RELATIONS

When he succeeded to the throne in 1851 as the fourth king of the Chakri dynasty, King Mongkut had behind him twenty-seven years of service in the monkhood. During that time, he had acquired considerable knowledge about the outside world, with the American missionaries playing a large role in his education. King Mongkut realized that if the country were to maintain its independence, the government would have to revise its policies, especially in foreign affairs.

The Bowring Treaty, which Siam concluded with Britain in 1855, marked the beginning of a new era. Although disadvantageous to Siam, this treaty ushered in an era of important social, economic, and political changes. No less than thirteen countries, including the United States, asked to conclude treaties on similar terms.

In 1856, U.S. President Franklin Pierce appointed Townsend Harris, consul general-designate to Japan, to conclude a new treaty with Siam. On his way to assume these responsibilities, Harris went to Paris, where he collected material for an impressive official uniform. This elaborate costume included a feathered hat with a gold eagle insignia, a navy blue jacket with embroidered gold cuffs and collar, white trousers with gold stripes, and a ceremonial sword with a scabbard.

Traveling on the San Jacinto, Harris arrived at the mouth of the Chao Phraya river on April 13, 1856. Because the San Jacinto was too large to sail up the river, the Thai government sent the Siam Orasoompon to bring Harris and his retinue of forty-six to Bangkok. They were invited to stay in a guesthouse on Padung Krung Kasem Canal. In his diary, Harris noted that while this residence was clean and airy, it was deficient in privacy; there was no proper living room, and the bedroom had no doors. However, the dining room was magnificently supplied with French crockery and English silverware, and food and fruit were plentiful.

Harris was greeted by various delays in negotiations and in gaining a royal audience. Unlike Edmund Roberts, Harris was not favorably impressed with Siam. Harris was obliged to wait on board the San Jacinto for two days at the shoal before the Thai authorities sent Stephen Mattoon and Jamuen Vaivoranat to welcome him, and after that he had to wait six more days before he was brought back to Bangkok. The delay was purposeful, as the Siamese government hoped to prevent Harris from meeting Harry

2. While approved during the time of U.S. Secretary of State William Marcy, the State Department later decided that such uniforms were too ostentatious for the representatives of a democratic country and issued a circular to all embassies advising envoys to wear more straightforward attire.
Parkes, a British envoy sent to exchange the ratification of the Bowring Treaty. The Thais feared that, if the two missions met, they might join forces and demand further privileges.

When he did finally meet King Mongkut on May 1, he presented to him a letter and gifts from President Pierce, including a gun with a gold-plated barrel, a portrait of Pierce, mirrors, ink, notebooks, screens, maps, and chandeliers. In an audience with the Second King, Harris asserted that the United States had no territory in the East and sought none, wanting only equal and peaceful diplomatic and trade relations.

During treaty negotiations, Siam was represented by Krom Luang Wongsathirajsanit, Somdej Chao Phraya Ong Noi (Chao Phraya Sripipat), Chao Praya Srisuriyawongse, Chao Phraya Raviwongse (later Tipakarawongse), and Chao Phraya Yomaraj. The treaty they signed on May 29, 1856, was substantially the same as the Bowring Treaty, with Siam agreeing to impose no monopoly or restraint on trade (see appendix 2). Siamese concessions included extraterritoriality and an import duty of 3 percent ad valorem in place of the former measurement duty. After paying courtesy calls on a number of princes and noblemen, Harris took leave of the king, boarded the San Jacinto at the shoal, and on May 31 sailed for Hong Kong and Japan to assume his duties there. Before he left Bangkok, Harris appointed Rev. Stephen Mattoon as the first American consul in Siam.

The Harris Treaty, ratified under President James Buchanan’s administration, generated only slight improvement in trade between the two countries. While a few trading companies, such as a branch of Russell and Co., were established in Bangkok, trade with the West did not flourish as much as had been expected.

Kings of the Chakri Dynasty

<p>| King Rama I | King Pra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke, 1782–1809 |
| King Rama II | King Pra Buddha Lert La Napalai, 1809–1824 |
| King Rama III | King Pra Nang Klao, 1824–1851 |
| King Rama IV | King Pra Chom Klao (King Mongkut), 1851–1868 |
| King Rama V | King Pra Pin Klao (Second King; concurrent regnum) |
| King Rama VI | King Pra Mongkut Klao (King Vajiravudh), 1910–1925 |
| King Rama VII | King Pra Pok Klao (King Prajadhipok), 1925–1935 |
| King Rama VIII | King Ananda Mahidol, 1935–1946 |
| King Rama IX | King Bhumipol Adulyadej, 1946–present |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consuls and Date Appointed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHIANG MAI, THAILAND</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Consuls:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rufus Z. Smith 1953–1955  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karl E. Sommerlatte 1955–1957  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>William B. Hussey 1957–1959  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>George M. Barbis 1959–1961  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carl Nelson 1966–1967  &amp;</td>
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<td>Wever Girn 1967–1971  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>James M. Montgomery 1971–1974  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank J. Tatu 1974  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Consuls General:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles S. Ahlgren 1987–1989  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scott D. Bellard 1995–1998  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas M. Murphy 1998–2001  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eric S. Rubin 2001–2004  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beatrice A. Camp 2004–2007  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael Morrow 2007–present  &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>UDORN, THAILAND</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Post opened June 1964; closed May 1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ralph T. Jans, 1964  &amp;  Timothy M. Carney 1978</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas J. Barnes, 1970  &amp;  John G. H. Muehlke, Jr. 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jere Broh-Kahn, 1972  &amp;  Margaret K. McMillion 1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hamilton, 1975  &amp;  Karen Brevard Stewart 1992</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SONGKHLA, THAILAND</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Post opened March 1969; closed July 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Lyall Breckon 1969 (appointed to Bangkok)  &amp;  Mahlon Henderson 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice M. Tanner July 26, 1971  &amp;  G. Nicholas Mauger, 3rd 1982</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harold F. Colebaugh July 23, 1973  &amp;  Franklin P. Huddle 1984</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Cecil Castrodale June 24, 1974  &amp;  Douglas K. Rasmussen 1987</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas P. Hamilton 1976  &amp;  Donald B. Coleman 1989</td>
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partly because China opened several seaports about the same time. Before long, the branch of Russell and Co. closed, and Thai-American relations languished on both the commercial and the political front. Politically, the United States had little interest in Siam. As Harris made clear to the Second King, the United States had no territory in the East and desired none, asking only for peaceful and mutually advantageous trade relations. The American system did not permit colonialism, Harris asserted, so the U.S. government had no conflicting interests with other Western powers.

Rev. Mattoon served as consul for three years after the signing of the Harris Treaty, during which time relations were cordial. Counting missionaries, Americans outnumbered the nationals from any other Western country. Presidents Pierce and Buchanan exchanged many letters and gifts with King Mongkut and his brother, the Second King. In April 1859, the U.S. Department of State wrote to Mattoon informing him that a gift of two boxes of books had been dispatched to Siam. By the time the books arrived, Mattoon was no longer consul, but his successor, J. H. Chandler, presented them to the king, together with a letter from the president. The U.S. government later sent books to Phra Pin Klao, the Second King, as well.

King Mongkut wrote several letters to U.S. presidents. The first, addressed to President Franklin Pierce and dated June 10, 1856, described the Harris mission, the gifts from the president, and the royal gifts from Siam. As for the royal gifts he wished to present to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American Consuls, Ministers, and Ambassadors to Thailand</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Mattoon 1856–1859</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Chandler 1859–1862</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aaron J. Westervelt 1862–1863</td>
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<tr>
<td>James M. Hood 1865–1869</td>
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<td>Frederick W. Partridge 1869–1876</td>
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<tr>
<td>David B. Sickels 1876–1880</td>
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<td>John A. Haldeman 1880–1885</td>
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<td>Jacob T. Child 1885–1890</td>
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<td>Sempronius H. Boyd 1890–1892</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Barrett 1893–1898</td>
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<td>Hamilton King 1898–1912</td>
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<td>Fred W. Carpenter 1912–1913</td>
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<td>William H. Hornibrook 1914–1916</td>
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<td>George Pratt Ingersoll 1917–1918</td>
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<td>George W. P. Hunt 1920–1921</td>
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<td>Edward E. Brodie 1921–1925</td>
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<tr>
<td>William W. Russell 1925–1926</td>
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<td>Harold O. Mckenzie 1926–1929</td>
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<td>David E. Kaufman 1930–1933</td>
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<td>James M. Baker 1933–1936</td>
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<td>Edwin L. Neville 1937–1940</td>
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<td>Hugh G. Grant 1940–1941</td>
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<td>Willys R. Peck 1941–1942</td>
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<td>Charles W. Yost 1946–1946</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edwin F. Stanton (Minister) 1946–1947</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Ambassador) 1947–1953</td>
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<tr>
<td>William J. Donovan 1953–1954</td>
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<tr>
<td>John E. Peurifoy 1954–1955</td>
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<tr>
<td>Max Waldo Bishop 1955–1958</td>
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<td>Kenneth Todd Young Jr. 1961–1963</td>
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<td>Graham A. Martin 1963–1967</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leonard Unger 1967–1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Gunther Dean 1981–1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darryl N. Johnson 2002–2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph L. Boyce, Jr. 2004–2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric G. John 2007–present</td>
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The king explained, they would have to be sent later, since Harris was in a hurry to leave Bangkok for Japan, where he was to be the first American envoy.

In September 1859, the king wrote another letter, this time to President James Buchanan in response to a message that the American consul in Bangkok had delivered to him from the president. The letter stated, in part:

After the recent conclusion of the U.S.–Siam Treaty, a group of American merchants installed a rice-milling machine in Bangkok. Another group brought an iron steamer to draw boats for money and a group brought big and small steamer machines for sale in Bangkok. Also, several American engineers made a living by training the Thais on how to install machines and how to use steamer machines.

King Mongkut dispatched another message to President Buchanan on February 14, 1861, after receiving gifts from him. (See appendix 3 for full text of this letter.) In return, the king sent Buchanan a steel sword in Japanese style, with a gilded nielloware sheath and gold decorations, along with a photograph of himself. Along with the gifts, King Mongkut sent one of his best-known messages to a foreign head of state. Having heard from the captain of an American ship, the John Adams, that there were no elephants in the United States, the King proposed to send some as a gift. As he explained in his own English:

If on the Continent there should be several pairs of young male and female elephants turned loose in forests where there was an abundance of water and grass in any region under the Sun’s declination both North and South, called by the English the Torrid Zone, and all were forbidden to molest them; to attempt to raise them would be well and if the climate there should prove favorable to elephants, we are of opinion that after a while they will increase till there be large herds as there are here on the Continent of Asia until the inhabitants of America will be able to catch them and tame and use them as beasts of burden, making them of benefit to the country. Since elephants being animals of great size and strength can bear burdens and travel through uncleared woods and matted jungles where no carriage and cart road have yet been made, we on our part will procure young male and female elephants, and forward them one or two pairs at a time ...
Along with this letter King Mongkut sent the President a pair of large elephant tusks.

By the time these two letters and the sword reached the United States, Abraham Lincoln had replaced Buchanan and the Civil War had erupted. The conflict prevented President Lincoln from replying until the following year in February 1862.

Lincoln thanked King Mongkut for the sword, which he said would be treasured as national property. With regard to the raising of elephants in the United States, the president wrote that the climatic conditions were not suitable; moreover, the use of elephants as a means of transport was unnecessary since “steam on land, as well as on water, has been our best and most efficient agent of transportation in internal commerce.” Consul Chandler observed that His Majesty was disappointed at not being able to carry out his intention of giving the United States a gift of elephants. (The text of President Lincoln’s letter is in appendix 4.)

During the Civil War, contact between the two countries was tenuous. After Chandler stepped down as consul, his successors did not enjoy much success or the same degree of respect accorded to the missionaries. During this period, no ship flying the American flag sailed up the Chao Phraya. American residents in Siam petitioned the American consul that efforts should be made to improve the situation.

In 1866, ten years after the Harris Treaty, some of the treaty terms were revised and shipping regulations modified. The regulation that foreign ships were obliged to deposit all guns at the shoal and reclaim them before leaving was modified so that only gunpowder had to be deposited. The new arrangement was found very satisfactory by traders, because loading and unloading were complicated and time-consuming exercises for both parties.

American Consul James M. Hood made efforts to revive the Thai-American relationship, but he himself was not very popular among the missionaries. In brief, Thai political and commercial relations with America were sparse compared to those with other Western nations. Hood attributed Siam’s inactive relations with the United States to the lack of an American maritime presence in Thai waters, to the distance between the two countries, and to the absence of U.S. colonies in Asia.

While the Harris Treaty smoothed the way for trade between the two countries, many obstacles remained. The government tried to levy more taxes on wood, liquor, and other goods, and to promulgate a cattle exportation act. In 1871, Thai customs officers seized an American timber-carrying vessel, the *Dolphin*, on charges of not paying the wood tax. Under this tax, local traders...
were required to give the government two logs out of every ten. Frederick Partridge, Hood’s successor as American consul, lodged a protest, arguing that no wood tax had ever been collected from foreign traders. Since the United States enjoyed the privileges of the most-favored-nation clause, it should not be obliged to pay such tax. Partridge also wrote to Washington about the matter.

A little-known point of contact during the Civil War was the soldier who, among the millions of people who took part in the war, traveled the longest distance to volunteer: a Thai who joined the Union Army. His Thai name was Yod, or Top, but when he first joined the Thirteenth New Jersey Volunteers on August 12, 1862, he was listed as George Dupont, aged 18, five and a half feet tall, and of Thai nationality. Military historian William F. Strobridge has written of him, “Born too late to experience the jungle marches and elephant charges of Siam’s wars with Burma, Private Dupont soon witnessed the campaigns of a civil war twelve thousand miles from his home.”

The Thai soldier served with the New Jersey Volunteers for a year and took part in three of the war’s major battles: Antietam in September 1862, Chancellorsville in May 1863, and Gettysburg in July of the same year. Possibly because of the cold weather and unfamiliar food, he fell sick in August 1863 and was sent to a military hospital in the vicinity of Alexandria, Virginia. By October he had recovered sufficiently to resume service and participated in General Sherman’s March through Georgia to the sea. He received a slight hand wound in Georgia in May of the following year and a much more serious one in June, after which he was hospitalized in Jefferson, Indiana, for the entire year.

Private Dupont was discharged in mid-1865 with $64.30 in back pay plus $75 in bounty money and transportation expenses to Jersey City, New Jersey. Four years later, in Philadelphia, he became an American citizen. He did not remain in his adopted country very long, however. After visiting China and Japan, he returned to the land of his birth in 1870. The only Thai veteran of the American Civil War died in Bangkok in 1900, at the age of 56.
but the U.S. Department of State instructed the consul to deal with the matter himself. Nevertheless, in July 1872, the United States Navy sent warships to give the consul moral support. Navy Commander H.A. Adams joined in the negotiations, which ended with the release of the *Dolphin*.

After the *Dolphin* incident, American warships visited Bangkok more frequently. Disputes between the Thai authorities and the American consul also increased arising over issues such as the sale of imported liquor. (A low tariff on imported liquor kept prices cheap, driving out the local product.) Other problems were caused by Chinese traders who claimed they were “foreign subjects,” some even flying the American flag over the objection of the American consul. This and similar irritations had a detrimental effect upon Siamese–American relations, the improvement and deterioration of which depended to some extent on the consul himself. During Partridge’s incumbency, problems were numerous. The most successful consul was probably John A. Halderman, who served 1880–1885 and became the first to hold the rank of minister.

One major bilateral dispute arose over the case of Marion A. Cheek, a medical missionary turned teak dealer, who had borrowed money from the Siamese government on the security of his property. Later, the government claimed that Cheek had not paid up the interest due according to the terms of the contract. Consequently, the government seized his assets, mainly cut logs and over one hundred elephants. Cheek counterclaimed that he had not violated the contract, and sought damages from the government for the illegal seizure of his assets, which caused him financial ruin. This incident, which started in 1892, stretched over a number of years. Cheek called on Minister of Foreign Affairs Prince Devawongse several times, to no avail. Minister John Barrett, who had arrived to assume the post in 1894 at the age of 28, believed that Cheek had been wronged. His confiscated logs had been auctioned off at low prices, and his elephants had been so neglected that some died of starvation and others were stolen. Cheek himself became ill and died in 1895. Foreign residents in Siam, including the missionaries, sympathized with Cheek. Early in that year, without informing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Barrett proceeded to Singapore and recommended that the United States resort to a “gunboat” policy to deal with Siam. Before the United States took any action, another dispute arose to heighten the as yet unresolved Cheek case.

While on official business related to the Cheek case, American Vice Consul E.V. Kellett was attacked by Thai soldiers in Chiang Mai. Barrett sent a petition to the Siamese Ministry of Foreign
Thai ministers and ambassadors to the United States

Ministers stationed in London, England
H.R.H. Prince Prisdang Jumsai, 1881
H.R.H. Krom Mun Nares Warariddhi, 1844
Phraya Montri Suriwongse, 1887–1891
Phraya Maha Yotha, 1894
Phraya Visuthi Suriyasakdi, 1897–1899
Phraya Prasit Salyakarn, 1900–1901

Ministers stationed in Washington, D.C., USA
Phraya Akharaj Varathorn, 1901–1911
H.R.H. Prince Traidos Prabandh, 1912–1913
Phraya Prabha Karavongse, 1913–1922
Phraya Buri Navarath, 1923–1925

Ambassadors
Phraya Subarn Sompati, 1931–1932
H.R.H. Prince Damras Damrong, 1933–1935
Phraya Abhibal Rajamaitri, 1935–1940
M.R. Seni Pramoj, 1940–1942
Mr. Pote Sarasin, 1952–1957
Mr. Thanat Khoman, 1957–1959
Mr. VisutrArthayuki, 1959–1963
Mr. Sukich Nimmanheminda, 1963–1967
Mr. Bunchana Atthakor, 1967–1969
Mr. Sunthon Hongladarom, 1969–1972
Mr. Anand Panyarachun, 1972–1975
Mr. Upadit Pachariyangkun, 1975–1977
Mr. Arun Panupong, 1977–1978
Mr. Klos Visessurakarn, 1978–1980
Mr. ProkAmaranand, 1980–1982
M.R. Kasem S. Kasemsri, 1982–1986
Mr. Arsa Sarasin, 1986–1988
Mr. Vidhya Vejjajiva, 1988–1991
Mr. Manaspas Xuto, 1994–1995
Mr. Nitya Pibulsonggram, 1996–2000
Mr. Tej Bunnag, 2000–2001
Mr. Sakthip Krairiksh, 2001–2004
Mr. Kasit Piromya, 2004–2005
Mr. Virasakdi Futrakul, 2006–2007
Mr. Krit Garnjana-Goonchorn, 2007–2008
Mr. Don Pramudwinai, 2009–present

The first envoy to America, Prince Prisdang Jumsai, was based at the Siamese Legation in London.
Affairs, and this time the U.S. government ordered an American warship to Bangkok. The ship’s commander and Barrett formed a mission to negotiate with the Siamese government, which agreed to the appointment of arbitrators to investigate the case. The Cheek case was ruled on by an Englishman, Sir Nicholas Hannen, who judged that the seizure of Cheek’s property was a violation of Clause 2 of the 1856 Treaty, and that the loan contract did not specify that the interest was payable annually. The Siamese government, therefore, was to pay 706,721 ticals to the Cheek estate. In the Kellett case, a mixed tribunal with representatives from both sides likewise found that the Siamese government had been in the wrong. In both cases, the government accepted the outcome and Barrett earned a very high reputation among members of the foreign community in Siam.

Although the 1856 Treaty initiated full diplomatic relations between Siam and the United States with the establishment of the American consular services in Bangkok, Siam did not send a resident representative to the United States until many years later. Apart from the great distance between the two countries, Siam lacked people with suitable qualifications to represent the country abroad. Instead, Siam gave foreign representatives in various countries the ranks and titles of Thai officials. In 1881, Siam followed this method in appointing Isaac T. Smith, President of the Metropolitan Savings Bank, the first Siamese consul in New York. Meanwhile, Prince Prisdang Jumsai, who earlier had been one of the first government scholarship students sent to England by King Chulalongkorn, was made the first Thai minister to many countries in Europe. His responsibilities extended to the United States in 1882, although he continued to reside in London.

In 1884, Prince Nares Warariddhi, a younger brother of King Chulalongkorn, met with President Chester A. Arthur in Washington on his way to London to replace Prince Prisdang. He was the first Thai minister to present his credentials to a U.S. president. While in the United States, he also visited some Americans who had befriended the Thai people, including Dr. House, Rev. Carrington, and General Grant. A report compiled for King Chulalongkorn by Prince Sonabandhit, councillor of the legation, described in great detail Prince Nares’ seven-day sea journey from England, as well as the mission’s forty-one-day observation tour in the United States.

According to his report, the prince called on President Arthur at the White House on May 4, 1884. (The credentials of prince Nares are in appendix 5.) After shaking hands with the president, Prince Nares spoke in Thai, conveying King Chulalongkorn’s
The Eagle and the Elephant

desire for continued close ties between the two countries. He noted that the United States was the first country to send a resident minister to Siam, praised the contributions that American missionaries had made to the country’s development, and mentioned the visit of former President Ulysses S. Grant to Siam five years earlier.

Before and after Prince Nares’ visit to the United States, King Chulalongkorn worked hard to promote his kingdom abroad. He sent Thai musical instruments to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., welcomed foreign entertainers to perform in Siam, and encouraged Siam’s participation in world exhibitions, including the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876, the Chicago’s World Fair in 1893, and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri.

As Siam had no resident ministers in Washington in 1876, objects for the Centennial Exhibition were under the care of the U.S. Navy. All correspondence concerning the exhibits and a description of each item was printed in a souvenir book published in Philadelphia under the title *Exhibits of Articles Generally Used in Siam and of Samples of Trade of Siamese Origin*. This catalog listed thousands of items sent, including fifty-eight implements for making cloth; twenty-six items used by Siamese priests; rice; and specimens of wood, pottery, stone, and mats.

For the Chicago World’s Fair, Minister of Agriculture H.E. Phraya Suryasak Montri was instructed by H.M. King Chulalongkorn to charter a special steamer to convey the exhibits from Siam to Chicago. The exhibits—“art objects, forestry exhibits, agricultural instruments and products, and women’s work”—were insured for over $100,000 and included “about 100 glass jars containing all the fruits indigenous to this country, from North to South, as well as giant bamboo, ten kinds of oil, seeds, and pottery.” In almost daily articles throughout November 1892 devoted to the exhibits, the *Bangkok Times* also listed boats typical of “every species of craft, from the Royal State barges to the frailest canoes” and “half-a-dozen complete miniature floating
houses and other types of Siamese dwelling among the objects sent.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 had special significance for Siam because John Barrett, former American Minister to the Court of Siam, was appointed commissioner. While recruiting international exhibits for the exposition, Barrett visited Bangkok, dining in 1902 with Hamilton King at the legation where he himself had recently served four years. Among the Siamese exhibits, fair-goers were particularly impressed with a model of Wat Benchamabopit, or the Marble Temple, which had only recently been built in Bangkok.

The Thai legation in Washington was established in 1901, with Phraya Akaraj Varathorn as the first resident minister. While representing Siam in Washington, Phraya Akaraj Varathorn recommended the appointment of Edward H. Strobel as General Advisor to the Government of Siam, the first American to hold the position.

Hamilton King came to Siam as the next American minister, arriving in 1898 with his wife and three daughters. During his fourteen years as minister, the longest tenure of any American envoy before or since, King witnessed King Chulalongkorn’s Jubilee celebrations in 1908, the royal cremation in 1911, and the coronation of King Vajiravudh the same year.

Before coming to Siam, King had taught Greek at Olivet College in Michigan, and worked as an author, preacher, and Republican party delegate. After Republican William McKinley became president, King expected a diplomatic posting to Greece in return for his service to the party. However, that assignment went instead to an expert on Far Eastern affairs and religions, while Hamilton King was posted to Asia.

An ordained minister, Hamilton King was a supporter of the missionary community. He was also the first American envoy to travel to Chiang Mai, taking two of his daughters with him in 1900. Three years later, he visited the missions in the south of Siam, going all the way to Nakorn Srithammarat on a steamship of the East Asiatic Company bound for Singapore.

As dean of the diplomatic corps in Bangkok, King presented the official congratulations to King Chulalongkorn on the occasion of Prince Nares and his party at Mount Vernon in 1844. (Courtesy of M.R. Pari Wirawidhaya.)
of his record reign, November 13, 1908. Minister King remarked, “We celebrate the length of days that marks Your Majesty’s reign, because they speak of deeds that mark the progress of your people toward individual liberty.”

Hamilton King died in 1912. He asked to remain in his “beloved Siam” and to be buried in the Protestant Cemetery. Prince Damrong wrote of King, “He was always faithful in his work, and he was a true friend of Siam. I loved Hamilton King ... Pray that the United States Government may send a minister as good as Hamilton King.”

King Vajiravudh sent a personal letter of condolence to Mr. King’s widow in which he said,

I feel Mr. King’s loss to be a personal one to me. A better friend than he has been to my family, my people, and myself, I can hardly hope to find ... which makes my sorrow all the deeper.

**Relations Between Heads of State**

After the conclusion of the 1865 Treaty, King Mongkut wrote to a succession of American presidents: Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, and Abraham Lincoln. General Ulysses S. Grant, president of the United States 1869–1877, visited Siam in 1879.

General Ulysses S. Grant was the first former American president to visit Siam. Commander of the Union forces during the U.S. Civil War, he served two terms as the eighteenth president. Shortly after he left office, he and his wife, Julia Dent Grant, set out on a world tour. Although they did not intend to visit Siam, en route they were strongly encouraged to do so. According to one member of the party, “In Singapore we met many merchants and prominent authorities who had been in Siam, and the universal testimony was that a visit around the world would be incomplete unless it included that most interesting country. Then, on landing in Singapore, our consul, Major Struder, met the General with a letter from the King of Siam.” The Grants and their party accordingly arrived in Bangkok in mid-April 1879, and they were escorted to Saranrom Palace across from the royal residence. The king assigned his brother, Prince Panurangsi Swangwong, to take care of General Grant during his stay, and provided an interpreter named Henry Alabaster.
While in Siam, the former president met several important members of the royal family and the nobility, among them Somdej Chao Phraya Borom Maha Srisuriyawong, who had served as regent in King Chulalongkorn’s boyhood, and the Wang Na, or Chief of the Front Palace. (This Wang Na, whose given name was George Washington, was misleadingly called by Grant and other foreigners “the Second King,” a position that existed only during King Mongkut’s reign.) General Grant visited the residences of both these notables and the Wang Na presented him with a number of mementos, including a gold cigar box.

King Chulalongkorn granted an audience to the general on April 14 at the Grand Palace and paid a return call to him at Saranrom Palace on the following day. At the second meeting, the king referred to the good relations that existed between the two countries, as well as to the assistance rendered in various fields by American missionaries. On his part, General Grant conveyed the best wishes of the American people and government, and assured the king that there was no “desire on the part of the American government to seek an influence in the East.” The general also proposed that a Thai envoy be stationed in the United States and invited the king to visit his country. He further suggested that Thai students be sent to continue their studies in the United States as they had been sent to Germany and Britain. The king was unable to take up the invitation, but the other proposals were later realized. Thai students did go to America, and two years after Grant met the king, Prince Prisdang was appointed the first Thai envoy to Washington.

Grant’s visit proved highly successful and further strengthened relations between Siam and the United States. Many years later, in 1966, Lyndon Baines Johnson became the first American president to visit Thailand while in office.

The first Thai monarch to have visited the United States was King Vajiravudh, still Crown Prince at the time. The prince stopped in 1902 on his return to Siam after the completion of his studies in England. His Royal Highness met with several Americans who had had connections with Siam, including General Frederick Grant, son of General Ulysses Grant, and David Sickels, a former American consul in Siam at the time of Grant’s visit. The Crown Prince visited Arlington National Cemetery, Congress, and the Supreme Court in Washington, as well as Grant’s Tomb and West Point in New York, and then traveled to Chicago and California. In Santa Cruz, California, His Royal Highness granted the name of Siam Makut Rajakumar (Crown Prince of Siam) to a huge tree measuring 275 feet in height and 45 feet around the trunk.
General Ulysses S. Grant, U.S. president from 1869–1877, visited Siam on his world tour in 1879.

Hamilton King, U.S. minister to Siam, was among dignitaries at the Royal Cremation of King Chulalongkorn in March 1911.

H.M. King Vajiravudh visited the United States in 1902 while still Crown Prince. This photograph shows the Prince with both Thai and American escorts. (Courtesy of the National Archives.)

In this idealized engraving, King Chulalongkorn greets former president Ulysses S. Grant.

Above: H.M. King Vajiravudh visited the United States in 1902 while still Crown Prince. This photograph shows the Prince with both Thai and American escorts. (Courtesy of the National Archives.) Right: In this idealized engraving, King Chulalongkorn greets former president Ulysses S. Grant.
His Majesty King Prajadhipok (Rama VII) made two visits to the United States. The first, for medical treatment, was in 1924 while his brother King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) was still on the throne. The second took place in 1931 while he was a reigning monarch.

Leaving Siam on March 19, 1924, the king was accompanied by Queen Rambhai Barni and a retinue that included Prince Svasti Vadhanavisid and Princess Apa Barni, the queen’s parents. The royal party sailed to Hong Kong and then to Japan, where they boarded the Empress of Japan for the voyage across the Pacific to Vancouver. From there they traveled by rail through Canada, arriving in the United States, in North Dakota, on April 20.

The king and his group proceeded via Albany to Ophir Hall in White Plains, New York, the residence of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, where he made arrangements for Dr. John Wheeler to perform a cataract operation on his left eye. A press conference held at Reid’s residence proved something of a sensation when the king announced his intention of laying the foundations for a system of self-government in Siam upon his return, initially through municipal government. “The best form of government is the one which suits the people who live under it,” he reportedly said. Concerning Siam’s monarchy, he went on to say, “from olden times the King of Siam has been the father of his people. In fact, the old word for King, chosen when the people chose their independence and adopted the name ‘Thai’ (free) for themselves, was ‘Father of the Country.’”

The king and queen visited Washington, D.C., on April 28. The following day, they met President Herbert Hoover at the White House and were guests of honor at an evening banquet. On April 30, George Washington University awarded the king an honorary law degree.

The royal party then traveled to New York City, where the mayor gave them a warm reception on May 4. On July 17, while convalescing from eye surgery, King Prajadhipok and his party paid a visit to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. According to
the New York Times, the corps included “two of the king’s subjects,” Bun Mar Prabandayodhin and M.L. Chuan Chuen Kambhu, “having been admitted as cadets by a special act of Congress.”

King Prajadhipok was widely praised by the press during his stay in America. In a speech on Thai-American relations, he remarked:

In Siam there exists high admiration for the achievements of this great country, and a marked feeling of friendship towards both the American people and its government. This is largely due to the fact that Americans have made valuable contribution to the modern development of my kingdom, and that the government of the United States has shown sympathetic understanding, both of the aspiration and the achievements of my kingdom.
The American Advisors
Siam first engaged foreign advisors in the reign of King Mongkut. A Bangkok Recorder of 1866 stated that there were then as many as eighty-four foreigners, some functioning as advisors, some as government employees, in King Mongkut's service. These men were English, American, Danish, German, and Russian. In the Fifth Reign, a period of extensive national development and reform, the number of foreign advisors increased. Although by that time the government's scholarship scheme had encouraged many Thais to pursue modern studies in Europe, Siam still suffered from a shortage of qualified administrators. Foreign affairs expanded as a result of the obligations under the many treaties, and it was imperative that the administration of the country be efficient and circumspect. To this end, foreign advisorsonjudicialandfinancialreforms,foreign affairs, and various areas of development, were recruited. (See sidebar for a list of Americans who served in Thai Government from the reign of King Chulalongkorn to the beginning of World War II.)

Of all the advisory posts, the most important and influential was the General Advisor to the Government. The Americans who advised on foreign affairs, particularly on problems arising from Siam's interaction with Western powers, made contributions that were crucial to the country's survival as an independent nation.

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In 1892, Belgian law expert Rolin Jacquemins was appointed the first official general advisor to the government. Although the government had occasionally used British interpreter Henry Alabaster and French citizen Mitchell Innes as consultants, Siam preferred an advisor from a neutral country such as Belgium, with whom it had no conflicting relationships.

After Jacquemins, Siam recruited only Americans for this post. According to Prince Devawongse, minister of foreign affairs in

King Chulalongkorn's time, this policy was based on the belief that "in our dealings with America there is absolutely no danger of territorial problems." Thai ambassador in Paris Phraya Suriyanuwat further explained the government's choice of Americans by noting that Jacquemins had been less than completely effective in his job as general advisor:

When he was in our service, Chao Phraya Apairaja (Rolin Jacquemins) saw all too clearly the unjust treatment we received, but hard though he tried to raise his voice on our behalf, he failed to win sympathy for us. This was because it is in Belgium's interest not to risk offending Britain and France, whom she regards with awe, and furthermore our plight was something very insignificant to Belgium. I believe

3. All were hired on contract directly by the Siamese government; the U.S. government was not involved in these appointments.
Americans Who Served in the Thai Government from the Reign of King Chulalongkorn to the Beginning of World War II

*George Bradley McFarland, Resident Lecturer, Royal School of Medicine, later Faculty of Medicine (1892–1926)
Lt. Col. O. Fario de la Rozzoli, Sanitary Engineer (1898–1902)
H.G. Lamberton, Chief Inspector of Customs, Customs & Excise Department (1899–1919)
Edwin P. Osgood, Electrical Engineer (1902–1905)
Edward H. Strobel, General Advisor to the Government (1903–1908)
*Jens. I. Westengard, Assistant General Advisor and later General Advisor to the Government (1903–1915)
Charles S. Braddock, Chief Physician, Ministry of the Interior (1906–1908)
Paul G. Woolley, Director of the Serum Laboratory, Department of Public Health (1906–1908)
Ralph J. Edwards, Director of Serum Laboratory, Department of Public Health (1908–1909)
J.C. Bamett, Agricultural Advisor (1910–1912)
Wolcott H. Pitkins, Assistant General Advisor and later Advisor in Foreign Affairs (1915–1917)
Ira Ayer, Advisor, Department of Public Health (1916–1928)
R.W. Mendelson, Medical Officer of Health (1916–1926)
K. Bryan, Section Engineer, Royal State Railways Department (1917–1921)
Eldon R. James, Advisor in Foreign Affairs (1918–1924)
S. Strong, Surgeon and Lecturer, Royal School of Medicine, later Faculty of Medicine (1918–1919)
J.R. Redfield, Advisor to the Department of Public Health (1920–1935)
Wallace Lee, Oil Geologist to the State Railways Department (1921–1923)
*Francis B. Sayre, Advisor in Foreign Affairs (1923–1925)
Hugh McCormick Smith, Director, Department of Fisheries (1923–1935)
Courtney Crocker, Advisor in Foreign Affairs (1924–1926)
A.G. Ellis, Professor of Pathology, Chulalongkorn University, and later Dean of Faculty of Medicine and Director of Siriraj Hospital (1924–1938)
R.A. Spaeth, Professor of Physiology, Chulalongkorn University (1924–1925)
T.F. Morrison, Professor of Biology, Chulalongkorn University (1925)
A. Press, Professor of Physics, Chulalongkorn University (1925–1926)
Raymond B. Stevens, Advisor in Foreign Affairs (1925–1935)
B.C. Albritton, Professor of Physiology, Chulalongkorn University (1926–1932)
A.C. Bailey, Professor of Physics, Chulalongkorn University (1926–1932)
E.D. Congdon, Professor of Anatomy, Chulalongkorn University (1926)
Alice Fitzgerald, School of Midwifery and Nursing (1926–1928)
B.L. Gould, Director, Instructor in Nursing, School of Midwifery and Nursing (1926)
W.H. Perkins, Professor of Medicine, Chulalongkorn University (1926–1930)
E.G. Alexander, Professor of Biology, Chulalongkorn University (1928–1930)
Otto Praeger, Advisor to Posts & Telegraph Department (1928–1933)
Frederick R. Dolbeare, Advisor in Foreign Affairs (1935–1940)
Robert L. Pendleton, Agricultural expert (1935–1942)
David Green, Statistical expert (1936–1941)
Louis Schapiro, Advisor, Ministry of Public Health (dates unknown)

* Three Americans in the service of the Royal Thai Government were given Thai ranks and titles: George B. McFarland: Phra Avidhyakom; Jens I. Westengard: Phraya Kalyana Maitree; Francis B. Sayre: Phraya Kalyana Maitree.
that had Chao Phraya Apairaja been American, the people of that country would have been on our side and taken up the cudgels for us.

Edward H. Strobel, the first American general advisor, left a major imprint on Thai history. Strobel was particularly effective in foreign affairs, although British Consul Ralph Paget reported to London that Strobel streamlined the Thai administrative system, as well. Hamilton King, the American minister, commended Strobel’s success in dealing with a backlog of work efficiently and quickly, commenting that by so doing he had smoothed channels for better diplomatic relations between Siam and other nations.

Strobel made several significant contributions to Siam during his service. In the field of foreign policy, he negotiated new and important treaties with the French and British governments to the benefit of Siam. His first task was to end the diplomatic deadlock that had strained relations between Siam and France for ten years in the aftermath of a territorial dispute. According to the 1893 treaty that ended the fighting, the French would occupy Chantaburi until Siam had complied with all the terms of the treaty. Even after the Thais had fulfilled all of their obligations, however, the French remained in Chantaburi and continued to encroach on the demilitarized zone. Siam’s efforts to negotiate with France got nowhere. While en route to Bangkok to assume the position of general advisor, Strobel stopped in Paris to meet and discuss the conflict with Phraya Suriyanuwat. After his arrival in Bangkok he sought a way to reopen negotiations with France, even though it might mean giving in to some of the French demands. Finally, in 1904, a treaty was concluded with Siam agreeing to give up some territory on the east side of the Mekong opposite Champassak and in the south opposite Pakse. France, in turn, withdrew its troops from Chantaburi but went on to occupy Trat instead. Strobel therefore pursued further talks with the French, concluding a treaty in 1907. Under the terms of this treaty, the French agreed to withdraw their troops from Trat and Panomprai, while the Thais had to cede Battambang, Siamreap, and Sisophon to France. Strobel argued that Trat was more important to Siam than those three towns, in which a large proportion of the population was ethnically, linguistically, and culturally Khmer. Even more important was the French concession on the issue of extraterritoriality. The French agreed that French-subject Asian residents in Siam would be tried in the international court with Thai judges. Under this agreement, if the French consul thought that a French subject had not been given fair treatment in the international court, the consul then had the right to have the trial transferred to the consular court.

Strobel later succeeded in persuading Britain to surrender the extraterritorial rights of its subjects of both European and Asian origin. This concession was obtained in exchange for Siam relinquishing the four southern provinces on the border of the present Federation of Malaysia. Within the terms of these agreements the French and the British also agreed to lend Siam money to finance the southern railway line.

The introduction of the international court was a first step in the revision of treaty terms concerning judicial sovereignty, but Strobel died before the agreement with the British was signed in 1909. Some Thai ministers, attacking Strobel, asserted that losing territory damaged the national prestige and dignity, but Strobel pointed out that Siam gained far more than it lost. The area ceded to Britain, like the Khmer cities consigned to France, was not Thai. Malay from all standpoints, cultural, religious, linguistic, and racial, this territory would always have been difficult to rule from Bangkok.
Apart from his diplomatic achievements, Strobel also served on the commission for the civil and commercial code and was responsible for the drafting of a number of laws. One law, for example, abolished gambling, while the land-tax laws were revised to meet the resultant loss of revenue. New harbor regulations were enacted, benefiting both foreign shipping and home revenue. Provisions were made to abolish the remnants of debt slavery in the country. Around the same time, the Post and Telegraph Department was reorganized, while the government railways, trams, and lumber mills were expanded. King Chulalongkorn said of him:

Mr. Strobel has, during his stay in Siam, made most valuable contributions to the government. The longer he stays, the better will be our administrative system and the more rapid our progress. I have not yet met a European or American so consistently sound in ideas and pleasant in character. He certainly is appreciated by all of us, from ourself onwards.

In appreciation of Strobel's achievements, King Chulalongkorn conferred on him the Most Exalted Order of the White Elephant (First Class) and gave him the right of approaching the king directly.

Edward Henry Strobel

Edward Henry Strobel was born in Charleston, South Carolina in 1855. Following the death of his father in 1868, he put greater effort into his studies, eventually completing his education at Harvard University in 1881 and becoming a lawyer in New York. Later he joined the Democratic party, headed by President Grover Cleveland, and was posted as secretary to the U.S. legation in Madrid.

Subsequent diplomatic positions included assistant to the Secretary of State, and U.S. minister to Ecuador and Chile. Appointed as arbitrator in a dispute between France and Chile, Strobel's exceptional competence deeply impressed the French government. Withdrawing from politics, Strobel became a professor of international law at Harvard until he was approached by the Siamese government for the post of General Advisor in 1903. The government's choice was based on the recommendations of Phraya Akaraj Varathorn, the Siamese minister in Washington, and U.S. Secretary of State John Hay, both of whom were aware of Strobel's excellent academic record and wide experience.
without going through a Thai intermediary. The king showed
Strobel special consideration in other ways as well. Shortly after
His Majesty returned from Europe in 1907, he asked to see Strobel.
Learning that the advisor was ill, the king went immediately to his
residence, and presented Strobel with a watch made from a gold
coin. The watch, which the king described as the thinnest in the
world, bore the king’s monogram and an inscription.

Strobel’s death was regarded not only as a loss to Siam, but
also as a loss to the king and others who knew him well. In a
letter of condolence to Strobel’s mother, the king wrote:

It is needless for me to say how much I deplore the loss of so
excellent and so accomplished a man. He had been a devoted
servant and true friend of my government. I rather doubt
being able to find a man equal to him in every aspect to fill
his place. There is for us only one consolation, that is, that
the memory of him and the good he has done for my country
will remain in the history and in the minds of the people of
Siam.

Perhaps the greatest evidence of the king’s regard came at
Strobel’s funeral and subsequent cremation. Strobel’s body
was briefly interred at the Bangkok Protestant Cemetery until
permission to cremate was received from his mother in the United
States. According to the Bangkok Times Weekly Mail of January 17,
1908:

As the hearse, drawn by four black horses, came slowly down
the path to the chapel, the flag on the royal launch was lowered.
His Majesty landed and, with his suite massed behind him,
stood at the head of the bier awaiting the coffin. His Majesty
was dressed in uniform and wore a band of black crepe on his
right arm, as did all the Siamese officials. The coffin, covered
in black velvet with a silver border, was draped with the Stars
and Stripes and the Siamese flag.

Immediately following the coffin walked Mr. Jens Westengard,
Phaya Phipat Kosa, Mom Chao Sittiporn, and Mom Chao
Traidos ... His Majesty took a final glance at the interior of the
tomb and placed earth on the coffin before leaving.

Several weeks later, the king also attended Strobel’s cremation,
held at Wat Dhepsirin in traditional Thai style on February 5, 1908.
At the ceremony, the king personally lit the fire with his own

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hand, a tradition usually followed only for close members of the royal family, and the first time such an honor had been bestowed on a foreigner. The American minister, Hamilton King, wrote, “truly the king loved this man. Siam has paid him high tribute, and through him we feel that our country has been honored.”

The king subsequently granted a yearly pension of 350 pounds to the mother of this American who had served Siam so well, and contributed to a fund for the purchase of books for the Harvard University Library in memory of Strobel. At a meeting of the fellows and president of Harvard University on February 1, 1909, the treasurer read a letter sent directly to the librarian from Jens Westengard:

Acting General Advisor to the Government of Siam, dated December 15, 1908, presenting Harvard College with the sum of 398 pounds, 13 shillings, and 8 pence, which represented the amount of subscriptions raised in Siam for a memorial to Professor Edward H. Strobel to take the form of a fund, the income of which is to be directed to the purchase, for the College Library, of books on Siam. Of this sum, His Majesty the King of Siam contributed about 80 pounds, and His Royal Highness the Crown Prince about 35 pounds ... The Council

Jens Westengard (second from left) with his colleagues in Bangkok.

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of the Siam Society also contributed a full set of the Journal of the Society to the present time, and informed Mr. Westengard that they would continue to send the Journal to the Library.

The librarian of Harvard said, “I do not know anything lately that has so touched the imagination as this gift from the far-off East, a gift in which so many of the rulers, officers, and residents of Siam have taken part…”

In fact, there are two Strobel book funds at Harvard University. In addition to the Strobel Memorial established by the king and others, there is a Memorial Fund established (also in 1909) by his Class of 1877. Strobel’s classmates had raised $2,500 in gold for a fund to be used for the “purchase of works relating to world politics” and specified that works on “problems in the Far East, where Strobel achieved his highest distinction and where he laid down his life in the service of mankind, should receive first consideration.” Annual income from both funds is used to acquire new publications, primarily in English. Acquisitions of publications is made by the Asian Bibliographer in the Harvard College Library, who bases selections on many sources, including visits to bookshops in Bangkok.

Jens Westengard became Acting General Advisor in 1908 after Strobel’s death and assumed all the duties that had been Strobel’s: foreign affairs, judicial process, national development, and general advice. Two years earlier he had received the 1st Class (Grand Cross) of the Order of the Crown of Siam from King Chulalongkorn.

With his new authority, Westengard proved himself to be no less able than Strobel. Westengard’s first important undertaking was the signing of the treaty with Britain in 1909. In 1913, Siam concluded a similar extraterritoriality treaty with Denmark, and Westengard paid three visits to Washington to negotiate this same issue with the United States. It was finally agreed that a mixed court would be established for American subjects, but World War I broke out before a conclusion could be reached. Westengard also promoted the building of the southern railway line to Singapore, participated in the commission to control public expenditure, and served as a Supreme Court judge and as Siam’s permanent representative at the International Court in The Hague.

One of the king’s most trusted officials, Westengard was given the title of Phraya Kalyana Maitree by King Vajiravudh. Since he

4. The term “Far East” referred to Southeast Asia.

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had spent many years in Siam, he was accepted and well liked by all. Westengard died in the United States three years after resigning from his post in 1915. When the news reached Siam, the king commanded his young brother Prince Mahidol Songkhla, then in the United States, to pay respect to his remains on behalf of the monarch and the Thai government. In his will, Westengard asked to be cremated in the Thai fashion. Many members of the royal family wrote letters of condolence to Khunying Kalyana Maitree (Mrs. Westengard), and the king took upon himself the responsibility of educating Westengard’s child.

Wolcott Pitkin succeeded Westengard in 1915, but met with less success than his two predecessors. Pitkin arrived at a time when Thai nationalism was running high and, at 35, he was too young to inspire respect in a culture that valued age. His main undertaking was compiling information and source material for negotiations with various countries on the issue of extraterritorial rights and the import duty. The end product of his work was a volume entitled Siam’s Case for Revision of Obsolete Treaty Obligations, which was submitted to the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919.

After Pitkin’s tenure, the post of General Advisor was changed into Advisor Attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The change of title reflected increased national feeling and placated other foreign advisors attached to various ministries who resented the superior status of the General Advisor position.

Between 1918 and 1940, five Americans held the post of Advisor: Eldon R. James, Francis B. Sayre, Courtney Crocker, Raymond B. Stevens, and Frederick R. Dolbeare. All these men had outstanding academic and professional backgrounds. Dr. James, who arrived in 1918, had been a professor of law at the University of Wisconsin and Minnesota, as well as dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Missouri. The duties of the American advisors of this period were confined to foreign affairs, but within these limits they rendered invaluable service in seeking an end to Siam’s obligations under the treaties concluded during the reign of King Mongkut. James continued the dialogue with France and Britain begun by Strobel and Westengard. He also approached the United States about its unequal treaty with Siam, arguing that a great power should respect the judicial sovereignty of a small country like Siam, and that Siam should have the right to fix her own import and export tariffs. Siam, having just sent volunteer troops to fight with the Allies in Europe, was in a good position to negotiate with the Western powers. At the Versailles Peace Conference after the war, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson
announced that the United States was willing and happy to rescind the extraterritorial rights under the old treaty, and to negotiate a revised agreement. President Wilson's promise was kept, and America became the first Western nation to conclude a new treaty with Siam.

The December 1920 treaty abolished all claims of extraterritoriality for American subjects. The American consul, however, still had the right to withdraw a case from an ordinary court (although not the Supreme Court) if he deemed the trial proceedings to be unjust. Under the new treaty, this right to withdraw a case from the Siamese court was to be abolished five years after Siam had promulgated a legal code of international standards. In addition, the three percent import duty was abolished and Siam was given the right to fix its own import and export tariffs. This treaty, a result of James's efforts, was to be effective for ten years. King Vajiravudh called the new treaty "a guarantee of justice given to us by America. It is a step towards our goal to revise all the old unequal treaties, which have been obstacles to our national progress. America has given us new hope that other great powers will help us overcome obstacles with the same spirit of magnanimity."

In the following three years, no other country showed a willingness to revise its treaties with Siam. Then, in 1923, Dr. Francis B. Sayre was recommended by the dean of the Harvard Law School to Siam's minister in Washington as a suitable candidate for the post vacated by James. Sayre, President Wilson's son-in-law, stayed less than a year in Bangkok, but spent two years in Europe as Siam's representative negotiating with various governments to revise the old treaties. His success in recovering Siam's fiscal and legal autonomy has earned him an honored place in Thai history, although Sayre must share credit with his many predecessors, as well as such Thai officials as Prince Traidos Prabandh, once Siam's minister in Washington and foreign minister during Sayre's negotiations.

In 1924, Sayre set out for Europe, where he soon learned that his assignment was a very difficult one. Negotiations were particularly hard with Britain, who strongly resisted treaty revisions. After having agreed in 1909 to allowing British subjects to be tried in the Siamese courts, Britain showed no desire to make other concessions. Because of its great commercial interests in Southeast Asia, Britain was particularly reluctant to alter tariff provisions. Nevertheless, during two years of European travel, Sayre managed to convince ten European countries to conclude new treaties with Siam. All those treaties, the last with Norway.
in 1926, had terms similar to the 1920 treaty between Siam and the United States.

The new treaties crowned the seventy-year effort to break free from obligations to foreign countries. Sayre received numerous congratulatory letters on his return to Siam, after having accomplished his mission. Soon after King Prajadhipok's accession to the throne, Dr. Sayre submitted advice on various issues in response to a letter from the king. Asked by King Prajadhipok if he thought the time had come for Siam to change its system of government, Sayre proposed the nation's first draft constitution.

Dr. Sayre was named Phraya Kalyana Maitree in 1927. Even after Sayre had resigned from his post with the government and returned to the United States, he worked to further Thai interests whenever an opportunity arose. The present king's father, Prince Songkhla, was a close friend to Sayre in Siam, and after the prince went to Boston to study medicine, the two remained in contact. Prince Damrong, another member of the royal family who was residing in Penang at the time, corresponded regularly with Sayre. On his visits to Siam in 1953 and 1962, Sayre was received with great honors by King Bhumipol, members of the royal family and the government, as well as by the public.

Courtney Crocker, a graduate of Harvard Law School with experience in legislative affairs and civil service, served as advisor in foreign affairs 1924–1925. His successor, Raymond Stevens, another Harvard Law School graduate, worked on treaty revision for nearly ten years after that. Both he and Frederick R. Dolbeare, the last of the American advisors, concentrated particularly on the right of foreign consuls to withdraw cases from the Siamese courts. Under the 1920 treaty, this right was to be abolished in 1940, five years after the Thai legal code became effective. Impatient with this schedule, Siam negotiated with several countries to reach a
more just agreement as soon as possible. Stevens and Dolbeare took active part in the negotiation, conducted by a delegation under the leadership of French-educated lawyer Pridi Phanomyong, with Prince Naradhip (Prince Wan Waithayakorn) as an advisor. The United States again led the way, signing a new treaty on November 5, 1937. By the end of 1938, Siam had concluded new treaties with all other countries, fully regaining its sovereignty in judicial and taxation matters. The role of the American advisors ended with the resignation of Dolbeare in 1940. The many American advisors and the United States government working independently yet with common purpose had contributed significantly toward achieving Siam’s longstanding aspiration to complete independence.

THE MAHIDOL FAMILY IN AMERICA
Prince Mahidol, one of the founders of public health and medical education in Siam, spent some of his most productive years in the United States. The son of King Chulalongkorn and Queen Srisavarinthira, Prince Mahidol left his homeland at the age of twelve to study in England, later traveling to Germany to take a course in naval science. During World War I, he returned to Siam to serve in the Royal Navy. A few years after the war, Prince Mahidol launched a career in medicine. In 1916, at age twenty-four, he sailed for America and enrolled in the medical program at Harvard University. There he fell in love with another Thai student, Sangwan Talapat. Sangwan is known as Somdej Phra Sri Nakarintara, Thailand’s Princess Mother.

Sangwan had been awarded a grant in 1917 by Prince Mahidol’s mother to study nursing in the United States. She first stayed in Berkeley, then moved to Boston. After her engagement to the prince, she resided with American families in the Boston area.

When Queen Sripacharintara passed away in 1919, Prince Mahidol returned for the royal cremation. As he had earlier received the king’s permission to marry Sangwan, the wedding was held in Bangkok on September 10, 1920. At that time the prince was in his third year of the public health course, which he had begun after two years of studying medicine. While in Bangkok he applied his new knowledge in the laboratory of Siriraj Hospital. He also donated funds for the construction of medical buildings and patients’ wards, and for education grants to medical students.

Prince Mahidol with his son Prince Bhumipol Adulyadej in Brookline, Massachusetts, circa 1928.
A student recalled how the prince inspired others to support Thai students:

In September of 1920, Prince Songkhla was residing in Bangkok and granted audiences to fathers and guardians of Thai students in the United States. Prince Songkhla talked to them about the health and the studies of each student as well as the Siam Society’s aims to provide them with different kinds of support. Through Prince Songkhla, several of the people receiving audiences offered their money as funds for the Siam Society on that day. The receipt for each contribution bore Prince Songkhla’s signature as a member of the contribution committee . . . and stated that the objective of the solicitation of the contributions was to provide financial supports to our Thai friends far away from home.

Earlier, in America, the prince had also expressed his concern for the students. He established the Siamese Alliance in 1919 with, as one member recalled, “the lofty aim of providing a link for Thai students, offering assistance in times of difficulties, and—during school vacations—organizing meetings for recreational purposes.” Another member of the Alliance wrote of Prince Mahidol:

I went to America to further my studies in 1918. We learned of H.R.H.’s kindness immediately upon arrival in Boston when he graced us with his presence at the railway station. That first meeting with him helped dispel the homesickness in me, and it dawned on me that there in front of me was the person on whom we could depend. A few days later, in discussions among ourselves, which included Khun Luang Li, Khun Luang Nit, Khun Luang Sukhum and several others, we learned that H.R.H. was very attentive to the well-being and education of Thai students.

The prince and his wife had returned to the United States via Europe at the end of 1920, and he continued his public health studies at both Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At the same time, his wife pursued a course in nursing at Simmons College in Boston and later attended a summer program in public health at MIT. After the prince received a certificate in public health in June 1921, he continued to conduct research in that field.

The royal couple usually shunned publicity in America, preferring to live an easy, unpretentious way of life as “Mr. and
Mrs. Mahidol Songkhla.” In 1921, they returned again to their homeland, passing once more through Europe, where the prince met with representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation in London, Berne, and Paris in order to negotiate medical and public health aid to Siam. These negotiations proved a great success and began a long association between the foundation and Thai medical education.

While in London, the couple gave birth to a daughter, Princess Kalayaniwattana. At the end of November 1923, the family arrived in Siam, where the prince immediately began teaching at the Faculty of Medical Science, as well as at the newly established Faculties of Arts and Science of Chulalongkorn University.

Prince Mahidol worked so ceaselessly that his health was impaired and he was advised by a doctor to take a rest in the United States or Europe. Rest, however, was not the only motive for a trip. As Princess Kalayani explained, “Though he had studied hospital planning far more than all the Siriraj doctors, one doctor said in the course of a discussion that the prince should not be trusted as far as the matter was concerned because he was not a doctor. This prompted him to complete his medical studies.”
Consequently, in 1925, the family once again went abroad. They stayed first in Heidelberg, Germany, where the prince received medical treatment, and their second child, Prince Ananda Mahidol, was born in the city hospital.

Soon the Mahidol family was back in the United States, staying at 63 Longworth Avenue in the Boston suburb of Brookline. The prince continued his medical studies at Harvard.

One of his American friends, Dr. James H. Means, chief of medicine at Massachusetts General Hospital where the prince worked, has left the following recollections: “I remember Songkhla (as he was known at Harvard Medical School) as being a very charming and highly intelligent gentleman. I took a great satisfaction in having a royal student to teach. He got along well with patients and fellow medical students ... He received an A grade—very unusual.”

Dr. Stewart Whittimore, the prince’s physician, said, “He was one of those characters one never forgets ... so modest and unassuming. He first came under my medical care in the fall of 1916, in Cambridge. At that time he was not married. He was very democratic. His calling card, even, had him as Mr. Mahidol Songkhla instead of Prince ...” The same doctor said of the Princess Mother: “Madame Songkhla was a very good patient and a very fine mother; just as democratic as her husband.”

When Prince Ananda was three years old, the Princess Mother began her studies in dietetics, chemistry, and childcare at Simmons College, intending to serve her country in the field of health and sanitation upon her return. On December 5, 1927, Prince Bhumipol Adulyadej, the third and last Mahidol child, was born at Mount Auburn Hospital in Cambridge, then called Cambridge Hospital.

Prince Mahidol was awarded a degree in medical science with honors in 1928. Kidney trouble and a later operation for appendicitis delayed his departure for home. After his recovery, the family returned to Siam by way of Europe, arriving in Bangkok in December 1928.

In February of the following year, his close friend and Harvard classmate, Dr. John Peabody Monks, stopped off to visit the prince while on a world tour with his family. The same year also saw the prince back in Chiang Mai working at McCormick Hospital. Dr. Edwin Cort had been the director of the hospital since 1908 and founded the McCormick School of Nursing in 1923. This hospital, dedicated by Prince Mahidol in 1924, was fully equipped with state-of-the-art medical equipment. Dr. Cort recalled, “H.R.H. asked me if he would be allowed to work in the hospital when it
obtained a license to operate. I said I would be more than pleased to have him work there and invited him to take up residence at my house because it was located next to the hospital.”

Dr. Chinda Singhanetr, a close colleague of Dr. Cort, remembered that “[the prince] took up residence at Dr. Cort’s house and made the rounds examining patients like the rest of us. There was no task [he] considered too dirty. Once there was a boy in urgent need of a blood transfusion. [He] promptly and unhesitatingly offered to donate his blood.” Dr. Cort also recalled that the prince spent all his money helping others. “One day my wife asked H.R.H. whether he had any torn silk socks that she could mend. H.R.H. said smilingly that he never used silk socks because he could not afford them.”

Prince Mahidol’s work was cut short by illness, forcing him to return to Bangkok, where he died on September 24, 1929.

Both of Prince Mahidol’s sons became kings. Prince Ananda Mahidol ascended the throne in 1934. After his death in 1946, Prince Bhumipol Adulyadej was declared King Rama IX of the Chakri Dynasty. He became the world’s only monarch born in the United States.

President Holmes and Simmons College alumnae traveled to Asia, stopping in Bangkok in June 1989. He wrote about meeting the Princess Mother in the Simmons Review of fall 1989:

“In a trip with many highlights, the greatest had to be the awarding of the honorary degree to Her Royal Highness. She is very proud of her Simmons relationship (we learned later that she has turned down awards from over 200 other colleges and universities), and during the tea she held for us after the ceremony, she reminisced about her life at Simmons where she and her family had lived, courses she had taken, people she had known. We helped, I believe, bring back a time of her life that had given her great pleasure. She also talked about her efforts to improve health care in Thailand, explaining that others have now moved forward into leadership positions in the campaign. We talked about Thailand’s need to provide gainful work for many millions of her people, especially in the rural areas of the country, and the projects that the Royal Family has engaged in to develop new crops that could compete in the world markets, appropriate to the skills of the Thai people, the climate, and the ground conditions.”
Even after the conclusion of the treaties of 1833 and 1856, the United States initially had only limited commerce with Siam. American traders were discouraged by the great distances between the two countries as well as by Thai trade practices which, the Americans alleged, were not in accordance with the terms of the treaties. Despite this lack of commercial contact, however, Americans contributed significantly to the development of trade and industry in this country.

During the reign of King Mongkut, both the government and private businesses ordered steam engines from the United States for use in pulling the barges that plied the Chao Phraya River with merchandise. American missionary John Chandler was instrumental in introducing mechanical science into Siam. Active in missionary printing, one-time U.S. consul, and a translator and interpreter for the Siamese foreign office, Chandler built one of the earliest steamboats in the country and helped the Second King set up his own machine shop. Americans introduced rice and saw mills, and in 1855 set up the first American company in Bangkok, J.S. Parker Co. The first power rice mill, known as the American Rice Mill, was opened by Americans in 1858. One owner of this mill, Mr. M. Gurvey, earned a great reputation as designer and builder of the first houseboat. These boats became so popular that almost every foreign family and high-ranking Thai owned one.

During the Fifth and the Sixth Reigns, American commercial interests expanded considerably. Newly founded companies...
included the Standard Oil Co. of New York, the Singer Sewing Machine Co., the Ben Mayer Co., and John M. Dunlop Co., selling electrical appliances. Among the best-known American businessmen was Herman F. Scholtz, an engineer working on the Aranyaprathet railroad and founder of the International Engineering Company.

During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, Siam granted commercial concessions to a number of American companies, including tramway, electric lighting, and mining businesses. Ford cars and American films took their place as popular imports during the reign of King Vajiravudh. As air transport developed, Americans and Thais co-founded the Aerial Transport Company.

By 1941, when World War II broke out in Asia, imports from the United States had reached $8 million. Representing 14 percent of value of Thailand's imports, U.S. products included trucks, aircraft, commercial films, automobiles, radios, machinery, tires, scientific equipment, medical supplies, and a variety of oils. Thailand sent $1 million of exports to the United States, mainly tin, natural rubber, wolfram, rice, tea, and gems. Despite this volume of trade, however, American investment in Thailand in 1941 was very small compared with that of Britain and China. Major American enterprises included the International Engineering Co., the McFarland Typing Co., the British American Tobacco Co., and the Standard Vacuum Oil Co. The last two withdrew much of their capital investment from Thailand in 1941 because of monopolies imposed on their products by Field Marshal Pibulsonggram's government.

To Americans, Bangkok was important not only as a commercial center, but also as a port that allowed equal access to American traders. Throughout the prewar period, Bangkok was the only independent major seaport in Southeast Asia not under the control of a European power. Furthermore, Bangkok airport
was the only one in the region to provide the United States usage rights equal to those granted the other powers. To cope with growing American trade interests in Siam, the U.S. government created the post of commercial attaché at the American legation in 1931, and in 1937 signed a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation with Siam.

**THE WAR YEARS**

Years of political tension and localized conflicts preceded the actual outbreak of war in Southeast Asia. Japanese aggression in Manchuria was followed by the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and a Japanese alliance with Germany and Italy. When France surrendered to Germany at the beginning of the war in Europe, Japan took the opportunity to invade French-held territory in Indochina.

With war on the horizon, all sides eyed Thailand’s supplies of strategic raw materials. These included natural rubber and tin, both produced in great quantities in southern Thailand, and both considered indispensable to future war efforts. Thailand, meanwhile, appealed to the United States and Britain for oil, armaments, and airplanes needed for self-defense. Britain, afraid that the Thais would turn to Japan if denied Allied assistance, tried to help as much as possible, but the United States did not share Britain’s attitude. For this apparent U.S. indifference, Thais blamed Hugh Grant, the American minister to Bangkok at the time. In his reporting to Washington, Grant urged the U.S. government to be very cautious in dealing with Thailand.

In an effort to deter Japanese aggression, the Thai minister of foreign affairs suggested that Britain and the United States declare that they would consider a Japanese invasion of Thailand as an act of aggression against themselves. In August 1940, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden stated that the British government would regard any threat to the stability and sovereignty of Thailand as an act immediately affecting British interests. The United States, however, listening to Grant’s caveats, remained silent. Sir Josiah Crosby, the British minister, reported that the U.S. minister could and should have given the Thai government greater cooperation, both political and economic, in the Thai struggle against Japanese aggression.

United States caution changed after Willys R. Peck replaced Hugh Grant as the U.S. representative in September 1941. Only three weeks after his arrival, Peck urged his government to extend Thailand all possible economic support to strengthen its ability to resist Japan. Peck recommended that the United States request no political support in return, but help Thailand maintain...
its neutrality in accordance with the U.S. policy of international impartiality.

By October, the Thai intelligence service was predicting a definite Japanese attack. In consultations with British and American ministers, the Thai government stressed that Thailand needed fighter aircraft, arms, and other military equipment for self defense. The government also pointed out that Allied help after a Japanese invasion would be of no use—that Thailand's fate would then be the same as that of small European countries occupied by the Axis.

The U.S. minister urged his government to let Thailand know what help it could expect from the United States so that the Thai government could plan a defense strategy. Under instructions from Washington, Peck told the Thai government that, in the event of an invasion, the United States would help in the same way it had helped China. While the United States was not in a position to supply Thailand with airplanes or military equipment because of the urgent need for U.S. aid to Britain, the United States might be able to help Thailand with regard to its oil shortage. Peck reported to Washington that the Thai government and the Thai people were still fully confident that the United States and England would come to their aid, even though their request for armaments had been refused.

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the U.S. bases at Pearl Harbor and declared war on Britain and the United States. On December 8, Japanese troops invaded Thailand at Songkhla, Pattani, Prachuab Khiri Khan, Nakorn Srithammarat, Surat Thani, and Bangpoo. As Thai troops fought back, the Japanese ambassador requested the right of passage for Japanese troops through Thai territory to Malaya and Burma, giving assurances that Japan would respect the independence, sovereignty, and honor of Thailand. Realizing that the Thai armed forces were not strong enough to resist the Japanese, Prime Minister Pibulsonggram and the majority of the cabinet granted the right of transit to Japanese troops. Reporting to Washington his meeting that day with the Thai foreign minister, Minister Peck cabled:

The foreign minister was deeply moved; he recalled the efforts made by his country to obtain arms for just such a contingency and he expressed gratitude for the friendliness shown by the United States. He said that the hearts of the Thai were with the United States and Great Britain and I could not but admit the sincerity of the country's effort to resist Japan and the overwhelming force to which it finally yielded.
Three days after the Japanese invasion, Field Marshal Pibulsonggram signed an agreement of mutual alliance whereby Thailand and Japan agreed to cooperate in the event of either party being engaged in offensive or defensive action. After detailed negotiations, a treaty was signed on December 21, 1941. Despite some opposition in the cabinet, the Thai government declared war on Britain and the United States on January 25, 1942.

**THE FREE THAI MOVEMENT**

When the Thai government granted Japanese troops right of passage through Thailand and subsequently declared war on the Allies, a number of Thais both at home and abroad strongly protested their government’s position. Some eminent members of the government, including Pridi Phanomyong, a member of the Regency Council, disagreed with the government’s decision. In the United States, Thai Minister M.R. Seni Pramoj also refused to accept the declaration of war. Convinced that the declaration did not represent the will of the Thai people, M.R. Seni declared that the Thai legation did not recognize the Thai government’s surrender to Japan. Proclaiming that the Thai legation in Washington, D.C., was independent of the government in Bangkok, M.R. Seni gathered together Thai government officials and students in the United States who had refused to obey the government’s repatriation order. This group formed a Free Thai resistance movement with a threefold plan of operations: carry out political propaganda and public relations, provide voluntary military support, and contact and persuade people in Thailand to join forces in resisting the Japanese.

After Thailand’s declaration of war, the United States froze all Thai assets, an action which greatly hampered the resistance group. The Free Thai movement’s success in getting the funds released after five months of negotiations demonstrated that the U.S. government recognized the independent status of the Thai legation. On the propaganda and public relations front, the Free Thai movement aimed at winning the sympathy of the American people and convincing them that Thailand should not be regarded as an enemy country. Most Thai students at first volunteered to join regular American military units, but the movement feared that such integration would make the students lose sight of their primary purpose: resisting the Japanese occupation of their own country. Once the legation had funds available, it sought approval from the U.S. government to set up Thai units for various tasks specifically connected with Thailand. Two large groups and two smaller groups were eventually formed. The first large group was

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sent to China in March 1943. From there, most of its members entered Thailand through various clandestine means. After arrival in Ceylon, two members of the first three-man special group secretly parachuted into northern Thailand, while the third member subsequently entered southern Thailand by submarine. The second large group, followed by the three-man last group, went to India and later most of their members worked inside Thailand with Allied intelligence operations.

Lt. Col. M.L. Karb Kunjara, military attaché at the Thai legation in Washington, was elected chief of the Free Thai military unit. In the early stage there was no contact between the Thai-based and overseas-based parts of the movement. Contact began in early 1943, when Nai Chamkad Balankura was sent to Chungking from Thailand. Meanwhile, the United States was establishing a coordinating center for secret operations, known as the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). The OSS branch in Assam, India, and later Detachment 404 in Ceylon, were responsible for activities in Thailand. The parallel British organization, Force 136, was located in Ceylon at the headquarters of Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Southeast Asia, Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten.

Because the British government viewed Thai nationals as enemy aliens, organizing a Free Thai movement in England similar to that in the United States was difficult. Sahoh Tanbunyuen, then a student in England, wrote to Mom Ratchawong Seni asking him to help the Thai students there join the Free Thai movement. Seni
acconingly sent Mani Sanasen to England as his representative. Mani persuaded the British to recognize the movement and permit its members to join the British Forces. These Thai soldiers left India in early 1943, working with Force 136 to eventually join the Thai underground.

The underground movement in Thailand was led by several distinguished figures, including General Adul Aduldejcheras, chief of police and chief assistant to Pridi Phanomyong. An intelligence operation supported by the police department collected information on the movements of Japanese troops and passed it on to Allied intelligence. The military force division was concerned with weapons training and guerrilla warfare. Thawi Punyaket, minister of education, recruited university students for military training outside Bangkok in anticipation of the time that underground troops inside the country would take up arms against the Japanese while troops from abroad would attack simultaneously.

The Free Thai movement’s activities were so successful, and so important to the Allied war effort, that both the British and the American secret services appointed and sent permanent representatives to Bangkok. While the British Force 136 representative was stationed at Thammasat University, Captain Howard Palmer of the American OSS set up an office on Phra Atit Road near the Chao Phraya River. The Allies began to airlift military and medical supplies to Thailand, and Allied soldiers gave regular training courses to the underground troops.

With the resistance movement well under way, Regent Pridi Phanomyong decided to negotiate the formation of a government in exile. He therefore sent underground representatives Sanguan Tularaksa and Daeng Gunatilaka to Washington in late 1943 to ask for M.R. Seni Pramoj’s support in the negotiations. The United States responded cautiously, in deference to British objections, but confirmed its support for Thailand’s independence after the war. As the Allied victory over Japan approached, Pridi sent Phra Bisal Sukhumvit and Luang Sukhum Nayapradit to the United States, entrusted with “persuading the United States to reduce the demands she [sic] might make on Thailand as a result of the latter’s standing in the war, and to arrange for measures to help relieve and rehabilitate Thailand after the war.” Through the introductions of Herman F. Scholtz, the American engineer and businessman who had spent more than twenty years in Thailand, Phra Bisal was able to take his mission to a number of prominent Americans. Phra Bisal told the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee that the Free Thai movement enjoyed the support of the mass of
the population, and that the alliance with the Japanese was against
the wishes of the Thai people. For this reason, he argued, Thailand
should receive postwar assistance from the Allies. Phra Bisal also
sought help from Abbot Low Moffat, chief of the Southeast Asian
Affairs Division at the U.S. Department of State, and from Dr.
Francis Sayre (Phraya Kalyana Maitree), at that time diplomatic
advisor to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency.
The activities of the Free Thai movement made a very important
contribution to Thailand's negotiations with the Allies after the
war, a contribution through which Thailand largely escaped the
fate of the defeated countries.

Group of Seri Thais who received the Medal of Freedom from the U.S. government on September 2, 1945. They are (from left): Air Chief Marshal
Tavee Julasup, Major General Boonmark Tesabutr, Commander Vimol Viriyavidh, Mr. Piset Pattaphongs, M.C. Yuthisatien Sawadivatana, M.L.
Ekachai Kumpoo, Mr. Anond Srinardhana, Dr. Sala Tsonond, Air Marshal Sith Savetsila, Mr. Ummuay Poonpipatana, Mr. Udomsak Rasavanji,
Mr. Kusa Punyarchun, and Mr. Somjit Yos-sunthorn.

Above: Herman Scholtz, who helped Phra Bisal in seeking
assistance from the United States. Far left: Sal Bloom,
chairman of the Congress Foreign Affairs Commission. Left:
Karavek Srivicharana, a Free Thai from America who was
killed while trying to enter Thailand.
Standing at the entrance of the John Wilson District building (Pennsylvania Avenue & 14th) in Washington, D.C., this bell was presented to the people of Washington on July 4, 1963, by the people of Bangkok, Thailand, in commemoration of their sister-city relationship.