

Sports in Pre-Modern and Early Modern Siam: Aggressive and Civilised Masculinities

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Statement of Authorship

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Abstract

This thesis is a contribution to two bodies of scholarship: first, the historical understanding of the modernisation process in Siam, and in particular the role of sport in the gradual pacification of violent forms of behaviour; second, one of the central bodies of scholarship used to analyse sport sociologically, the work of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning on sport and the civilising process.

Previous studies of the emergence of a more civilised form of behaviour in modern Siam highlight the imitation of Western civilised conducts in political and sporting contexts, largely overlooking the continued role of violence in this change in Siamese behaviour from the pre-modern to modern periods. This thesis examines the historical evidence which shows that, from around the 1900s, Siamese elites engaged in deliberate projects to civilise prevalent non-elites' aggressive conducts. This in turn has implications for the Eliasian understanding of sports and civilising process, which emphasises their unplanned development alongside political and economic changes in Europe, at the expense of grasping the deliberate interventions of the Siamese elites. To fill this gap, this research applies the concept of the "civilising offensive" to underline the planned process of civilisation.

The thesis discusses how aggressive masculinity was expressed legitimately through war-like pastimes and warfare during the pre-modern age, and how this violent behaviour was transformed by the elites' promotions of civilising plans and sports under contexts of colonisation and nation-state building processes. I examine how civilised self-images were produced from interactions between Siamese elites, non-elites and Westerners. The thesis makes use of autobiographies, government documents, etiquette books, newspapers, chronicles, travel writings and so forth, to explore first-hand accounts of behaviours, identities and values related to the presence of violence in sporting and political arenas.

From the 1820s onwards, colonisation increased interdependencies between Westerners and the Siamese. Westerners used what they perceived to be their higher civilised standard as an excuse to interfere in Asia. In response to the Westerners' perception of the Siamese as barbarous and the aggressive behaviour of the Siamese masses, Siamese elites promoted civilised identities through civilised sports and education, both of which also occurred as part of the Siamese nation-state building processes. In the 1900s, to avoid being shamed, the non-

elites learned to temporarily curb aggressive masculinity and act in a civilised manner when interacting with elites and Westerners in sports fields. The civilising effect of interdependence between these actors showed that planned and unplanned processes of civilisation in Siam coexisted.

Abbreviations

1. BR = The Bangkok Recorder
2. BT = The Bangkok Times
3. NAT = The National Archives of Thailand
4. OHS = Krom Ratchalekhathikan Ratchakan Thi 5-6, Mor. Ror. 5 Ror Lor-Khor Phor/3 [The Office of His Majesty's Principal Private Secretary, Kings Rama V and VI, Mor. Ror. 5 Ror Lor-Khor Phor / 3]
5. RCA = The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya
6. TKP = Khamhaikan Khun Luang Wat Pradu Songtham Ekkasan Chak Holuang [The Testimony of Khun Luang Wat Pradu Songtham: The Document from the (Traditional) Royal Library]

On Transcription

The transcription of Thai words into Roman characters will follow the Royal Thai General System of Transcription. Nonetheless, some names of people, places, and institutions will not be changed to conform to the system. For example, I intend to use the original names of Prince Vajirañana, Prince Sithiporn Kridakara, Nidhi Eosewong, Rahang and Suankularb School instead of changing them to Prince Wachirayan, Prince Sitthiphon Kritdakon, Nithi laosiwong, Rahaeng and Suankulap School. Preserving the original names can help avoid confusion when readers read this dissertation and conduct further research.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This thesis is an application of a sociological concept developed by Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning called the civilising process to understand how male behaviour changed from the pre-modern to the early modern periods of Siam/Thailand. Specifically, the civilising process illuminates how and why men's behaviour in particular the political and sporting contexts became less violent and more "civilised." This thesis is a sociological analysis of the developments of the state, sports and masculine identities with regard to the use of violence in Siam from the fourteenth century to the 1900s. However, a specific historical development of sport and masculinity in Siam is different from Elias and Dunning's analysis of sport and the civilising process in Western Europe (1986; 2000). Their emphasis on the emerging civilised behaviours and sports as unintentional outcomes of political and economic interdependencies fails to capture the reality of the Siamese elite's intentional plans to civilise the men's aggressive behaviour through edicts, education and standardised sports. Between the 1820s and the 1900s, the colonial relationship between Siam, Britain and France engendered a pressure on the Siamese elite to deliberately adjust themselves and their people to the Western standard of civilisation. In order to shed light on the Siamese elite's intended campaigns, the concept of "civilising offensive" that considers how an established group creates and launches civilising plans to maintain its status quo under challenges from members of lower social strata and outsiders is also included in my analysis.

Between the fourteenth century and 1939, foreigners had known and called the Ayutthaya, Thonburi and Rattanakosin (Bangkok) Kingdoms, which were situated in what is present-day central Thailand, as "Siam".¹ In 1939, the name of "Siam" was changed to "Thailand" by the government of Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram (Phibun).² However, this research on the development of sports covers only the era of Rama V[r. 1868-1910], the first reign of the modern political regime and the initial era in which modern sports were widely promoted throughout society. Thus, in this thesis, "Siam" is a more appropriate term than "Thailand."

This thesis is in part a reflection of my personal interest in soccer and Thai history that I have had since childhood. The nationwide broadcasting of the June 1998 World Cup drew my

¹ Hall, 1983, p. 222.

² Sartraproong, 1998, p. 24; Kasetsiri, 2007, pp. 1-10.

attention to football. As a result, I intensively participated in the game both as a player (at school) and a supporter (of Inter Milan) during my high-school years at Suankularb School in Bangkok. My personal attachment to Thai football emerged during the December 1998 Asian Games in Bangkok. The Thai national football team achieved fourth place, which was the nation's greatest success at the international level in one of the most popular games of the country. The setting of the competition, the joyous atmosphere shared among the Thais and the media's constructed fantasies of the rise of the national football team to the world stage inspired me to think about the past and future of this sport in Thailand. Furthermore, as a third-generation descendant of Chinese immigrants, I have always been interested in the story of my first generation and the Thai society to where my ancestors migrated in the 1940s. Thai social history has been my interest since I was an undergraduate in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Chulalongkorn University. In 2013, these personal interests prompted me to start exploring the origins of football in Thai society.

The completion of this thesis could not have been possible without the enthusiastic support and expertise of Professor Robert van Krieken and Associate Professor Catriona Elder, my thesis supervisors. Debts of gratitude are also owed to Professor Mike Michael, Dr. David Bray, Dr. Allen George, Professor John Connell, Associate Professor Chris Lyttleton, Dr. Simon Creak, Dr. Patrick Jory, Associate Professor Tyrell Haberkorn, Dr. Katie Liston, Assistant Professor Villa Vilaithong, Professor Volker Grabowsky, Professor Jan van der Putten and Professor Maurizio Peleggi for providing invaluable comments on and suggestions for my thesis. I would like to thank Associate Professor Jamaree Chiangthong, Assistant Professor Wasan Payagaew and Associate Professor Wattana Sugunnasil for their great guidance and encouragement. I would like to express appreciation to Hilary Disch for providing mindful and critical proofreading.

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Content

Statement of Authorship	i
Abstract	ii
Abbreviations	iv
Notes on Transcription	v
Preface and Acknowledgement	vi
Chapter I	
Introduction: The Civilising Process and Sports in Siam	1
1.1 A Sociological Analysis of the Developments of the State and Sports in Siam and Western Europe	2
1.2 Research Questions	9
1.3 Chapter Overview	10
Chapter II	
Understanding the Civilising Tendency of Sport and Masculinities in Siam	13
2.1 The Long-Term Changes in State Formation, Social Interdependence and Uses of Violence in Social and Sporting Contexts	14
2.2 Colonialism and the Spread of Civilisation	27
2.3 The Studies of Soccer and Sports at the Turn of the Twentieth Century	31
2.4 Masculinities and Violence	33
2.5 Theoretical Framework	42
2.6 Epistemological Stance and Methodology	44

Chapter III

The Dynamics of Pre-Modern Siam, the 13th – the early 19th Century	57
3.1 Power, Violence and Social Interdependence	57
3.2 State Dynamics in the Pre-Modern Era, 13 th –early 19 th Century	61
3.3 The Effect of Gunfire in Pre-Modern Siam	80
3.4 Economic Growth, Tax Collection and Bourgeois Class, the 14 th – the Early 19 th Century	81

Chapter IV

Colonisation and a Process of Modern State Formation in Siam, 1800-1910	85
4.1 Political and Economic Interdependencies in the Age of Colonisation	86
4.2 State Formation	96

Chapter V

Civilised Identity and Civilising Offensive in Siam	112
5.1 A Change in Siamese Elites' Identities	112
5.2 Self-Images of Siam in the Age of Colonialism	115
5.3 Civilising Offensive: Kings' Attempts to Civilise Siam	124

Chapter VI

Pastimes and Aggressive Masculinities in Pre-Modern Siam	138
6.1 Aggressive Masculinity in Gender Relations in the Pre-Modern Era	138
6.2 Pastimes and Aggressive Masculinity	144

Chapter VII

The State's Plan for Education and Civilised Physical Activities:

Gentle and Aggressive Masculinities	166
7.1 Aggressive Masculinity and Civilising Policy in Education	167
7.2 Changes in Gender Regime and the Image of Courteous and Passive Women	175
7.3 Siamese elites' and Westerners' Constructions of Siamese Masculinities in Physical Activities	181
7.4 Political Centralisation, Physical Activities and Disciplined Men	186

Chapter VIII

(Un)civilised Soccer and Masculinities, the 1880s - 1900s	212
8.1 Mob Soccer: 1886-1905	213
8.2 Beginning Stages of Organised Soccer, 1895-1902	217
8.3 Violence in Unofficial Soccer games, 1904-1909	226
8.4 The Civilised Style of Play and Westerners' Roles in Soccer Games	230
8.5 Official Games during the Second Half of the 1900s	237
8.6 Conclusion	248

Chapter IX

Conclusion	253
9.1 The Processes of State Formation and Colonisation	253
9.2 (Un)planned Processes of Civilisation	257
9.3 An Eliasian Analysis of Sports, the Civilising Offensive and Gender Power	260
9.4 Limitations and Suggestions	267

Appendices	269
Appendix 1: Map of Mainland Southeast Asia	269
Appendix 2: The List of the Siamese Kings and Political Regimes from 1351 to Present	270
Appendix 3: The List of Coups in Pre-Modern Siam	273
Appendix 4: Socio-Economic Backgrounds of some Ruling-Class and Non-Elite Men	276
Illustrations	279
Bibliography	310

List of Figures

Figure 2.1: A model of centralised state in Western Europe	15
Figure 3.1: Model showing the power of the mandalas' political centres in mainland Southeast Asia	63
Figure 3.2: The empires of Angkor and Pagan by 1200	66
Figure 3.3: Tai states in the late thirteenth century	67
Figure 3.4: A map showing Ayutthaya's cities and tributaries and some independent kingdoms around the 1450s	69
Figure 3.5: The relationship between cities of the Ayutthaya Kingdom from the mid-fifteenth century to 1767	70

List of Tables

Table 4.1: Income of King Rama V's Government [r. 1868-1910]	100
Tables 8.1: The Soccer Competitions for the Silver Shield of the Education Department	251

Chapter I

Introduction: The Civilising Process and Sports in Siam

Sport is undeniably a form of entertainment that allows individuals to enjoy using and watching a socially acceptable degree of violence. Usually, during sporting activities, each society allows its members to exert a higher degree of violence than what is normally allowed in other day-to-day activities. Sport, therefore, can reflect the social standards for violence of a particular time period. In relation to the particular example of Siam, throughout many historical epochs, the evidence shows that standards of violent behaviour in games such as boxing have varied vary greatly. In the 1830s, Captain James Low, an officer of the East India Company, recounted his experience watching boxing matches in Siam:

[Boxing matches] are often very bloody, and would frequently end in the death of one or both of the parties, did not the king, or other great man present, stop the battle before it becomes dangerous.¹

Although in the 1830s the British considered Thai boxing barbarous, King Rama III of Siam [r.1824-1851] still allowed boxers to compete in this brutal way. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, any potential fatalities incurred from violent actions in sports had become socially unacceptable in the eyes of the Siamese state as well as the British.² King Rama V [r.1868-1910] tried to civilise men's violent behaviour by creating and promoting a civilised form of sports—Thai boxing, kite fighting³, fencing, association football and drills.⁴ In the 1900s, Rama V's government had boxers wear gloves.⁵ Following the rules of Thai boxing in the 1920s, boxers were not permitted to “punch, kick and nudge anyone who collapses. ... If

¹ Low, 1836, pp.387-8.

² Stringer, 1888, p.7.

³ Kite fighting was an indigenous game in which players from two sides flew and controlled their kites to bring opposing kites down (Sethaboot, 1921).

⁴ “Chaeng Khwam Samoson,” 1907, pp.206-7; Johnson, 1908, p.227; Sethaboot, 1921; Lekhayanon, 1977; Sangsawang, 1979, pp. 96-7; Vail, 1998b, pp.69-82.

⁵ NAT, 1907a.

a referee considers that a boxer is seriously injured and unable to continue fighting, [the referee] can have him lose [the match].”⁶

Significant changes had taken place, then, in the levels of violence permitted by the state. In the 1830s, King Rama III let boxers fight fatally because he considered violence to be simply one aspect of entertainment. In contrast, the referees of the early-twentieth-century boxing matches did not permit boxers to cause fatal outcomes. In different time periods, the state’s agents had different standards of violent behaviour.⁷

1.1 A Sociological Analysis of the Developments of the State and Sports in Siam and Western Europe

This thesis is a contribution to the explanation of the modernisation process in Siam and the sociological analysis of sports—the Eliasian model for understanding sports and the civilising process. This thesis attempts to understand whether and how the concept of the civilising process, which had previously been drawn on Western Europe, helps clarify the change from violent to more pacified behaviours during the pre-modern and early modern eras of Siam.

The previous scholarship on the history of Siam/Thailand chiefly focuses on the political relationships between the elites and Westerners which shaped the political regimes and power balances, during the pre-modern and modern periods.⁸ Nonetheless, little attention has been paid to the shifting forms of male non-elites’ behaviour, masculinity and sports, which were related to the use of violence.

Research on the violent masculine identity of Siamese men emphasises the Thai term, *nakleng*. Following Johnston (1980), Keyes (1986), Baker and Phongpaichit (2002), Kitiarsa (2003), Chaloeontiarana (2007) and Reynolds (2011), a *nakleng* is courageous, engages in life-threatening behaviours, treats foes cruelly and dedicates himself to living with dignity and a

⁶ Niwasawat, 1928, pp.16-7.

⁷ It should be added that in the late 1950s, state agents strictly prohibited people from behaving violently in everyday-life situations. The standard of violence was adjusted to a degree at which state agents could punish anyone whom they considered to be ‘hooligans’ (*anthaphan*) without charge or trial (Haberkorn, 2013b, p.114).

⁸ Vella, 1955; Batson, 1974; Eoseewong, 1984; Wyatt, 1984; Chutintaranond, 1990; Rajchagool, 1994; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002; Sattayanurak, 2003; Eoseewong, 2004; Kesboonchoo Mead, 2004; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a.

fighting spirit. However, these previous studies omitted historicising the *nakleng* characteristics or the violent masculine identity, making it seem as if these traits have remained unchanged from the Ayutthaya period to the present day. These traits were indeed challenged considerably by King Rama V's promotion of modern, civilised sports around the 1900s. The elites considered male violence undesirable and attempted to soften aggressive masculine identity through modern games.⁹

Several academic studies of the history of sports in Siam did not highlight how and why the changing forms and functions of sports were related to a shift from the aggressive demeanours of men to more civilised ways of behaving during the pre-modern to modern eras.¹⁰ For example, Vail (1998a, pp. 55-88) focuses on how Siam under King Rama V was modernised in both political and sporting contexts. King Rama V built up political modernisation through bureaucratic organisation. Because of the King's modernising role, Thai boxing, which was a violent war-related sport in the pre-modern period, went through the processes of standardisation, secularism and nationalism.

Some previous research on the development of a more civilised form of demeanour in modern Siam emphasises the pursuit of Western civilised behaviours in sporting, political and day-to-day contexts.¹¹ Although one could consider that the Siamese elites entirely lived in, reproduced and passionately followed the Westernised mode of life as the theme of Orientalism suggests,¹² it is also useful to contemplate the elites' viewpoints on and modifications of indigenous games as a part of their constructed national self-image vis-à-vis the unruly behaviour of the Siamese non-elite men and the Western perception of Siam. In other words, the aforementioned studies and the Orientalist concept tend to overlook the processes by which the socially acceptable violence in the pre-modern period became repulsive in the eyes of the modern state's agents, and indigenous games such as Thai boxing, fencing and kite fighting were civilised by the modern state's government.¹³ Evidence

⁹ Malakul, 1903a; "Chaeng Khwam Samoson," 1907, pp.206-7; Johnson, 1908, p.227; Sethaboot, 1921; Lekhayanon, 1977; Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-7; Vail, 1998b, pp.69-82.

¹⁰ Sangsawang, 1979; Kritpet, 1982; Gerson, 1996; Allison, 1998, p. 721; Vail, 1998a; Kitiarsa and Samutthakup, 2003; Siri, 2006.

¹¹ Kritpet, 1982; Allison, 1998, p.721; Winichakul, 2000a; Winichakul, 2000b; Peleggi, 2002; Siri, 2006; Kitiarsa, 2010.

¹² Said, 2000.

¹³ "Chaeng Khwam Samoson," 1907, pp.206-7; Sethaboot, 1921; Lekhayanon, 1977; Sangsawang, 1979; Vail, 1998b; Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

suggests civilised kite fighting was also reconstructed as a softened and nationalised Siamese game.¹⁴ How these characteristics of civilised indigenous games were constructed to address the non-elites' violent behaviour and Westerners' perception of the Siamese as being barbarous should be considered.

To fill the aforementioned gaps in the previous scholarship on Siamese history, this research applies Elias and Dunning's studies of sports and the civilising process.¹⁵ Elias and Dunning's studies (1986; 2000) demonstrate a long-term and unplanned process of civilisation in the political, social and sporting contexts of Western Europe. Under the political conditions in which a centralised state and pacified political regime were not yet established, violence was prevalent in political and sporting spheres. The processes of state formation and political pacification simultaneously developed alongside a more civilising tendency in sports. Furthermore, Elias and Dunning suggest that sport plays a crucial role in the civilising process—a gradual pacification of violent forms of conduct. The concept of the civilising process, therefore, helps highlight the long-term development of the state and sports in Siam, which changed from being very violent in the pre-modern period to more pacified in the modern era.

Elias's study of feudal society in Western Europe (2000, pp. 263-314) outlines some aspects of the process of state formation that are quite similar to pre-modern Siam. European warriors or lords incessantly struggled to eliminate one another in order to become the undisputed central ruler. Nonetheless, no one could successfully centralise military and financial power. Under this political condition, war was a constant, and fatal sports served society's needs for warriors. Sports were a space where sportsmen (re)produced warrior virtues, emphasising strength and a fight-to-death spirit for protecting their social unit.¹⁶

During the pre-modern period, which covered the eras of the Ayutthaya (1350-1767), Thonburi (1768-1782) and Bangkok Kingdoms (1782-the early 1870s), the state had not yet monopolised financial and physical power. During these centuries, the level of violence in sports such as boxing was very high. Between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, during the degeneration of the preceding empires (Pagan and Angkor), several smaller states,

¹⁴ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.10, 68-9.

¹⁵ Elias & Dunning, 1986; Elias, 2000.

¹⁶ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.138–143.

including pre-modern Siam (the Ayutthaya Kingdom), the Sukhothai Kingdom and the Lan Na Kingdom, struggled to establish their power in the region. The Kings of Ayutthaya tried to merge cities or even small kingdoms of less powerful overlords into their kingdom through marriage and warfare. The degree to which power of the kingdom fluctuated was related to the personal ability of each king to maintain political allegiances. Warfare was frequently a solution to re-establish the relationship between the capital city, subordinate cities and lesser kingdoms. This political situation was one of the characteristics of pre-modern Siam between the fourteenth and the late nineteenth century. Moreover, the degree of power of an Ayutthayan king also depended on the military power of neighbouring states. For example, in the mid-sixteenth century and the 1760s, Ayutthayan kings became weaker than Burma, which won several wars against less powerful kingdoms, including Ayutthaya.¹⁷

Following Elias (2000), Western European lords fought to construct a territorial, centralised state. They competed to control land, which was scarce, rather than population, which was plentiful. However, Siam, where lands were abundant and the population was sparse, tended to demonstrate different characteristics of its state formation process.

During the pre-modern era, Siamese kings were unable to establish a long-standing centralised state which could directly control all subordinate political units and monopolise the lesser lords' power to use violence.¹⁸ Pre-modern states in Southeast Asia did not have fixed political boundaries. The power of monarchs gradually diminished geographically, in the sense that monarchs had the most power in his capital and nearby cities, and this power declined gradually the farther one moved away from the capital.¹⁹ Because of this limitation, the kings of pre-modern Siam struggled to control disobedient governors and tributary rulers.²⁰ Tributaries were states, whose locations were at the peripheries of Siamese power. Siamese kings, thus, asked tributary masters to send their tributes to declare the latter's allegiance.²¹ An Ayutthayan king's power was highly reliant on the number of minor city and tributary lords that submitted to him.²²

¹⁷ Wyatt, 1984.

¹⁸ Wyatt, 1984, pp.24-161; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, pp.10-3.

¹⁹ Anderson, 1972, pp.28-32; Chaloeontiarana, 2007, pp. xi-xii.

²⁰ Chutintaranond, 1983, pp.10-23; RCA, 2006, pp.320-1, 344-7; Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78.

²¹ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.237.

²² Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.9; Wyatt, 1984, p.56.

Control over cities, tributaries and population was vital throughout the pre-modern history of Mainland Southeast Asia. Subordinate cities and tributary states which surrounded the capital would act as fortresses of Ayutthaya during wartime. However, when the powerful Burmese attacked Ayutthaya in 1563-1564 and 1765-1767, these cities surrendered to Burma rather than defend their capital city. In 1767, the Ayutthaya Kingdom was destroyed, and a large number of Ayutthaya's population was deported to Burma.²³

Because the population was sparse, lords of kingdoms and cities fought each other so that they could capture and relocate war captives to farm, work and fight for them. Within the Siamese Kingdom, the ruling kings possessed their own clients who lived around the capital city.²⁴ However, kings needed to form alliances with princes, nobles and lesser regional lords who also controlled their subjects/armies. This interdependent relationship between a king and these lesser masters could break down, as the latter frequently stage a coup. The head of the state could be fatally endangered by a coup at any time.²⁵ Therefore, individuals were not allowed to carry weapons inside any palace. King's guards who were dexterous boxers would use their bare hands to protect kings from danger. The very bloody game of boxing thus had the important function to protect the king and his clique.²⁶

After the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, Siamese lords re-established the new Siamese state, the Thonburi Kingdom. The Thonburi Kingdom was soon dissolved and replaced by the Bangkok Kingdom, after a high-ranking officer's clique staged a coup against the King of Thonburi in 1782. After several wars with Burma, Bangkok was eventually free from the Burmese threat. Burma was defeated in the mid-1820s due to the effectiveness of modern British military equipment, like gunboats, and was forced to give port cities to Britain. Furthermore, several areas which had been part of the Siamese Kingdom were colonised by the British and French. The British, French and Dutch struggled to expand their seaborne commerce network in Southeast Asia during the nineteenth century.²⁷

²³ Wyatt, 1984, p.136; Grabowsky, 1999, pp.50-1; Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, pp.21-3.

²⁴ Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.165-6; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.8-10; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, pp.28-9.

²⁵ Eoseewong, 1984, pp.14-120; Wyatt, 1984, pp.67-145; Kasetsiri, 2005, pp.20-86; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, p.27; Kasetsiri, 2013, pp.8-9.

²⁶ Sangsawang, 1979, pp.31-4; Vail 1998b, pp.62-3.

²⁷ After the British establishment of Singapore in 1819, the competition between the British and Dutch to occupy colonies in India and the Strait of Malacca became worse. To solve this conflict, negotiation between the two began. The Dutch ceded Malacca and Indian colonies to the British in exchange for Dutch influence in

While in Western Europe the centralised state and civilised behaviour were products of unplanned development, Siamese state formation and civilisation were part of the Siamese elites' plan. In Western Europe around the thirteenth century, under the growth of the money economy, a central ruler could regularly collect tax from money-earning classes so that he could hire a military force. The central ruler's monopolisation of physical power became more advanced and undermined the power of lesser lords. Beginning in the sixteenth century, this political monopolisation and economic conditions which connected several actors together, continuously and increasingly demanded more pacified and civilised behaviours. The less powerful lords whose status was also challenged by the rise of the bourgeoisie wanted to preserve their prestige by serving the central ruler/king. At court, weakened lords felt compelled to imitate the civilised conducts of the king in order to maintain their social status.²⁸ However, nineteenth-century colonisation in mainland of Southeast Asia tended to pressure the Siamese elites to deliberately adjust themselves to European ideas of the territorial centralised state and civilisation.

Because of the initial use of the new naval guns on steamships in the nineteenth century, the military capability of the Europeans unprecedentedly became much stronger than that of Southeast Asian states.²⁹ Therefore, beginning in the mid-1820s, the Siamese elite had to adjust to the Western form of the modern state, the Western standard of civilised laws and other Western demands in order to survive. The imperial powers forced Siam to accept their sovereignties over their colonised lands; therefore, the latter did not dare to invade their former targets, which were already colonised by the British and French. Furthermore, they urged Siam to cooperate with their plan to demarcate its boundaries. Under this pressure, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the Siamese elites attempted to establish some crucial elements of the modern state, including clear-cut national borders, a centralised government and monopolisation of financial and physical power.³⁰

the south of the Strait of Malacca, after the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 had been signed. As a result of this treaty, the Dutch no longer possessed colonies on mainland Southeast Asia. Starting then, the British and French became the primary colonisers in mainland Southeast Asia (Bunnag, 1977, p.50; Hall, 1979, pp.621-2; Wyatt, 1984, pp.139-169; Suehiro, 1989, p.16; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, pp.28-9; Charney, 2004, pp.253-4; Chew and Lee, 2014, pp.68-72).

²⁸ Elias 2000, pp.47-70, 161-201, 346-377, 436-446.

²⁹ Charney, 2004, p. 277.

³⁰ Vickery, 1970, p.876; Battye, 1974; Hall, 1974, pp.102-111; Wyatt, 1984, pp.169-213; Winichakul, 1994; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, pp.52-61; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.167-176; Loos, 2010, p.83.

Britain and France, which occupied many areas surrounding Siam, agreed to guarantee Siam's independence as both colonial powers wanted Siam to be their buffer state between British Burma, British Malaya and French Indochina.³¹ However, these imperial powers attempted to seize more cities and tributary states, many of which still belonged to the Siamese Kingdom, and the Siamese elites tried to resist their encroachment by directly controlling all of their cities and tributaries through a centralised administration.³²

In England and Siam, the pacified political condition tends to develop alongside the civilising tendency in the sporting context. However, to apply the Eliasian model, which emphasises the unplanned nature of the civilising process in the sporting sphere to the Siamese context, the model needs to be modified as it overlooks the creative and active roles of actors to intentionally and deliberately soften aggressive masculinity. In seventeenth-century England, folk games were civilised and standardised by the upper classes. This unplanned civilising process in the sporting context was developed alongside the process that ruling classes developed the peaceful agreement on the political succession, "parliamentarisation." The urban industrial classes later imitated the upper classes by playing standardised and softened sports and becoming more civilised in their every-day behaviour.³³

Under the Siamese elite's attempts to centralise the nation-state and monopolise physical power, they also tried to civilise men's behaviour by promoting civilised indigenous games and Western sports. However, following pieces of evidence, during drills, football matches and kite-fighting games in the 1900s, many non-elite players and spectators did not consistently act civilly. Rather they frequently used physical and verbal violence.³⁴ Because of the Eliasian model's emphasis on the unplanned process of civilisation, it tends to omit the actors' and state's active roles in deliberately producing aggressive and civilised masculine identities through sports.³⁵ Therefore, this thesis tries to modify the concept of the civilising process in order to answer how the Siamese elites designed and promoted civilised indigenous games and Western sports in order to civilise the male commoners' aggressive

³¹ Wyatt, 1984, pp.204-5; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, p.61; Petchlert-anan, 2009, pp.260-1.

³² Vickery, 1970, pp.868-878; Battye, 1974, pp.280-8; Bunnag, 1977, pp.72- 108; Wyatt, 1984, pp.201-3; Winichakul, 1994, pp.72-3; Bunnag, 2005, pp.130-1; Bunnag, 2008, pp.6-7.

³³ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.21-40, 151-174.

³⁴ BT, 26 December 1901, p.5; Malakul, 1903a; BT, 10 April 1907, p.5; Johnson, 1908, p.227; Sethaboot, 1921; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.20-1; Lekhayanon, 1977.

³⁵ Elias & Dunning, 1986; Elias, 2000, pp.8-9; Rojek, 1986, pp.587, 594; van Krieken, 1998, p.78.

masculine identity and deny the Western perception of Siam as being barbarous in the early 1900s. This dissertation also tries to adjust the concept of the civilising process in order to capture the non-elites' creative expressions of these patterns of masculinity.³⁶

1.2 Research Questions

This thesis engages with the following research questions:

First, I examine how the Siamese elite, the Westerners and the Siamese people negotiated to construct their self-images in relation to fluid meanings of barbarity and civilisation in the political and sporting contexts. This question entails other related enquiries, such as, what were Westerners' perceptions of the personality and masculine identity of the Siamese in political and sporting contexts? In addition, how did the Siamese elites respond to the Westerners' perceptions of the personality and masculinity of the Siamese? And, in what way did the Siamese elites adopt the values of Western sports into indigenous games in order to produce Siamese identities so that they could rebut the Westerners' negative construction of Siamese culture and identity?

Second, I investigate the ways in which an aggressive masculine identity changed over time in political and sporting contexts of Siam from pre-modern to modern times. In particular, I examine the extent to which the aggressive masculine identity of Siamese men was challenged by the elites' plan to monopolise the use of violence during the turn of the twentieth century. To answer this question, it is important to trace the extent to which 'civilised' sports designed and promoted by the elites generated a change in aggressive demeanours. In order to assess the change in demeanours, I analyse the way male commoners played civilised games. Furthermore, I previously suggested that commoners resisted the elites' plan to monopolise physical force in the sporting context. And, to understand this conflictual process of change in demeanours, I explore the extent to which violent and gentle masculinities were antagonistically constructed and transformed in sporting and other contexts.

³⁶ Malakul, 1903c; "Chaeng Khwam Samoson," 1907; Johnson, 1908; Sethaboot, 1921; Lekhayanon, 1977; Sangsawang, 1979; Vail, 1998b.

Eventually, I examine how the civilising process in Siam, particularly the civilising of sport and masculinity, was different from Western Europe, and in what ways Elias's emphasis on the unplanned and unintended nature of the civilising process should be revised in order to understand the historical development in Siam.

1.3 Chapter Overview

The next chapter outlines and discusses the sociological concepts related to the development of violent and softened manners in political and sporting contexts. The available conceptual frameworks to understand the inter-relational construction of self-images between the Siamese elite, non-elites and the Westerners will be explored. Varying concepts of masculinity will be outlined.

Chapter II goes on to discuss the conceptual problems which emerge when these concepts of masculinity are used to analyse the context of Siamese politics, sports and day-to-day life of commoners during the turn of the twentieth century. The research methodology will also be outlined in Chapter II. I will describe the method I used to investigate various manners, values and in-group-identifications of a research subject's own account of her or his experiences within social interdependencies.³⁷ This approach is helpful to capture the change in demeanours and masculine identities from the fourteenth to the turn of the twentieth century. The types of historical documentations, which recorded sportspersons' accounts of their experiences, individuals' expressions of their identities and people's perception of other individuals, will be delineated. Furthermore, primary and secondary sources, which provide political and sporting contexts, will also be discussed.

In Chapter III, I outline the historical background of Siam before the beginning of the colonial era, exploring the development of state formation, to which violent tendencies run parallel. The dynamics of relationships within and between social group(s) will be illustrated, and I will explain the economic transformations that caused each social group to attain different kinds of resources and power.

³⁷ Elliott, 2005, pp.36-57; Roberts, 2002, pp.115-126; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p.852.

Chapter IV describes how the pre-modern Siamese state was gradually transformed to become a modern state after the colonial era. This chapter explores the way the political, economic and legal regimes of Siam changed in relation to the shifting relationship between Siam and colonial powers. More specifically, I investigate how the Siamese elites adjusted themselves to Western ideas of the territorial state, the liberal economy and a civilised legal system. Eventually, this chapter clarifies how the elites' plan to establish the centralised modern state affected their own social group, local lords and commoners.

Chapter V focuses on the behaviours and identities of the Siamese expressed during the colonial era. I explore how, from the 1820s onwards, the Siamese elite strategically redefined their self-images to counter the stigmatisation they faced from the colonisers, who considered Siamese people to be inferior and barbaric. This chapter also assesses how the elites' plans for improving the country's image affected the demeanours and identities of Siamese lords and commoners.

Chapter VI investigates how the gendered division of labour and beliefs about gender differences nourished male violence in wars and indigenous pastimes during the pre-modern era. This chapter also explores the way Siamese men expressed their violent masculine identity through war-like pastimes. Furthermore, I delineate how Siamese women participated in these games.

Chapter VII examines the way Siamese elites used modern education and sports to construct masculine and feminine identities. I explain how the elite modified indigenous pastimes and Western sports to improve the conduct of aggressive men during the age of the modern state (around the turn of the twentieth century). Eventually, I appraise how the elites presented Siamese masculine identity through sports to respond to British and French perceptions of Siamese men.

Chapter VIII investigates the way Siamese elites modified and promoted soccer to commoners around the turn of the twentieth century, exploring Westerners' reactions to the promotion of soccer. I analyse the way Siamese men expressed their aggressive masculinity during soccer games, and I also appraise how the Siamese government dealt with their violent identity in the context of football. Eventually, this chapter assesses whether soccer could have helped instil civilised identity into footballers and spectators.

Chapter IX revisits and concludes the arguments of all chapters. This chapter also describes the way the findings of this thesis provide some better understanding of the civilising process in the sporting context, the concept of masculinity and the changes in behaviours among the Siamese.

Chapter II

Understanding the Civilising Tendency of Sport and Masculinities in Siam

Previous studies of state development in Siam lack an explanation of the gradual reduction in violence in social life. A common theme in these works is the emphasis on the process of building a centralised state that monopolised political, financial and physical power.¹ However, the change in the standard of violence appeared in both the political and sporting spheres. Deadly violent conduct in sports, which had been permitted by the state during the pre-modern era, was no longer acceptable by the standard of the Siamese elite during the age of the nation-state.² This chapter reviews the concepts available to explain how social and self-controls were developed in sporting and political contexts during the ages of the pre-modern state, colonisation and nation-state building.

The concept of the “civilising process” developed by Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning in relation to sport is useful in helping capture the shifts in social interdependencies which generates the gradual changes in and the contests of violent and civilised behaviours in any social activities.³ However, in relation to Western European history, Elias and Dunning emphasise the unplanned and unintended character of the civilising process, whereas the process of civilisation in Siam shows much more evidence of having been a planned and intentional enterprise. In the 1870s, the Siamese elite endeavoured to monopolise fiscal and physical power, but they also planned to civilise and soften violent manners of people through physical activities, education, books and public policies to pacify the unprecedentedly centralised state. Rather than the “civilising process”, then, in relation to Siamese history the concept of “civilising offensive” may be a useful corrective to the shortcomings of an approach framed in terms of unplanned processes of civilisation. This concept can help explain how an established social actor encourages the lower-status groups to conform to its desired social standard. The concept is useful for capturing how civilising plans are employed to maintain

¹ See Battye, 1974; Wyatt, 1984; Rajchagool, 1994; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002; Kesboonchoo Mead, 2004; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a.

² Low, 1836, pp.387-8; Niwasawat, 1928, pp.16-7; Lekhayanon, 1977; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.3-52.

³ Elias & Dunning, 1986; Elias, 2000.

the influential social actors' superior status under the cultural contestations among social groups (see 2.1).

Sections 2.2 and 2.3 evaluate Elias' and some other writers' concepts of diffusing civilisation (including soccer and other modern sports) from the colonisers to less powerful countries. I also appraise the conceptual frameworks which are suited to explain how the Siamese and the Westerners negotiated to construct the civilised and barbarous self-images.

The concepts concerning masculine identity and violence will be discussed to capture the contentions and coexistence of aggressive and softened masculinities among Siamese people. I go on to outline a framework that can capture how a social actor fluidly expressed some characteristics of both incompatible masculinities in different interactions (see 2.4).

In section 2.5, the theoretical framework of this research is summarised, and in section 2.6 the epistemological stance and methodology of this research is set out. The issues which involve analysed periods, research resources, data collection and analytical procedures will also be discussed.

2.1 The Long-Term Changes in State Formation, Social Interdependence and Uses of Violence in Social and Sporting Contexts

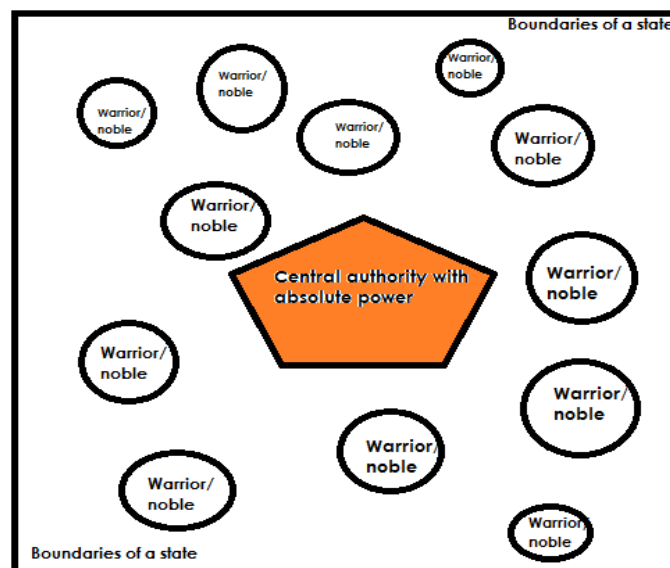
2.1.1 State Formation and Monopolisation of Physical and Fiscal Power

In this section, I focus on Elias' idea of state formation that is related to the monopolising processes of physical and fiscal power, and I explain his idea of the unintentional process of expanding civilisation within a state. These viewpoints will be applied to the development of the Siamese state and the spread of civilisation in the Siamese society in order to construct a conceptual framework. According to Elias' study in the context of Western Europe (2000), in feudal society, warriors or nobles unceasingly fought against one another, and central rulers were hardly ever able to establish undisputed central power, remaining unsuccessful in completely controlling areas entrusted to nobles. The successors of the central rulers frequently encountered the nobles' birth-right claims of the entrusted areas. The king's political and economic power to collect taxes provided opportunities for the king to hire more warriors than any other person, and this is the start of the monopolisation of violence. Social

interweaving tended to integrate with lengthened social units like the centralised state, which gradually became larger and more complex. When human bonding increased, social actors in that complex social unit tended to exert constraints on one another.⁴

According to Elias, the royal elite maintains their power and prestige among the aristocracy and the rising groups of the bourgeoisie through the “royal mechanism.” The unplanned social and economic transformation developed tension between the stronger bourgeoisie and the weaker aristocratic groups, and the interdependence between these two groups prevented a decisive struggle. This situation gave rise to a king who became a supreme coordinator with absolute power.⁵ Under the advancing physical monopolisation of the court and the rise of bourgeois strata, the nobles/warriors were under pressure. The nobles wanted to preserve their prestige and social status by being effective players in court society, and this required them acquire more self-control.⁶

Figure 2.1: A model of centralised state in Western Europe



The monopolisation of physical power was a central element of the social configuration of the kings and nobles. The refined and civilised manners of the court gradually became the model of conduct that nobles felt compelled to conform to. The prestige once gained from killing

⁴ Young, 1997, pp.75-6; Elias, 2000, pp.187-194, 369-379; Elias, 2008, pp.99-102.

⁵ A king or a man at the centre kept these two groups in check as interdependent adversaries, as enemies and allies at once. The court preserved the nobility as a distinguishing class in order to counterbalance the bourgeoisie (Elias, 2000, pp.320-8, 394-397).

⁶ Elias, 2000, pp.320-8, 394-397.

ability was no longer legitimate by the definition of the central authority. The central authority preserved the legitimacy to wage war against its internal and external enemies.⁷

It is also possible to assess the characteristics of state formation in Siam before the final quarter of the nineteenth century in terms of the monopolisation of physical and fiscal power. The Siamese state had encountered centrifugal tendencies because of domestic political conflicts between political cliques as well as the constantly changing power balance between supreme overlords such as the Siamese Kingdom, the Burmese state and tributary states. However, these centrifugal tendencies did not result in a monopolisation of violence and taxation.⁸ Rather, a high degree of violence emerged in many contexts including in domestic politics and pastimes.⁹

The monopolisation of physical and fiscal power and the demarcation of the state were the Siamese elite's response to the colonisation of city-states in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century.¹⁰ The royal elite instituted a deliberate civilising process that aimed to eradicate the violent behaviour of other nobles and of the population more broadly. In contrast to the history of Western Europe, then, where the civilising process in the spheres of politics, economy and sports was unplanned,¹¹ in Siam the process of civilisation in Siam was much more deliberate, intentional and planned.

As Elias explained, the economic and political power of a central ruler, based on the monopolisation of physical and fiscal power, underpinned a greater ability to put an end to the centrifugal tendencies of politics driven by the competition between nobles. The social interdependencies between a powerful king, weakened nobles and the rising bourgeoisie were characterised by a constant struggle by nobles to maintain their power, an important element of which was the management of conduct at court, organized around courtly manners, modes of dress, speech and deportment. Despite the differences in historical

⁷ At this stage, the courts gradually became the epitome of the "refined" and "more rationalised" forms of conduct. The pacified social intercourse between the courts and their hired warriors proceeded through the imitation of refined and civilised manners (Elias, 2000, pp.161-201, 436-446).

⁸ See Phattiya, 2002, pp.19-25; Rabibhadana, 1975, pp.105-114; Rabibhadana, 1984, p.46; Wyatt, 1986, pp.257-261; Sartraproong, 1998, pp.17, 19-20; Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78; Eoseewong, 2004, pp.281-295; Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.34-5.

⁹ See Low, 1836, pp.278-9, 387-8; The Three Seal Laws, 1962, p.160 quoted in Vail, 1998b, pp.28-9; Sangsawang, 1979, p.24.

¹⁰ Winichakul, 1994; Brown, 2004, pp.15-16.

¹¹ Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.165; Elias, 2000.

development between Western Europe and Siam, the idea of the transformation of power balance from centrifugal to centripetal tendencies can also be applied to trace the centrifugal characteristic of the pre-modern state and the emergence of the state's monopolisation of physical and fiscal power in Siam. The important *difference* was that the spread of civilised manners in Siam did not stem from an unintentional social relationship, as Elias outlined for Western Europe, but from the intentional attempt of the Siamese elite to promote their civilising plans. In the next subsection, I clarify what Elias meant by social interdependence, explaining how this idea, focusing on the changing power balances between social actors, can be employed in the Siamese context.

2.1.2 Social Groups, Social Interdependencies and Stratification

For Elias, the patterns of individuals' interdependencies can be traced by exploring the way in which individuals are connected with one another. Power relationships between people are, by definition, unequal. Balances of power can be traced through functional interdependence between people, and functional interdependence exists when an individual or a social group cannot access a resource which another person or group has the power to refuse to give. This individual or social group who has the power to withhold the resource has a function for another person or group. The fact that social actors unceasingly compete to make use of power sources can fluidly shape the characteristics and constructed self-images of, and power balances between, social actors. In all power relationships, both individuals and social groups always have reciprocal relationships and social constraints imposed on one another. Because people are mutually dependent on one another to some degree, individuals do not have the ability to control the entire social relationship. Under social interdependence, social actors who aim to maintain or improve their power and prestige are cautious of the fears, needs and demands of others. If a powerful individual or group is less dependent on the others, he or it can pressure them to follow his or her demand. Less powerful social actors feel compelled to adjust themselves to demands of the influential individual or group. If power relationships between social actors are more equal, all actors will become more aware of and responsive to one another's decisions.¹²

¹² Elias, 1978, pp.72-89; Elias, 2008, p.95; Linklater and Mennell, 2010, p.396.

Elias' conceptualisation of social interdependence is useful in explaining the transformation of Siamese society, in which social groups struggled against one another under the changing contexts of the *corvée* labour system, the market and money economy, colonisation and the centralising state, with the power of the royal elite, nobles and commoners constantly changing throughout history.

Elias's model sees the relations between social classes and groups as the functional nexus of the reciprocal constraints that classes and groups exert upon one another. Social interdependencies, which may involve contradictory sets of interests and allegiances, can be observed in how classes function in relationship to each other. The web of social interdependencies generates greater social constraints of individual actions as it gets larger, denser and more extensive.¹³

Elias's process-focused approach, which considers the transformation from feudal to capitalist societies, is useful in addressing the fluid characteristics of power relationships among social classes and groups as they develop over time. These groups are dynamically related to the sources of power, the means of production, the division of labour, forms of social interdependence and personality structures.¹⁴ The power sources, social functions, socio-economic backgrounds and self-images of each social class can change throughout the course of history.¹⁵ According to Elias, economic changes (such as a growth of money economy and an imposition of the liberal economy) affect the overall nexus of functional interdependencies. Within a lengthened chain of interdependencies, a social group alone finds it difficult to determine its course of social relationships. A social group's decisions and actions are subjected to the power of many new actors in the larger network of interdependencies.¹⁶ For example, during the mid-nineteenth century, the British intimidated Siam into accepting the trade relationship of the liberal economy. King Rama IV [r.1851-1868] could no longer preserve royal monopolies, which all previous Siamese kings had done, so

¹³ The two-way pressures on individuals from both above and below and from intra-class relations can cause the diffusion of the standard of upper-class manners, which can become the national habitus or even create conflict (Loyal, 2004, pp.130, 134; Elias, 1978, pp.72-78).

¹⁴ Loyal, 2004, pp.125-132; Elias, 2009, pp.1-2.

¹⁵ Elias, 2000, pp.325-6; Loyal, 2004, pp.132-3.

¹⁶ Elias, 1978, pp.78-85, 147.

that after Rama IV had signed the free trade agreement, his decisions were constrained by British demands.¹⁷

For Elias, a social class or group consists of ongoing actions of a body of people who produce the same categories of interests, social experiences and values systems in relation to other groups. A class or group constructs a positive “we-image” to differentiate itself from a negative “they-image.”¹⁸ This perspective is helpful to view the social stratification of the Siamese kingdoms between the eighteenth and the early twentieth century, and his framework is useful for capturing the changing power sources of each stratum and the dynamics of reciprocal interdependence between classes. For example, between the late eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century, Siamese forced labourers continually resisted the control over manpower, causing the royal elite to struggle to preserve an elite-dominated power balance. That the serfs could continually struggle against the masters and partially undermine the corvée labour system was a manifestation of the changes in power resources and forms of interdependencies. Although the kings and nobles had been accumulating their wealth from international trade since the eighteenth century, the serfs had not been absolutely oppressed. They were not merely agricultural workers producing for their masters’ profit. Engaging with the market and the money economy gave the serfs more power to bargain with the upper class through their small accumulation to purchase exemptions from corvée. The elites gradually gave up their control of manpower, and turned to focus on collecting tax revenues.¹⁹

2.1.3 Civilising Processes and Sportisation

Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning have highlighted in particular the important role that leisure activities, in particular sport, play in the civilising process, as part of the mechanisms by which violent behaviour become increasingly constrained. They traced the transformation of unplanned production of the social standards of social and self-control in relation to attitudes,

¹⁷ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.103; Dibakarawongsa, 2005, pp.87-9; Peleggi, 2002, p.40; Ingram, 2009, p.47; Lysa, 1983, pp.393-6; Limapichart, 2008, p.37.

¹⁸ See Elias, 2000, pp.11-28; Loyal, 2004, pp.135-7. It should be added that for Elias, all individuals have taken and learned a society-specific language and a particular pattern of self-regulation through interactions and actions, since their childhood. Individuals, therefore, integrate themselves into figurations or social groups such as families, classes, and states. Each individual has a degree of power to enter a figuration or switch himself or herself from a specific figuration to another one (Elias, 2009, pp.1-2).

¹⁹ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-5.

feelings and expressions of violence through the social interdependencies of people in each epoch. Their approach to the role of sport in the civilising process is a useful framework for understanding a long-term change in standards of violence in Siamese politics and sporting activities. In the pre-modern era, patron-client groups continually competed with one another for survival, and group members engaged in violent pastimes as a form of training for warfare. During the age of the modern nation-state, the central government tried to monopolise the uses of violence within the demarcated state. The government planned to encourage people to exert self-control and curb their use of violence. This draws attention to an important distinction between Elias and Dunning's account for the development in Western Europe, and how we should understand related developments in Siam. The relationship between the planned and unplanned aspects of the civilising process, I will argue, is a theoretical point that needs to be modified in order to grasp the specific development of the civilising process in Siam.

In Western Europe, beginning in the sixteenth century, there were expanding tendencies of refined manners and a lesser degree of socially permitted pleasure towards the use of violence. Social regulation had been increasingly internalised. Self-control worked through a feeling of discomfort and embarrassment. The balance between external and internal control shifted towards the latter, increasingly embedding self-restraint in individual habitus. Tolerance of the use of violence in daily life and sports gradually declined. This was the result, argue Elias and Dunning, of the formation of monopolisation of fiscal and physical power, parliamentarisation and industrialisation, which demanded new standards of behavioural conduct. At this stage, individuals practiced self-restraint as a result of their increasing regard for the consequences of their actions.²⁰

Sport, argue Elias and Dunning, played an important role in this process, by channelling and managing the expression of violence. Sports fulfil a 'quest for excitement', but an it is an 'excitement' contained within specific boundaries. People are not usually allowed to apply the degree of violence that is socially permitted in the sporting context to any other day-to-day context.²¹

²⁰ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.21-40, 151-174; Elias, 2000, pp.47-70, 372-7; van Krieken, 1998, pp.144-5.

²¹ See Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.21-40, 65-90; Elias, 2000, pp.366-7.

The formation of the nation-state intensified the interdependencies between people. The centralised state needed to pacify their country; thus, it demanded intensified regulation of personal conduct. Tax income provided the centralised state money to hire soldiers. This economic change allowed the centralised state to monopolise the use of violence and to pacify people within the state. The state tried to ban and punish those who found pleasure in violent behaviour. The active, aggressive expression of pleasure had been transformed to become more passive.²²

The cycle of violence as a result of seventeenth-century political conflict was replaced by the peaceful agreement on the political succession in eighteenth-century England.²³ The parliamentary regime, which provided opportunities for developing self-constraints, generated self-pacification. This tendency did not appear in an autocratic regime, where people had been familiar with being restrained by external control. "Parliamentarisation" was a part of the same overall development as "sportisation." The varying rules of folk games and pastimes, which had been played by the upper classes, were transformed to have the same collective characteristics as parliamentary politics. The involvement of gentlemen in clubs generated standardised rules and higher sensitivity to violence. The urban industrial classes later reproduced these characteristics of sports.²⁴

With increasing social interdependencies, the dissemination of manners and morals from the established to the lower groups proceeded through the imitating process. The elite's desire for distinction encouraged the rising groups to adopt the cultural standard and the mode of self-control of the elite.²⁵

As a result of industrialisation, the interdependence between the elite and individuals from lower social positions grew stronger. The lengthened interdependence led to an increase in

²² Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.12, 151-174; van Krieken, 1998, pp.105-145; Elias, 2000, pp.161-201; Connolly & Dolan, 2010, pp.572-3.

²³ The agreed parliamentary rules led to the factional contests, based on capability to debate in Parliament (Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.26-37).

²⁴ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.21-38; Mennell, 1989, pp.54-61, 147-149.

²⁵ Elias, 2000, pp.80-7. The elite and other social groups are forced to live with one another. They become more sensitive to impulses of one another. People from lower groups consciously correct their manners under the civilising pressure exerted from above in the name of social control. The internalisation of civilised manners gradually develops and becomes self-control (Elias, 2000, pp.67-70).

the external pressure for self-restraint and internalisation of self-control. The distinctive standards of manners between classes decreased.²⁶

Industrialisation and urbanisation caused the population to increase, and the occupations that arose from these processes provided workers with spare time. Daily routine limited people from expressing their excitement and acting violently. Dull emotion was released through the de-routinisation of sports activities. Sports were a space where individuals enjoyed “controlled decontrolling” of emotional restraints. Sports had a mimetic aspect. Emotions from ordinary life, like hate, vengefulness and love, were blended with pleasure. These emotions were aroused in relatively safer forms.²⁷

Elias and Dunning's analysis points out the tendency that humans have tried to extend “the point-like pleasure of victory” in the mock-battle of any sport. The period of tension in a sport would continuously be adjusted until it reaches a mature state. At that stage, sport could provide players and spectators sufficient time to enjoy battle tension.²⁸

The personality structure of a society was significantly shaped by the changing patterns of sports games. The characteristics of an urban-industrial nation-state tended to generate a civilising trend that encouraged sports. Hence, sports were developed through the process by which the violent patterns of sports were diminished. Because this tended to generate a risk of boredom, the imaginary setting of a sport had to be constantly modified in order to maintain enjoyable ‘battle’ excitement.²⁹

To assess the changing pattern of sports in terms of the degree of violence, it is important to analyse the interdependencies of people in specific periods and contexts. The level of civilisation was constructed by the entire selves of all social actors who depended on each other. Each physical exertion and action of players, supporters and other social actors determined each other's game situations and partially constructed the norm of the game. When playing and watching a game, each social actor exhibited a particular degree of self-control, and each expression simultaneously reproduced the norm of the game. In a game of

²⁶ Elias, 2000, pp.116-7; Lim, 2004, p.19. For this reason, the level of physical security within the more advanced industrial nation-state was higher than that of any less-developed state society (Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.134).

²⁷ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.73-90, 165; van Krieken, 1998, p.147; White, 2000, p.3.

²⁸ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.25, 102-3, 153-9.

²⁹ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.21-50.

football, the degree of tension, constructed by at least two antagonistic and interdependent sets of players, came to be determined by external control from organisations, officials, spectators, linesmen and referees. Furthermore, in-group identification in the name of community, region and nation was defined to unite a group against its otherness and could increase the level of tension.³⁰ The configuration formed by these social actors, demands the development of self-control. The fluctuation of the level of civilisation in the game-contests of a society is related to in-group identifications, the organisation of violence-control, the level of socially permitted violence and conscience formation.³¹

The game-rule norms could be applied to trace ongoing moments of any activity and sports game in which any standards of violence and self-restraint were exerted by social actors. The degree and forms of controlled aggression in each activity and sport differently emerged from the social norms, which had been previously constructed. The pre-existing rules in each sport were the beginning points for each social group to start playing. Game rules might be practiced to preserve the pre-existing norms. Some individuals might redefine the rules to produce new rules or rebel against pre-existing ones.³²

In the Western European context, the long-term production of game rules transformed the socially permitted pleasure derived from violence from the pleasure experienced in doing violence to the pleasure experienced in seeing violence done.³³ However, the 'process of civilisation' did not develop in a unilinear or continuous way. A degree of softened manners, which were produced by interdependencies under a specific context, might be moderated or reversed by the use of violence.³⁴

The concept of a long-term civilising process is also useful for tracing how prolonged interdependence formulated the tendency to reduce the use of violence between in-group identifications like networks of patron-client groups in the Siamese context. This theoretical model helps to understand how violent and deadly pastimes like eighteenth-century boxing

³⁰ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.25-158, 193-223; Lim, 2004, p.21.

³¹ In ancient Greek society, kin-groups and city-states played an important part in shaping the self-image of athletes. In Olympic boxing and wrestling matches, expressing the virtues of a warrior, including bravery without fear of possible death, endurance, a strong body and fighting skill brought glory and prestige to the players, their families and their hometown, regardless of victory (Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.138–143).

³² Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.102-5.

³³ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.161-4.

³⁴ Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.282; Connolly & Dolan, 2010, pp.571-594.

had continually changed to civilised boxing (with the use of boxing gloves) in the age of the nation-state at the turn of the twentieth century.

Before the mid-nineteenth century, violent contests in wars, coups and pastimes tended to emerge between groups of patron-client networks.³⁵ Aggressive actions, exerted in the inter-patron-client groups, were necessary for members of each social unit to survive. Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Bangkok elite planned to abolish the *corvée* labour system and to build up a new social bond within the absolutist state.³⁶ The intentional plan to form a nation-state gradually generated a lengthened chain of interdependence. The monopolisation of violence of the state, the pacification of the state and the constructed belief of being people of the demarcated state reflected the tendency that social and self-constraints were intentionally produced to inhibit any action of violence. The Siamese elite planned to decrease the degrees of violence in sports and pastimes, and encouraged people to pursue standardised and softened sports and pastimes.³⁷ Self-pacification was intentionally imposed by the ruling elite, in contrast to the unintentional development of self-restraint in the English context. The Siamese elite's intention to civilise the population was different from the imitating process from the bottom-up that happened in Western European society.³⁸ As I will explain in the next subsection, the problems with Elias's emphasis on the unplanned nature of the process of civilisation can be addressed by turning to the concept of the 'civilising offensive'. This concept gives more room to consider the effects of planned efforts of elites to transform individual behaviour in ways they defined as more civilised and refined.

2.1.4 Civilising Offensive

The theoretical concept of the "civilising offensive" is useful in analysing cases where the idea of unplanned process of civilisation does not capture all aspects of the development being examined. Elias omitted plans of an established group to deliberately reorganise manners and

³⁵ See Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78; Eoseewong, 2004, pp.240-295; Sartraproong, 1998, pp.6-19; RCA, 2006, p.385; Charney, 2004, p.9.

³⁶ See King Mongkut, 1965, pp.6-8; Susayan, 2009.

³⁷ NAT, 1907a; Sethaboot, 1921; Sangsawang, 1979, pp.97-8; Vail, 1998b, pp.75-6.

³⁸ Elias, 2000, pp.80-7.

actively led “bad” people in the civilising direction.³⁹ The established group also tried to maintain its higher status by acting like a philanthropist who takes the indispensable civilising role. The concept of a civilising offensive captures the way the Siamese elite struggled to maintain their power in the age of colonisation and nation-state, in which the elite deliberately assigned programmes to pacify and civilise the aggressive identity of the Siamese within their centralised state.

Referring initially to the Dutch context in the nineteenth century, the “civilising offensive” referred to bourgeois efforts to improve the conduct of the lower class within the nation-state.⁴⁰ To “help” the poor rise above poverty, illiteracy, coarse manners and lack of knowledge in personal hygiene, the forces of organised virtue (like the Dutch “Society for the Public Good”) campaigned for general education for all children and for the good of the nation. The nation was defined as a family of citizens whose members were assigned various obligations. The surveillance by schools and parents and print media endowed children with feelings of shame and self-control.⁴¹ The civilising offensive encouraged the people in the same social unit (like a nation-state or a religious community) to maintain their communal morals through social and self- constraints.⁴²

Given its different emphasis in comparison to the civilising “process,” it is interesting that the concept of the “civilising offensive” was built on Elias and Scotson’s *The Established and the Outsiders* (1965). According to Elias and Scotson’s analysis, the image of the established tends to be constructed by the ruling groups as the “minority of the best.” The established constructed the image of the worst of the outsiders in order to serve the established group’s superiority in morals and manners. The social distinction tended to exclude the outsiders so that the established could maintain power sources, monopoly of skills and social order.⁴³

³⁹ Powell, 2013.

⁴⁰ Flint, Kruithof & Powell, 2015.

⁴¹ Kruithof, 2015.

⁴² Verrips, 1986; Kruithof, 2015. For example, the religious elite in a Dutch village expected villagers from all strata to behave “properly” to preserve the prestige of the Protestant group as a whole. The civilising offensive in the village was heightened by the growing distinction and status struggle between Protestants and Catholics (Verrips, 1986).

⁴³ Greater uniformity of norms, stricter morals and self-discipline reinforced the power of the established. The perspective of the established on inferior manners confirmed the superiority of the established in morals and manners. The construction of distinct manners also brought the symbols of respectability, social status and social order (Elias and Scotson, 1965, pp.1-27, 146-160).

The concept of the civilising offensive maintains the way the established unceasingly differentiate themselves from the rising groups through the creation of more refined conduct, as Elias and Scotson (1965) point out. Therefore, the concept of the “civilising offensive” is useful for capturing the conflicts and the contests over culture between the established, the outsiders and other social groups.⁴⁴ However, the concept adds that under the cultural contestations among social groups, the established one intentionally defines its behavioural standards as constituting a life of virtue to convince the lower groups of its superiority and to maintain its status.

The concept of the civilising offensive can also be usefully applied to the Siamese context, to illuminate how the Siamese elite deliberately implemented their plans to civilise their vicious and aggressive people in order to maintain the former’s status. This concept will be applied to understand the trajectory of the contestation between civilised and aggressive behaviours in the age of the nation-state. Furthermore, this model is suitable for the Siamese context that the established was unable to absolutely influence other social groups through the former’s civilising programmes. The Siamese elites’ civilising efforts were resisted by the social groups to which the efforts were directed.⁴⁵ Therefore, the weight of effects of the elites’ civilising offensives will be assessed.

Ryan Powell (2013, p. 5) suggests that civilising offensives, which emerged in Western societies, are more short-term than the unplanned process. He also warns that, in the Western context, the civilising offensives have less impact on changes in standards of behaviour. To avoid overemphasising the impact of the civilising offensive, reactions and proportion of actors who were targets of the civilising plans will be carefully investigated.

It is also important to consider how the Siamese elites’ civilising offensives are related to the European unplanned civilising process. Therefore, the period between the late 1820s and the early twentieth century, when Siamese elites aimed to civilise themselves and their people as

⁴⁴ Powell, 2013; Verrips, 1986. For instance, in a Dutch village, the outsiders were excluded by the established. The religious elite thought that the outsiders should be civilised; however, the outsiders insisted on denying philanthropic help. The established as well as the outsiders refused to unite as a we-group, although the religious elite encouraged them to do so (Verrips, 1986, p.14).

⁴⁵ Unlike strong states like Singapore, Siam’s weak state could not effectively adopt civilising plans (Stauth, 1997). The formation of the Siamese state and the promotion of the elite’s standard of manners tended to generate resistance through unruly conduct (see Sethaboot, 1921, pp.7, 64; Wyatt, 1969, pp.181-2; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.23-50; Johnston, 1980; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7; Malakul, 2008, pp.i-ii).

a response to encroachments of colonial power (in the name of the “civilising mission”) should be analysed.⁴⁶ Therefore, both unplanned and planned processes of civilisation must be considered as factors shaping the development of civilisation in Siam.

In the next section, I focus more on the pressure of Western civilisation from outside the Siamese Kingdom, exploring a framework for understanding the relationships between Western civilisation and the civilised identity of the Siamese in the context of Western colonisation.

2.2 Colonialism and the Spread of Civilisation

In this section, I review the concepts dealing with the transmission of civilised conduct from Western to non-Western countries (see 2.2.1). In 2.2.2, I appraise Elias’ notion of civilised and pacified identity of the Western Europeans. This identity cannot be applied to relationships between the Europeans and the Siamese in the colonial era, because Europeans’ violent measures at the inter-state level tended to partially shape the way the Siamese government created its pacified state, civilising plans and civilising self-image.

2.2.1 Concepts of Dominant Western Civilisation

In this subsection, I assess concepts which explain the spread of civilised conduct at the inter-state level. Some writers have considered that the patterns of conduct of the West were imposed on colonised countries. According to Elias (2000), Winichakul (2000a), Winichakul (2000b), Said (2000) and Kitiarsa (2010), colonies were viewed as weak countries that tended to accept Western standards of civilisation. This explanation tends to overlook the way the colonies negotiated with Western civilisations.⁴⁷ An emphasis on the negotiating processes to (re)define the self-images of the more civilised Westerners and the supposedly “barbarous” Siamese, can solve this theoretical problem.

According to Elias (2000), the civilising process became the social standard that bourgeois and middle-class individuals drew upon for judging and liberating the inferior and uncivilised

⁴⁶ See Peleggi, 2002; King Mongkut, 2004; Wadkean, 2010.

⁴⁷ See Elias, 2000; Hobsbawm, 1984; Ranger, 1984; Winichakul, 2000a; Winichakul, 2000b; Said, 2000; Kitiarsa, 2010.

people in the nation-state and future targeted and present colonies.⁴⁸ Western civilised patterns of conduct spread outside the West through the settlement of the Occidentals and the assimilation of the elite of the other nations. Human relationships in large areas of the world fell into line with Western standards.⁴⁹ However, Elias's idea of the transmission of the concept of civilisation from one country to other countries is problematic. French and the British cultural characteristics were not in fact the omnipresent hallmarks of elite culture in every country. Therefore, I propose that dominated social groups have in reality been able to redefine, ignore and negotiate with the notion of French and British civilisation.

Some studies on civilisation in Siam also focused on the dominant notion of Western civilisation, regarding it as having been adopted and consumed by the Siamese elite. Nevertheless, how Western civilisation was redefined and employed by the Siamese elite to negotiate with the Westerners and unruly Siamese people has been largely ignored. This problem is addressed in the works of Winichakul (2000a; 2000b),⁵⁰ Peleggi (2002) and Kitiarsa (2010). Peleggi (2002) and Kitiarsa (2010) studied the tactics of the Siamese elite and intellectuals to westernise and modernise the country. The Siamese elite looked to the West as a model of a materially advanced civilisation. They selectively consumed Euro-American invented products in order to overcome anxiety about the authenticity of their own modernising project and achieve civilised status within their own context.

Winichakul, Peleggi and Kitiarsa emphasised Western civilisation as the "axis," "the Euro-centred civilizational sphere" and "models," respectively.⁵¹ However, this viewpoint overlooked the varied meanings and contexts of how differently "Western civilisation" was viewed and what it meant in various situations. For example, although the Siamese elite adopted soccer from England, they did not imitate all principles of this British game. They modified some objectives of soccer in order to solve the problem of the non-elite Siamese's

⁴⁸ Elias, 2000, pp.41-55.

⁴⁹ Reciprocal interdependencies were made to serve the images and rights of the stronger and the inferiors. The spreading direction of the Western style of conduct and institutions led to a reduction in differences, both of power and of manner, between colonists and the colonised (Elias, 2000, pp.384-6).

⁵⁰ Winichakul (2000a; 2000b) studied how the Siamese elite responded to Western civilisation at the turn of the twentieth century. When the Siamese elite encountered the Western idea of civilisation, the elite pursued the "desirable" Europe or "the new axis mundi" to confirm their own selves. Because members of the Siamese elite did not want to be disdained by Westerners, they constructed their self-image through civilised actions. They practiced their European-standard images and their "superior selves" over the "primitive" and rural people in Siam.

⁵¹ Winichakul, 2000b, p.533; Peleggi, 2002, p.39; Kitiarsa, 2010, p.63.

unruly behaviours in order to achieve their plan to monopolise physical power. To deal with Westerners and unruly Siamese, the Siamese elite emphasised gentleness and discipline in soccer. The Siamese elite did not want to imitate the British colonists' version of bravery that served the Empire's mission.⁵²

The domination of a Western standard which constituted civilisation can also be seen in the work of Edward Said (2000). Said traced how the strategy of each Western author located her or his position and the Orient in her or his text. Said investigated how the interrelation between her or his text and other texts had constructed their authority in the form of dominant knowledge in a social space. The Western authors had (re)constructed the existence of the legitimacy of the knowledge of the superior and philanthropic Occident over the supposedly passive and immature Orient through their texts.⁵³

However, what Said omitted was the way the Oriental actors, like the Siamese, took on, lived in, struggled with and transmuted the (un)civilised images under the Siamese context.⁵⁴ In my viewpoint, it is important to trace how the Siamese redefined themselves in relation to the reconstructed Western identities because the dominant knowledge of Westerners could not completely control their subjects. It is useful to draw from Said's *Orientalism* to trace the other side of the Orientalist process. The process by which the self-images of the superior Westerners and the inferior Siamese were (re)defined would go beyond Said's concepts, ignoring the antagonistic social values of active, indigenous people. The redefinition of Western civilisation and football in the Siamese context reflected the negotiation between the Western stereotype of the aggressive Siamese and the Siamese elite's construction of the softened, disciplined, or civilised Siamese in the field of football.⁵⁵

⁵² See Walvin, 1987, pp.250-255; Springhall, 1987, pp.62-67; Tranter, 1998, p.58; Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.3-182; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7.

⁵³ Said, 2000, p.86.

⁵⁴ Apart from Said's example in Egypt, which had been saturated by the indispensable projects seeking to bring the latest civilisation to the previously declined civilisation, Siam had a different political system, economic relations, history and location. The location of Siam was distant from the conflicts between Europe and the Far East (see Said, 2000, pp.32-85).

⁵⁵ See Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.3-182.

2.2.2 Civilised or Violent Identity of the Europeans in the Colonial Era

Another important qualification to Elias's account of the unfolding of the civilising process is the fact that Western Europeans applied violent measures to colonise or dominate other weaker countries. The violent policies of the European colonial powers in neighbouring states of the Siamese Kingdom tended to partially shape the way the Siamese state planned to create their diplomatic policies, demarcated and pacified state, civilising policies and civilised self-image.

The civilised identity, constructed in Western European society, was expressed as a philanthropic mission of the colonial countries to exert violence for liberating or colonising the states in Asia.⁵⁶ The Western colonisers who claimed themselves as civilisers who had self-control exerted violence against the uncivilised and barbaric states and individuals.⁵⁷

The pacified state in civilised European society did not in fact curb the use of violence at the inter-state level.⁵⁸ The civilised states tended to take advantage of the "uncivilised" states by exploiting the mercantile interest and natural and human resources in the name of the mission to liberate the "barbarians."⁵⁹ To address the question of the violent tendencies between the states, Elias's theory needs to consider how the larger web of interdependence was built up under colonialism. The British and the French came to negotiate reciprocally with the Siamese. This web of interdependence involved an ongoing competition to define the I/we-image and the they-image between the West and Siam. The Siamese elite responded to the knowledge and practices of colonisation through a diplomatic approach, a redefined image of the Siamese state and the formation of the state.

The pressure of colonisation generated the monopolisation of fiscal and physical power as well as an interdependence among people in the modern Siamese state. From the 1820s to the turn of the twentieth century, the British and the French applied violent, threatening and peaceful measures to colonise states in Burma, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Many

⁵⁶ Said, 1994, pp.32-120; Dépelteau, Passiani, and Mariano, 2013, pp.46-54.

⁵⁷ Dépelteau, Passiani, and Mariano, 2013, pp.46-7.

⁵⁸ King Rama III (r. 1824-1851) of the Siamese Kingdom perceived how the British destroyed the Burmese state by using gunboats to approach the Burmese cities through the mouth of the river. King Rama III and other elite prepared to confront the Westerners. King Rama III was advised by a trader to purchase the chain cables, which would be used for stretching across the mouth of the river to prevent the invading British gunboats. A stream warship, guns and mortars were ordered to prevent the possible attack from the colonial countries (Bradley, 1981, pp.36-7; Charney, 2004, pp.256-7).

⁵⁹ Dépelteau, Passiani, & Mariano, 2013, pp.46-7.

of them had been parts of tributaries of the Siamese Kingdom. The pressure from this colonising process led to the formation of the nation-state of the Bangkok elite in the final quarter of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰ The plan of the Bangkok elite to build up a peaceful relationship with the colonial powers, the construction of national self-image, the centralised state, Western-style bureaucracy and the securing of borders was designed to deal with the colonial powers.⁶¹

The British and the French tended to see their supposedly civilised identity as opposed to the supposedly barbaric identity of subjected peoples. This relationship was defined by them in this way in order to support their colonial expansionism. Britain and France's project to occupy the previous tributaries of Bangkok continued from the 1820s to the close of the first decade of the twentieth century.⁶² In response to the West, the Siamese elite tried to claim their authority, right and ability to control these tributaries. The state formation of the Siamese Kingdom inevitably depended on the redefinition of its self-image. Through travel writings, exhibitions and museums, the Bangkok elite constructed the "we-image" of the Siamese Kingdom as an advanced and effective modern state.⁶³ Furthermore, the elites countered the construction of the Siamese people as "barbaric" by building the self-image of disciplined and civilised Siamese through organised sports.⁶⁴

2.3 The Studies of Soccer and Sports at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

This section reviews some studies of sport at the turn of the twentieth century, including three studies specific to Siam. The review will be useful to find a model that suits the Siamese context. The studies of Kritpet (1982), Allison (1998, p. 721) and Siri (2006) on the coming of Western sports to Siam portrayed that the Siamese elite tried to modernise the country through the adoption of Western sports. The conflict between the Siamese elite, Westerners and the Siamese people in the games' values was not part of these studies. To find a model

⁶⁰ See Winichakul, 1994.

⁶¹ Brown, 2004, pp.15-6.

⁶² Vella, 1971, pp.126-9.

⁶³ See Winichakul, 2000a, pp.38-62; Winichakul, 2000b, pp.540-2.

⁶⁴ Wyatt, 1969, pp.181-2, 220-3; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1977, pp.136-7; NAT, 1907a; Sethaboot, 1921, p.47; Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-7; Kritpet, 1982, p.38; Vail, 1998b, pp.69, 74, 82; Lekhayanon, 1977, p.52.

that captures the antagonism suitably, studies of sports in various contexts need to be discussed.

Horton (1997), Alpin and Jong (2002), Brownfoot (2002), Marshall (2003, pp. 23-30), Majumdar and Bandyopadhyay (2005), Dimeo (2002), Cho (2013), Connell (2013), Chehabi (2002), McDevitt (1997) and Robidoux (2002) have all undertaken research that has demonstrated the ways in which people in different settings responded differently to the imposition of Western sports. In colonial Singapore, sports were an arena where British colonial masters maintained their superiority. Conflict in the sporting area scarcely happened.⁶⁵ Around the turn of the twentieth century, in Punjab, the Punjabis who were included as part of the British Army did not have any conflicts with the British during soccer games between the two. Football promoted cooperation between the Panjabis and the British.⁶⁶ However, sports studies in other settings have illustrated that conflicts have arisen between the colonisers and the colonies and between the indigenous government and people. In Burma and Bengal, colonised subjects played and used soccer as a means to reject their inferior self-image that was constructed by colonisers. These people sought to beat their colonial rulers at their own game. Football was an arena where colonised people could redefine their self-image.⁶⁷ In Iran, the court and Persian publications promoted nationalism, independence and civilisation. For them, football was part of civilised and modernised Western culture. Iranian people consequently viewed football as a game of infidels.⁶⁸ McDevitt (1997) and Robidoux (2002) argued that national identities, embedded in traditional sports, were constructed in a way by dominated subjects to differentiate their 'national' sports from the British.⁶⁹

In the Siamese context, the Westerners' construction of the Siamese's barbarism and unmanageable ability of the Siamese government served their superior identities and the philanthropic mission.⁷⁰ The softened, disciplined or civilised Siamese in the field of football

⁶⁵ Horton, 1997; Alpin & Jong, 2002; Brownfoot, 2002.

⁶⁶ Dimeo, 2002, pp.80-3.

⁶⁷ Marshall, 2003, pp.23-30; Majumdar & Bandyopadhyay, 2005; Dimeo, 2002, pp.83-5; Cho, 2013; Connell, 2013.

⁶⁸ Chehabi, 2002.

⁶⁹ McDevitt, 1997; Robidoux, 2002.

⁷⁰ See Palmer, 1970, pp.127-128; Fournereau, 1998, pp.99-100, 163-164.

was defined by the Siamese elite to respond partially to these coined “inferior” self-images.⁷¹ At the turn of the twentieth century, the lengthened chain of social interdependence among “aggressive” non-elite persons, the Westerners and the “civilised” elite created a situation in which aggressive and softened manners might be produced to confront each other.⁷²

Any model for investigating civilised sports and pastimes in Siam needs to focus on the conflictual and negotiating processes between social actors who struggle to define their and others’ identities. In order to respond to the Westerners’ perception of barbarous Siam, the Siamese elite modified and promoted civilised sports and pastimes for non-elite men. Furthermore, the Siamese elite also designed civilised sports and pastimes to solve the internal problems created by aggressive non-elite men.

2.4 Masculinities and Violence

In this part, I will start with an assessment of Elias’s view of the civilising process as a factor automatically engendering the increasing power of women and the increment of civilised behaviour among men. (see 2.4.1). His approach tends to overlook the state’s roles in more or less (re)defining differing masculine identities, and I will consider how his concept has to be modified to capture the Siamese state’s role in producing gender power and differences (see 2.4.2). In 2.4.3, I investigate the concepts which provide models for capturing the historical change in conceptions of ideal masculine identities, as well as those concepts which explain an individual’s power to express her or his gender identities.

2.4.1 The Problems of the Civilising Process: The Automatic Rise of Female Power

Elias’ understanding of the rising power of women suggests it is an automatic result of the civilising process. This idea is problematic, because it lacks a consideration of the power negotiations between social actors, who define gender identities in social contexts such as sport. In Siam, the state constructed standardised sports in order to produce the strong and disciplined identity of men and the domesticised and weak identity of women. Elias and Dunning argued that the process of civilisation would automatically give rise to a higher level

⁷¹ Lekhayanon, 1977.

⁷² See examples in Sunthonphiphit, 1972.

of feminine power and more equality between genders.⁷³ Nonetheless, the social and economic changes (such as industrialisation, urbanisation and the formation of the state) did not automatically give rise to a gender equality in any activity of life, including sport. Their model clearly omits the ways in which each gender negotiates to maintain or attain its power. Jennifer Hargreaves (1992), for example, in her critique of Elias and Dunning's analysis, argued that it reflected male domination over the aggressive competitions of sports, and their male-based analysis of the changes in violent manners ignored the relational aspects of gender which are constructed within sports. For Hargreaves, focusing only on masculine competitive sports tends to omit the relational characteristics of masculinity and femininity.

Sport needs to be viewed as activities that tend to produce and celebrate gender differences and inequality. As a means for the production of the bodily differences between genders, sport has tended to be an arena that engenders an aggressive sporting masculinity, and passive, weaker sporting femininity. Sports should be considered together with the gender relations that are embedded in all social and economic contexts.⁷⁴ The studies of Tranter (1998) and Hargreaves (1994) on the British context showed that the construction of capitalistic, nationalist and scientific beliefs on passive female characters encourage women to play less confrontational sports. Sports were a key area where gender inequality between men and women was (re)produced.⁷⁵ Their studies are helpful in understanding what can be applied to the Siamese context. Around the turn of the twentieth century, the Siamese elites promoted a belief in the courteous, passive, dependent and weak characters of housewives through education and books.⁷⁶ The elite men supported elite women to engage in non-contact physical activities such as tennis and croquet.⁷⁷ In contact sports like standardised boxing and organised kite fighting, the elite men supported men and women to take the roles of players and spectators, respectively.⁷⁸

To understand gender inequality, it is necessary to investigate gender patterns reflecting gender inequality that are deeply embedded in social actors' histories and current functions.

⁷³ Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.269.

⁷⁴ Liston, 2007, pp.626-7; Connell, 2008, p.134.

⁷⁵ Tranter, 1998; Hargreaves. 1994.

⁷⁶ Phasakorawong, 2001, pp.67-74; Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.30; Nitjit, 1987, pp.215-6; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya & Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.182-3.

⁷⁷ Kritpet, 1982, pp.40-1; Boonyasathit, 2005, pp.118-9; Ruea, 1907, p.316.

⁷⁸ See Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-8; Kritpet, 1982, pp.37-8; Sethaboot, 1921, pp.33, 37.

Gender patterns can be understood by investigating gender regimes, which are composed of the changes in the power relationship between women and men, beliefs about gender differences, the division of labour at home and at the workplace, sexual customs and family law.⁷⁹ Some beliefs about gender differences constructed in the gender regime nourish the notion of appropriate types of sports for each gender.

In Siam, education and organised sports were run by men and tended to decrease the power of elite and commoner women. Before the nineteenth century, women from both elite and commoner households had been the heads of household. According to travel and historical writings, female commoners were strong and active.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the character of many elite and some commoner women were relegated to supporting roles by playing gentle sporting activities at school. The supporting roles and the idea of women's passive and weakened bodies inevitably served to enhance the idea of male superiority. The ruling elite and the emerging educated people gradually reshaped the ideas of gender difference in education, employment, leisure and day-to-day life. The gender difference was a result of struggles between social actors. For example, the supporting role at home of upper-class and educated women were embodied in printed materials, cinemas, and schools as well as in tennis and badminton courts. However, this supporting role was challenged by a journalist who wanted women to work outside the home and to develop the country.⁸¹

Understanding gender is not only about exploring the differences produced between men and women, but also the hierarchies within a gender. Connell proposed that the dominant masculine identity exists together with the policing of men and the exclusion or discrediting of “women-like” actions.⁸² In the Siamese context, the aggressive identity or *nakleng* depended on the opposite image of the little and weak body that characterised the identity of educated women. The violent sports and contests celebrated and nourished gender differences and inequality. In battles between school children in 1898, a non-elite student realised that his “...body was puny and also frail. The characteristic was not a fighter.”⁸³ Nevertheless, the student felt constrained to express the legitimate norm of *nakleng* in order

⁷⁹ Connell, 2008, pp.132-5.

⁸⁰ See Songsamphan, 2008, pp.41-69.

⁸¹ Barmé, 2002, pp.24-30.

⁸² Cowburn, 2013, pp.186-7; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, pp.832-844; Connell, 2008, p.139; Connell, 2013, p.10.

⁸³ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.8.

to prove his quality of manhood to his friends and opponents. He negotiated the norm of *nakleng* by showing that he refused to give up and was ready to fight, despite his cowardice.⁸⁴

2.4.2 Roles of State and Construction of Masculinities

In this subsection, the analysis of Elias and Dunning on the parallel development of sports and civilisation will be a point of departure to consider the relationship between this parallel development and a change in a masculine identity. According to Elias and Dunning (1986), sports developed through an unplanned process by which their violent patterns were diminished.⁸⁵ This concept was applied to the sporting context in Western Europe, and aggressive behaviours of men in the sporting context gradually and unintentionally decreased alongside the unplanned civilising process. Their analysis was tended to overlook the role of the state, which tended to perform in the exclusive interest of the male elite.⁸⁶ In relation to the Siamese context, a decrease in violent demeanours of male sports players was related to the state's civilising plan.⁸⁷ Therefore, it is necessary to modify Elias and Dunning's model so that it can address the planned development of a more civilised masculinity, in which the state and social actors struggle to produce and express different, fluid and changeable patterns of masculinity in the sporting context.

In the Siamese context, the elite actively planned to deal with the unruly men, students, teachers and civil servants. Johnston's study (1980) provides good evidence of the way the Siamese elite, between 1890 and 1910, strategically dealt with the *nakleng* identity. According to the state's strategies of dealing with the disobedient identity of the aggressive *nakleng*, the state violently suppressed *nakleng* who resisted its social order. The state also found cooperation with *nakleng* who could facilitate the administration of the state.

However, an aggressive masculine identity, according to Johnston (1980) and Vail (1998a), seemed to be the only choice for men to pursue or avoid. This tended to omit the fact that the state intentionally introduced the new, legitimate character of softened masculinity through organised sports like soccer. On several occasions, some students and even civil

⁸⁴ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.8.

⁸⁵ Elias & Dunning, 1986; Elias, 2000, pp.116-7; Lim, 2004, p.19.

⁸⁶ Hargreaves, 1992, pp.170-8.

⁸⁷ Vail, 1998b, pp.69, 82-5; Sethaboot, 1921; Lekhayanon, 1977, p.52 Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.8-56.

servants opposed the gentle masculinity of the state as they practiced violent actions in sports and pastimes.⁸⁸ For these writers, the aggressive masculinity tends to be singular and static. The functional framework of Johnston (1980) was not enough to capture the conflict between two sets of norms between the aggressiveness of *nakleng* identity and a softened masculine identity.

However, studies by numerous scholars (Willis, 1977; French, 1999; Springhall, 1987; Duke and Crolley, 2001; and Majumdar and Bandyopadhyay, 2005) suggest that the gentle masculine identity of the elite, endorsed by state practices, should not be thought of as a dominant and unchallengeable identity. Their research on masculinities in many different countries illustrates that the negotiation between masculinities is fluid. Wannin W. Anderson's study (2005) of the dove-cooing that was developed into a sport in late-twentieth-century Siam also shows that aggressive masculinity is not a single ideal type of masculinity for Siamese men. Dove-cooing contests did not involve bloodshed and gambling like cockfighting. Rather than expressing an aggressive and bold identity, dove owners expressed ascetic and aesthetic characteristics.

A state organisation such as a school should be thought of as the site where the production of a plurality of masculine identities coexist, interact and collide.⁸⁹ The concept of masculine identity in any social unit should be viewed as negotiable, fluid and diverse. Thus, constructed masculine identities and sports values are not static but fluid and challengeable. Sports is an arena where actors from various social groups—state officials, bourgeoisie, middle class, working class and the Westerners—compete to define gender identities which serve their own economic and political interests.

2.4.3 Social Actor and the Creative Gender Roles

In this subsection, I review literature on gender identities in order to develop a conceptual framework which will be fruitful in capturing some specificities of the Siamese situation. In relation to the Siamese context, the aggressive and civilised masculinities of Siamese men were related to a historical transformation from the pre-modern to modern periods. At the

⁸⁸ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.44.

⁸⁹ Connell, 2008, p.140.

turn of the twentieth century, these masculine identities were constructed by Siamese men as fluid and interchangeable identities. Non-elite men fluidly expressed aggressive and gentle patterns of masculinity in order to respond to the different social relationships with social actors (their peers, state agents and Westerners) and social groups (schools, state organisations and football teams).⁹⁰ In this subsection, I discuss the perspectives of Elias, Goffman, Geertz and Connell on masculine identities in order to capture the expressions of masculinities in Siam.

A problem in Elias and Dunning's explanation on the concept of identity is the lack of a creative role for the individual. For them, the self was involuntarily socialised in a social position. The sense of contingency determined the choices and actions of social actors. Nevertheless, actors should have more ability to consciously evaluate their choices of masculine identities and to intentionally express themselves in a social situation.⁹¹

Besides, Robène and Bodin (2014a; 2014b) criticise that Elias's concept of the civilising process tends to emphasise the pacification process of identity. They also attack Elias's concept that treats violence as instinctive impulses produced by less advanced individuals and a pleasant release of self-control. They criticise that Elias's model overlooks the fact that the masses and players actively use sports as a social space for behaving violently. By solving some problems raised by Robène and Bodin (2014b), this thesis considers violence as a sportsman's conscious and deliberate expression of the desirable violent masculinity in a social context.⁹² Thus, some other models, which explain how a social actor can construct his gender identity in order to transcend the problem of the passive social actor, need to be considered.

Goffman's account provides more room to investigate how one manages to express one's self-image, and his perspective is helpful in appraising how a sports player actively manages to present his "self" in accordance with his self-realisation in order to impress others in face-

⁹⁰ Moffat, 1962, p.129; Gerson, 1996, pp.54-5; The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, 2006, pp.346-7, 376, 384-7; Low, 1836, pp.387-8; Terwiel, 2010, pp.73-4; Ma Huan, 1970, p.107; Sethaboot, 1921; Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.146-9; Vail, 1998b, pp.56-7; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.8-52.

⁹¹ Elias, 2000, pp.8-9; Rojek, 1986, pp.587, 594; van Krieken, 1998, p.78.

⁹² Moreover, in the 1900s, sports in Siam did not yet go through the advanced process of 'massification.' Without any stadium or means of telecommunication, the number of Siamese sportsmen and spectators was much less than the European masses who gathered and organised to use violence in the sporting field as Robène and Bodin (2014b) suggest. The Siamese men tended to use violence spontaneously (Sethaboot, 1921; Sunthonphiphit, 1972).

to-face interactions.⁹³ By adopting Goffman's idea to the sports study, Susan Birrell (1981) analysed the active and creative motifs of any sportsperson who calculates her or his action in order to express "proper" self-images, like courage, self-discipline and composure.⁹⁴

By employing Goffman's perspective, Peter T. Vail (1998b) defined *nakleng* as a category of Siamese men who were completely engaged socially. The behavioral pattern of acting violently was the dominant norm of masculinity that male actors wanted to manage themselves, in order to reproduce this image. *Nakleng* used violence to express themselves and to build reputation and face. *Nakleng* embodies a set of masculine codes, which men must negotiate. The quality of being *nakleng* will be assessed by a social 'gaze' and their peers.⁹⁵ Therefore, the active and intentional expression of masculine identities needs to be added to the theoretical framework.

A man creatively and intentionally performs his masculine identities, not only to impress others, but also to compete with other men in order to demonstrate his superior and legitimate manliness. The theoretical model of Geertz (2005) gives more room for the antagonistic contests of social actors who express their identities to necessarily reaffirm their prestige. According to his study, every Balinese adult man was expected to build up his manly identity through the construction of many cultural texts in relation to cocks when interacting, having feelings, and talking with cocks. Cocks were symbols and magnifications of the owners' selves. A cockfight match between near-status-equals generates a greater level of antagonistic actions to affirm the prestige of a man's status.⁹⁶

Although this research emphasises the creative and active male roles in expressing masculinity in each interaction, it does not mean that a masculine identity largely depends on a short-term social relationship. This research tries to go beyond the incompatible focuses, Goffmanesque and Geertzian analyses of masculinity in a short-term interaction and Eliasian emphasis on the long-term effect on the self. Rather than considering the long-term and short-term factors determining one's self as a dichotomy, I stress that masculinities have continuously been constructed by creative expressions of manhood to deal with social

⁹³ Goffman, 1959, pp.1-16; Maguire, 1992, pp.109-118.

⁹⁴ Birrell, 1981, pp.365-372.

⁹⁵ Vail, 1998b, pp.301, 308-9, 319-320.

⁹⁶ Geertz, 2005, pp.61-84.

interactions. For instance, a boy who has been taught at school to be ashamed of using violence develops his civilised masculinity. He avoids behaving aggressively when communicating with teachers and friends at his school. However, when he confronts aggressive boys on a public sports field, he can creatively switch from the civilised to violent identities in order to compete with them to prove his superior manhood.

The prestigious and ideal pattern of masculine identity that men deliberately compete to demonstrate is not static. The masculine identity should be considered as flexible and changeable. Connell (2008; 2013) and Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) proposed the concept of hegemonic masculinity in order to capture the male contests to perform the flexible and changeable masculine ideal. All men may not be able to reach and may avoid expressing the ideal pattern of masculinity. Only a few men might enact multiple meanings of hegemonic masculinity, and others may resist the dominant masculinity. Masculinities are fluid and changing configurations, and how the configurations differ depends on gender relations, which are produced by social actors in social situations.⁹⁷ According to Connell, masculinities are fluid identities, which a social actor has to continually and differently construct in relations to a number of relationships throughout their life course. From childhood to adulthood, the learnings have been “actively” practiced in interpersonal or intergroup interactions. The learnings involve informal peer group life and physical activities.⁹⁸

What hegemonic masculinity needs to include is that a boy may sometimes align himself with aggressive masculinity when interacting with peers. In the period that another masculinity (the gentle masculinity) was legitimately practiced in classrooms, a boy may temporarily detach himself from the aggressive one⁹⁹ and submit himself to another masculine pattern. This is the strategy that can be applied in contexts in which two antagonistic patterns of masculinities (*nakleng* and the disciplined masculinity) were strong. The identity of a social actor is unstable and fragmented.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Cowburn, 2013, pp.186-7; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, pp.832-844; Connell, 2013, p.10; Kreisky, 2014, pp.15-7; Liston, 2007, p.626.

⁹⁸ Connell, 2008, pp.131-4; Kreisky, 2014, p.16; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p.852.

⁹⁹ Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p.841.

¹⁰⁰ Pringle, 2005, p.269.

Elias's conception of the long-term process of social behaviours can be employed to strengthen the idea of fluid and changeable masculinity. A particular pattern of masculinity, which gradually changes under specific social interdependencies, needs to be studied in the context of the longer-term development of society. Without considering masculinity under the long-term development, it is risky to generalise that characteristics of desirable masculinity are static and unchallengeable. Elias and Dunning's model can help transcend the unchanging ideal of the masculine identity, showing the changing pictures of the lengthening network of social interdependencies, which lead to the various patterns of masculine identity. In the Siamese context, the lengthened network of social interdependencies in the age of state formation led to the new emergence of a disciplined masculinity and the reduction of contests of aggressive masculine identities between communities. By the turn of the twentieth century, the construction of the in-group identification unit as part of the Siamese nation-state slowly challenged aggressive masculine identity, which was seen in late eighteenth-century boxing and mob soccer¹⁰¹, with the centralised government attempting to support controlled-violent contests.¹⁰²

By employing the aforementioned ideas on masculinity, I focus on the long-term, ongoing and relational power struggle between social actors who consciously and intentionally constitute and express the embodied masculine identities in different situations.

¹⁰¹ See Low, 1836, pp.387-8; The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, 2006, pp.385-6; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.23, 45.

¹⁰² Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.3-182.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

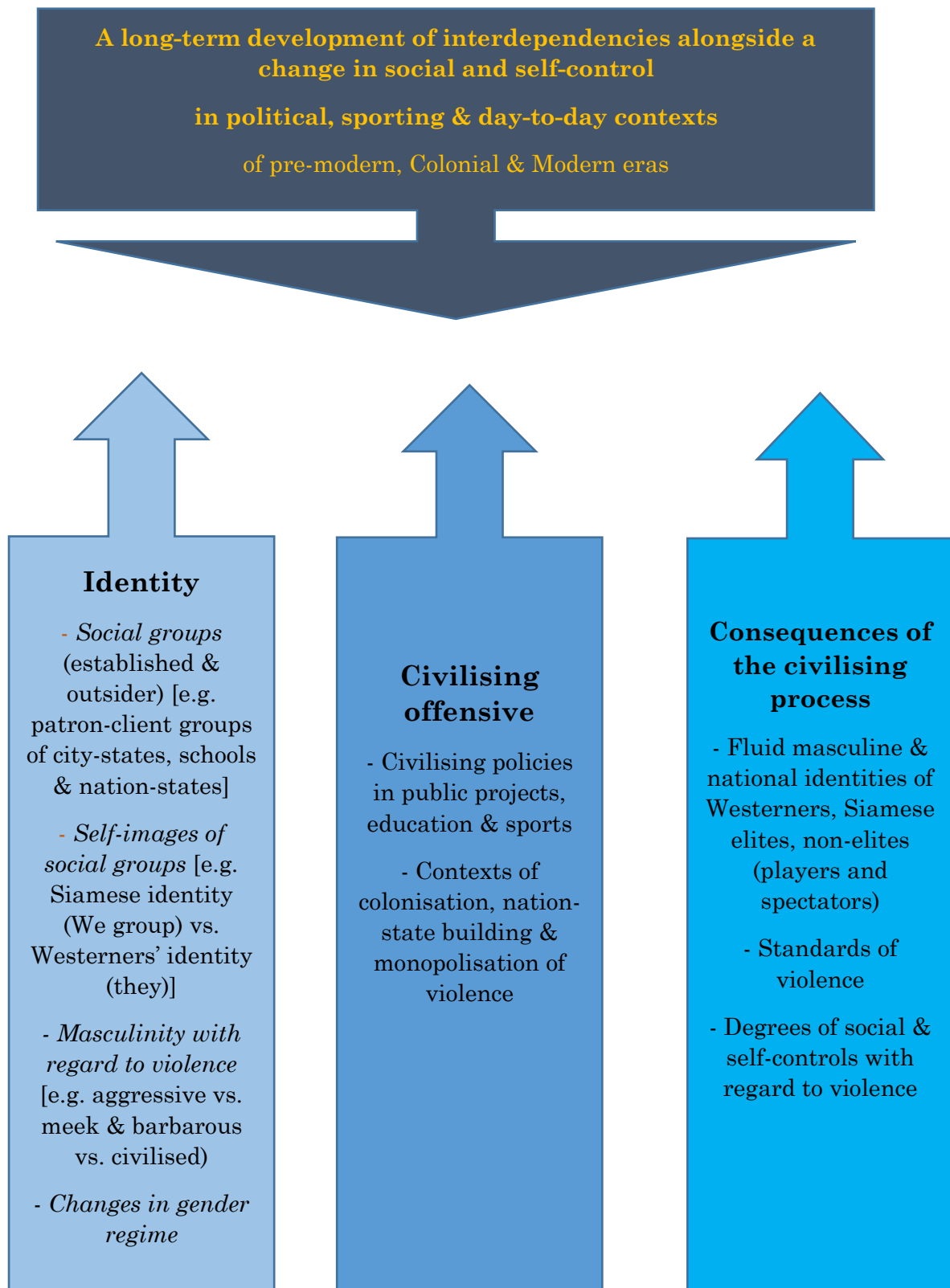
The aforementioned parts reviewed a series of concepts with which to construct a framework of analysis of a period when the aggressive masculinity of non-elite Siamese was challenged by the deliberate civilising plans of the elite. The framework emphasises the role of long-term change in social and self-restraints in relation to expressions of violence in day-to-day and physical activities from the pre-modern to modern period, enabling an analysis of the ongoing economic and political changes which shaped functional interdependencies between social groups. This research will also capture the change in social relationships and characteristics of social groups in relation to their struggles to use and monopolise physical power. Finally, I also investigate how the changes in interdependencies and the monopolisation of violence engendered demands for social and self-control in political, day-to-day and sporting contexts.

This thesis explains the transformation of power relationships between men and women, beliefs about gender differences, the division of labour and sexual customs in the pre-modern and modern periods. It examines how beliefs about gender differences are constructed through education and sports, approaching education and sports as spaces for constructing both the violent and civilised patterns of masculinity. The way dominant masculinities, their otherness and the policing of men are produced by social actors is explored, and ruling elites and other social actors are positioned as active agents who can selectively and fluidly produce different patterns of masculinity and femininity in order to negotiate with one another in different situations and epochs.

The ruling elites' calculated plans to civilise aggressive masculinity in order to maintain their power in the age of colonisation and the nation-state should be analysed. The term "civilisation" in this research will be considered as constructed, changeable and fluid meanings. Social actors compete to define these meanings to improve their self-images and serve their interests. In this framework physical activities are viewed as an arena where social actors compete to (re)define their identities as legitimate and illegitimise the identities of others.

This research investigates pre-modern and modern sports as fluid and changeable figurations of interdependent and antagonistic sets of players which represent social groups, supporters who are part of social groups and actors who apply the mode of social control. How sports are modified to maintain pleasurable battle excitement will be addressed.

Research data will be gathered and analysed according to this diagram:



2.6 Epistemological Stance and Methodology

This section delineates the epistemological stance and methodology utilised in this research. In three subsections, I set out the analysed periods of the Siamese history, research sources, data collection and analytical processes.

This research is based on the epistemological paradigm of Norbert Elias. Elias does not believe in the existence of objective facts which are acquired from a fully detached investigative process.¹⁰³ Elias believes that if one explains a social relationship, one simultaneously expresses her or his possessed perception of humans' interdependencies and conception of reality.¹⁰⁴ Elias indicates that, in the research process, sociologists always partially involve the analysis of patterns of interdependence and changing figurations. Researchers must avoid employing their own value system to analyse data. To avoid partiality, researchers have to disclose their theoretical perspectives and research objectives.

My research has two main objectives. The first, already mentioned, is to investigate the long-term development of sports and masculinity with regard to violence and civilisation in Siam. The second aim is related to my affective bonds to soccer and Thai history, which have been developing since childhood. The nationwide broadcasting of the 1998 World Cup in France and the 1998 Asian Games in Bangkok piqued my interest in football. This Asian Game Tournament has also been depicted and glorified by the Thai media as the greatest achievement of the Thai national football team. Since then, I have been interested in the past, present and future of Thai football. Furthermore, as a descendent of Chinese immigrants, I have paid attention to the stories of my ancestors and how their stories are woven into the fabric of Thai history. The interests in football and the Thai history cause me to study the beginning period of football in Thailand.

My experiences in football between the late 1990s and the 2010s were very different from the game in the 1900s, when its values and objectives tended to be specifically produced to serve the initial process of nation-state building and absolutism. My own childhood was embodied by the normalised softened style of play, the idea of democratisation and the longstanding belief in the nation-state. The normalised values and behaviour of my own life

¹⁰³ Elias, 1956, pp.228-9; Liston, 2007, p.635.

¹⁰⁴ Elias, 2009, p.3.

experience differ drastically from the prevalent legitimate aggressive masculinity of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰⁵ The rules and constraints of football tended to coincide with the rise of the unprecedented, pacified modern state of the royal elites. In this period, the size and shape of the nation-state were changing due to several political forces, including the Siamese elites, the British and the French. The royal elites were forming an unprecedented absolute monarchy to replace the tributary system and the proto-democratic idea.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, I have been an outsider to both the values upheld in football and the political systems which existed in the 1900s.

Elias reminds sociologists of how subjectivity shapes perception. Subjectivity is a crucial factor to enable researchers to understand actions and interactions. The figurational perspective requires researchers to detach themselves from the role of active participants as much as possible, but also to involve themselves to comprehend meanings of actions from the observed persons' perspectives.¹⁰⁷ The detached approach can help understand the short-term social issues in the light of the long-term social transformation. Meanwhile, to understand the functioning and interactions of humans, a researcher needs to comprehend how people experience their social groups from their own perspectives.¹⁰⁸

Elias suggests that to attain the adequacy of evidence, researchers must construct an accurate pattern of interdependencies of social groups and the chain of connected events. Researchers need to investigate dynamics of power balance within and between social groups to explore the way they exercise social pressures and constraints towards one another. To understand these interactions, researchers must put themselves in the shoes of the researched social groups to understand the latter's experiences. Researchers must analyse accounts of a researched individual, which reflect his or her meanings of the 'I,' 'we,' and 'they' perspectives. Identifying and comparing the 'we' perspectives of social groups can help to understand their uses of the 'they' perspectives. Researchers must reveal characteristics, functions and positions within any specific sub-systems and sub-processes that interconnect with one another within a whole society. However, researchers must realise that their thought and process of conducting research more or less affect research contents.

¹⁰⁵ Lekhayanon, 1977; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7; Sunthorphanhit, 1972, pp.3-52.

¹⁰⁶ Battye, 1974; Winichakul, 1994; Brown, 2004, pp.15-16.

¹⁰⁷ Elias, 1956, pp.234-5; Maguire, 1988, pp.189-190, van Krieken, 1998, pp.71-3; Baur & Ernst, 2011, pp.120-1.

¹⁰⁸ Elias, 1956, pp.235, 237; Elias, 2008, pp.94-5.

Researchers must avoid their own class bias. Researchers' identification and explanation of changing patterns of interdependence must concurrently offer coherent theories to provide precisely structured processes in action.¹⁰⁹

Elias rejects the application of any grand theory to capture all elements of a whole society as it tends to misrepresent, reduce or omit a changing pattern of interdependence, whose new functions, power relationships, tensions and cultural meanings may unprecedentedly arise. Therefore, the task of the sociologist is to find or design any possible model to suit all accessible evidence to capture this continuum.¹¹⁰ The grounded theory methodology¹¹¹ is suitable for developing or making analytical schema to explain social processes out of available evidence. The approach emphasises the theory-development that is generated in first-hand accounts of the studied social groups. Researchers make use of studied persons' experienced activities under (sub-)cultures of the entire social system to generate a set of theories. In other words, the experiences of observed individuals are sources for formulating a set of theories to explain interdependencies, interactions and actions. Moreover, some existing theories that are suitable for capturing the available data may be employed to elaborate and/or modify an analytical model. In this way, all applied theories will be rigorously tested by their intimate relationship and compatibility with evidence. The changing patterns of social interdependencies, which are captured by a selected set of substantive theories, must be meticulously analysed together with the detailed description of transforming social conditions.

The formation of a set of theories for conducting this research begins with a review of numerous pieces of evidence, which show prevalent violence during the initial stage of the state's promotion of civilised soccer in the 1900s. Elias's concept of the civilising process is employed to trace the long-term development of sports, which becomes increasingly less violent and more civilised. In pre-modern Siamese games which were played around the 1900s, violence tended to decrease as a result of the civilising plan of the ruling elites. The Western European-based model of civilisation does not fit the Siamese context, and so the civilising process had unintended consequences in the European context. The concept of the

¹⁰⁹ Elias, 1956, pp.246, 249-250; Maguire, 1988, pp.191-3

¹¹⁰ Elias, 1956, pp.245-9; Liston, 2007, p.631.

¹¹¹ Strauss, 1987, pp.5-7, 29-35; Strauss & Corbin, 1994, pp.273-282; White, 2000, pp.50-1; Cresswell, 2007, pp.62-3, 143.

'civilising offensive' is applied to capture how the established group or the Siamese elite deployed the civilising plan to help maintain their status-quo in a society or nation-state. Moreover, the collected evidence shows that the Siamese elites' promotion of civilised sports tends to preserve and consolidate the male elites' power over the weakened women. This situation is different from the automatic rise of women's power during the civilising process as Elias suggests. Therefore, an analysis of gender regime that underlines the power relationships between genders has been added to this research.

2.6.1 Analysed Periods

This research divides analysis into four periods. The first three periods are categorised as the pre-modern era. The third period highlights pre-modern politics and culture, which are challenged by colonisation. The fourth period covers the years when modern political institutions and sports were concretely constructed.

1. *The thirteenth – the seventeenth century*: This is the period when people in pre-modern states and city-states played games which were related to aspects of warfare and supernatural power.¹¹²
2. *The eighteenth – the early nineteenth century*: This is the period when the Siamese elites and bourgeois-nobles became involved in lucrative commercial activities. This commercial experience brings about the belief in rationality and a reduced importance of the supernatural among the elite and bourgeoisie. The supernatural characteristics of pastimes faded, but the war-related feature continued.¹¹³ To reconstruct these first two periods, this research makes use of previous research on these periods, chronicles, historical testimonies, travel writings, poems, inscriptions and laws.
3. *The 1820s –the turn of the twentieth century*: Siam was highly involved in the global process of colonisation. The Siamese elites did not dare to initiate any war against the British and French occupied territories. The effect of colonisation leads to the reduced importance

¹¹² Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, p.127; Reid, 1988, pp.177-9; Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

¹¹³ King Chulalongkorn, 1964, p.72; Sattayanurak, 1995; Eoseewong, 2012b.

of pastimes as training for warfare. This is also the period when the Westerners and Siamese energetically defined their identities with regard to civilisation and barbarity.¹¹⁴

4. *Around the turn of the twentieth century:* This was the period when the Siamese elites concretely and enthusiastically built up the nation-state. They attempted to monopolise fiscal and physical power. They tried to introduce modern education and civilised sports to get rid of the violent characteristic of the Siamese people.¹¹⁵ Here, the researcher studies the development of modern sports only during the reign of Rama V, which ended in October 1910. Therefore, this research covers only the first reign of the modern era. Evidence recorded after 1910 is sometimes selected to fill the gap in the lack of sources regarding modern games in the 1900s. For instance, (auto)biographies written after 1910 are useful as they are records of sportsmen's and spectators' memories, feelings and perceptions during the 1900s.¹¹⁶ Moreover, although standardised boxing rules and a match report from the 1920s cannot completely make up for the lack of sources regarding the game in the 1900s, the report reflects a continual tendency of conflict between the elites' civilised rules in standardised games and spectators' pleasure derived from watching a violent style of play.¹¹⁷ In other words, the rules and the match report of the 1920s help to explain the conflict between the elites' and non-elite spectators' standards of violence, which had existed in standardised sports throughout the early twentieth century.¹¹⁸

For periods 3 and 4, this research is built on previous studies, the governmental documents from the National Archives of Thailand, journals of the Education Department, inscriptions, textbooks, books written by kings and princes, etiquette books, autobiographies, newspapers, royal proclamations, treaties, recorded games rules, match reports, poems and population statistics.

¹¹⁴ Low, 1836, pp.387-8; Stringer, 1888, p.7; Lekhayanont, 1977; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.206; The Royal Bangkok Sports Club, 2013.

¹¹⁵ Battye, 1974; Wyatt, 1969; Lekhayanont, 1977; Winichakul, 1994.

¹¹⁶ Sethaboot, 1921; Sunthonphiphit, 1972; The Family of Loi Pasuttanawin, 1972; Wannakowit, 2010.

¹¹⁷ Sangsawang, 1979, p.98; Vail, 1998b, pp.75-6.

¹¹⁸ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.23-56; Lekhayanon, 1977; Sangsawang, 1979, p.98; Vail, 1998b, pp.75-6; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7.

2.6.2 Research Sources and Data Collection

The first step of seeking research sources was to find documents which offer the voices of social actors who (in)directly participated in sporting activities during pre-modern and modern eras. I will later interpret the first-hand accounts of these social actors and groups to comprehend their changing patterns of actions and interactions in distinguished stages of a long-term social development.¹¹⁹ To appraise the behaviour of social actors in sporting and other contexts during the pre-modern period, I used an inscription, poems, chronicles, testimonies, laws, newspapers, travel writings and relevant research. I made use of journal articles, archives, photos, newspapers, (auto)biographies and related research to illustrate masculine patterns in sporting and other spheres during the modern era. Furthermore, to understand the meanings of archaic words in an inscription and poems, I used the Royal Institute Dictionary. Moreover, these sources were appraised to check their authenticity and credibility. These sources were collected and compared to assess whether an actor's account is representative of the totality of related documents in each era.¹²⁰ Research sources which reflect sporting events, masculine behaviours and constructed identities of the Siamese and foreigners in both the pre-modern and modern periods:

Inscription: The King Ramkhamhaeng Inscription was not a forgery by Mongkut (Rama IV) as some scholars have claimed. Pieces of evidence, written during the early and late Ayutthaya era, mentioned that King Ramkhamhaeng invented Thai alphabets during the Sukhothai era as the inscription had indicated. Moreover, archaeological evidence shows that places mentioned in the inscription exist. Words resembling those of the King Ramkhamhaeng Inscription have been found in other Tai and old Khmer inscriptions. For these reasons, it is impossible that Mongkut would have gone through these facts before he forged the inscription.¹²¹

Testimonies: *The Testimony on the People of Ayutthaya* and *The Testimony of Khun Luang Wat Pradu Songtham* provide voices of the Ayutthayan nobility and commoners who were captured and deported to Burma after the fall of Ayutthaya in the mid-1760s. The testimonies

¹¹⁹ Strauss & Corbin, 1994, pp.274-8.

¹²⁰ The Royal Society of Thailand, 2011; Scott, 1990, pp.19-35.

¹²¹ National Library, 2004, p.33; na Nagara, 2004, pp.168-181; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2017, p.284.

were records of interviews with the captives. Their voices provide an oral history that reflects expressions of masculinity and perceptions of politics during the late Ayutthaya period.¹²²

Poems: Samutthakhot Khamchan was written by a great master and King Narai during his reign [r.1656-1688]. However, after the death of these two authors, it was later completed by Patriarch Prince Paramanuchit Chinorot in 1849. The first part of the poem, written by a great master, gives rich detail about sports during the Ayutthaya period. The other part of the poem illustrates the life of Prince Samutthakhot, a previous incarnation of Lord Buddha.¹²³

The poem, *Nai Khanom Tom Fighting the Burmese in Front of the King of Ava*, was composed by Prince Phichitprichakon, the royal commissioner to oversee the administrative affairs in northern tributaries, in 1887.¹²⁴ The poem depicts the fighting capability of a Thai boxer who was deported to Burma after the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767. Rather than interpreting the poem as late-eighteenth century evidence, I consider it a record showing how the Siamese elites tried to construct ideas of nationalism and the territorial state in literature after the British had overthrown the Burmese monarchy and the French had fully occupied Vietnam.¹²⁵

The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya: Apart from the Luang Prasert's version compiled around 1680, another six main versions of the chronicles were composed shortly after the fall of the Ayutthaya Kingdom (or during the Thonburi or early Bangkok eras). The six versions were written by individuals who had lived in the Ayutthaya period; therefore, they offer credible detail about sports activities during the eighteenth century. The Luang Prasert Chronicle provides elaborate detail about the Ayutthayan kings' tasks between the mid-fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.¹²⁶

The Royal Chronicles of Rama I, II, III and IV: Patriarch Prince Paramanuchit Chinorot (1790-1852), who had grown up during the reign of Rama I, wrote a chronicle covering stories from the Ayutthaya period to around the first ten years of Rama I's era. In 1869, King Rama V ordered Lord Dibakarawongsa (1813-1870), who was a child during the second reign, to use the Prince's document as a source to compile the royal chronicles of Kings Rama I, II, III and

¹²² Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, pp.vi-vii, 127; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2017, pp.285-6

¹²³ Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

¹²⁴ The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, 2017.

¹²⁵ Osborne, 2001, pp.89-97; Chaiyaporn, 2017, p.20.

¹²⁶ RCA, 2006, p.xviii; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2017, pp.284-5.

IV. Dibakarawongsa's chronicles were based on archives and official documents of ministries and departments which had been written and issued throughout these four reigns.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, in the early twentieth century, Prince Damrong edited the royal chronicle of Rama II by adding various documents.¹²⁸

Laws: The Three Seals Law is a collection of laws of Siam gathered during the first reign of the Bangkok Period [r.1782-1809]. Many compiled legal texts were previously applied during the Ayutthaya period. These laws provide information about the elites' standard for violence in the political and sporting contexts.¹²⁹

Newspaper: I used the American-owned newspaper, the *Bangkok Recorder*. This paper offers the American perspective of and reports on the civilised, violent and barbaric conditions in Siam in the mid-1860s, or about forty years before the Siamese elites' introduction to modern sports. The paper was issued between 1865 and 1867, so the researcher explores the issues printed only during these available periods. The researcher uses the first set of issues of the *Bangkok Recorder* reprinted in 1994.

Travel writings: These documents offer the first-hand accounts of foreigners who came to experience and judge the civilised, violent and barbaric conditions of Siam. Some travel writers provide their judgements on Siamese sports and detail the rules, spectators and violence of the games.

Sources for Studying Modern Sports

The researcher's initial task is to gather evidence to study football and modern sports in Siam. The previous study on the development of sports conducted by Kritpet (1982) is an important guideline, as it refers to an autobiography of a football player during the 1900s. Moreover, the cremation book¹³⁰ of Lekhayanont (1977), a co-organiser of the first Southeast Asia

¹²⁷ Dibakarawong, 1995, pp.I-II.

¹²⁸ Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.ix-xiii.

¹²⁹ Bunyasamit, 2007, pp.8-10.

¹³⁰ Some elderly and literate Thai individuals prepare to have their cremation book published during the late stages of their lives. They prepare to write, compile or reprint books as their own cremation books. They aim to give them as gifts to guests during their future cremation ceremony. The first part of the cremation book usually contains (auto)biographies and commemorations of the dead persons. The latter part was their written documents, compiled texts or chosen books to be reprinted. The making of a cremation book was regarded by the Thais as an act of merit to procreate knowledge. It is also the expression of the deceased person's interest in knowledge, life achievements and socioeconomic status.

Peninsula Games, provides a large collection of official reports of modern games during the eras of Rama V and V. Apart from several collected articles about football and other sports, this book provides a name list of original sources about football and modern sports. As a result, the researcher started to gather match reports, news and articles from the newspaper (the *Bangkok Times*) and a journal of the Education Department (*Witthayachan*).

The researcher collected sporting-related stories from autobiographies and *Witthayachan* from the National Library in Bangkok twice in June-July 2014 and August 2016. During these periods, the researcher also collected some old photographs and the government documents, whose contents were related to sports and education, from the National Archives of Thailand in Bangkok. The researcher gathered sports news from the *Bangkok Times*, which had been recorded in microfilms, at the National Library of Australia in Canberra twice in December 2013 and April 2016.

Autobiographies: Autobiographies provide first-hand accounts of authors' lives, desires and attitudes towards their actions and interactions during sporting matches. The autobiographies also offer expressions of their changing masculine identities throughout the authors' life courses. The expressed masculinities and attitudes towards their actions on a playing ground provide an aspect that may not appear on the governmental records. This may be because some aggressive behaviours were distasteful and thus excluded by the government. The autobiographies, therefore, may reflect a tension between social groups. This research makes use of autobiographies of boys who referred to their (in)direct experiences of games around the early twentieth century. Researcher traces names of sportsmen, which were referred in reviewed literature and autobiographies. Researcher later tried to find out whether these sportsmen wrote anything about their lives in autobiographical books through library catalogues of universities and national libraries in Thailand and Australia. Furthermore, the researcher also makes use of the collection of cremation books in the National Library of Australia in Canberra in order to search for (auto)biographies of men who told their experiences in sports around the turn of the twentieth century.

Newspapers: The *Bangkok Times* offers a wide range of sporting activities of individuals from different backgrounds. The paper provides match reports of games such as football, kite-

flying and so on. The paper also gives details of meeting minutes and the activities of sports clubs reserved for the Siamese elites, officials and foreign expatriates. Editorial comments and correspondences in the Bangkok Times provide the paper's moral values on behaviour as well as the voices of readers. As the Siamese elites initially organised football matches and helped establish a sports club in Bangkok during the early 1900s, the researcher focuses on newspapers issued between 1900 and 1910.

Journal of the Education Department: The Department published the journal, *Witthayachan* or Teachers' Knowledge, to circulate the educational objectives, the Department's declarations, academic articles, pedagogy, reports on sporting activities (including football), lecture notes and so on. Readers of the Journal included teachers, students and literate commoners. The journal reflects major educational issues and problems as well as purposes of promoting sports from the Department's perspective. This research explores the Journal from the first issue in 1901 to the issues in 1910. The researcher gathered articles which are related to masculine identities and behaviours as well as sports.

Textbooks: This research makes use of a series of the textbook (*Thamma Chariya* or Dharma Conducts) published during the reign of Rama V. The textbooks provide educative and sporting values and gender identities, which the Education Department aimed to inculcate students.

Archives: The National Archives of Thailand in Bangkok provides microfilmed letters and documents which King Rama V and high-ranking officials of the Education Department communicated to plan the structure and details of (physical) education. The National Archives also provides some photos about sporting activities around the turn of the twentieth century.

I should emphasise that most the pre-modern and modern sporting-related stories that I have found and cited are exclusively the experiences of men. Accounts of women about experiences in pre-modern and modern sports games are less common. Some pieces of evidence suggest that women had active roles in non-contact games and supporting roles in contact games. This reflects that men excluded women from games that included or could result in violent behaviour. Women's involvement in leisure activities, such as in promenades

at fairs,¹³¹ should be studied as a separate research topic. This thesis only focuses on female roles in sports, which were used to construct and reflect beliefs in gender differences. Furthermore, the scope of this research will not cover pre-modern games unrelated to warlike pastimes such as *sepak takraw* because this thesis focuses on changes in the standard of violence and characteristics of violence-related sports.

2.6.3 Data and Analytical Processes

The analysis of social figurations needs an investigation of three levels: the macro-level (figuration), micro-level (individuals) and the sociogenesis of figurations. For the *macro-level*, researchers make use of maps, population statistics, books and so on to reconstruct characteristics of figurations and hidden rules. The frequency of data, which demonstrates individuals' ways of thinking, willingness and behaviours can help researchers categorise people into social groups. The macro-level data will be valuable to identify the number and size of each (sub-)group.¹³² To achieve object-adequacy of an explanation of social development, researchers need to repeatedly put evidence to test for accuracy and validate emerging issues. The employment of numerous pieces of evidence and several cases studies which provide multiple realities can help researchers to generate a conclusion that is transferable to other social contexts.¹³³

Researchers need to analyse each social category intensively. Sociologists must pose several questions to densify the analysis of social groups, their interdependencies and consequences of interactions and actions. For example, this research asks several questions to construct patterns of masculine identities of social groups in different eras, self-images and actions with regard to violence and civilisation, interactions and the changing political and sporting contexts.¹³⁴ This research categorises social groups through the socio-economic backgrounds of individuals who expressed aggressive and civilised masculinities. This research asks: how were the developments and functions of both patterns of masculinities in political, day-to-day and sporting contexts? What kinds of masculinity did individuals express to interact with

¹³¹ Princess Phunphitsamai Ditsakul, 2017.

¹³² White, 2000, p.51; Cresswell, 2007, p.64; Baur & Ernst, 2011, pp.126-130.

¹³³ White, 2000, pp.53-4; Cresswell, 2007, pp.65-7.

¹³⁴ Strauss, 1987, pp.27-8, 36; White, 2000, pp.51-2.

each other in a sporting activity in each epoch (pre-modern, colonising and modern eras)? Which demographics participated in violent games and civilised sports? Where did individuals play these games? What were desirable characteristics of the masculinities and other forms of social prestige which presidents of sporting events, players, spectators, foreigners and so on competed to express? How were antagonistic feelings among players and their representing social groups? What were social pressure to use violence, restraints applied following the regulations of games, self-controls to allow oneself to act under a socially acceptable degree of violence, the roles of the umpire and so forth? What were the consequences of each match and series of sporting events? How did practices in violent and civilised games serve each social group? What were the opinions of social groups towards sporting practices? How did interactions and tensions in sports change in each period? These enquiries were constantly posed to compare and organise research data to densify the analysis.

This research uses population statistics that provide the size of the population and the number of enrolled students to identify the proportion of pupils who were directly inculcated by the civilising plans through education and sports. Textbooks, journals of the Education Department, official reports on soccer matches, government documents and newspapers provide the ideal society and social order which the ruling elites built up. These documents are valuable for understanding the inculcating process in educational and sporting spheres. They were places where boys learned and developed a civilised mode of behaviours, the self-restraint to curb aggressive conduct and the sense of belonging to a pacified unit of the nation-state. The frequency of official reports on unruly and civilised behaviours can be a useful indicator to categorise social groups.

For constructing the *micro-level* picture, Elias employed open-ended data such as historical sources, life documents, autobiographies, etiquette books and so forth. These data offer individuals' insight into perceptions of the 'We' and 'They' groups and figurations. They also provide individuals' interactions and changing social positions and life courses. Moreover, the data can be used to identify the way individuals become part of, (un)successfully manage to change and leave the figuration.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Baur & Ernst, 2011, pp.130-1; Elias, 2000.

This research makes use of autobiographies, etiquette books, newspapers and official reports of football games to understand the way boys integrated themselves into their social classes and educational opportunities to gain civilised manners. Individuals' accounts of their desires, values, behaviours, and styles of play in football matches can reveal the 'We' and 'They' groups among the social classes. Constructed images of these in-group identifications under the context of the planned civilising process reflect the power balance and changing social relationship in action. Autobiographies also offer information as to how a boy decided to leave a social group (like the lower class) to enter the other more civilised groups. Furthermore, this research makes use of travel writings. Travellers' accounts provide constructed self-images with regard to violence and civilisation of races, continents and nations. Several speeches that refer to national identity and the foreigners' self-images will be explored. These speeches, found in books and autobiographies, represent both elite and commoner viewpoints.

To rebuild the figuration's *sociogenesis*, the researcher places the figurations and individuals in a timeline. This provides how interdependencies and interactions of various periods are linked and shape a change in or even an end to the figuration. To understand the long-term development of society, researchers must divide the studied period into sub-periods. Drawing a flow chart or a timeline is useful to trace changes in social development. The researcher will later explore pieces of evidence, which were produced and widely circulated by the researched individuals in each sub-period. A comparison of documents of several sub-periods allows researchers to see the transformations of figurations' hidden rules and the (un)planned consequences of individuals' interactions and actions.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Elias, 2000; White, 2000, p.52; Baur & Ernst, 2011, pp.132-3.

Chapter III:

The Dynamics of Pre-Modern Siam, the 13th – the early 19th Century

This chapter discusses the development of the pre-modern state of Siam and the social relationships within it. This chapter assesses whether Elias's concepts of social interdependence, elimination contests, royal mechanism and physical and fiscal monopolisation can be applied to understand relationships and state formation in Siam. Section 3.1 illustrates how relationships between social actors (lords and subjects) in pre-modern Siam were. Moreover, I delineate to what extent social groups exerted violence toward one another. Section 3.2 explores the development of the Siamese pre-modern state between the thirteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Section 3.3 appraises whether warfare technology, such as gunfire, contributed to the centripetal tendency of the Siamese state. Finally, section 3.4 investigates whether developments of economy and a system of tax collection led to the centralisation of fiscal power in the Siamese state.

This chapter outlines the development of the Siamese state from its beginning stage to the early nineteenth century. Therefore, the content of this chapter will cover three periods of Siam, including the Ayutthaya (1351-1767), Thonburi (1767-1782) and Bangkok periods (1782-1820).

3.1 Power, Violence and Social Interdependence

Recognition of charismatic power played a vital part in pre-modern states in Southeast Asia. Rulers competed to demonstrate their superior charismatic power through their claimed innate status, their moral perfection, their sexual prowess and fertility, their fighting ability or the size and achievement of their troops. Warfare and pastimes were the tests of charisma. A triumph reflected that the winning side had more charismatic power and merit than a losing side.¹

¹ Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.153-5; Charney, 2004, pp.1-2; Jory, 2002b, pp.36-45; Sattayanurak, 2003a, p.206; RCA, 2000, pp.385-6, Chutintaranond, 2004; Eoseewong, 2004, p.494; Loos, 2005, pp.890-1.

According to laws of the Ayutthaya and Bangkok Kingdoms, the virtues of warriors were one of a very few number of pathways for subjects to climb the class ladder, as they would receive official titles, manpower, rewards and charisma.² The achievement in warfare that supported the centripetal tendency and survival of an in-group identification (a kingdom) led to praise and rewards.³

Lower degrees of warrior virtue, which meant less charismatic power, led to the death of lords and soldiers.⁴ However, war captives were neither mutilated nor executed because states like Siam, Burma and Vietnam needed population. If the prisoners were members of the royal family, they would be taken as hostages.⁵ Departed war captives experienced extreme exhaustion, deadly diseases, separation of family members and starvation from long marches.⁶

Individuals tended to view themselves, their group and others in terms of degrees of charismatic power. The “I-and-we” consciousness of a master and his subjects was related to the survival function in the political structure of the pre-modern era. A master needed subjects because the subjects were sources of affluence and military power; subjects needed a master who had a great degree of charisma because subjects wanted to avoid the risk of becoming oppressed war captives or sex slaves.⁷ A we-group identification represented a degree of fighting ability, which was considered to be part of charismatic power. The fighting ability of a patron-client group’s key representatives (a master, his warriors and boxers) represented the charismatic power of that group. The death or vanquishment of these representatives was considered a partial or complete loss of merit for a person and a group.⁸ Avoidance of fighting a war that would lead to a deadly result for a patron-client group was socially unacceptable. Following the laws in the late Ayutthaya and early Bangkok eras, if

² Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, pp.1382-4.

³ Following the law of the Ayutthaya and Bangkok Kingdoms, persons who would be awarded and lauded as virtuous men were those who beat an opponent in a war, volunteered to fight and win in a war and volunteered to defend the capital city successfully (Ngoensawat, 2006, p.69).

⁴ Charney, 2004, pp.2-3; RCA, 2000, p.34.

⁵ For example, in the 1560s, Prince Naresuan of Siam was taken hostage by a Burmese king to ensure that Siam (as a tributary state) would be loyal to Burma (Bowie, 1996, p.107; Grabowsky, 1999, p.46; Charney, 2004, p.18; Hall, 1974, pp.55-62; Battye, 1974, pp.2-5).

⁶ Grabowsky, 1999, pp.58-60; Bowie, 1996, pp.114-120; Earl, 2012, p.128; Gützlaff, 2012, p.83; Hall, 1974, p.41.

⁷ Bowie, 1996, pp.107-126.

⁸ Chutintaranond, 2004, p.59.

warriors avoided fighting a war, their commander would sentence these warriors and their family members to death.⁹ It was socially unacceptable for a man to be unable to protect a patron-client group and family members.¹⁰

3.1.1 Relationships between Subjects and Masters, and Resistance

Following Elias, a functional interdependence is in operation when a social actor cannot gain access to a resource which others have the power to deny giving. Both sides mutually depend on each other.¹¹

In Siam, subjects included *phrai* (serfs) and *that* (slaves), who were commanded to farm, go to war and pay tax to their masters.¹² All *phrai* had to be registered to masters.¹³ There were two types of *phrai*: *phrai luang* (king's *phrai*) and *phrai som* (noble's *phrai*). *Phrai* served the corvée under the control of masters who resided in a nearby area.¹⁴ During war, *phrai* could climb the social class ladder. If the *phrai* empirically showed their virtue as great warriors, they could reap rewards.¹⁵

Slaves consisted of people who were captives of the war, convicts, kidnapped by traders and those born to slave parents. Meanwhile, *phrai* could also sell themselves into redeemable slavery. Compared to war captives and kidnapped slaves, who took a risk of travelling on long and dangerous routes and getting sexually assaulted, redeemable slaves had better living conditions.¹⁶

Before the abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century, slaves had to either pay a commutation tax of 1 baht 50 satang¹⁷ or serve the government for eight days a year. Apart

⁹ Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, pp.112-6, 1215-8.

¹⁰ Ngoensawat, 2006, p.74.

¹¹ Elias, 1978, pp.72-89.

¹² Bowie, 1996, pp.129-131; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6.

¹³ Young, 1997, p.77.

¹⁴ Rajchagool, 1994, pp.58-60.

¹⁵ TKP, 1991, p.38; Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, pp.112-5.

¹⁶ Bowring, 1857, p.194; Bowie, 1996, pp.100-131; Weiler, 2013, p.49.

¹⁷ One baht was equivalent to one hundred satang. Before 1880, eight baht was equal to one pound sterling. Between the 1880s and the mid-1930s, the baht had been valued between ten and eleven baht to the pound sterling (Wyatt, 1984, p. xviii; Ingram, 2009, p.7). Before and after the late nineteenth century, commoners probably found it hard to afford even one baht. In 1908, many agrarians in central Siam suffered under a head tax of six baht per year (BT, 30 December 1908, p.4).

from serving the government, slaves usually worked for their masters. Lords recruited various male and female *phrai* and slaves to farm.¹⁸

Although the masters had much more power than their subjects, there were reasons for masters to feel compelled to treat their subjects mercifully. When leaving one master to serve another, clients choose to serve masters who had a reputable charismatic power in helping the *phrai*. Masters may help their subjects to fight a lawsuit or to desert from the army.¹⁹ In this way, masters could gain more power and charisma by having a large number of loyal *phrai*.

In several contexts, some *phrai* did not submit themselves to their local patrons and a king. Although following the law, *phrai* who had no masters would be arrested; *phrai* could escape their lords by either settling in adjacent areas or ordaining to become monks.²⁰ *Phrai* who resisted their master's oppression and unjust acts partially exacerbated the control of manpower at both the local and state levels.²¹

"The treatise about proper conduct for nobles"²² indicates that Ayutthaya struggled to tame both nobles and *phrai*. Ayutthaya aimed at having loyal and efficient governors who could deal effectively with popular resistance. In late Ayutthaya, many *phrai* who encountered unfair judgements from judges/governors and hard work conditions ran away from their masters. The treatise emphasised that fairness and the reduction of working periods and tax rates would make the *phrai* love and respect their masters so much that they would fight to the death for the good of the kingdom.²³

However, the continual resistance of the *phrai* reflects long-term centrifugal tendencies under the Siamese kingdoms. Siamese kings slowly and continuously yielded to pressures put on them by *phrai*.²⁴ Since at least the reign of King Narai [r.1656-1688], *phrai* generally served

¹⁸ A large group of these forced labourers or farmers were called *kong na* [a large farming assembly]. During their works, these forced workers were monitored by their lords' representatives (BT, 26 December 1907, p.5).

¹⁹ Bowring, 1857, p.194; Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.117, 153-5; Aphornsuvan, 1998, pp.164-6; Mongkut, 2004, pp.137, 173-8.

²⁰ Rajchagool, 1994, pp.58-60; Rabibhadana, 1984, p.172; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6; Eoseewong, 2000, p. 64; Lailert, 1972, pp.313-4; Wannarat, 1982, p.36.

²¹ Lailert, 1972, pp.314-5.

²² TKP, 1991, pp.34-9.

²³ TKP, 1991, pp.36-8.

²⁴ Sattayanurak, 2003a, p.99.

their lords for six months a year. It was reduced to four months a year during the reign of King Taksin [r.1767-1782] and later decreased to three months a year during the Bangkok period.²⁵

In conclusion, the proficient uses of violence in warfare were crucial for the survival of an in-group identification like a patron-client group or a kingdom. A patron-client group, a pacified social unit, tended to use violence against other groups, in warfare, coups and pastimes. Rulers and warriors of each group competed to express a degree of charisma through a size of their troops and fighting ability. Moreover, Elias's concept of social interdependence between social classes is useful to capture the counterbalancing power inherent to the interdependencies between lords and subjects. Within a patron-client group, masters felt compelled to treat their subjects mercifully because the latter could negotiate with their masters by escaping to serve other lords. A continual resistance of subjects made masters struggle to control manpower by improving working conditions.

3.2 State Dynamics in the Pre-Modern Era, 13th–early 19th Century

In the course of Western European state formation, Elias suggests that territorial rulers experienced a period of “free competition struggles.” In this period, territorial rulers' military strength was relatively balanced. However, after they had fought each other in numerous wars, several rulers were eliminated, while victorious rulers became stronger. As long as weaker rulers were eradicated, there would be fewer rulers who possessed great military power. This is the process of elimination contests.²⁶ Under this process, the ebb and flow of centralisation and decentralisation occurred continuously.²⁷

The question then arises as to whether Siam encountered the same process of elimination contests, as well as how the development of pre-modern Siam between the thirteenth and early nineteenth centuries should be assessed alongside the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies of politics. Following an outline of some characteristics of pre-modern states in Southeast Asia, I then explore the way pre-modern Siam (Ayutthaya) emerged from a “free competition struggle,” and appraise the centrifugal tendencies in Siam created by several actors between the fourteenth and late seventeenth centuries. This section illustrates the

²⁵ Lailert, 1972, p.294; Wannarat, 1982, p.37.

²⁶ Elias, 2000, pp.263-282, 304-6.

²⁷ Elias, 2000, pp.313-4.

way these centrifugal tendencies brought about an end to the Ayutthaya Kingdom in 1767, which again created a new period of free competition struggles, and assesses this period during the late eighteenth century. This section also investigates whether Siam in the Thonburi and Bangkok periods (before the 1820s) was able to end the centrifugal tendencies of pre-modern politics.

3.2.1 Characteristics of Pre-Modern States in Southeast Asia

The concept of the *mandala state* can be applied to clarify a characteristic of the early empires in India and the pre-modern states in Southeast Asia, as it explains a form of interstate diplomacy after a period of free competition struggles between several states.²⁸ O. W. Wolters has proposed the concept *mandala state* to explain a fluid network of unrestricted loyalties between a supreme ruler and lesser rulers/ kings in Southeast Asia. A king claimed personal hegemony over other lesser kings in his *mandala* who would be included as long as they remained his obedient allies or tributaries. Only the *mandala* overlord had the privilege to receive tributes. However, tributary rulers might refuse their inferior status, challenged the overlord, and attempt to construct their own networks of vassals.²⁹ In contrast, a Western European king tried to tightly control all lesser lords/nobles in his absolutist state.³⁰ Therefore, the relationship between a supreme overlord and lesser lords in Southeast Asia was looser than the interdependence between a king and nobles in a Western European territorial state.

Following a relationship within the *mandala* state of Siam, a Siamese king did not need to eradicate other lesser rulers of *mueang* or city-states and tributaries.³¹ However, he waged wars or built up a peaceful relationship with them in order to make them accept his overlordship. If his political strategies were successful, these *mueang* and tributaries would be contained within a bigger unit, the *mandala* state of Siam. Therefore, some members of

²⁸ Chutintaranond, 1990, pp.89-90.

²⁹ Wolters, 1999, pp.27-8; Chutintaranond, 1990, p.91.

³⁰ Elias, 2000.

³¹ *Mueang* or *muang* is the pre-modern political unit of the Tai. *Mueang* consists of a network of villages. *Chao*, or a lord, ruled *mueang*. Meanwhile, a tributary is a kingdom whose location was at the periphery of the *mandala* centre. Because a tributary was less militarily and financial powerful than the *mandala* centre, the former was required by the latter to send tributes (Wyatt, 1984, p.7).

ruling families of these subordinate areas were usually selected and allowed by Siamese kings to have political and economic autonomy over their *mueang* and tributaries. Meanwhile, a Siamese king could claim the greatness of his kingdom by stating the number of *mueang* and tributaries of lesser lords which were under his overlordship.³² In the Siamese context, the free competition struggles would lead to the process of elimination contests as it did in Western Europe.³³ If Siam could overcome foes by waging wars or making peaceful interstate diplomacy, Siam would establish itself as the centre of the *mandala* state to ensure loyalty.

Figure 3.1: Model showing the power of the mandalas' political centres in mainland Southeast Asia³⁴



This diagram illustrates the power of several mandalas in mainland Southeast Asia. The red dots show the mandalas' political centres where kings could strongly exert their power. The red and yellow lines portray that the power of the monarchs gradually faded as one moved away from the red shot. The concept of frontiers had never existed in this region until nineteenth-century colonisation.

The *mandala* states in Southeast Asia did not have fixed political frontiers. The power of a king gradually faded over distance: he possessed the most power in his capital and areas nearby and this power faded gradually the farther one moved away from the capital. The *mandala* state's military and administrative strength was not strong enough to allow a central ruler to tightly control governors at provinces and rulers at tributaries. I will elaborate on this point in the following subsections.³⁵

³² Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.9; Wyatt, 1984, p.56.

³³ Elias, 2000, p.311.

³⁴ Anderson, 1972, pp.28-32.

³⁵ Anderson, 1972, pp.28-32; Chutintaranond, 1990, p.92; Chaloeontiarana, 2007, pp.xi-xii.

The territorial extension of each pre-modern state was always in flux in accordance with the degree of power a monarch had.³⁶ The strength and longevity of a *mandala* state significantly depended on the characteristics of a ruler who was a man of prowess in warfare.³⁷ The power of a state relied upon the size of the concentration of people rather than of territory. Before the twentieth century, lands were abundant, while populations were sparse. Manpower could strengthen a state's power since farmers, construction workers and soldiers were key ingredients of building and maintain a state. Control over population, therefore, were a central aspect of inter-state conflicts in mainland Southeast Asia.³⁸ Moreover, the power of a *mandala* and its tributary was mutually related to the strength of other opposing *mandalas*.³⁹

Hinduism and Theravada Buddhism significantly influenced the pre-modern polity of Siam and other states in mainland Southeast Asia. A supreme ruler identified himself as an avatar of the supreme god in Hinduism, the sovereign deity who created the universe. The ruler's power emanated from Narayana's divine authority in the universe. The Thai term *phrachao* can mean either king or god. A Thai ruler was regarded as *chakravartin* or the universal monarch or the righteous kingship. The Thai word *chakkrawan* can translate to *buwana* in Javanese or 'universe' in English. Terms related to the supreme god and the universe were used as parts of the titles of rulers.⁴⁰ Furthermore, some kings of Siam identified themselves as *bodhisattas* (future Buddha).⁴¹ The status of being the universal monarch in a Buddhist state was achieved and preserved by protecting Buddhism from degeneration. A king's quest for supremacy was perceived as a righteous expansion to protect lesser kingdoms from harm by using his supreme merit and dharma.⁴²

³⁶ Anderson, 1972, pp.28-32; Chaloeintiarana, 2007, pp.xi-xii.

³⁷ Anderson, 1972, pp.28-32; Chutintaranond, 1990; Wolters, 1999; Chaloeintiarana, 2007, pp.xi-xii.

³⁸ Anderson, 1972, pp.28-32; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6; Grabowsky, 1999, pp.58-60; Bowie, 1996, pp.114-120; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.5.

³⁹ Anderson, 1972, pp.28-32; Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78.

⁴⁰ Rulers who claimed their overlordship in Siam and Java used titles such as Rama ('Avatar of Supreme God [Narayana]') and Hamengku Buwana ('Sustainer of the Universe'), respectively (Anderson, 1972, pp. 31-2; Day and Reynolds, 2000, p.4; Wales, 1931, p.239; Winichakul, 1994, pp.84-5; Krejčí, 2004, p.20).

⁴¹ For example, they were King Trailokkanat [r.1448-1488] and King Borommara IV (No Phutthangkun) [r.1529-1534] (Chantornvong, 2006).

⁴² Winichakul, 1994, pp.84-5; Chutintaranond, 1990, p.90; Day and Reynolds, 2000, pp.6-7.

3.2.2 Free Competition Struggles after the Decline of the Angkor Empire and the Emergence of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, the 13th – the 16th Centuries

Between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, European warriors' desire to wage wars was related to their aim to possess the most land and the most powerful military under the shortage of land. A warrior's attempt to expand his realm that was a creation of centripetal tendency inevitably and simultaneously threatened other warlords.⁴³ This developmental stage of European state formation runs parallel with relationships between lords during the Ayutthaya period from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Lords of kingdoms and city-states waged wars against one another for occupying lucrative seaports and seizing labourers/soldiers. The Ayutthaya Kings' endeavours to create a centripetal force were continually undermined by their opponents.

The decline in power of the Indianised empires of Angkor and Pagan during the early thirteenth century was followed by political fragmentation. Numerous small states of equal military power emerged. Many of these states belonged to the Tai people⁴⁴ who had previously been under the power of the Angkor Empire.⁴⁵

In areas around what is now northern Thailand, Mangrai conquered many *muaeng* or city-states, and founded the Lan Na Kingdom during the second half of the thirteenth century. Sukhothai was another Tai kingdom, located below Lan Na. Around the late thirteenth century, King Ramkhamhaeng, king of the Sukhothai Kingdom, also tried to expand his territory by seeking to establish his power over several *mueang*.⁴⁶ After the death of Ramkhamhaeng and Mangrai in 1298 and 1317, their kingdoms suddenly encountered fragmentation.⁴⁷

⁴³ This political condition that caused continuous fights could not stop centrifugal forces (Elias, 2000, pp.214-9).

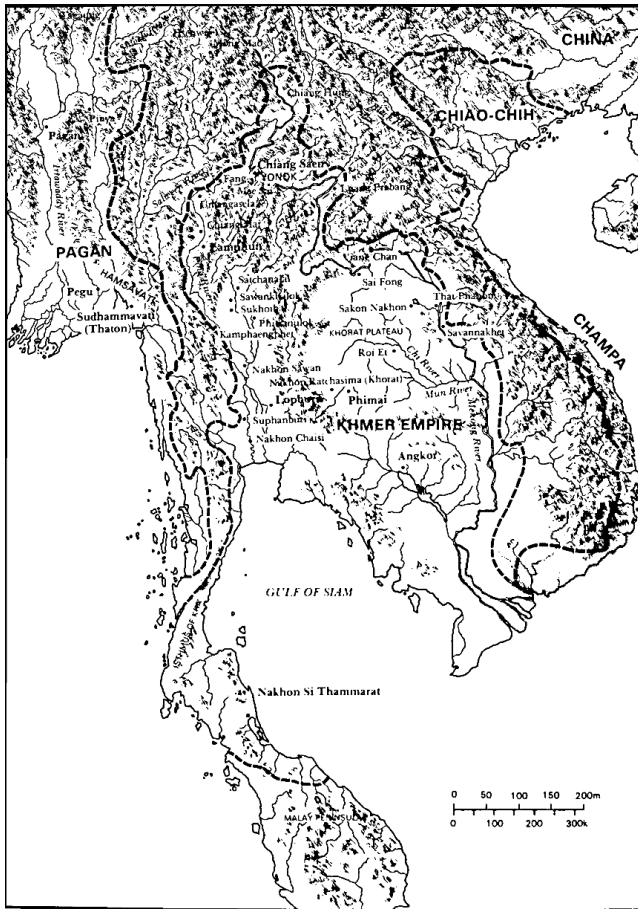
⁴⁴ The "Tai" people is the term that refers to individuals who share a cultural and linguistic background. The Tai people used the common proto-Tai language. Throughout the past one thousand years, their cultural and linguistic identity has become much more differentiated. In the present day, the term, "the Thai people," refers to the populations of Thailand who speak the Thai language. Meanwhile, apart from the Thai people, the Shan people, the Laotian individuals and so on speak languages which originated from the common Tai language family (Wyatt, 1984, pp.1-2).

⁴⁵ Wyatt, 1984, pp.38-9, 52; Charney, 2004, p.xvii.

⁴⁶ Wyatt, 1984, pp.44-60; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, pp.7-8.

⁴⁷ Wyatt, 1984, pp.44-60; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, pp.7-8.

Figure 3.2: The empires of Angkor and Pagan by 1200 ⁴⁸



At the Chao Phraya River basin, located below Sukhothai, Ayutthaya was founded as a port city and an independent kingdom by U Thong (Ramathibodi) in 1351. The Ayutthaya Kingdom, or Siam, was able to prevent influence from Sukhothai and Angkor. Because the location of Ayutthaya connected to the sea route through the Chao Phraya River, seaborne trade with India and China developed. This made Ayutthaya economically superior to other Tai kingdoms.

⁴⁸ Wyatt, 1984, p.26.

Figure 3.3: Tai states in the late thirteenth century⁴⁹



The desire to become the dominant kingdom in the Ayutthaya region led to wars between the Tai states for centuries. Between 1378 and 1412, Ayutthaya gained power over some cities of the Sukhothai and Lan Na Kingdoms through warfare and truce agreements. Although the Sukhothai Kingdom tried to fight to regain its cities, Ayutthaya eventually took them back. In 1438, the Sukhothai Kingdom's reign came to an end. Sukhothai and its cities were taken by Ayutthaya. Between 1442 and 1486, Ayutthaya aimed to integrate the Lan Na Kingdom. Nonetheless, after several wars, Lan Na maintained its independence.⁵⁰

Evidence from the mid-fifteenth century illustrated how Ayutthaya governed its kingdom. The status of the surrounding cities of Ayutthaya diminished. Ayutthaya tried to extend its influence into distant cities through marriage and royal inspectors, who questioned the management of governors. However, Ayutthaya usually granted governors autonomy in their internal affairs. Ayutthaya would interfere with provincial affairs only if governors were

⁴⁹ Wyatt, 1984, p.40.

⁵⁰ Wales, 1965, p.104; Wyatt, 1984, pp.68-78.

disloyal. Kings of Ayutthaya sent their high-ranking princes to govern only surrounding provinces, called *Mueang Luk Luang* (cities of royal sons or first-class provinces).⁵¹

Apart from the most powerful provinces, there were three other classes of cities. *Mueang Lan Luang* (second-class provinces), which probably surrounded the more powerful provinces, were ruled by lesser princes. Ayutthaya raised the status of distant cities to be *Phraya Maha Nakhon* (third-class provinces). These cities were ruled by hereditary lords and high-ranking officials entrusted with their government. Ayutthaya preserved the right to select a member of a ruling family of a third-class city to be the next governor. These third-class cities helped Ayutthaya control their adjacent minor cities. However, in reality, Ayutthaya's power to control the third-class cities was quite loose. Governors were granted autonomy to rule their cities.⁵² The central government allowed governors to have their own independent financial administration.⁵³ The King appointed *yokrabat* (royal inspectors) to monitor the performance of governors and their loyalty to the crown.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, the fourth-class territories or tributaries consisted of independent *mueang* and kingdoms, which were located at the periphery of the Ayutthaya Kingdom. These tributaries were required by Ayutthaya and other dominant kingdoms to send tributes in order to express their allegiance to the central rulers. Therefore, a tributary might send tributes to several greater kingdoms.⁵⁵ Beginning in the second half of the fourteenth century, a declining Angkor struggled to maintain its power by seizing populations and land in the eastern territory of Ayutthaya. However, in the early 1430s, Ayutthaya captured Angkor. Angkor became Siam's tributary.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Wales, 1965, p.107; Wannarat, 1982, p.4; Thawonwatsakun, 1993, pp.15-6; Chutintaranond, 1990, p.97.

⁵² Wales, 1965, pp.105-7; Vickery, 1970, p.866; Eoseewong, 1984, pp.15-8; Phatthiya, 2002, pp.48-64; Chutintaranond, 1990, p.97.

⁵³ Bunnag, 1977, p.22; Chutintaranond, 1990, p.96.

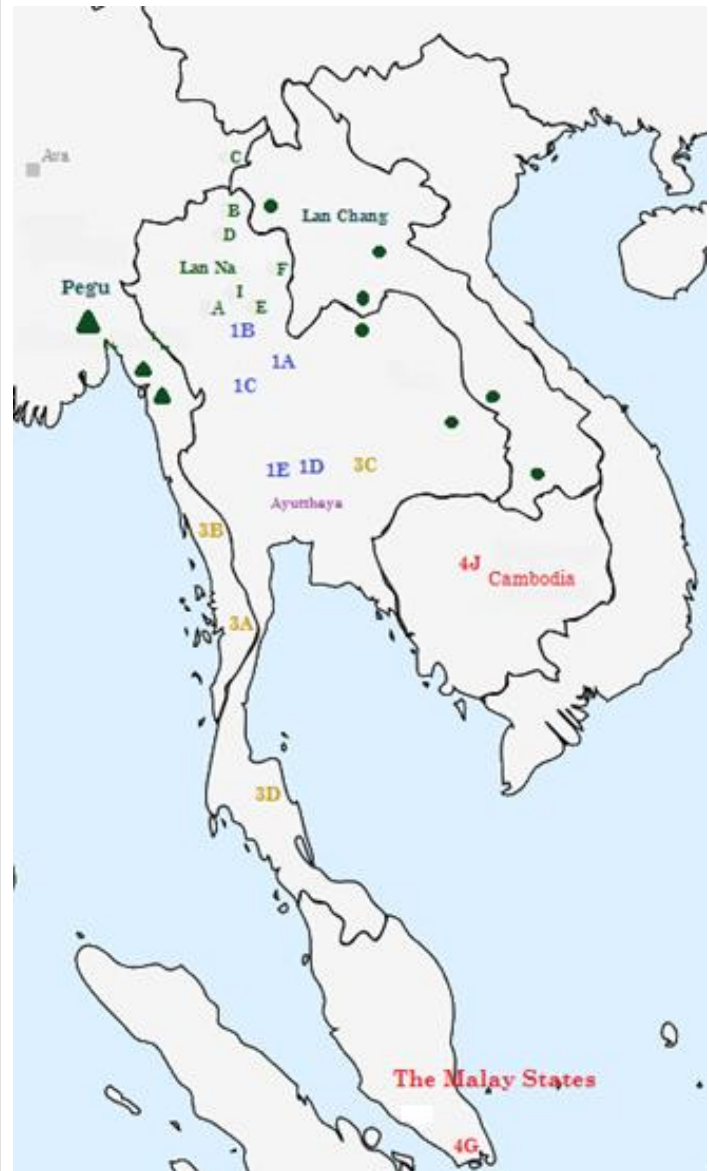
⁵⁴ Vickery, 1970, p.866.

⁵⁵ Wales, 1965, p.107; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.13.

⁵⁶ Wyatt, 1984, p.70.

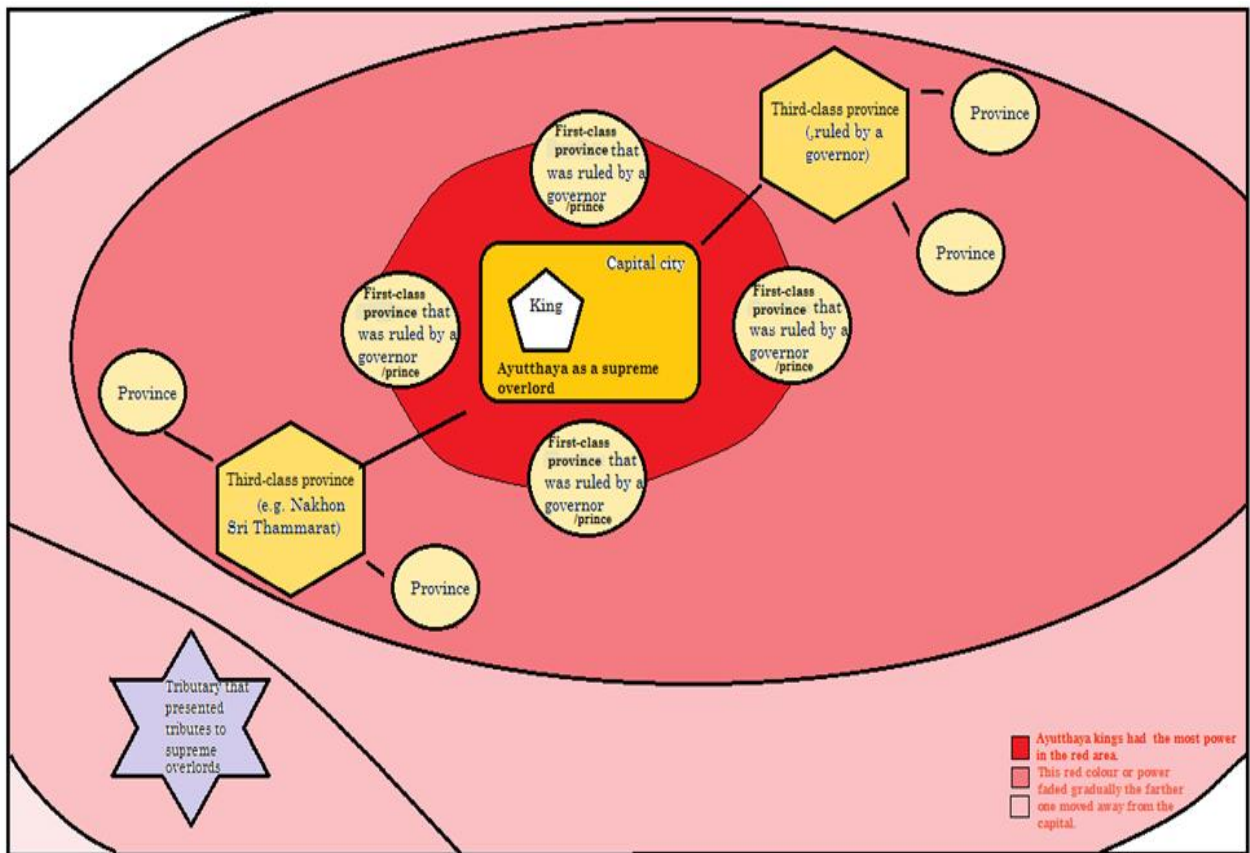
Figure 3.4: A map showing Ayutthaya's cities and tributaries and some independent kingdoms around the 1450s⁵⁷

No.	Different types of four-class cities	Names of cities, city-states and kingdoms
1	First-class provinces (<i>Mueang Luk Luang</i>)	A) Phitsanulok, B) Sawankhalok (Srisatchanalai), C) Kamphaengphet, D) Lopburi, E) Singburi
2	Second-class provinces (<i>Mueang Lan Luang</i>)	There is no historical evidence to identify where the second-class provinces were.
3	Third-class provinces (<i>Phraya Maha Nakhon</i>)	A) Tenesserim, B) Tavoy, C) Nakhon Ratchasima, D) Nakhon Sri Thammarat
4	Fourth-class territories or tributary kingdoms (<i>Prathetsarat</i>)	-Malay States: G) Johor -Cambodia: J) Angkor
Remarks:	The other independent kingdoms	-Lan Na: A) Chiang Mai, B) Chiang Saen, C) Kengtung, D) Chiang Rai, E) Phrae, F) Nan, I) Lampang - Pegu (the Mon-speaking state): Its cities are green triangles. - Ava (the Burmese-speaking state): Its city is a grey square. - Lan Chang (the Lao-speaking state): Its cities are green dots.



⁵⁷ Wales, 1965, pp.19, 105-7; Wyatt, 1984, pp.77-8; Charney, 2004, p.282.

Figure 3.5: The relationship between cities of the Ayutthaya Kingdom from the mid-fifteenth century to 1767⁵⁸



Ayutthaya’s desire to expand its territories to the Malay Peninsula and the Bengal Bay was related to its aim to consolidate trade interests. Between the 1460s and the 1480s, to gain direct access to sea routes to India and the Middle East, Ayutthaya controlled Tavoy and Tenasserim.⁵⁹ In 1511, Portugal seized Malacca, which had previously been Ayutthaya’s tributary. Portugal avoided creating any possible conflict with Ayutthaya. Portuguese representatives negotiated with the Ayutthaya court that the former would provide firearms, weapons and hired soldiers to the latter. In return, Ayutthaya gave the Portuguese trading privileges and rights to religious liberty and residence. Ayutthaya also tried to establish and seize other port cities in the Malay Peninsula and the Bengal Bay to compete with Malacca. As a result, Malacca’s importance as a major port city was suddenly undermined by the emergence of several port cities. Between 1539 and 1541, the Burmese wanted to compete with Ayutthaya to dominate the port cities in the Bengal Bay. Burma seized the Mon port

⁵⁸ Wales, 1965, pp.105-7.

⁵⁹ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2017, p.87; For the map of mainland Southeast Asia, see Appendix 1.

cities (Pegu and Martaban). Burma decided to move its central power from Toungoo to Pegu. This decision led to confrontation between two kingdoms, Burma and Ayutthaya, which competed to dominate the commercial interest in the Bengal Bay. Between the 1540s and the 1570s, this conflict would expand as Burma waged and won wars against several kingdoms and *mueang* (Ayutthaya, Arakan, Manipur, Kengtung, Xishuangbanna, Lan Na, Luang Prabang, Vientiane and so forth) to become the greatest power in the region.⁶⁰ In the late sixteenth century, Cambodia began to take advantage of the fact that Siam was weakened by Burma, and no longer treated Ayutthaya as its overlord. Cambodia frequently attacked and seized populations from eastern territories of Ayutthaya.⁶¹

3.2.3 Centrifugal Tendency in Politics of Ayutthaya, the 14th – the 16th Century

From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, Siamese monarchs could not establish any rule for peaceful political succession. Several patron-client groups, which constituted a larger network to support a king, could be broken down if some patrons secretly united to stage a coup. In many cases, the winners executed defeated lords. There were many coups that were staged by princes, viceroys and nobles against kings' networks. Under the pre-modern polity of Siam that included the Ayutthaya and Bangkok periods (the mid-fourteenth - the late nineteenth centuries), there were at least 21 successful and unsuccessful coups throughout the 39 reigns. On average, a coup would be staged in every two reigns.⁶² Laws in the late Ayutthaya and early Bangkok eras illustrated just how much kings feared a coup. A very high degree of brutality and torment of punishment would be applied to penalise any traitor.⁶³

The first sixty years of the Ayutthaya Kingdom were mired in an unceasing conflict over the throne between two dynasties, U Thong (or Lopburi) and Suphanburi.⁶⁴ After the fall of U Thong's family, the Suphanburi dynasty could prevent threats from other ruling families for almost 140 years. However, during that period, conflict within the dynasty still arose. The antagonism between royalties' patron-client groups had continuously emerged. A rule that a

⁶⁰ Wyatt, 1984, pp.86-98; Chutintaranond, 2013, pp.215-231; Ongsakun, 2005, p.112.

⁶¹ Wyatt, 1984, p.103; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2017, pp.88-9.

⁶² See Appendix 3 for the List of Coups in the "Pre-Modern" Thai States. For a list of political regimes, please see Appendix 2.

⁶³ Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, pp.1352-7.

⁶⁴ Wyatt, 1984, pp.66-68.

king passed his throne to his selected son was not be practically accepted in many situations. Princes could lead their troops (or subjects in their cities) to rebel against their king or an heir apparent and seize the throne.⁶⁵

Beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century, nobles started to seek an opportunity to challenge the throne under the Suphanburi dynasty. After King Chairacha's death in 1547, his eleven-year-old son, Prince Yod Fa, ascended the throne. However, in 1548, he was usurped by his mother, the queen regent Si Sudachan. She gave the throne to her lover, Khun Worawongsa. He was a middle-ranking noble. Nonetheless, he was soon ousted by cooperation between Prince Thianracha (Chairacha's half-brother) and nobles. Thianracha ruled as King Chakkraphat [r. 1548-1569]. Although King Worawongsa, whose family background was not related to any ruling dynasty of Ayutthaya, ruled only six weeks, his rule reflects the beginning of the period of nobles' challenge to the throne.⁶⁶

During the Ayutthaya period, the loose control of Ayutthaya over its cities led to centrifugal tendencies. The governors of cities or patrons of communities may not submit themselves to the Kingdom of Ayutthaya if they thought that their new alliance was stronger and more aggressive than the Ayutthaya Kingdom.⁶⁷

3.2.4 The Rise of Nobles, late 16th –late 17th Century

Norbert Elias suggested that if power relationships between social actors are more balanced, they will be more aware and cautious of one another's actions.⁶⁸ This reflection on power relationships can also be applied to pre-modern Siam. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the geography of the Siamese Kingdom expanded, with the Kingdom's population increasing. The kings' power to govern the larger Kingdom was more dependent on relationships between the court and princes, nobles and tributary rulers. The balance of power between a

⁶⁵ For example, after King Intharacha died in 1424, his sons (Princes of Suphanburi and Sanburi) led their troops to kill each other in the capital city to claim the throne. Both of them were killed during their elephant duel (Phatthiya, 2002, pp.48-51; RCA, 2006, p.15; Wyatt, 1984, p.89).

⁶⁶ Wyatt, 1984, p.91.

⁶⁷ For example, between 1563 and 1569, Maha Thammarachathirat, as a governor of Phitsanulok (a first-class city) in the Ayutthaya Kingdom, cooperated with the troops of Burma to attack Ayutthaya. After Burma seized Ayutthaya, Maha Thammarachathirat ascended the throne and ruled the Kingdom as a vassal of Burma (Kasetsiri, 2005, pp.44-6; RCA, 2006, pp.56-74).

⁶⁸ Elias, 1978, pp.72-89; Linklater and Mennell, 2010, p.396.

king and a noble became increasingly equal. Influential nobles who possessed many subjects played key roles to determine a political successor and maintain a stability of a throne. Under the rising of nobles, the control of manpower/military force was more important than birth-right claims of the throne, and kings were more aware of noble power, correspondingly endeavouring to reduce and control the power of the nobles.⁶⁹

In the late sixteenth century, after his return from being a hostage in Burma, Prince Naresuan, son of King Maha Thammarachathirat, declared independence from Burma. After being crowned, Naresuan beat the states, Cambodia, Shan State and Chiang Mai.⁷⁰ Ayutthaya could extend bureaucracy and deport a large number of war captives to its own territory. Levy and agricultural products from a larger volume of manpower made Ayutthaya richer and more powerful. Ayutthaya also needed nobles who could help control the larger population in its expanded area of influence.⁷¹ These conditions gave rise to a social group of nobles.⁷² The high-ranking administrative nobles, controlling a number of *phrai*, became new candidates to the throne.⁷³ When facing more competitors, a king, who could not prevent ambitious nobles from networking with other lords to seize the throne, would be deposed or executed.⁷⁴ Moreover, apart from the dominant nobles, princes continuously sought to topple kings and execute other possible candidates for the throne.⁷⁵

From the seventeenth century to the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, a peaceful relationship between a king, princes and nobles could not be firmly established. Nobles could find ways to attain their highest degree of interest (through supporting another prince to ascend the throne, stealing manpower from other masters, doing personal trade secretly without royal permission and leading a network to stage a coup and then ascending to the throne). The rise of a powerful noble did not necessarily rely on expressions of virtues of warriors and loyalty to serve a king. The predecessors of the two high-ranking nobles (Prasat Thong and

⁶⁹To prevent Siamese lords from having much power in ministries, the kings picked several hired foreign nobles over Siamese nobles who possessed manpower. To prevent nobles from conspiring against the thrones, they were forced to have an audience with royalty (Eoseewong, 1984, pp.25-120; Lailert, 1972, pp.20--170; RCA, 2006, pp.25, 214-468; Wyatt, 1968, p.210).

⁷⁰ However, in 1608, Ayutthaya's influence in Chiang Mai faded after the death of King Naresuan. Chiang Mai was captured by Burma in 1614 (Ongsakun, 2005, p.120).

⁷¹ Wannarat, 1982, p.5.

⁷² Eoseewong, 1984, pp.20-25; Chutintaranond, 2004, p.62; Charney, 2004, p.18.

⁷³ Wyatt, 1984, pp.107-8; Eoseewong, 1984, p.18.

⁷⁴ Eoseewong, 1984, pp.25-120; Kasetsiri, 2005, pp.71-2; Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, p.128.

⁷⁵ Wyatt, 1984, p.107.

Phetracha) had never ruled any Kingdom. Their more humble origins were different from the previous ruling tradition of Ayutthaya kings. However, because of the rise of nobles, the families of Prasat Thong and Phetracha seized the throne and ruled Ayutthaya from the 1620s to 1767.⁷⁶

In the reign of King Chetthathirat II [r.1628-1629], Lord Sri Suriyawong (Prasat Thong) as the Minister of *Kalahom* (Defence) controlled a large army in the area around Ayutthaya. The control of manpower by the minister put kings in danger.⁷⁷ After Prasat Thong overthrew King Chetthathirat II and King Athitayawong [r.1629], King Prasat Thong [r.1629-1656] abolished the power to control the majority of the army of the Ministry of *Kalahom*. *Kalahom* was assigned a new duty: to control provinces in the southern region. The Ministry of *Kalahom* was counterbalanced by two other ministries, *Mahatthai* (the Ministry of the Northern Provinces) and *Phra Khlang* (the Ministry of the Eastern Provinces). *Phra Khlang* was also responsible for foreign trade and foreign relations. Armies were proportionally shared between these three ministries. In each region, each ministry collected taxes and enforced laws.⁷⁸

After the death of King Prasat Thong in August 1656, there were two regicides within a few months.⁷⁹ Kings, princes and nobles who were competing for the throne were of course very suspicious of each other. Distrustful actions could lead to killings.⁸⁰ King Prasat Thong and King Narai [r.1656-1688] curtailed the power of nobles by replacing some noble positions (which controlled the number of *phrai*) with foreigners.⁸¹ Because foreign nobles did not control the *phrai* and were not accepted by the domestic elite to ascend the throne, the kings' thrones were more secure.

During the 1688 coup against the nearly-dead King Narai, Lord Phetracha and other administrative nobles sacked the influence of King Narai's foreign nobles, who had

⁷⁶ Eoseewong, 1984, pp.25-120; Lailert, 1972, pp.20-121; Wyatt, 1984, p.116; RCA, 2006, pp.214-468.

⁷⁷ Wyatt, 1984.

⁷⁸ See Wyatt, 1968, p.210; Wannarat, 1982, p.5; Wyatt, 1984, p.128; Thawonwatsakun, 1993, p.22; Kasetsiri, 2005, pp.63-5.

⁷⁹ Prince Chai, the eldest son of the late king, took the throne. However, Prince Suthammaracha (Prasat Thong's brother) and Prince Narai (Chai's brother) conspired together to depose Chai. Suthammaracha became king for over a month, but Narai removed him from power and ascended the throne in October 1656 (Wyatt, 1984, p.107).

⁸⁰ Eoseewong, 1984, pp.25-50.

⁸¹ Eoseewong, 1984, pp.3-4.

threatened the interest of the indigenous masters.⁸² However, up until the fall of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, foreign nobles still had important roles and they existed as long as they did not threaten the court.⁸³

In the late seventeenth century, the kings were increasingly and continually challenged by centrifugal tendencies, which were produced by governors, tributary rulers, princes, nobles and *phrai*. The power concentration of the court was continually undermined. The court lost its control over its subjects to other governors, even in suburban areas. Kings attempted to apply measures to empower themselves and undermine the power of nobles.⁸⁴

3.2.5 A High Degree of Centrifugal Tendencies and the Fall of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, late 17th Century - 1767

The turn of the eighteenth century to the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 was a period when kings continually encountered a high degree of centrifugal tendencies from their own *phrai* and from networks of princes, nobles, governors and rural people. Ayutthaya could not efficiently control governors and the *phrai* who could capitalise on the weakness of Ayutthaya and their involvement in the growth of the money economy. Ayutthaya confronted resistance from not only provincial governors but also rural people.

King Phetracha [r.1688-1703] spent his first six years purging governors of Nakhon Sri Thammarat and Nakhon Ratchasima (the third-class provinces of Ayutthaya), who were in the network of the deposed king (Narai).⁸⁵

The tension between dominant princes who could be candidates to the throne erupted again when King Phetracha became gravely ill in 1703. Sorasak, the viceroy and Phetracha's son, feared that his brothers who served as princes controlling the *krom* (the department of royalties) could threaten his heir apparent status. Therefore, he eradicated these princes.⁸⁶

⁸² Lailert, 1972, p.34.

⁸³ Wannarat, 1982, p.18; Wyatt, 1986, pp.257-264.

⁸⁴ Since the reign of King Narai, the *krom* (department) of royalties was created to empower monarchs and counterbalance nobles. The *krom* of royalties was an additional unit of manpower. In addition to a number of *phrai* in a prince's or princess's household, he or she received more *phrai* from the *krom* (Lailert, 1972, pp.167-170; Wannarat, 1982; Eoseewong, 1984, p.46; Chutintaranond, 1983; RCA, 2006, pp.320-347).

⁸⁵ Chutintaranond, 1983; RCA, 2006, pp.320-347.

⁸⁶ Wannarat, 1982, p.31; Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, pp.128-130; Wyatt, 1984, pp.125-6.

Sorasak ascended the throne as King Suea in 1703. Under his reign (1703-1709), a governor of Nakhon Sri Thammarat rebelled against Ayutthaya. Although rebels of provincial governors were suppressed by Ayutthaya, provincial masters continually were much more independent from the central bureaucracy.⁸⁷

Although in the 1720s, King Thai Sa [r.1709-1733] promulgated a law to impose the death sentence for any master who secretly travelled to contact other nobles,⁸⁸ the court could not overcome the centrifugal tendencies in all levels.⁸⁹ In the last fifty years of the Kingdom, the central authority could not prevent a prince from seizing the throne, governors from being disloyal to the court's authority and *phrai* from evading their duties.⁹⁰

The bond between a king and his subjects was shaken by the heavy duties of the king's *phrai*. Moreover, the king's *phrai* had to purchase an exemption from the corvée at a higher rate than the nobles' *phrai*. As a result, the court faced a situation where its *phrai* incessantly evaded their duties or changed to serve other masters.⁹¹

Apart from the measures that the court employed to deal with centrifugal tendencies in its kingdom, the court also maintained central authority by weakening its opponent kingdoms, like Ava (Burma). Ayutthaya weakened Burma by supporting their common tributaries (e.g. Chiang Mai, Lamphun and Tavoy) to resist the centralisation of Burma. During the 1760s, Kings of Burma⁹² attempted to strengthen their kingdom by taking tributaries and vassals back. Burma also aimed to annihilate its main political opponent, Ayutthaya.⁹³ Ayutthaya failed to unite its network of patron-client groups to be a violent unit to fight against Burma.⁹⁴ Rather than helping Ayutthaya, a number of *phrai* and nobles decided to form self-defence units to resist the attack from Burma. Due to its failure to centralise the power of princes, nobles,

⁸⁷ Wannarat, 1982, p.34; Eoseewong, 2004, pp.7-80; Eoseewong, 2000, pp.58-91.

⁸⁸ Wannarat, 1982, p.33.

⁸⁹ Wannarat, 1982, p.30.

⁹⁰ For example, Ekkathat, a brother of King Uthumphon, forced his brother to abdicate and crowned himself in 1758 (Lailert, 1972, pp.110-2; The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, 2006, pp.466-7).

⁹¹ Rajchagool, 1994, pp.58-60; Rabibhadana, 1984, p.172; Eoseewong, 2000, p.64; Sattayanurak, 2003a, pp.37.

⁹² They were King Alaungpaya [r. 1752-1760], King Naungdawgyi [r.1760-1763] and King Hsinbyushin [r.1763-1776].

⁹³ Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78.

⁹⁴ Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78.

governors and *phrai*, Ayutthaya was devastated. A large number of people died in the war. War captives were resettled in Burma.⁹⁵

3.2.6 The Thonburi and Bangkok Eras, 1767-1820

After the triumph of Burma over Ayutthaya, uprisings occurred in all regions of Siam. Meanwhile, many Siamese royalties were seized and resettled to Burma.⁹⁶ After Burma had withdrawn its main army from Ayutthaya in 1767, the political vacuum allowed for an increase in conflict and warfare between groups of armed men who tried to protect themselves from danger or attempted to establish a new kingdom. The period of free competition struggles emerged again. Groups of armed men throughout the destroyed Kingdom of Ayutthaya fought one another in order to claim the greatest possible level of power over the region. When the number of weaker armed groups were suppressed by a stronger ruler, a pacified kingdom of Siam was once again established.⁹⁷

In 1767, a group led by Lord Taksin (a governor of Tak) suppressed other groups by the use of violence and diplomatic strategies.⁹⁸ He collected armies to re-establish a Siamese kingdom (Thonburi⁹⁹). King Taksin founded Thonburi (a former port city of Ayutthaya) as the capital city. Between 1769 and 1778, he successfully established himself a king of a new *mandala* state. King Taksin sent his armies to attack several *mueang*. He supported a new Cambodian ruler to rule Cambodia as Siam's tributary. Lan Na, some Lao cities and the Malay states accepted their tributary statuses under the Thonburi Kingdom because King Taksin had helped them to remove Burmese troops from their territories.¹⁰⁰ From then on, Lan Na was a tributary state of Siam.¹⁰¹

Sources of legitimate power from titles, which had been assigned by the Ayutthaya Kingdom, were not as important as deeds in battle.¹⁰² King Taksin [r.1767-1782] received his legitimate

⁹⁵ Grabowsky, 1999, pp.50-1; Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78; Wyatt, 1984, pp.132-7 Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.22.

⁹⁶ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.54.

⁹⁷ Elias, 2000, pp.263-282, 304-314.

⁹⁸ Eoseewong, 2004, pp.124-173.

⁹⁹ Thonburi was also used as the name of the capital. It was located on the west bank of the Chaophraya River.

¹⁰⁰ Wyatt, 1984, pp.139-144.

¹⁰¹ In the late nineteenth century, Lan Na was integrated into part of modern Siam (Ongsakul, 2005, pp.129, 179-214).

¹⁰² Eoseewong, 2004, pp.49-55; Wyatt, 1968, p.215.

power through his deeds in battles against other groups, governors, kings of states and the Burmese troops.¹⁰³ Nobles who were highly entitled by King Taksin were close officials and cousins of the King. King Taksin and his nobles came from a low-ranking background.¹⁰⁴ Because the King was afraid that nobles, who were members of the high-ranking noble families of the previous Kingdom, could capitalise on their old sources of charisma to seize the throne, the King did not promote these nobles to any important positions.¹⁰⁵

Lord Chakri formed a network of old nobles.¹⁰⁶ The group toppled King Taksin and re-established the political regime that the old noble families claimed their hereditary right to ministryship.¹⁰⁷ Chakri executed Taksin and his officers and ascended the throne.¹⁰⁸ King Rama I (Chakri) [r.1782-1809] established a new capital city, Bangkok, on the opposite side of Thonburi. Hereditariness of noble families and the governmental system that three ministries controlled three different regions were brought back in the Bangkok era. *Mahatthai* (the Ministry of Northern Provinces) and *Kalahom* (the Ministry of Southern Provinces) were assigned to old noble families. Meanwhile, in the Bangkok era, *Phra Khlang* (the Ministry of Eastern Provinces) had power only in eastern provinces, whose majority was coastal cities. Its power over coastal trade in the Southern region in the late Ayutthaya era was cancelled.¹⁰⁹

In the early Bangkok period, the centrifugal tendency became apparent. Siam encountered large Burmese armies again in 1785. Siam successfully repelled its foe.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, patron-client groups of royal elites and nobles could not reach an agreement on succession to the throne. Princes, nobles and commoners attempted to stage coups against kings during the first three reigns. Moreover, within a patron-client group, subjects continually evaded their masters.¹¹¹

¹⁰³ Bowie, 1996, pp.116-8; Grabowsky, 1999, pp.45-6.

¹⁰⁴ King Taksin, the son of a Chinese merchant and a female Thai commoner, was a governor of Tak during the late Ayutthaya era (Eoseewong, 2004, pp.86-90; Wyatt, 1968, p.215; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.26).

¹⁰⁵ Eoseewong, 2004, pp.349-354; Wenk, 1968, p.1; Wyatt, 1968; Wyatt, 1986.

¹⁰⁶ Lord Chakri (King Rama I) was descended from the family of Lord Kosathibodi, who was an envoy of King Narai. Lord Chakri was a governor of Ratchaburi in the last reign of Ayutthaya (King Ekkathat) (Wenk, 1968, pp.1-3; Wyatt, 1968; Wyatt, 1986).

¹⁰⁷ Eoseewong, 2004, pp.142-7.

¹⁰⁸ Eoseewong, 2004, pp.484-504; Krueathong, 2010; Sartraproong, 1998, pp.6-17.

¹⁰⁹ Wyatt, 1968, p.210; Wenk, 1968, pp.25, 27; Wyatt, 1984, pp.148, 151-2.

¹¹⁰ Wyatt, 1984, pp.149-152.

¹¹¹ Rabibhadana, 1984, p.172; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6; Eoseewong, 2000, p.64; Sattayanurak, 2003a, pp.170-1.

King Rama I realised that many challengers contested him in expressing charismatic power and claiming the throne.¹¹² King Rama I felt that the viceroy's charisma threatened royal power. Mistrust between these two brothers almost led to a battle.¹¹³ After the death of the viceroy, the viceroy's sons, who had attempted to stage a coup against Rama I, was executed.¹¹⁴

King Rama II ascended the throne with the support of the family of the minister of the Southern provinces, Lord Bunnag¹¹⁵. The family of Bunnag expanded power to control ministries and raised Kings Rama III, IV and V to the throne.¹¹⁶ The internal conflict within a large network of each king and the Bunnag family was not developed to become violent. Besides, the network between the Bunnag and kings could suppress challenges from coups.¹¹⁷ At the inter-state level, Rama II struggled to suppress the centripetal tendency. Although Siam rarely become entangled in wars with the Burmese, the former had to retain its influence in Cambodia and Kedah by waging wars.¹¹⁸

In conclusion, pre-modern Siam encountered very similar developments to those which the European states confronted. Free competition struggles led to a political hierarchy between a stronger ruler and weaker lords. Many political centralising methods were applied by central rulers in order to guard their kingdoms against centrifugal tendencies. Apart from the free competition struggles and centrifugal tendencies of a kingdom, Elias pointed out some vital factors leading to an emergence of a centralised state—the ability of a central ruler to monopolise physical and fiscal power. In the next two sections, I will assess whether pre-modern Siam (before the 1820s) developed to become a state that could strongly centralise its military and financial matters.

¹¹² For example, the viceroy (Bunma), a younger brother of King Rama I, gained a large number of troops and had marriages with the royalties of tributaries, which he conquered (Sartraproong, 1998, pp.22-8).

¹¹³ Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.5-6; Sattayanurak, 2003a, pp.150-162.

¹¹⁴ Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.6.

¹¹⁵ Bunnag was descended from a minister of the Northern provinces (Mahatthai) under King Prasat Thong of the Ayutthaya Kingdom. In the reign of King Taksin, Bunnag married a sister of Lord Chakri (later King Rama I). Lord Chakri, Bunnag and members of old noble families formed a network to topple King Taksin. Bunnag was appointed to control an important ministry. His name was later used as a family name (Wyatt, 1968, pp.211-4; Wyatt, 1986).

¹¹⁶ The meetings of influential noble families, like the Bunnag and the Singhaseni, determined the selection of kings (Khongchan, 2004; Wyatt, 1968, pp.218-224; Moffat, 1962, p.22).

¹¹⁷ Eoseewong, 2004, pp.57-8; Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.8; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.131-2.

¹¹⁸ Wyatt, 1986; Vella, 1971, pp.126-9.

3.3 The Effect of Gunfire in Pre-Modern Siam

I previously mentioned that the technology of gunfire, like muskets, was introduced to Siam in the sixteenth century. These weapons were not widespread as Siamese rulers tried to monopolise supplied gunfire. Peasant levies which were temporarily ordered by the kings to fight a war were not allowed to train to use gunfire.¹¹⁹

Since the sixteenth century, the effect of the Portuguese artillery and muskets gradually decreased the efficacy of elephants. This was because between the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, the technology of gunfire was not good enough. Matchlocks, which were used in Siam, were slow to load and inaccurate. Therefore, soldiers still engaged in warfare via elephant duels.¹²⁰

Although the use of muskets eventually ended the traditional duel on elephant-back of the elite¹²¹, the application was not developed beyond units of musketeers who were the elite's guardians. Siamese kings hired foreign mercenaries who were full-time soldiers. These hired soldiers had expertise in new weapon technology. The rulers believed that foreign soldiers were more reliable than indigenous warriors who might rebel against them.¹²² Siamese kings and the other elite in mainland Southeast Asia did not form groups of musketeers in order to destroy each other. Therefore, this warfare technology did not lead to the centripetal tendency. Southeast Asian countries used their musketeers only for protecting their commanders from raids. Therefore, the application of gunfire technology in Southeast Asian warfare did not lead to a formation of a central authority as it had in Europe.¹²³ Southeast Asian states did not develop their military force to the extent that they could consolidate physical power over large territories.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Charney, 2004, pp.219-220.

¹²⁰ Charney, 2004, pp.161-2.

¹²¹ The 1593 battle of Nong Sarai was the last elephant duel (Chutintaranond, 2004, p.64). By the late eighteenth century, elephants disappeared from the front lines of Southeast Asian warfare during that period. However, elephants' roles in carrying warriors, weapons and other supplies in warfare continued throughout the nineteenth century (Charney, 2004, pp.145-162).

¹²² Charney, 2004, pp.224-7.

¹²³ Chutintaranond, 2004, pp.59-64; Eoseewong, 2012a.

¹²⁴ It should be added that state warfare in Southeast Asia largely relied on unpaid soldiers (corvée labourers) who were recruited from the capital, adjacent provinces and defeated cities. These states gained only a modest-sized army from this temporary recruitment system (Charney, 2004, p.223).

3.4 Economic Growth, Tax Collection and the Bourgeoisie, 14th – early 19th Century

Following Norbert Elias's study, the absolutist regime stems from some crucial factors, which are economic growth, the emergence of a money-earning class and an effective system of taxation.¹²⁵ The developments of the money economy, the bourgeois class and tax collection, which were highlighted by Elias, will be assessed in order to learn whether they contributed to an emergence of a centralised government in Siam. This section will focus on these developments from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. (The period largely covers situations before the British colonisation in the 1820s.)

Furthermore, Elias's notion of "royal mechanism" also played a significant part in bringing about royal absolutism. The courts of Western European society rose to absolute power by nourishing a long-term tension between rising groups of bourgeoisie and degenerating aristocratic cliques.¹²⁶ Therefore, this section also evaluates whether the Siamese court took advantage of the emerging bourgeois class to counterbalance the power of lords in order to centralise its power.

A large proportion of the Siamese court's revenues came from commercial activities, which were directly operated by the court. Between the fourteenth century and 1854, kings of Ayutthaya and Bangkok sent tributes to Beijing in order to express their submission to the power of the Celestial Emperor. The tributary missions helped the Siamese elite to establish the junk trade with China. The Siamese court sold large supplies of the tropical produce to China.¹²⁷

Apart from income from the trade operated by the court, Siamese kings in the Ayutthaya and Bangkok periods (before the late nineteenth century) tried to collect revenue and tax from the provinces. Following the traditional procedure of revenue collection, the kings collected revenue through the cooperation of local lords. However, the system of revenue collection did not work well for serving the royal treasury. Because titles of local lords and officials were hereditary, the local lords tended to keep the benefits from local lucrative economic activities for themselves rather than sending it to the central government.¹²⁸ Ayutthaya could not

¹²⁵ Elias, 2000, pp.346-361.

¹²⁶ Elias, 2000, pp.320-8, 394-7.

¹²⁷ Peleggi, 2002, p.22; Lysa, 1983, pp.381-2; Hewison, 1989, pp.34-5; Webster, 1998, p.158; Skinner, 2005, pp.2-23; Suehiro, 1989, p.17; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.10.

¹²⁸ Lysa, 1983, pp.385-6; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, p.15.

prevent the Chinese and nobles from secretly trading without royal permission in southern Siam.¹²⁹

From the seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries, the court operated a tax farming system in order to exclude local lords from the process of taxation. Kings found mediators (tax farmers) who had auctioned to collect a tax on a particular economic activity and promised to pay the largest amount of money to the court. The court gave an official title of the lesser nobility to a tax farmer. Tax farms included liquor, gambling, fishing, orchard, market taxes and so on.¹³⁰

Although kings could gain more revenue through tax farming system, the new tax collecting system did not result in centralisation. Most profit from commercial activities in provinces fell into the hands of tax farmers and local nobles.¹³¹ During the early Bangkok period, nobles and princes still possessed manpower and money from trade. The power of kings largely depended on the cooperation of nobles, particularly the Bunnag, who controlled the coastal trade through the posts of ministers.

Under the growth of commercial activity, beginning in the seventeenth century, the Siamese state tried to control the emerging bourgeoisie by absorbing them into its bureaucracy. The Sino-Siamese bourgeoisie was absorbed into the class of masters through appointments to the posts of nobles and marriages. A royal permission and official titles were compulsory if Sino-Siamese bourgeoisie wanted to trade. The Sino-Siamese bourgeoisie and other foreign traders were ennobled so that the king could control their behaviours and take a portion of their profits to the royal treasury. To place and promote these bourgeoisie into hierarchical bureaucracy helped to enhance the king's power over all the powerful agents in his kingdom. The court's strategy delayed the process by which a money-owning class (town-dwellers) could grow to operate more autonomously.¹³² Therefore, this development was different from the Western European context. European kings tried to differentiate nobles from bourgeoisie, rather than merging them together.¹³³ The growth of the bourgeois class served

¹²⁹ Wannarat, 1982, p.34.

¹³⁰ See Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.172-268; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6; Eoseewong, 2000, p.64; Lysa, 1983, pp.383-398; Reid, 1993, pp.71-2.

¹³¹ Lysa, 1983, pp.383-398; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.230.

¹³² Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.172-268; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6; Eoseewong, 2000, p.64; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, pp.34-6.

¹³³ Elias, 2000, p.337.

the European court's economic and military power.¹³⁴ Meanwhile, in Siam, the bourgeois class was not developed to be a powerful means of the court to counterbalance lords. The Siamese bourgeoisie and lords were statuses which were hard to separate. Although the Siamese court tried to control them through its bureaucracy, the court failed to weaken these powerful and affluent actors. Thus, "the royal mechanism" was not developed in the Siamese context.

Since the seventeenth century, the expansion of coastal trade with foreign countries engendered the changing characteristics and extended the interdependence that was based on a money economy. The power of royalties and nobles in the early Bangkok was increasingly related to trading activities.¹³⁵ Some subjects could sell their surplus of agricultural products to these upper-class traders. These subjects could accumulate money and attain a degree of economic power to set them free, partially, from *corvée* relationships. The royal elite solved a problem of *phrai*'s evasion by allowing *phrai* to purchase exemptions from *corvée*. The royal elite could use increasing reserves in treasury to hire a number of Chinese migrants to replace *corvée*.¹³⁶

Before the 1855 Bowring Treaty, the monetary system was not yet widely implemented in Siam. As many commoners did not possess enough money to pay an annual poll tax, the kings were unable to replace exemption from *corvée* with a permanent poll tax. This economic condition is evidenced by the fact that many agrarians who had not yet entered commercial activities were still unable to pay tax to the government by the turn of the twentieth century. Moreover, the bourgeois class was not developed to be a class that paid regular tax to the court. Meanwhile, the Siamese court was unable to develop a centralised fiscal organisation to effectively collect tax. The growing economy led to the distribution of trading interests among the court, nobles and governors rather than centripetal tendencies. Although several kings aimed to centralise economic power, the monopolisation of fiscal and physical power did not emerge.

¹³⁴ Elias, 2000, pp.320-3.

¹³⁵ Sattayanurak, 2003a, p.96; Eoseewong, 2012b, pp.155-204; Skinner, 2005, p.24.

¹³⁶ Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.174-268; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.12-3; Patana, 2004, pp.38-9; Lysa, 1983, p.385.

In conclusion, Siam went through many of the same political developments as Western Europe. Similarly to Medieval European states, the pre-modern states of Siam (the Ayutthaya and Thonburi Kingdoms) emerged from a period of free competition struggle. The period was entailed by the process of elimination contests. Western European and Siamese kings beat lesser lords by waging wars and truce agreements. From the fourteenth to the early nineteenth century, the Siamese states continually encountered centrifugal tendencies, built up by masters, commoners, tributary rulers and the kings of other kingdoms. Therefore, both European and Siamese states experienced the incessant centrifugal tendency.

Elias' concept of interdependence is useful for capturing relationships between kings and these disobedient actors. Under struggles to control manpower, military force, territories and commerce, the degrees of power of Siamese kings were varied by their functional interdependence and negotiation with masters and commoners.

Furthermore, in Europe, the court's power depended on management of a long-standing tension between bourgeois and aristocratic groups. This royal mechanism did not occur in Siam. The Siamese court attempted to control bourgeoisie by ennobling the latter. However, this royal strategy could not prevent lords from threatening the court's interest and security.

The development process of the military and fiscal power of central rulers in Europe was different from the Siamese context. While European kings could establish a tax collection system to capitalise on the growth of money economy, Siamese kings failed to collect tax and revenues from local lords. The growth of money economy and the bourgeois class was not strong enough to be a supporting condition for the Siamese court to be able to collect a monetary tax from all individuals in its kingdom. Moreover, European kings could spend money from their treasury to hire soldiers, ensuring that they were the strongest force in their countries. Meanwhile, Siamese kings, who were poorer than the European kings and relied on unpaid soldiers, did not found a large and effective unit of soldiers in order to strengthen their centralised military power in their kingdom.

The next chapter will explore how the kings of Siam and other social actors had to adjust to a wider chain of economic interdependence during the age of colonialism. I also investigate how this interdependence generated changes in legal and political systems in Siam.

Chapter IV

Colonisation and the Process of Modern State Formation in Siam, 1800-1910

Around the turn of the nineteenth century, the pre-modern politics of Siam gradually changed because the British came to establish their trade network in the Malay Peninsula. In 1786 and 1800, Britain acquired Penang and Wellesley, respectively. British expansion paused for almost two decades because of Britain's entanglement in the Napoleonic wars. In 1819, the English East India Company established the free port city of Singapore, and the British influence in the Malay Peninsula started to grow again, with British expansion beginning to include Siam's tributaries and economy.¹

Beginning in the 1820s, the Siamese closely observed colonial expansion and the military power of the British.² The elite knew that Britain aimed to expand its trading route, as the latter already occupied Penang, Wellesley, Singapore, Malacca in 1824, Upper Burma in the mid-1820s and the Straits Settlements in 1826. These seaboard colonies were connected with Britain's trade network in India, East Asia and Europe.³ In this chapter, I investigate how the Siamese negotiated with the British, the French and other foreigners who urged Siam to accept the liberal economy, a grant of extraterritoriality to the foreign subjects, the principles of territorial state and the European idea of sovereignty.

Section 4.1 discusses how Westerners, especially the British, pressured Siam into the global economy, and explores the way the Siamese elites and commoners adjusted to this pressure. Section 4.2 assesses how the Siamese elite attuned themselves to the political system of the centralised and territorial state which was applied in European colonies, as well as examining how the Siamese elites' plans to centralise physical, fiscal and political power affected disobedient lords and people.

The chapter goes on to reflect on whether Eliasian concepts and other models are suited to explaining the aforementioned questions. This chapter follows the model that emphasises

¹ Wyatt, 1984, pp.164-5.

² Crawford, 1830, pp.192, 250; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.206.

³ Chew and Lee, 2014, pp.68-72; Hall, 1979, p.597; Bunnag, 1977, p.50; Suehiro, 1989, p.16.

the way the Siamese elites redefined, ignored and negotiated with the notion of French and British civilisation, since this model is more suitable than assimilation and imitation, as some previous studies suggested.⁴ I argue that the civilised and pacified self-images of the Europeans are not prevalent as Elias (2000) suggested. The historical evidence suggests that within the context of inter-state politics, the Siamese elites and commoners were not persuaded by the Europeans' self-image as civilised and pacified.⁵ The Siamese considered that Europeans, particularly the British and the French, were not especially adept at restraining their violent inclinations.

Section 4.1 will employ Eliasian concepts to investigate whether a lengthened chain of social interdependencies made the Siamese self-control increase, and whether a development of monetarisation and commercialisation became a precondition of fiscal and physical monopolisation. Section 4.2 appraises whether this precondition contributed to annual, nation-wide tax collection and a highly developed and centralised financial and political administration between the 1870s and the 1900s. This section also investigates whether the process of state formation was initiated by the internal development of Siam and/or inter-state factors, particularly colonisation.

4.1 Political and Economic Interdependencies in the Age of Colonisation

Elias (2000) and other authors⁶ emphasise strategies of the indigenous individuals which assimilate and imitate dominant Western civilisation. However, the Siamese elites, particularly King Rama II and III, ignored and even refused to accept the European conception of what constituted a civilised standard of law and international trade. Instead of being dominated by or pursuing Western civilised standards meekly, King Rama IV negotiated with several foreign powers to reduce the impact of accepting the liberal economy and British legal concepts. I will argue that the behaviour of the Europeans, with respect to international relation, cannot in fact be regarded as civilised in Elias's (2000) sense, since in reality they treated the Siamese and Burmese governments violently and aggressively. Throughout the

⁴ For the previous models, see Elias (2000), Winichakul (2000a), Winichakul (2000b), Said (2000), Peleggi (2002) and Kitiarsa (2010).

⁵ This point was previously argued by Dépelteau, Passiani, and Mariano (2013).

⁶ Winichakul (2000a); Winichakul (2000b); Said (2000); Peleggi (2002); Kitiarsa (2010).

nineteenth century, the Siamese elites and commoners perceived Europeans as aggressive and dangerous actors who were unrestrained in their tendency to use violence to threaten their status quo and country.

Elias argues that in Western European society, greater social and economic interdependence brings about a higher degree of social and self- constraint.⁷ His analysis is fit to explain the way the lengthened chain of political, social and economic interdependencies between the Siamese, the British and the French engendered a more peaceful identity of the Siamese elites. After gauging the military strength of these two colonial powers, Siamese elites were afraid of losing power and dared not wage war against the imperial powers' occupied areas, which had formerly been Siam's tributaries. The elites' self-control to avoid waging war was a key factor behind a continual reduction of pre-modern warfare in mainland Southeast Asia.

4.1.1 The Beginning Period of Colonisation: Siam Encounters Britain

Between the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Siam encountered less pressure from colonial expansion than India, Burma, China, Malaya and Annam (Vietnam), because its location was not part of the same main sea routes.⁸ When the British first came to establish their trade network between 1786 and 1800, they chose the Malay Peninsula, and their occupation of Siam's tributaries in Malay states did put pressure on the Siamese elite to struggle to control their existing tributaries and cities. Therefore, the British negotiated with Bangkok elites in order to claim their right over the Malay states and also used this opportunity to request the Bangkok elites accept principles serving the liberal economy. The British began to learn that Siamese economic, legal and political systems, the standard of violence, and inter-state policy tended to obstruct their expansion of free and fair trade.

In the early 1820s, the British economic interests in the Malay states (Penang and Wellesley) came into conflict with Siam because Siam took the states as its tributaries. Sultans of Kedah had given up Penang and Wellesley to the East India Company in 1786 and 1800, consequently. The East India Company occupied Penang and Wellesley without permission of the Sultans' supreme overlord of the *mandala* state, Siam. In 1821, Siam invaded and won

⁷ Elias, 1978, pp.74-8; Dépelteau, 2013, pp.282, 289; Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015, pp.13-4.

⁸ Vella, 1955, p.332.

over its rebellious tributary, Kedah.⁹ Following Britain's concern, because of the invasion, Kedah would not be able to supply food to Penang. The invasion of Kedah harmed the trade of British merchants. The Governor-General of India sent a diplomat, John Crawfurd, to negotiate with Siam. Although Siam denied Crawfurd's request to reappoint the deposed Sultan of Kedah, Siam accepted the British authority over Penang.¹⁰

The British merchants wanted Siam to replace its royal monopoly with their liberal economy. During the negotiation between the British and the Siamese in 1821, John Crawfurd proposed a treaty, which provided for free and fair trade as well as the determination of the export and import duties.¹¹ Because the treaty tended to deprive economic privilege from the Siamese court, Crawfurd's proposal for free trade was consistently denied by the Siamese court.¹²

Despite Crawfurd's failed mission to reach any economic agreement, his report was vital to provide knowledge of Siam. For Crawfurd, economic resources in Siam were suitable for investments. However, Siam's royal monopoly, barbaric laws and despotic government were the main obstructions blocking a liberal economy and investors' security. Crawfurd was upset that the Siamese elite refused to adjust their economic and legal systems to enter the standard of the civilised international society. Crawfurd observed that "the country is fertile, abounding in productions suited for foreign trade..."¹³ However, the way the "despotic" government "arbitrarily" used their legal system was incompatible with the free and fair trade of the civilised Westerners.¹⁴

Crawfurd complained that the court's arbitrary power and violent punishments were the main obstacle for free trade.¹⁵ When Crawfurd asked the Minister of the Eastern Provinces¹⁶ (the future Rama III) to provide security for British subjects and properties, the latter stated: "The King of Siam would make no alteration in the established laws of the country in favour of strangers."¹⁷

⁹ Bunnag, 1977, p.50.

¹⁰ Hall, 1979, pp.626-7; Bunnag, 1977, p.50.

¹¹ Crawfurd, 1830, pp.204-5; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.177-8; Tagliacozzo, 2004, p.357.

¹² Crawfurd, 1830; Bowring, 1857, pp.140-200; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.196.

¹³ Crawfurd, 1830, p.222.

¹⁴ Crawfurd, 1830, pp.205-6.

¹⁵ Crawfurd, 1830, pp.207, 210, 221.

¹⁶ The Minister was also responsible for trading and foreign affairs.

¹⁷ Crawfurd, 1830, p.205; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.86.

Following accounts of a missionary and a priest between the late 1820s and the 1850s, Karl Friedrich Augustus Gützlaff¹⁸ and Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix shared the same idea as Crawford. Gützlaff stated that if Siam, which was one of the most agriculturally fertile countries in Asia, was managed by a good government, Siam might become more civilised than Bengal and Calcutta. He was also disappointed that Siam was overlooked by philanthropists and European merchants.¹⁹ Following Pallegoix's experience between 1830 and 1853, Siam had abundant fertile land. Pallegoix also criticised King Rama III's policy of charging European ships high tax rates.²⁰

4.1.2 The Mission of Henry Burney

In 1825, Bangkok prepared to attack Perak and Selangor in the Malay Peninsula. The East India Company did not want Siam to expand its influence beyond Kedah and it intimidated Siam by sending gunboats to block the warships of Siam. The Siamese elite accepted British power to reconcile the conflict between Siam and Selangor.²¹ Britain, waging war against Burma, wanted to trade with Siam and avoid more conflict. Therefore, in 1825, Henry Burney, a British diplomat, negotiated with Siam to retain peace in the region and to build up a trade relationship.

The Siamese elite closely and continually observed the expanding power of the British, and they decided to listen to Burney's proposals. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the Siamese elite were well-aware of Britain's power over India. The Siamese elites and intellectuals closely followed the expansion of the British Empire.²² The Siamese elite perceived that the "dangerous" British were "ambitious" to colonise countries.²³ The First Anglo-Burmese War between 1824 and 1826 was a vital warning for the Siamese elite. The Burmese, whom the Siamese considered to be "invincible,"²⁴ were under attack by the British. This was why the Siamese elite did not dare to refuse proposals of another British mission,

¹⁸ He was a German missionary who came to Siam in 1828.

¹⁹ Gützlaff, 2012, p.74

²⁰ Pallegoix, 1981, pp.4, 6-7. For the tax rate, please see Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.181.

²¹ See Vella, 1971, pp.126-9.

²² Crawford, 1830, p.250.

²³ An interpreter of the Mission reported Crawford that he heard a Siamese prince said, "the English were a dangerous people to have any connexion with, for that they were not only ablest, but the most ambitious of the European nations who frequented the East" (Crawford, 1830, pp.216-7).

²⁴ See Hall, 1974, p.65.

which was led by Captain Henry Burney in 1825.²⁵ Although the Siamese elite did not want to open the relationship with the British, they were afraid of a possible war with the British. In the end, they welcomed Burney.²⁶ Unlike the Crawford Mission, Burney made progress in negotiations to foist free trade upon Siam. As a result of the negotiation, the Siamese elite agreed to apply free trade only to specific goods, whose supplies were higher than domestic demands.²⁷

Following another key aim of the Burney Mission, the British wanted to maintain the peace and demarcate the territories where the British and the Siamese could exert their influence. Indeed, in the mid-1820s, the British sought to pacify and stabilise politics in their occupied areas in the Malay Peninsula.²⁸ The British merchants were worried about regional disorder and warfare. War between a supreme overlord (Siam) and its disobedient tributaries in the Malay Peninsula threatened the security and interests of the British merchants. For the British, their targets in the south of Siam were trading hubs and places for providing resources to them.²⁹ The British, eventually, urged the Siamese elite to follow the political regime of the territorial state and the principle of non-intervention. The idea of clear-cut sovereignty eventually started to replace the *mandala* state.³⁰

Following the negotiation of the treaty, Burney uttered a warning that Siam would not have any right to use physical power to attack or occupy Kelantan and Terengganu as the Siamese had done with Kedah.³¹ The elite feared that the British aspiration to be colonisers would bring an end to their political autonomy, power and status. The Siamese government conformed to the British request. Britain accepted the right of Siam to Kedah, but Siam could not expand its influence beyond Kedah.³²

²⁵ Burney was the envoy who claimed to cement a good economic relationship between Siam and Britain (Hall, 1974, p.45; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.101).

²⁶ Hall, 1974, pp.37-8; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.101; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, p.12; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.206.

²⁷ Vella, 1955, p.333; Hall, 1979, pp.628-630; Tagliacozzo, 2004, p.357.

²⁸ In this period, the British tried to find agreements with the Dutch and the Siamese who had previously established their power in this region. Following the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, the Netherlands affirmed the right of Britain to occupy Malacca and Singapore (Suehiro, 1989, p.16; Chew and Lee, 2014, pp.54-9).

²⁹ Hall, 1974, p.107; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.178.

³⁰ Vella, 1955, pp.126-9, 333; Hall, 1979, pp.628-630.

³¹ The Siamese attacked Kedah in 1821. The governor of Kedah fled to Penang to seek help from Britain. The Siamese did not dare to continue attacking Penang to catch the governor (Vella, 1971, pp.126-9).

³² Vella, 1955, pp.332-3; Vella, 1971, pp.126-9; Hall, 1979, pp.628-630.

The influence of the British over the Malay Peninsula made the Siamese elite slowly attune their political system of the *mandala* state to the European idea of the sovereign and territorial state. Between 1759 and the Anglo-Burmese War in 1824, the Siamese and the Burmese fought each other in several wars.³³ However, the new sense of a state with clear-cut boundaries was gradually understood by the Siamese elite. Clear borders and the principle of non-intervention, which were noted in the Burney Treaty, generated external control for the Siamese elite.³⁴

The Siamese elite were more aware of British power after the Burney Treaty of 1826. The elite gradually developed self-control by consciously avoiding using violence beyond their areas of influence.³⁵ From 1825 to 1826, Burney urged the Siamese government to appoint boundary commissioners to demarcate the frontier between the lands conquered by the British and the Siamese dominions.³⁶ However, the Siamese government still focused on the control over all populated areas of its provinces rather than the unpopulated frontiers.³⁷

It should be stressed that the Siamese elites still applied the political system of the *mandala* state to control their tributaries. During the 1830s, Siam confronted rebels in Kedah and Pattani, and beginning in the 1840s, Siam successfully made peace in these tributary areas by permitting the Malay elites to govern themselves. Afterwards, Siam was a little worried about their tributaries and cities in the South and the West. However, between 1833 and 1846, Siam and Vietnam waged several wars against each other to establish power in Cambodia, and they eventually came to a truce in which they agreed that Cambodia would be their common tributary. Between the 1850s and the 1860s, the increase in the British and French influence in the Malay Peninsula, Burma, Cambodia and Vietnam made Siam turn its attention towards

³³ Hall, 1974, p.62.

³⁴ See Linklater, 2011, p.49; Kayaoglu, 2010, p.194; Callahan, 2004, p.321. Following Article I of the Burney Treaty, "The Siamese must not meditate or commit evil, so as to molest the English in any manner. The English must not meditate or commit evil, so as to molest the Siamese in any manner. The Siamese must not go and molest, attack, disturb, seize, or take any place, territory, or boundary belonging to the English in any Country subject to the English" (The Siamese Government and the British Government, 1826; Quoted in Saraya, 1997a, p.182).

³⁵ Na Thalang, 1998, pp.126-7. For example, in 1860, the Siamese elite refused the request of a local elite who wanted Bangkok to interfere in politics of Pahang. The local elite would accept the suzerainty of Bangkok if Bangkok helped him to attack Pahang. King Rama IV stated: "Now, Pahang is under the British's protectorate. [Pahang] should not become a tributary of Bangkok because the Siamese and the English have a harmonic relationship" (Dibakarawongsa, 2005, pp.152-3).

³⁶ Hall, 1974, p.52; Winichakul, 1994, p.65; Puaksom, 2003, p.117.

³⁷ Winichakul, 1994, pp.67-8.

expanding its *mandala* regime to the north. In the early 1850s, King Rama IV ordered a prince to lead the troop to attack Kengtung to take it as a tributary; however, this mission failed. From the 1850s onwards, the loose centralisation of the *mandala* state of Siam scarcely changed its size, thanks to the continual process of colonisation in mainland Southeast Asia. The *mandala* centre, Bangkok, would later use technology and Western-style bureaucracy to construct a territorial, centralised state, beginning in the 1870s. From the 1870s onwards, Bangkok struggled to convert several tributaries, which had been annexed during the age of the *mandala* regime into parts of modern Siam. Bangkok would try its best to claim its right over cities and tributaries, which they had gained from the elimination contests during the *mandala* regime.³⁸

4.1.3 The Bowring Treaty of 1855 and its Effects

Beginning in the 1840s, the Siamese court encountered a decline in trade revenue because of the British influence in China. The Treaty of Nanking in 1842 forced China to open its ports to Western vessels. The Treaty reduced the importance of junks, which were used for trading between China and Siam.³⁹ Although in 1850, when the British merchants in Singapore supported a mission of Raja James Brooke of Sarawak to negotiate with Siam in order to enhance their economic interest, a new commercial treaty was refused by King Rama III.⁴⁰ However, in 1851, the King and the Siamese elite fully realised that the British were increasingly dominating politics in Asia.⁴¹

In 1854, the government of Rama IV [r.1851-1868] received a letter from Sir John Bowring which addressed Britain's aim to enhance the trading relationship. The British threatened that they had many warships in the water territories of China, although, they did not wish to scare and attack Siam. The Siamese elite felt that they could not delay or deny British diplomats, as

³⁸ Wyatt, 1984; Sethakul, 2013, pp. 2-36

³⁹ Hewison, 1989, p.38; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.14-5.

⁴⁰ Webster, 1998, pp.160-1.

⁴¹ In 1851 shortly before King Rama III died, the King had said to Chuang Bunnag, the Minister of the Southern Provinces: "I personally think that for whoever is chief of the king's minister, there will be no more wars with Vietnam and Burma. We will have them only in the West. Take care, and do not lose any opportunity to them" (Wyatt, 1969, p.30).

they had done during the previous reigns, and felt compelled to accept Bowring's letter so that the relationship would not turn sour.⁴²

Before the Bowring Treaty, international trade in Siam was operated by the royal elites, high-ranking nobles and the Chinese bourgeoisie. Hunter and Hayes was a European company, which was allowed to trade in Siam by the Siamese court in 1824.⁴³ However, after the coming of Bowring in the mid-1850s, the Siamese elite reluctantly accepted semi-colonial status, signing the 1855 Bowring Treaty. Following the Treaty, Siam opened itself to be part of the British liberal economy, and also granted British subjects extraterritorial protection from Siam's legal regime. The British in turn allowed the Siamese elite to conserve their political power in their domestic realm.⁴⁴

Siam, whose economic and legal systems came under the influence of Western norms, entered the semi-colonial conditions of informal empire. Under the semi-colonial condition, colonial powers would not be responsible for the cost of political operation in Siam. Meanwhile, Siam was opened to foreign investors who came to invest in sectors manufacturing minerals and agricultural raw materials for export. Foreign merchants could also sell Western products to Siamese markets.⁴⁵ The Bowring Treaty led to the cancellation of all restrictions on foreign trade and a fixed rate of import duties at 3 percent. All exports could be taxed only once.⁴⁶ The royal monopoly system that the king and nobles had operated was abolished.⁴⁷

Under the treaty, extraterritorial rights were granted to all British subjects. For the British, the Siamese elite were oppressors.⁴⁸ The Siamese elite and commoners were thought to have a propensity to use violence, harming the security and interests of the British merchants.⁴⁹ A grant of extraterritoriality to the British was therefore crucial for the British merchants who

⁴² Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.103; Dibakarawongsa, 2005, pp.87-9; Wyatt, 1984, p.183; Tagliacozzo, 2004, p.359.

⁴³ Suehiro, 1989, p.42.

⁴⁴ Linklater, 2011, pp.53-8; Gong, 1984, p.217; Young, 1997, p.84; Loos, 2006, p.2; Jackson, 2004, p.230.

⁴⁵ Young, 1997, p.84; Jackson, 2004, p.230.

⁴⁶ Wyatt, 1984, p.183; Suehiro, 1989, p.22; Lysa, 2008, p.317; Tagliacozzo, 2004, p.359. It should be added that Rama IV abolished the royal monopolies on goods in 1851 (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.102).

⁴⁷ Peleggi, 2002, p.40.

⁴⁸ Following Bowring's viewpoint, "despotic" Siamese ruling elite had perpetuated subject servitude. The elite had degraded humans to "the condition of the brute beasts" (Bowring, 1857, pp.143-4, 159).

⁴⁹ See Ingram, 2009, p.47.

would live in within Siam's violent social conditions and a legal system which they perceived as 'barbaric'.⁵⁰ According to the Treaty, the British consul had authority to judge all criminal cases in which both parties were British subjects, or in which the accused was a British subject.⁵¹ A function of extraterritorial rights was to facilitate the expanding number of Western traders and subjects who sought economic opportunities in Siam.⁵²

A commercial treaty similar to the Bowring Treaty with fourteen foreign powers was negotiated and finalized between 1856 and 1870.⁵³ The government of Rama IV wanted to counterbalance the British in colonial politics. If the government provided economic and political interests to other colonial countries, apart from Britain, the countries would not let Britain dominate the Kingdom. In addition, because Siam became more connected with a number of foreign merchants from powerful countries, King Rama IV issued a proclamation to warn his people to avoid any dispute with the British, the French and the Americans. He ordered an increase in the severity of punishment for anyone who disobeyed this edict.⁵⁴

Both material goods and Siamese and Western people, including merchants, members of the royal family, diplomats and so forth, were globally connected through commercial treaties and steamboats.⁵⁵ The number of Siamese-owned vessels rapidly decreased, while the number of the European-owned steamers increased.⁵⁶ Siam became a port where Westerners attained material supplies. Siam was transformed to be part of a market for Western capitalist countries, which controlled around 75 percent of Siam's export economy.⁵⁷

King Rama IV complained that the treaties with the Western countries led to a decline in import and export taxes which his government received. Meanwhile, the court's other source of income from the tax farming system could not make up for the loss of the revenue previously generated by royal monopolies. The corrupt behaviours of tax farmers and

⁵⁰ Na Thalang, 1998, p.178.

⁵¹ Lysa, 2003, pp.126-142; Limapichart, 2008, p.33.

⁵² Lysa, 2003, pp.128, 142.

⁵³ For example, France, which was concerned about British influence in Southeast Asia decided to sign a treaty with the Siamese elite in 1856 (Petchlert-anan, 2009, pp.11-2). Between 1856 and 1899, Siam signed treaties with the U.S., Denmark, Portugal, Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Japan and Russia (Suehiro, 1989, p.22; Ingram, 2009, p.49; Loos, 2006, p.2).

⁵⁴ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.101-3.

⁵⁵ Suehiro, 1989, p.24.

⁵⁶ Suehiro, 1989, p.52; King Mongkut, 2004, pp.109-111.

⁵⁷ Lysa, 2003, p.126.

governors harmed the government's control over its resources.⁵⁸ Although Rama IV tried to find a new source of income by approving fourteen new tax farms, their income could not increase the King's reduced revenue.⁵⁹

After the Bowring Treaty of 1855, the peasant economy became increasingly commercialised and monetarised. Many farmers became rice cultivators to respond to the increasing demands of export crops. Becoming involved in this expanding economy required small capital outlays in the starting phases, and peasants could reap high outcomes. They already had skills and technology to engage in this commercial economy. Cheap imported goods started to circulate in Siam. Agrarians produced and sold rice to middlemen. The latter transported rice to provincial centres, where it was milled and sold to Chinese and Western traders. The traders exported it to China and Europe. Farmers could gain a surplus from selling their crops, and the government could gain its revenue by collecting taxes.⁶⁰

From 1850 to 1870, Siam, British Burma and French Indo-China expanded their rice growing for export.⁶¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, these three countries became the largest rice suppliers in the world.⁶² In 1888, European trading companies exported almost 70 percent of rice exports from Siam. All of these rice exports were shipped to Europe.⁶³ Around the turn of the twentieth century, the court took advantage of the global economy, and the high volume of rice export helped the elite attain export tax.⁶⁴

From 1890, King Rama V [r.1868-1910] used his political power to support the Privy Purse Bureau to reap interests in the age of expanding trade. The King modified the Privy Purse Bureau to become a royal investment firm, investing in several business sectors, including land development, rice milling, rice trading, construction of canals, tramways and railways, shipping, the cement industry and commercial banking.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Lysa, 1983, pp.393-6; Limapichart, 2008, p.37.

⁵⁹ Lysa, 1983, p.396.

⁶⁰ Lysa, 1983, p.385; Hewison, 1989, pp.41-3; Brown, 1988, pp.2-3.

⁶¹ Brown, 1988, p.2.

⁶² Brown, 1993, pp.82-4.

⁶³ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.103-4.

⁶⁴ Brown, 1988, p.94; Tagliacozzo, 2004, p.360; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.22.

⁶⁵ Suehiro, 1992, p.39; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.108-9.

Siamese farmers who entered a commercial activity and a process of money circulation were now connected to local merchants, government officials and foreign traders. These actors functioned to serve one another under an expanding trade network. The next section explores how this economic condition helped create a fiscal and physical monopolisation of an unprecedented, centralised government. I also illustrate how the Siamese elites changed their existing financial and political system to mimic the systems that the Europeans had implemented in their colonies, examining how this political and financial reform affected the elites, masters and people.

4.2 State Formation

Colonisation was a crucial factor leading to centralised and demarcated states in Singapore, Cambodia and Siam. State formation in Western Europe originated from the court's ability to centralise financial power. The court subsequently became financially and physically superior to other lords in a country. Singapore was occupied by the British in order to contest the domination of the Malay Archipelago with the Dutch. Afterwards, the British struggled to monopolise the use of violence developing from inter-ethnic conflict in Singapore.⁶⁶ In Cambodia, France's economic interests in Indochina led to a monopolisation of fiscal and physical power that served as a process of state formation. After the 1880s, France tried to increase its tax revenues and internal security in Cambodia. France appointed numerous provincial residents in order to expand its power to collect taxes in the country's provinces and developed a police force to protect tax revenues and maintain peace.⁶⁷

Whereas the control of lands was vital in Medieval Europe, it was unimportant in pre-modern Siam and Cambodia. The idea of the territorial state in Siam emerged later during the colonisation period. Siamese kings sought to survive as the head of the state and maintain their prestige internationally. Therefore, an emergence of state formation in Siam relied upon the Siamese adoption of the European ideas of territorial state and Western-style administration.

⁶⁶ Stauth, 1997, pp.54-9.

⁶⁷ Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015, pp.83-91.

4.2.1 The Twilight of Centrifugal Tendencies and the Beginning of the Centralising Plan

Before the early 1870s, many lords who had possessed substantial degrees of economic autonomy and interests tried to strengthen their power. In 1868, although Chuang Bunnag (the Minister of the Southern Provinces) supported fifteen-year-old Prince Chulalongkorn, Rama IV's son, to accede to the throne as Rama V, Chuang Bunnag also took a chance to nominate Prince Wichaichan, Rama V's cousin, to become a new viceroy. Chuang hoped that Prince Wichaichan, the former viceroy's son, would counterbalance Rama V's power when Rama V came of age. Bunnag eventually dominated the result of the meeting.⁶⁸

At the beginning of the Reign of Rama V, the nobles tried to strengthen their position and undermine royal power. The power of the young King Rama V was counterbalanced by the Regent's clique. In 1869, this clique consisted of the Regent (Chuang Bunnag), the Viceroy (Prince Wichaichan), the Minister of Southern Provinces (Won Bunnag) and the Minister of Eastern Provinces (Thuam Bunnag). This clique continually accumulated a great share of revenue and manpower. Between 1868 and 1873, King Rama V (1853-1910) was a minor. The Regent, Chuang Bunnag, had the authority to take control of the state. Chuang seized an opportunity to transfer revenues from offices under royal control to ministries, which were controlled by his family. During that period, royal revenues sharply decreased so much that the King nearly faced bankruptcy.⁶⁹ In the first few years of Rama V's reign, the young King also learned how to get away from the meagre royal incomes. In the early 1870s, during his visits in the European colonial powers' colonies, the King learned a Western method to centralise fiscal power.⁷⁰

Between 1871 and 1872, the young King Rama V and members of the royal and noble families visited the Dutch East Indies, British India, British Burma and the British Malay states in order to learn colonial administration.⁷¹ Rama V and his entourage visited Java again to learn how residents governed provinces.⁷² After the trips, Rama V planned to slowly establish a centralised government. His main project was that the government had to monopolise fiscal

⁶⁸ Battye, 1974, pp.159-160; Susayan, 2009, p.230; Damrong Rachanuphap, 1964, pp.69-72.

⁶⁹ Wyatt, 1968; Wyatt, 1969, pp.35-58; Bunnag, 1977, pp.55-6; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.231-6.

⁷⁰ Kesboonchoo-Mead, 2004, pp.52-3.

⁷¹ Sahai, 2003, pp.33-307; Khongchan, 2004; Bunnag, 1977, p.51; Vickery, 1970, pp.873-5; Vella, 1955, p.335; Loos, 2010, p.85.

⁷² King Chulalongkorn, 2012, p.70; Vella, 1955, p.335.

and physical power through bureaucracy and means of communication. The bureaucracy and the military would control provinces in the boundaries of the Kingdom. Under this project, Rama V could gradually undermine the power of the lords.

In 1873, King Rama V used Western techniques to centralise financial power. He established a new finance office (*ho ratsadakonphiphat*), the function of which was similar to a Western Ministry of Finance. Salaried staff were hired to work in offices in order to centralise the administration of tax. The Finance Office relocated the control of tax revenues from tax farmers to the King. This finance office brought about the centralisation of the state and the decreased power of tax farmers. The Finance Office hired officers and accountants to monitor the state revenue. The Finance Office took control over bidding and operating tax farms.⁷³ Now, tax farmers found it hard to seek for personal interests as they had done.⁷⁴ King Rama V attracted nobles who supervised tax farms by sharing five percent of the tax revenues to them.⁷⁵ The court now began to establish bureaucracy (the Finance Office) as a main institution for nobles and civil servants to serve so that they would enhance their wealth and prestige.

In the 1890s, the new central bureaucracy took control over most tax farms,⁷⁶ and from 1892, the Ministry of Interior took control over collecting the majority of commodity taxes. In order to relieve the tax-farmers' resentment, the court gave them social prestige through official titles.⁷⁷

It can be concluded that the King continually undermined the financial power of lords like tax-farmers through the Finance Office. At first, tax-farming was closely monitored, and later it was taken over and run by the King's bureaucracy.

4.2.2 Freed Labourers, Taxpayers and a Conscript Army

In 1874, the King began to apply the first stage of his plan by slowly freeing forced labourers from all masters. Chuang agreed to the King's plan because both realised that the state no

⁷³ Kesboonchoo-Mead, 2004, pp.52-3.

⁷⁴ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.108.

⁷⁵ Kesboonchoo-Mead, 2004, pp.52-3.

⁷⁶ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.237.

⁷⁷ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.108, 110.

longer received much benefit from the corvée system.⁷⁸ In the 1870s, around four-fifths of the population evaded the corvée registration.⁷⁹ The King and Chuang believed that by abolishing the corvée and slavery systems, freed labourers would productively earn cash from paid work and selling their agricultural products. These workers would help pay tax and serve the expanding trade.⁸⁰ The abolition of the system of forced labour tended to enhance commercialisation and monetarisation, which would later serve the fiscal monopolisation of the King. Therefore, following a royal decree of 1874, children who were born to slaves after 1868 would automatically be freed when reaching the age of twenty-one. From 1890, these children would continually be freed. According to another decree of 1874, half of the redemption price of all debt slaves was decreased.⁸¹ The proportion of slaves who served lords tended to continually grow smaller.

Between 1877 and 1887, the court demanded that all nobles who owed money had to pay it back by one of two methods. First, nobles who received cash in lieu of services from forced labours had to pay their commutation payments to the court. For the second method, they had to give up control over their forced labourers. Most nobles surrendered their control over their forced labourers.⁸²

To extract income from cultivators who already engaged in commercial agriculture, Rama V set the poll tax at 4 baht per year in 1899. The poll tax challenged masters' patron-client groups. The court replaced the masters' role of collecting taxes with royal officials, who sent money back to the court. The poll tax and the previously-mentioned process of the court's fiscal centralisation from the 1870s helped the government to receive larger amounts of revenue continually (see table 1). The masters received a small share of the tax.⁸³ Before the application of the poll tax, many peasants were already connected to the global market. After launching the poll tax in 1899, the state now directly interacted with common people all over the country. The government played a role as a civiliser, bringing civilisation to the country.

⁷⁸ Kesboonchoo-Mead, 2004, p.46.

⁷⁹ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.25.

⁸⁰ Kesboonchoo-Mead, 2004, p.46.

⁸¹ Susayan, 2009, p.308; Wyatt, 1969, p.51.

⁸² Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.25.

⁸³ Bunnag, 2008, p.33.

In the eyes of the court, people were farmers, taxpayers and citizens who would do their duties to maintain the social order.

Table 4.1: Income of King Rama V's Government [r. 1868-1910]⁸⁴

Years	Income (baht)
1868	8,000,000
1873	The Finance Office initially took control over most tax farms from the tax farmers.
1892	15,378,114
1895	18,070,000
1898	28,496,029
1899	The government began to collect the poll tax.
1901	36,160,000
1903	43,460,000
1905	50,460,000
1908	58,920,000
1910	61,360,000

In the early 1900s, the physical power of the court was increased by universal conscription and effects of the abolition of slavery. After 1901, the government implemented universal conscription. The government continuously strengthened its physical power through soldiers. However, the universal conscription affected the economic lives of commoners. The universal conscription brought about a lack of labourers who were expected to farm for their families. Many male commoners evaded military service.⁸⁵ In 1905, *corvée* conscription was formally abolished. As a result of these reforms, local masters no longer had their physical and fiscal autonomy in their own cities (or former tributaries). The local masters found it harder to gather their *phrai* and slaves to work or fight.⁸⁶ Therefore, the physical power of the court was superior to any of the lords'.

⁸⁴ Battye, 1974, p.403; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.238; Bunnag, 2005, p.145; Ingram, 2009, pp.264, 479.

⁸⁵ Battye, 1974, pp.303-483.

⁸⁶ Bunnag, 2008, p.33; Tanabe, 1984, p.92; Keyes, 1977, p.294; Susayan, 2009, pp.274-301; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.26.

4.2.3 The Fall of the Most Influential Masters

Between 1868 and 1875, King Rama V feared the Viceroy's physical power, while the Viceroy was suspicious of the King's ambitious plan to strengthen the King's power. Under the support of Chuang, Viceroy Wichaichan possessed so much physical and fiscal power that he became nearly as powerful as the King.⁸⁷

In 1875, a serious conflict between Rama V and the Viceroy broke out under the context that the British wanted to maintain Siam's political independence and stability. In 1875, a fire broke out in the Grand Palace. The Viceroy's armed soldiers came to ask for permission to enter the palace gates to help extinguish the fire. The King's network was suspicious of the Viceroy's soldiers who might seize this chance to come to the Palace to fight fires and then overthrow the throne, and the Viceroy's soldiers were not allowed to enter the Palace.⁸⁸ Given this suspicion between the King and the Viceroy, the Viceroy hoped that the support from Britain could help him maintain his rank.⁸⁹ A British consul granted the Viceroy asylum with the support of the British and the French officials. Rama V, Chuang and other ministers were angry that the Viceroy's strategy tended to undermine the political autonomy of the Kingdom and power of the King and the ministers. The Siamese elite and commoners were afraid that the British would soon use the gunboat policy to support the Viceroy and interfere in domestic politics.⁹⁰

While the Viceroy did not want to reconcile with the King and ministers, Chuang asked the British Consulate to send a high-ranking British representative to resolve this crisis. Sir Andrew Clarke, the Governor of the Straights Settlements, came to Bangkok to find a solution. Clarke insisted that the British did not want to interfere in Siamese politics. After the meeting of Clarke and the King, the solution was in the King's favour. The Viceroy had to go back to reside in his palace. The Viceroy's power over the armed forces and financial issues would be reduced and transferred into the hands of the King.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Battye, 1974, pp.164-178; Susayan, 2009, pp.231-3.

⁸⁸ Wyatt, 1969, p.59; Battye, 1974, p.180; Wyatt, 1984, p.193.

⁸⁹ Battye, 1974, pp.190-1; Sahai, 2003, p.305; Susayan, 2009, p.234.

⁹⁰ Wyatt, 1969, p.60; Battye, 1974, pp.191-4; Sahai, 2003, pp.304-305.

⁹¹ Wyatt, 1969, p.60; Battye, 1974, pp.202-4; Rajchagool, 1994, pp.28, 89; Susayan, 2009, pp.227-234.

The death of Chuang and the Viceroy in 1883 and 1885 respectively opened a chance to further the King's centralising project.⁹² The political succession that had previously depended on the nobles' power was turned into the hands of the king. In 1886, Rama V appointed his first son as the Crown Prince. The military power of the Crown Prince was subject to the King.⁹³ In 1889, the King sent his brother to bring revenues which had been previously transferred to the Bunnag's ministries back under the royal control.⁹⁴ The main force of centrifugal tendency was being terminated by royal financial centralisation. The King also employed new systems of political and financial administrations, including the colonial residency, cabinet-government and provincial administration.

4.2.4 The Colonial Residency

Under the political system of the *mandala* state, tributary rulers, regional ministers and governors who had fiscal and physical autonomy frequently did not follow the policies of a supreme overlord. In the nineteenth century, tributary states asked colonial powers to help the former fend off their overlord's influence. For example, in the 1860s, King Rama IV encountered pressure from France's encroachment upon Siam's tributary, Cambodia. In 1863, King Norodom of Cambodia tried to repel Siamese influence by asking France for protection. Siam accepted France's power over Cambodia. Siam eventually lost Cambodia as its tributary.⁹⁵ Over the next decade, Siam attempted to centralise and merge its tributaries to become part of the territorial state of Siam so that the former would no longer concede any tributaries to Britain and France.

From the 1870s onward, King Rama V applied a new administrative method (the colonial residency), which was established in the colonies of Britain and the Netherlands, to put an end to the centrifugal tendency created by tributaries.⁹⁶ The government called the new form of administration, *thesaphiban* or 'protection over territory.' The King sent commissioners (*khaluang*), most of whom were members of the royal family, to oversee tributary and

⁹² Wyatt, 1969, p.85; Battye, 1974, pp.264-5.

⁹³ Battye, 1974, pp.270-2; Wyatt, 1968; Khongchan, 2004; Moffat, 1962, p.51.

⁹⁴ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.237.

⁹⁵ Chandler, 1983, pp.140-1; Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015, p.83.

⁹⁶ Vickery, 1970, pp.874-5 Vella, 1955, p.335; Winichakul, 1994, p.103; Bunnag, 1977, p.51, Loos, 2010, p.83.

provincial rulers.⁹⁷ Bangkok tried to interfere in the military matters of all tributaries. Bangkok assigned commissioners to recruit and train local people to become their armed forces and maintain order in their regions and the state's frontiers.

The construction of means of communication helped Bangkok expand its administration and physical power to its provinces and borders.⁹⁸ From the 1880s onward, Bangkok developed the means of communication to contact its commissioners and officers in regions and borders through the Departments of Posts and Telegraph and the construction of railways.⁹⁹ The improvement of means of transportation and communication tended to consolidate the King's power.

Bangkok employed different political and fiscal strategies to interfere in each region in order to avoid disputes. Political and fiscal powers were tightly controlled in northern tributaries; however, they were loosely regulated in southern provinces. For instance, in 1884, Siam appointed Prince Phichitprichakon as the royal commissioner to oversee the administrative affairs in northern tributaries. Although the Bangkok elite regarded Chiang Mai as its tributary, the commissioner had absolute power to require the rulers of Chiang Mai to follow the Bangkok's policy.¹⁰⁰ In southern tributaries whose religion and custom differed from other parts of Siam, the government tried to compromise with local rulers in order to avoid any possible major conflict. Bangkok slowly interfered in the political and fiscal autonomy of Islamic rulers of southern tributaries.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Bangkok permitted only some tributary rulers to retain their official titles and hereditary rights to governorship.¹⁰²

The King's attempt to establish *thesaphiban* was an effort to strengthen the defence of the frontiers, where were exposed to threats by Britain and France. Between 1875 and the end of the 1880s, five commissionerships were established in the eastern and northeastern provinces. The establishment of the commissionerships was enacted to deal with the expansion of France in Vietnam and Cambodia. It should be added that in 1884, France

⁹⁷ Ongsakul, 2005, pp.180-191; Bunnag, 2008, pp.3-9; Battye, 1974, p.287; Winichakul, 1994, pp.102-3; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.239.

⁹⁸ Vella, 1955, p.347.

⁹⁹ Bunnag, 1977, p.72.

¹⁰⁰ Na Thalang, 1998, pp.184-7.

¹⁰¹ Vickery, 1970, p.876; Loos, 2010, p.83.

¹⁰² Loos, 2010, p.83; Nunn, 1925, pp.573-4; Vickery, 1970, pp.868-878; Bunnag, 1977, pp.106, 108; Bunnag, 2005, pp.130-1; Bunnag, 2008, pp.6-7; Battye, 1974, pp.280-8; Winichakul, 1994, pp.72-3; Norman, 1895, p.444; Peleggi, 2002, p.156; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.239-240.

annexed Vietnam and Cambodia as a protectorate.¹⁰³ *Thesaphiban* also helped protect economic interest in Siam's tributaries. Between 1874 and 1875, the Commissioner was sent to a northern tributary (Chiang Mai) in order to grant forest on lease to the British.¹⁰⁴ However, in the Malay tributaries, the Siamese government was concerned about proving its ability to control its territories to the British rather than protecting its economic interest. According to the British, the Malay states were significant in terms of trade and investment. Meanwhile, following King Rama V's viewpoint on his Malay tributaries, they had no economic importance.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, around the early 1900s, to protect the Kingdom's honour, the King tried to improve political administration and security in Kelantan and Terengganu. For the King, the improvement would represent that Siam had an administration that was as civilised as the British.¹⁰⁶

However, Siam's ability to establish colonial residency did not guarantee that it would be able to maintain its territories. Following treaties in the late 1900s, the French and British who possessed stronger physical power forced Siam to concede its territories to them. In the 1907 treaty, Siam agreed to give the provinces Battambang, Sisophon and Siem Reap to France. Following the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, Siam had to give Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, Perlis and adjacent islands to Britain. Following these treaties, the French and the British also agreed to relinquish partial extraterritorial rights to Siam.¹⁰⁷

Competition between France and Britain to dominate the economy and politics in mainland Southeast Asia catalytically generated a tendency for France, Britain and Siam to try to centralise their areas. For the French, Cambodia was where they could gain economic interest through tax collection. France conducted administrative and financial reforms by tightening its control over central government. The colonial state apparatus was established to extend

¹⁰³ These provinces included Battambang, Nongkhai, Bassac, Nakhon Ratchasima and Ubon (Bunnag, 1977, pp.51-3; Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015, pp.83-5; Keyes, 1977, p.293).

¹⁰⁴ The King was afraid that Chiang Mai's ruler would mishandle a forest lease with the British. The King was anxious that this mishandling would bring about a conflict. Therefore, the King began to apply the colonial residency in Chiang Mai (Ongsakun, 2005, p.171).

¹⁰⁵ Bunnag, 1977, pp.51-63; Keyes, 1977, p.293; Wyatt, 1984, p.194. In 1896, the King stated, "if we lost these [Malay] states to the British, we suffer no material loss...However, I feel it would be loss of honour [for the kingdom]..." (King Chulalongkorn, 1932, pp.325-6 quoted in Loos, 2010, p.84).

¹⁰⁶ Loos, 2010, pp.84-5.

¹⁰⁷ Hong, 2004, pp.350-1; Brown, 1988, p.1.

the government's control to provincial and village levels.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, in the 1890s, the British went on urging Siam to establish its presence in areas around frontiers in the Malay Peninsula because the former were afraid that the Malay rulers might request the French and Germans to interfere in the Peninsula.¹⁰⁹

A dispute sometimes occurred because of a contest between France, Siam and Britain to impose a system of colonial residency on some areas. Around the late 1880s, France was worried by the British success in establishing the Shan State and Siam's achievement in founding the colonial residency system on the east side of the Mekong River.¹¹⁰ However, in the early 1890s, France wanted to extend the trade network on the east side of the Mekong River in order to be able to compete with Britain.¹¹¹ Therefore, in 1889, the French officials declared their right over all provinces on the left bank of the Mekong (including Luang Prabang). Both countries persistently insisted on their entitlement to this area.¹¹² In 1893, the clash between the Siamese and the French officials in the Mekong led to a major conflict. The French sent two gunboats to the Chaophraya River, and negotiations between the Siamese and the French began. The French requested the Siamese to cede the tributaries on the left bank of the Mekong to them. The Siamese asked the British for help; however, the latter never wanted to get involved in any conflict with France. The British always wanted to maintain the independence of Siam so that the latter would be a buffer state. The British told the Siamese to accept France's terms.¹¹³ The Siamese feared the military strength of France and the gunboat diplomacy, and so accepted the request.¹¹⁴

In conclusion, Bangkok established its colonial residency system in its tributaries in order to establish the territorial state of Siam. In order to reduce the effects of establishing the colonial residency, Bangkok tried to avoid disputes when it interfered in each tributary. Contests between Siam, France and Britain to establish their political and economic power also catalysed centralising processes and shaped states' boundaries in mainland Southeast Asia.

¹⁰⁸ Chandler, 1983, pp.143, 145; Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015, pp.83-5.

¹⁰⁹ Loos, 2010, p.82.

¹¹⁰ Walker, 2014, pp.567-585; Bunnag, 2008, p.37; Battye, 1974, p.287.

¹¹¹ Walker, 2014, pp.567-585; Bunnag, 2008, p.37.

¹¹² Bunnag, 2005, pp.111-3; Tagliacozzo, 2004, p.362.

¹¹³ Winichakul, 1994, p.111; Na Thalang, 1998, pp. 137-154; Walker, 2014, p.559; Keyes, 1977, p.293

¹¹⁴ Bradley, 1981, pp.125-134.

4.2.5 The Establishment of Cabinet-Government

From 1888 onwards, King Rama V created a functionally differentiated cabinet-government. By 1894, the old ministerial system that provided fiscal and physical power to the ministers in three regions was abolished. Ministers of the old system, who were part of the Bunnag clique, were pressured into resignation in order to pave the way for the King's cousins. The King instituted a cabinet that was composed of twelve ministries to be responsible for differentiated functions. Nine (half-)brothers of the King took ministerial posts. Now, the King could fully control financial and physical power through the newly formed Ministry of Finance as well as the Ministry of War and Marine.

The new administration essentially amounted to the encroachment of the King's power upon the ministers' power. After the Bunnag clique had been uprooted from the old ministerial system¹¹⁵, the King launched a functionally differentiated cabinet-government. The King transformed the Ministry of the Southern Provinces (*kalahom*) to become the Ministry of War and Marine. The King as Commander-in-Chief appointed his brother (Prince Phanurangsi) as the Minister of War. The Prince took care of all modern military matters, instead of all affairs of every southern province. The Ministry of Finance was established to control how the ministries managed their revenue. Ministries of Public Works, Justice and Public Instruction were created. The Ministry of the Northern Provinces (also known as *Mahatthai*) was changed to be the Ministry of Interior in order to specifically take care of the provincial administration of the state. The Ministry of the Eastern Provinces had no longer been responsible for seaboard provinces which involved sea trade with foreign countries. However, it was transformed to become the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to take diplomatic responsibilities.¹¹⁶

The Ministries of Interior, War and Finance, related to monopolization of physical and fiscal power, were allocated the greatest share of the state's revenue.¹¹⁷ Although the government tried to strengthen its power, by the first half of the 1890s, Henry Norman, an English

¹¹⁵ Battye, 1974, p.276.

¹¹⁶ Battye, 1974, p.276; Bunnag, 1977, pp.60-93.

¹¹⁷ Vella, 1955, p.344.

journalist who travelled to Siam, stated that the centralising power of the government was not strong.¹¹⁸

4.2.6 The Provincial Administration

Between 1889 and 1890, Prince Damrong received ideas on provincial administration from his visit to British Burma. Beginning in 1894, the government began to apply provincial administration to Siam. Following this new administration, each province consisted of districts, subdistricts and villages. Bangkok could directly appoint governors and sheriffs in provinces. Bangkok appointed education officials and police officers to work in districts. The central government allowed governors of any provinces to recommend their cousins to serve minor posts in local administration (deputy governors, judges and assistants). The central government usually approved their recommendations.¹¹⁹

However, beyond the district level, Bangkok let local people participate in politics. Around 1896, Prince Sanphasitthiprasong, the Commissioner of Nakhon Ratchasima, applied the village administration of British Burma to villages around his city of residence. This administrative method was implemented in order to gain people's cooperation. The villagers were allowed to elect their subdistrict headmen (*kamnan*). While the Burmese village headmen (*thugyis*) were paid by the government, the Siamese subdistrict headmen were unpaid. Although this method was not efficient because of the subdistrict headmen's lack of education, it soon became a model of local administration. Following the Local Administration Acts of 1897 and 1914, Bangkok allowed local people to decide who would be their own subdistrict and village headmen. This was because Bangkok's budget was too limited to pay subdistrict and village headmen salaries. Village headmen were elected by villagers, and village heads in a subdistrict would elect one among themselves to become a subdistrict headman. Subdistrict and village headmen would be controlled by sheriffs. Subdistrict and village headmen were required by Bangkok to facilitate two important tasks—local security and tax collection.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Norman, 1895, p.426.

¹¹⁹ Vella, 1955, pp.327-345; Bunnag, 1977, pp.21-110; Bowie, 2008, pp.474-5.

¹²⁰ Vella, 1955, pp.327-345; Bunnag, 1977, pp.68-110; Bowie, 2008, pp.474-5.

4.2.7 The New Administration and its Opponents

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the Siamese elites consolidated their political and fiscal power all over the country, and this engendered various forms of resistance from local rulers, nobles and commoners all over the country.

Rebellion in Chiang Mai

In Chiang Mai, in 1889, when Bangkok wanted to interfere in the local masters' tax collection, Bangkok elites consulted with the senior princes of Chiang Mai. This consultation helped the Bangkok elites to reconcile with the princes. The princes painfully accepted a decrease of their economic power. This was because they still possessed some governmental roles and retained their official titles in their realms. They also received large salaries.¹²¹ The situation of the princes was still better than that of low-ranking officials. Following Bangkok's centralising fiscal policy, the low-ranking officials no longer had the authority to gain interest from their supervising roles in tax collections. Meanwhile, commoners suffered the most. Tax collectors arrested and tortured peasants who could not afford to find cash to pay tax. Therefore, in 1889 in Chiang Mai, some low-ranking officials deployed their subjects to fight against taxation. The mobilisation of around 12,000 subjects was successful because they wanted to resist paying the poll tax that they could not afford. However, the rebels were brutally suppressed.¹²²

The Shan Rebellion

Between the late 1880s and the early 1900s, the British, French and Siamese competed to establish their powers in the area around northern Siam. The Shan State was annexed by the British. Meanwhile, the Siamese government extended its administrative power in the Mekong valley. Afraid of the British expansion and the Siamese centralising programme, the French used gunboat diplomacy to forcibly take Siam's territory on the east of the Mekong River. Through the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1893, the French also made Siam accept a newly

¹²¹ Ramsay, 1979, pp.290-1.

¹²² Tanabe, 1984, pp.93-104. Ramsay, 1979, pp.287-290.

established reserved zone on the west of the Mekong River. Siamese armies were not allowed to enter this reserved zone. The French promoted their trade in this area as they hoped that they could challenge British economic power in the region.¹²³

However, the demarcated areas of the British, French and Siamese undermined the Shan's cattle trade and cultural commonality.¹²⁴ Moreover, in 1902, the Shans and people of Phrae province who were forced by Bangkok to pay the poll tax supported the Shan rebels to rebel against Bangkok. A prince of Phrae who was suffering from the fiscal interference of Bangkok secretly helped the Shan rebels. The Shans, the Prince and people of Phrae fought Bangkok in order to regain their economic power. Many of Bangkok's officials were killed. However, Bangkok successfully sent forces to retake Phrae.¹²⁵

In the early 1900s, some French thought that the Siamese government's inability to control the Shan rebellion was a ladder to interfere in the areas of Siam. However, France's power was limited as they could not afford to deploy the army to interfere even in provinces in their reserved zones like Chiang Khong and Chiang Saen. The Shan rebels took advantage of the Franco-Siamese Treaty, which did not permit the Siamese force to the reserved zone. The rebels, therefore, evaded the Siamese army in these two provinces. When the Shan rebellion seemed to escalate a conflict in areas of influence of the British, the French and the Siamese, France supported Bangkok to purge the rebels and seize these two cities.¹²⁶

It should be noted that Bangkok tried to calm rebellion down by reducing the level of taxation. Moreover, Bangkok gave a large share of taxes to low-ranking officials. As a result, Bangkok could pacify Chiang Mai and Phrae.¹²⁷

Rebellion in Northeastern Siam

Between 1901 and 1902 in northeastern Siam, villagers were frustrated by the poll tax. Meanwhile, a local noble was disappointed as he was not supported by Bangkok to serve as a governor of Khukhan (Sisaket). Some villagers and the disaffected local noble, therefore,

¹²³ Walker, 2014, pp.567-585; Bunnag, 2008, pp.33-37.

¹²⁴ Walker, 2014, pp.567-585.

¹²⁵ Ramsay, 1979, pp.290-3.

¹²⁶ Walker, 2014, pp.567-585; Bunnag, 2008, p.37.

¹²⁷ Ramsay, 1979, pp.290-3; BT, 30 December 1908, p.4.

mobilised people to rebel against Bangkok. To attract masses to join their newly established patron groups, these rebel leaders claimed they were divine beings (*phu mi bun*). These rebel leaders wanted to found a kingdom that was independent from Siam and France. The leaders aimed to crush Siamese and French power in the Mekong region. However, the rebels were purged by Bangkok forces.¹²⁸

Rebellion in Siam's Far Southern Provinces

Between 1901 and 1903, Bangkok sent tax collectors, judges and commissioners to interfere in Siam's far southern provinces of Pattani. Local rulers of the provinces did not cooperate with Bangkok's officials. The local rulers wanted to retain their fiscal autonomy as they previously had. A former ruler of Pattani fomented political unrest against the new Siamese regime. Bangkok elites promptly responded to the local rulers' frustration after they received news of the local rulers' resistance through telegraphs. The elites, eventually, sent warships to raid and arrest local leaders of the southern province.¹²⁹

4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, by emphasising the negotiating process between the Siamese and other foreign powers, it is possible to capture the way the Siamese kings dealt with the Western legal and commercial systems. Furthermore, the Siamese perception of the violent behaviour of the British and French at the international level demonstrated that the civilised self-image of the Europeans as Elias (2000) outlined it did not correspond to how they were perceived in Siam.

However, the Eliasian model of the relationship between the lengthened chain of interdependence and self-pacification can help explain the way the Siamese elites curbed their violent behaviour when communicating with the British and the French. Moreover, as Elias suggested, in both Europe and Siam, commercialisation, monetarisation, monopolisation of financial and military power and developed means of transportation were key factors engendering an absolutist ruler.

¹²⁸ Keyes, 1977, pp.294-9.

¹²⁹ Bunnag, 2008, pp.64-79; Haberkorn, 2013a, p.190.

Nonetheless, the birth of the modern state in Southeast Asia also stemmed from British and French colonisation. Control of territory became important in Siam after the 1820s, which was when its elite felt compelled to adopt the principles of a territorial and sovereign state. The kings slowly supported processes of demarcation and the establishment of colonial residency which enabled them to claim a right over tributaries and frontiers. Moreover, in Cambodia and Siam, the control of territories was also affected by the economic and political contest between Siam, Britain and France to occupy and centralise cities.

Eventually, between the late 1880s and 1900s, the demarcation of borders and centralising fiscal policies affected the economic lives of many masters and people in disparate regions of Siam. The economic effects from centralisation was a significant factor that led these social actors to resist Bangkok's power. Military operation, communication technology and compromise measures helped Bangkok elites to successfully pacify the modern state of Siam.

In the next chapter, I explore how the British, French, Americans and other foreigners defined the identity of the Siamese in the age of colonialism. I also investigate how the Siamese responded to their constructed identities.

Chapter V

Civilised Identity and Civilising Offensive in Siam

As a result of British influence in Southeast Asia since the early nineteenth century, a young generation of Siamese elites came to recognise the importance of British power. In order to maintain their prestige in the politics of colonialism, they believed that they needed to adjust themselves to accommodate Western ideas. Beginning in the 1820s, the British, Europeans and Americans came to Siam in order to establish their trade networks and religious missions, and they applied their standard of civilisation to how they judged Siamese behaviours. Section 5.2 emphasises that the Siamese elites rejected the foreigners' construction of them as uncivilised by negotiation with, rather than imitation of, the idea of the Western civilisation. This section appraises how Westerners and the Siamese negotiated to construct (un)civilised self-images of the Siamese, ideas of Siamese religious (in)tolerance and (un)civilised laws and punishments of Siam. Section 5.3 analyses how the Siamese elites launched a civilising offensive in order to civilise their country so that it would no longer be humiliated by Westerners. Furthermore, this section assesses how the elites' civilising offensive helped establish a new social order to put an end to the centrifugal tendency of the internal politics of Siam. I go on to reflect upon the application of the concept of the "civilising offensive" to both the Siamese and Western European contexts, and to examine whether the parallel processes of civilisation and state formation, which developed in tandem in Western Europe, also occurred in Siam.

5.1 A Change in Siamese Elites' Identities

In Southeast Asia, elites adopted Indic politics, mythology, religion and performing arts. In the Ayutthaya (1314-1767) and Bangkok (1782-present) periods, the Siamese kings symbolically represented themselves as an avatar of a Supreme Hindu God (Narayana), the sovereign deity who created the universe. In the Bangkok period, kings used "Rama" in their titles. Their titles referred to Rama, the avatar of the god in Hinduism and the Indian epic poem *Ramayana*. The Siamese court modified the masked royal performance (*khon*) of the *Ramayana*, which they

derived from Hindu temples. Performing the *Ramayana* was the kings' aim to legitimize their political power and to present the hierarchical statuses within their kingdoms. The law restricted anyone to imitate any royal performing arts because imitation was a challenge to the kings' prestige, authority and legitimacy.¹

The Kings of Ayutthaya invented a mode of life, preserved for royal members, in order to differentiate superior courtly society from other princes and nobles. The distinctive patterns of house, regalia and equipment reflected different social ranks.² Additionally, the king symbolically gave nobles the titles, manpower, clothes, equipment and authority to accumulate wealth.³

Despite increasing communication between the French and Siamese courts of King Louis XIV and Narai between the 1670s and 1680s, Siamese envoys who were familiar with prostration did not know or care about civilised Western customs when having an audience with Louis XIV in 1686. The Siamese elites did not perceive France as the civilisational centre as the European kings did.⁴ The economic, political and social interdependencies between France and Southeast Asian states were less developed. Before the nineteenth century, the Europeans' warfare technology was not yet superior to that of the Southeast Asian states; this meant that relationships between France and Siam were reciprocal.⁵

In the first half of the nineteenth century, many royal elites who embarked on commercial activities turned their self-images from the celestial and sacred identity to the more bourgeois,⁶ and the sacred identity of representing the avatar of Supreme Hindu God became less important, with the greater value placed on rationality. In the reigns of Rama II [1809-1824] and III [1824-1851], the elites also consumed a great deal of material culture from China. Building materials, for example, were in the Chinese style.⁷

¹ Anderson, 1972, pp.31-2; Day and Reynolds, 2000, p.4; Wales, 1931, p.239; Winichakul, 1994, pp.84-5; Krejčí, 2004, p.20; Peleggi, 2002, p.28; Grow, 1992; Jackson, 2004, pp.224-5.

² Tarchard, 1976, pp.60-76.

³ Eoseewong, 2002, pp.131-8; Peleggi, 2002, pp.45-6.

⁴ Love, 1996; Elias, 2000, pp.189-190. See Figure 10 in Illustrations.

⁵ Charney, 2004, p. xiii. As a result of the Siamese embassy to France in 1686, King Narai received several hundred of French troops to strengthen his clique, as many political groups were not obedient to him. In return, France pettily benefited from the Siamese king's support in commercial and ecclesiastic activities in Siam. However, the relationship between the two countries ceased due to a coup staged by Lord Phetracha in 1688 (Eoseewong, 1984, pp.79-97).

⁶ Eoseewong, 2012b, chapter I.

⁷ Peleggi, 2002, pp.28, 80.

Beginning in the mid-1820s, although King Rama III did not trust the British and other Westerners, royalties and nobles from the younger generation had an opportunity to come into contact with a French priest and American missionaries. These royalties and nobles, sons of influential elites, were born in the 1800s. They grew up in the age in which Siam had significant relationships with the British. These young members of Siamese elite groups and missionaries developed their relationships, with the former helping the latter to attain lands for residences and religious places.⁸ Missionaries in turn helped the Siamese royalties and high-ranking nobles to study the English language, Western military science, technology and international politics. For instance, during his monkhood (1824-1851), Prince Mongkut learned English and Western science from missionaries.⁹

Beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, some young members of the elite groups presented their self-images as civilised men who were cosmopolitan, had a high degree of scientific knowledge and a gentlemanly character. Their self-images were developed as a refutation of the Western construction of the Siamese as being uncivilised. Prince Mongkut expressed his self-image as a man who could win the respect of the Western powers.¹⁰ The Prince defined himself and other Siamese intellectuals as “skillful gentlemen and wisemen” who were “pleased” with scientific knowledge.¹¹ When he became King Rama IV, the king possessed pendulums, barometers, thermometers and microscopes.¹² King Rama IV accurately calculated where and when a solar eclipse could be observed.¹³ Meanwhile, between the 1820s and 1850s, Gützlaff stated that Prince Chutamani, a younger brother of Rama IV, had a good ability to imitate Western knowledge.¹⁴ Prince Chutamani and Chuang Bunnag were diplomats who had negotiated with Westerners. Both of them knew how to build a steam warship.¹⁵

However, between the late 1820s and the late 1830s, although some young elite enthusiastically studied Western knowledge, many Siamese denied the mindset of the

⁸ Limapichart, 2009, pp.366-7; Reynolds, 1976, pp.212-3.

⁹ Wyatt, 1969, p.27; Limapichart, 2008, pp.26, 367; Blofeld, 1972, pp.31-2.

¹⁰ Moffat, 1962, p.21.

¹¹ Prince Mongkut quoted in Puaksom, 2003, pp.140-2; King Mongkut, 1965, pp.119-122.

¹² Bowring, 1969, p.279.

¹³ Wongchalee, 2007, p.431.

¹⁴ Gützlaff, 2012, p.69.

¹⁵ Limapichart, 2009, pp.366-7; Damrong Rachanuphap, 1964, pp.75-7; Leonowens, 1954, p.191; Batty, 1974, pp.79-80.

Westerners. Following Gützlaff's experience around the late 1820s, Gützlaff pointed out that the Siamese denied European civilisation and the superiority of the European.¹⁶ For example, according to one Siamese intellectual's opinion around 1839, the Europeans were mistaken in science, as they believed that the world moved around the sun.¹⁷

5.2 Self-Images of Siam in the Age of Colonialism

Westphalian international society is a shared idea of states in Europe in which an international order relies on mutual independence and political and religious tolerance. State sovereignty anchors its authority in domestic politics, and must be shielded from external authority structures. Non-European states are regarded as needing to improve themselves in order to be subject to "scientific" international law, a product of European civilisation. In other words, non-European states were simply destined to enter into the circle of law-governed countries.¹⁸ The British and the French believed themselves to be the bearers of refined, enlightened, humanitarian, softened and civilised self-images. They felt they had the moral and intellectual superiority to judge the behaviours of all people. They thought that their standards for the definition of a civilised society were far above what they witnessed in the Siamese Kingdom.¹⁹

In reality, the spread of civilisation in Siam was different in many ways from the Western European context. In Western Europe, the civilised lifestyle of the French court was a cultural centre for other European rulers to imitate. Unlike the Western European context, Paris was not a centre of civilised conducts to the Siamese elites, and the Siamese court was not a dependency of Paris.²⁰ During the second half of the nineteenth century, King Rama IV and V endeavoured to transform their behaviour and that of their people because they wanted to prove to the French that the Siamese were capable of civilising themselves. The Siamese kings did not perceive themselves as being dependent on the French. In fact, they viewed the

¹⁶ Gützlaff, 2012, p.74.

¹⁷ See Puaksom, 2003.

¹⁸ Kayaoglu, 2010, pp.194-202.

¹⁹ Elias, 2000, pp.41-3; Hall, 1974, p.54.

²⁰ See Elias, 2000, pp.189-190.

French as violent colonisers rather than a source of civilisation.²¹ It should be noted that the elites did imitate some Western knowledge and modes of conducts as they thought it was useful for maintaining their prestige and power. However, this did not mean that Siam became a dependency of the West. It is more useful to consider the relationship between Siam and the Western countries as a negotiating process, which emphasises how the Siamese accepted, rejected and redefined the idea of civilisation in order to strengthen their power.

5.2.1 Constructing Barbarous and Moral Self-Images of Siam

In 1825, when Burma was fighting against Britain, the Siamese attacked and seized people from Tavoy, Tenasserim and Pegu. Later, Burney requested the Siamese court to repatriate 1,600 deportees to these three cities in Burma that were occupied by Britain. The British viewed Siam's attacks on provinces of Burma as political interference in Britain's sovereignty. The Siamese actions lacked understanding of and respect for the principles of international society. The Burmese from these provinces, who were indeed British subjects, were treated inhumanely by the Siamese government, and liberation of these deportees was part of the construction of the philanthropic and civilised self-image of the British.²²

When the Siamese court returned the deportees, the former did not prepare any necessities of life for them, and Burney complained about the miserable conditions faced by the deportees.²³ In the late 1820s, Gützlaff also criticised that the Siamese viciously seized the Burmese and took them as slaves. The Burmese were forced to work harder than the Siamese, the Siamese tortured and insulted the Burmese, and the Burmese scarcely received any means of livelihood.²⁴

In 1825, Burney constructed an image of the Siamese as cruel and barbaric, and an identity of the British as liberators. Burney complained of the Siamese: "It would be irksome to attempt to describe the disgraceful and cruel treatment which the Burmese Captives have experienced

²¹ King Rama IV tried to rely on Britain to protest against the French expansion in Cambodia. He described this situation by saying that either 'to swim upriver and make friends with the crocodile [France] or to swim out to sea and hang on the whale [Great Britain]' was a major threat (quoted in Gong, 1984, p.208).

²² Hall, 1974; Pratt, 2004, pp.217-8; Kayaoglu, 2010, pp.194-202.

²³ Hall, 1974, p.56.

²⁴ Gützlaff, 2012, pp.78-9. Furthermore, it should be added that the cruelty towards war captives Burney experienced had also been seen by John Crawfurd, the British diplomat (Bowie, 1996, p.119).

in Siam.” Burney stated that all members of the Mission to repatriate the deportees would feel “great and lasting satisfaction that he was instrumental in rescuing upwards of 1,400 fellow creatures from a most intolerable slavery.”²⁵

By the reign of King Rama III [r.1824-1851], the Siamese tended to become more aware of the criticism of the Europeans and Americans, and the Siamese elite gradually learned the cost of interfering in British sovereign areas. After the attacks of the provinces in Burma in 1825, the Siamese elite ceased invading the British sovereign areas. Around 1839, it was widely known by the Siamese that the Europeans had superior military strength. Following the *Poems about Different Foreigners*,²⁶ Europeans were viewed by Siamese intellectuals as having good ability in warfare, large cities and populations and advanced technology.²⁷

After the Siamese government had adjusted itself to a non-interference policy towards the British, the Siamese intellectuals defined a new identity of Siam, which was related to an image of being a moral nation. Meanwhile, the otherness of Siamese identity was constructed as a characteristic of other countries. Following *Poems about Different Foreigners*, the Siamese’s perfect body and mind were known all over the world.²⁸ The poems reflected that the Siamese were a moral people. The poems were written more or less as a refutation of Westerners’ claims about the barbaric nature of the Siamese. Following a poem written to describe the Africans, a Siamese intellectual emphasised that the immoral and evil characteristics belonged to the Africans, rather than the Siamese.²⁹

Around 1839, *Poems about Different Foreigners*, depicted the Siamese as living in a great and invincible city, with foreigners fearing the Siamese’s capability in warfare.³⁰ The poems reflected that the Siamese elite tried to strengthen their image as soldiers so that they would have more ability to bargain with the aggressive Westerners in the larger scope of their colonial era relationships. Therefore, in 1844, King Rama III ordered his officers to strengthen the country’s defences by renovating fortresses and preparing a chain to block the mouth of

²⁵ Hall, 1974, pp.57, 63.

²⁶ *Khlong Tang Phasa* or *Poems about Different Foreigners* were written by the Siamese intellectuals around the 1830s. The poems were inscribed in stones and kept in a temple in Bangkok (see Puaksom, 2003).

²⁷ See the original poem in Puaksom, 2003, pp.31-2, 121.

²⁸ See Puaksom, 2003, pp.31-2, 121.

²⁹ The Africans were considered by a Siamese civil servant as “ridiculous” and a “bad/wicked nation” (see Puaksom, 2003, p.32).

³⁰ See Puaksom, 2003, pp.31-2, 121.

the Chaophraya River. This order aimed at preventing any possible British attack³¹ and to prepare for an attack, Rama III ordered his officers to build warships in 1850.³²

However, the self-images of Siam that emphasized the possession of military strength and high moral principles were not accepted by a French priest, who perceived Siam as a country that was full of immoral activities such as robbery and war-mongering. Although Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix emphasised that the Siamese's behaviour was polite, the Siamese were also bellicose, and when making wars, the Siamese behaved like robbers, pillaging and burning everything.³³

During King Rama V's speech at his coronation in 1873, he tried to defend the Siamese government against its negative and oppressive image, claiming that the oppressive image, which had been created by foreigners, did not belong to his Kingdom. Rather, oppression occurred in other countries.³⁴

Nevertheless, the British and French regarded Siam's barbaric, oppressive and unjust image as unchanging and inherited, and these judgements caused chronic suffering to the Siamese people. According to W. J. Archer's account in 1892³⁵, Siamese soldiers attacked and seized people in a tributary territory in 1892. The Siamese invaded Phuan, locating in modern-day Laos, and many people from Phuan were deported to central and western Siam. Archer regarded the Siamese deportation policy as repulsive.³⁶ According to an account of Lucien Fournereau, a French official, in 1892, although Siam had conscripted soldiers, their discipline and livelihood were neglected by the government, and they therefore looted and damaged

³¹ This preparation was done under continual threats from the British. In the same year, Robert Hunter, a British merchant in Bangkok, was upset after a Siamese official had refused to buy a steamship. Hunter intimidated that he would ask the British government to attack Siam by gunboats (Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.115-148).

³² Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.115-6, 147-8.

³³ He recounted his experience in the Siamese Kingdom between 1830 and 1853 (Pallegoix, 1981, p.16). Meanwhile, Anna Leonowens, an English tutor, wrote about the history of the Ayutthaya Kingdom in a book published in 1870, saying "this capital and stronghold was continually exposed to storms of civil war and invasion..." (Leonowens, 1954, p.21).

³⁴ In the 1873 Rama V's Coronation, Malcolm Smith summarised the King's speech: "His Majesty has noticed that the great countries and Powers in Asia, that is China, Cochin China, Japan and India, and the regions where oppression existed, compelling the inferiors to prostrate and worship their masters, similar to the custom in Siam, have at present ceased these customs..." (Smith, 2008, pp.132-3).

³⁵ W. J. Archer was a British vice consul in Siam.

³⁶ Archer, 2012, p.280.

the properties of many innocent people.³⁷ Meanwhile, in 1893, a French sailor reported that the Siamese elite exploited their subjects through forced labour for many centuries.³⁸

In 1903, Khun Charatchawanaphan, a Siamese civil servant, wrote a historical work denying that the self-image that past and present Siamese Kingdoms were far removed from barbaric and violent society. He wanted to respond to the British and French perception of violence in Siamese political history. Khun Charatchawanaphan tried to create a new self-image for the Siamese Kingdoms. He stated that a barbaric society existed before the emergence of the first Kingdom of the Siamese—Sukhothai. In the barbaric stage, brutal human sacrifice and cannibalism was “viciously” conducted. Warfare frequently emerged. There were a number of wars between cities.³⁹ The Sukhothai Kingdom was the beginning of the peaceful and civilised stage, with Siamese soldiers only waging wars in order to protect their country from aggressive enemies.⁴⁰

5.2.2 Religious Tolerance

This subsection assesses how European and American Christians experienced the Siamese governments’ policies on religious tolerance. Foreign missionaries felt that they risked losing their lives during their evangelical missions because Siam lacked religious tolerance.⁴¹ Pallegoix wrote that Rama III was a despotic king who ordered his officers to destroy all churches and expel all missionaries.⁴²

The Siamese elite and intellectuals attempted to refute the insults of the Europeans and the Americans by redefining their self-images. They did not internalize the images of brutality and religious intolerance, which had been built up by the British, the French and the Americans. Rather, the Siamese elite asserted that aggression and religious intolerance were more characteristic of the British. Beginning in the 1820s, it was widely known by the Siamese that

³⁷ Lucien Fournereau, an officer of the French Ministry of Public Instruction and Arts, travelled to Siam between 1891 and 1892 (Fournereau, 1998, pp.99-100).

³⁸ Au Siam, 2012, pp.282-302.

³⁹ Charatchawanaphan, 1926, pp.32-119.

⁴⁰ Charatchawanaphan, 1926, pp.97-116.

⁴¹ The missionaries who came to Siam between the 1830s and 1840s felt that they took a risk in areas about which little was known and understood (Bradley, 1981, p.xi).

⁴² Pallegoix, 1981, pp.48-51.

the Westerners had conquered many areas in India and Burma.⁴³ The Siamese elite experienced the attack of gunboats in rivers in the First Anglo-Burmese War between 1824 and 1826.⁴⁴ Before Burney's Mission in 1825, the Siamese elite had prepared to defend any possible attack from the colonial powers at Paknam.⁴⁵ Therefore, between the 1820s and 1830s, according to the Siamese viewpoint, the British were "dangerous," "ambitious" and "captious." They were "wickedly provocative to make a dispute" so that they were liable to invade and harm the country and Buddhism.⁴⁶

Following Gützlaff's account in the late 1820s, the Siamese were afraid that Christianity would eventually overcome Buddhism in their kingdom.⁴⁷ The Siamese people knew their rulers were anxious about Western influence, and there was a prophecy foretelling the triumph of a foreign country over the Siamese Kingdom.⁴⁸ When Western missionaries came to Siam around the 1830s, the Siamese people did not dare to initiate contact with them because they were afraid of possible royal punishment.⁴⁹

Although the Siamese government tried later to improve its self-image by demonstrating religious tolerance, the Christians still feared that they could lose their lives. Shortly after Rama IV (Prince Mongkut) ascended the throne, he invited missionaries who had fled to Singapore to come back to Siam, and told them that he supported religious freedom. The King continued to say that if they let him know where they would pursue evangelical missions, he would order governors not to molest them.⁵⁰ However, this policy of religious tolerance did not change the Christians' perception of the Siamese, who they regarded as so uncivilised as to be incapable of religious tolerance. In 1854, Elam Luddington, an American missionary, recounted, "I visited one of their festivals a few days ago. I was cautioned to go armed, as they are a set of wild barbarians, outlaws; they would soon take your life as to look at you."⁵¹

⁴³ Crawford, 1830, pp.192, 216-7, 250; Gützlaff, 2012, pp.66, 75; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp 10-11. The British occupied Assam, Ye, Tavoy, Mergui and Tenasserim in 1826 (Hall, 1974, p.69).

⁴⁴ Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.205-6; Charney, 2004, pp.256-7.

⁴⁵ Hall, 1974, pp.37-8.

⁴⁶ Crawford, 1830, pp.216-7; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, p.12; Gützlaff, 2012, pp.66-75; McFarland, 2012, pp.43-4.

⁴⁷ Gützlaff, 2012, pp.66-75.

⁴⁸ See McFarland, 2012, pp.43-4.

⁴⁹ McFarland, 2012, p.19.

⁵⁰ Pallegoix, 1981, pp.51-2.

⁵¹ Luddington, 1854 quoted in Palmer, 1970, p.128.

5.2.3 Punishments and Laws: Barbarity and Civilisation

In the West, beginning in the early nineteenth century, middle-class people expressed distaste for the spectacles of torturing and suffering as forms of punishment. From the 1860s onwards, the human body as the target of torturing, punishment and condemnation gradually disappeared.⁵² Europeans increasingly believed that society should be governed by civil law rather than brutal force. Law and the reasoning of enlightened individuals prevented the use of brute power, and deliberated law became a standard of civilisation.⁵³ Within the standard of civilised punishment, Christian Europeans could not accept foreign legal systems with what they saw as barbaric punishment regimes. Between the 1820s and the 1850s, the British, French and Germans criticised Siam's legal system for being disordered and immoral. They complained that central and local governments arbitrarily carried out severe physical punishments, and they believed that non-Western countries needed to apply civilised legal regimes in order to be considered a full participant in international society.⁵⁴ Moreover, for Europeans an important issue was that the legal system protected their lives and property in non-European countries, including Siam.⁵⁵ For the Siamese elite, their capitulation to extraterritoriality was a humiliation, and they tried to improve the country's legal system to reach the European standard of civilisation so that the unequal treaties could be revoked.⁵⁶

Burney regarded punishment under Siamese laws as brutal, and he argued against its imposition by the Siamese government on British subjects, as well as attempting to reform what he saw as the arbitrary nature of the Siamese judicial system. In 1826, Burney and the Siamese government agreed that any guilty sentence that ended in the death penalty had to be specified in order to put an end to the arbitrary nature of the Siamese judicial system.⁵⁷

Criticism of inhumane governments and punishments can also be seen in the writings of a German missionary and a French priest. According to Gützlaff's experience in the late 1820s, many Siamese lived under a vicious and oppressive government, with the central and local government frequently applying unjust and severe punishments.⁵⁸ Pallegoix stated that

⁵² Foucault, 1991; Pratt, 2004, pp.217-8.

⁵³ Towns, 2009, pp.692-3.

⁵⁴ Gong, 1984, pp.14-5; Jackson, 2004, p.234; Horowitz, 2004, p.453.

⁵⁵ Towns, 2009, p.693.

⁵⁶ Jackson, 2004, p.235; Horowitz, 2004, pp.448-464.

⁵⁷ Hall, 1974, p.114.

⁵⁸ Gützlaff, 2012, p.77.

Siamese laws “give masters the right to strike their slaves with rattan and even put them in chains.”⁵⁹

The British regarded these violent laws and punishments as requiring reform. Beginning in 1855, British subjects were protected by extraterritoriality rights, and they also gained the right to buy or rent property in Bangkok. King Rama IV felt compelled to avoid harming the British in Siam, but he was not yet ready to improve the standard of violence in laws and punishments in relation to the Siamese people themselves.

In 1856, King Rama IV was informed that a dockyard owned by a Siamese man was leased by an Englishman for ninety-nine years. Despite the fact that this sort of arrangement had been legalised by the recent signing of the Bowring Treaty of 1855, the King was furious that the Siamese man let the British rent land in Siam. The King ordered the Siamese man to be punished by ninety-nine lashes, a punishment which killed the man. The King felt deep regret for offending Queen Victoria after he had ordered to lash the Siamese man, as he had been involved in British business,⁶⁰ but he did not feel ashamed or sad for what he had done to the Siamese man.

The British and the Europeans continually criticised the laws and punishments applied to the Siamese. According to Anna Leonowens, people had been oppressed by many horrid tragedies, the brutal justice system and numerous cruelties.⁶¹ Between 1859 and 1860, Henri Mouhot, the French explorer, denounced a governor who acted as both police officer and judge. According to Mouhot’s account, the governor was very cruel because he ruthlessly and heartlessly ordered his officials to mutilate and decapitate convicts’ arms or heads in order to maintain peace.⁶²

Law Reform

That the Westerners did not accept the Siamese legal system made the Siamese elite gradually adjust the standard of violence in punishments. In the 1890s, the social restraint to avoid brutal punishments was increasingly expressed by judges and the elite in the Siamese judicial system. The increment of the social control was a result of the lengthened chain of

⁵⁹ Pallegoix, 1853, p.13. I translated from French.

⁶⁰ Moffat, 1962, p.101.

⁶¹ Leonowens, 1954, pp.113-4.

⁶² Mouhot, 2012b, pp.140-1.

interdependence with more civilised countries like Britain and France. The Siamese elite and foreigners drafted and promulgated new criminal laws, which was part of the elite's attempt to put an end to the extraterritorial privilege of the Westerners.

Although extraterritorial rights were applied from 1855 onward, the Westerners directly and indirectly experienced the continued application of existing Siamese laws.⁶³ The Siamese elite realised that the Westerners' criticism of the Three Seals Law (Siam's indigenous legal code) continually undermined their judiciary. The violent punishments of the Siamese state, applied to native people, were unceasingly criticised by the Westerners. For example, in the 1880s, Archer thought that the elite of Nan (a tributary of Bangkok) imitated the brutal forms of punishment from the Siamese state.⁶⁴

In the 1890s, the elite tried to restrain the application of the brutal and torment punishments in many lawsuits. After 1891, the Ministry of Justice and the modern court were established, and the judges were recruited from those who had studied law in Europe. These judges and Rama V felt compelled to avoid applying the brutal punishments of the Three Seals Law to criminals.⁶⁵

Between 1893 and 1895, in almost all lawsuits, although judges delivered judgements and indicated brutal punishments like mutilations, tattooing for pillorying crimes and whipping, Rama V ordered the judges to remit these barbaric punishments.⁶⁶

Beginning in the late 1890s, the elite attempted to abolish all brutal punishments. Following pieces of evidence between 1903 and 1910,⁶⁷ judges no longer used torture from the Three Seals Law to apply to criminals.⁶⁸ Following two cases in 1904, murderers got life imprisonment.⁶⁹

⁶³ In 1869, Captain John Smith, an American river pilot, was murdered by his Siamese wife, Ma Chiew. A U.S. consul totally disagreed with the application of Siamese laws to Smith's Siamese-American children. Following the Siamese laws, after the death sentence of Ma Chiew, the royal court would take the Siamese-American children and all properties of Smith and Ma Chiew as its slaves and belongings. After negotiation between the U.S. and Siamese sides, the children were eventually protected by U.S. law (Bradley, 1981, pp.160-9).

⁶⁴ Archer, 2012, p.137.

⁶⁵ Lingat, 1983, p.150; Piamsombun, 1980, p.11.

⁶⁶ NAT, 1893, pp.1-9; NAT, 1894, pp.10-22; NAT, 1895, pp.23-7.

⁶⁷ Following the collections of court cases and edicts in the National Archives of Thailand, there was no record of sentencings from 1896 to 1902.

⁶⁸ Lingat, 1983, pp.123-151; NAT, 1903a, pp.28-32; NAT, 1903b, pp.33-7; NAT, 1904, p.38; NAT, 1905, p.46; NAT, 1906, p.57; NAT, 1907b, pp.63-4; NAT, 1908, p.77; NAT, 1910, pp.91, 95-6.

⁶⁹ OHS, 1904, pp.1-3, 794-5.

In 1897, a committee, composed of the Siamese elite and foreigners, was formed to draw a more civilised criminal law to replace the Three Seals Law. The new criminal law was promulgated in 1909.⁷⁰ The Siamese elite hoped that the new criminal law would lead to the abolition of extraterritoriality for the British and the French. Following the treaties between Siam and France in 1907, and Siam and Britain in 1909, reformation of Siamese law led to the partial relinquishment of the extraterritorial privilege of the French and British.⁷¹

5.3 Civilising Offensive: Kings' Attempts to Civilise Siam

Throughout his lifetime, Mongkut or Rama IV perceived the British and French expansions in India, Burma, Vietnam and Cambodia. Rama IV realised how the monarchs' power in these three countries was undermined by the British and French.⁷² Rama IV's strategy to maintain his status was to accept the colonisers' unequal treaties⁷³ and to show the colonisers his ability to civilise his own country without their interference.⁷⁴

5.3.1 An Early Civilising Offensive: A Religious Movement

The upsurge of the bourgeoisie gradually emerged, along with a current of humanism, in the eighteenth century.⁷⁵ The trading achievements of the royal elite and bourgeois-nobles made them confident in their ability to create better human and social conditions.⁷⁶ The Siamese elite and bourgeois-nobles believed in Buddhism in rational terms, rather than through ritual and superstitious worldviews, and⁷⁷ this rational Buddhism of the elites and bourgeois-nobles was incompatible with the ritualised Buddhism of commoners.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Piamsombun, 1980, pp.13-8; Lingat, 1983, p.150; Horowitz, 2004, p.464.

⁷¹ Wyatt, 1969, pp.99-100; Piamsombun, 1980, p.14; Office of the Council of State, 2004, p.36; Lysa, 2004, pp.350-1. Nevertheless, extraterritoriality for foreigners was completely discontinued starting in the 1920s (Piamsombun, 1980, p.23).

⁷² Gong, 1984, p.208; Osborne, 2001, pp.89-97; Chaiyaporn, 2017, p.5.

⁷³ King Rama IV gave his opinion on the Vietnamese court's policy on the French: "The Westerners asked [the Vietnamese Emperor] for making a friendship treaty as they had done with Siam. [The Vietnamese Emperor] denied making [it]. [That the Emperor's] rough dispute was the cause of a war with the Westerners. If [the Vietnamese Emperor] had signed a treaty like Siam did, [Vietnam] would be fine like Siam" (Quoted in Chaiyaporn, 2017, p.5).

⁷⁴ See 4.2.4.

⁷⁵ Eoseewong, 2012b, pp.327-365.

⁷⁶ Sattayanurak, 1995; Eoseewong, 2012b.

⁷⁷ Blofeld, 1972, pp.20-1; Eoseewong, 2012b, pp.355-365; Moffat, 1962, p.13.

⁷⁸ Keyes, 1989, p.125.

During Mongkut's monkhood, he was aware that Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon was falling under the British rule. He also realised that Christian missionaries, who had been coming to Siam in order to convert people to Christianity since the late 1820s, were encountering and challenging ritualised Buddhism.⁷⁹ In the 1830s, American missionaries attacked the superstitious belief in Buddhist rituals. For instance, John Taylor Jones, an American missionary, recounted that Siamese people worshipped images of the Buddha, but they did not know the one true God.⁸⁰

When Prince Mongkut spoke with Christian missionaries, Mongkut tried to link Buddhist ideas with Western scientific thought.⁸¹ Prince Mongkut also stated that the superstitious characteristics of Buddhism in Siam stemmed from its connection to Hinduism.⁸² Buddhism was indeed more systematic and rational than vulgar Christianity. Prince Mongkut also believed that the emergence of advanced science bore no relationship to the ideas of Christianity⁸³, and he argued to the missionaries that Christianity was not a prerequisite for social progress and civilisation.⁸⁴

The reason that Prince Mongkut wanted to reform Buddhism stemmed from his struggle to establish his power. After the death of his father, King Rama II, his elder half-brother was supported by influential nobles to ascend the throne. The Prince's life was at risk because he was a legitimate contender who could also become a king. After his father's death, the Prince, who had originally aimed to enter the monkhood for a short period, remained a monk in order to secure his safety, and tried to empower himself by establishing himself as a religious and intellectual leader.⁸⁵ In order to reform Buddhism, Prince Mongkut founded the sect of *Dhammayuttika* ("adhering to the dharma") in 1829. This group of elite and bourgeois-nobles, supporting the sect of *Dhammayuttika*, detached themselves from the "superstitious," "ignorant" and "immoral" self-images of the commoners.⁸⁶ Their confidence in their "higher" moral, rationality and humanism underpinned the idea that Siamese elite (like Prince

⁷⁹ Keyes, 1989, pp.124-5.

⁸⁰ McFarland, 2012, p.410.

⁸¹ Keyes, 1989, pp.124-5.

⁸² Sattayanurak, 1995, pp.15-22 Wadkean, 2010, p.317.

⁸³ Prince Mongkut quoted in Puaksom, 2003, pp.140-2; King Mongkut, 1965, pp.119-122.

⁸⁴ Forest, 2008, pp.25-6.

⁸⁵ Khongchan, 2004.

⁸⁶ Eoseewong, 2012b, pp.355-365, Wadkean, 2010, pp.235-317; Paisan Wisalo, 2005, pp.181-4; Keyes, 1989, p.125.

Mongkut or later King Rama IV and King Rama III) and bourgeois-nobles could improve other Buddhists. The reform of Prince Mongkut to preach and print rationalised Buddhist ideas in the Thai language in understandable ways was the process that the upper stratum wanted to use to improve the “immoral” and the “irrational” characters of the monks and commoners.⁸⁷ By eliminating immorality and irrationality among commoners, the Prince was also able to reconstruct the image of Buddhism in order to refute the negative perception Western Christians had of Siamese Buddhism.

According to Prince Mongkut, Buddhism in Siam had degenerated since the period of the Ayutthaya Kingdom. Monks had abandoned the Buddhist disciplines by playing pastimes, pursuing superstitions and collecting valuables. For Prince Mongkut, the degeneracy of the monks led to the immorality of people that could be widely seen at that time.⁸⁸

The sect of *Dhammayuttika* was initially accepted by the Royal elite.⁸⁹ The number of monks rose to at least 130 in the early 1850s.⁹⁰ The sect of *Dhammayuttika* formed the established group of the elite and nobles who believed in rationalism and humanism,⁹¹ and they maintained their social superiority by condemning commoners who were superstitious and immoral. If the commoners followed Mongkut’s guidance, he would gain support from them, and his religious wisdom would help him to gain more power. It was most likely that this religious reform did not generate any far-reaching effect to successfully rationalise Buddhist commoners. This was because between the 1830s and 1900s, Westerners widely observed that the Siamese remained superstitious⁹², and superstition was later regarded by the Westerners as a rationale for obstructing the country’s progress.⁹³

⁸⁷ Sattayanurak, 2003a, pp.106-7; Wadkean, 2010, p.241; Paisan Wisalo, 2005, pp.180-201, Moffat, 1962, pp.19-21.

⁸⁸ Wadkean, 2010, pp.229-315; Paisan Wisalo, 2005, pp.181-4.

⁸⁹ King Rama III invited Prince Mongkut to stay in a temple that was not far from the Grand Palace. In the first few years after the sect was established in 1829, the royal elite and nobles were ordained by Prince Mongkut (Wadkean, 2010, pp.235-6).

⁹⁰ Eoseewong, 2012b, p.360.

⁹¹ Forest, 2008, pp.25-6

⁹² McFarland, 2012, pp.231, 410; Leonowens, 1954, p.20; Mouhot, 2012a, pp.273-290; Archer, 2012, p.133; Curtis, 2012, pp.415-9; Young, 2012, pp.310-1; Brain, 1912, p.334.

⁹³ Curtis, 2012, p.415.

5.3.2 Royal Edicts: Struggles to Centralise the King's Power

When Mongkut ascended the throne in 1851, he issued and printed a number of articles and proclamations to communicate directly with nobles, monks and people. The “stricter” code of conduct in the printed materials was created by King Rama IV to express his superior moral and refined status under his newly constructed idea of a social unit of a territorial kingdom with an absolute king.

King Rama IV's power relied on the support of high-ranking nobles.⁹⁴ Without the ability to counterbalance the nobles, the King promulgated printed edicts to convince the people and the nobles that he controlled law and order. The King installed a printing house in his palace, in order to promulgate his stricter standard of law and order for the territorial kingdom. His attempt reflects the idea that a king's power must be absolute.⁹⁵ He described “proper” pathways of conduct under the territorial state in order to legitimise his right to control the state. Promulgation of printed proclamations aimed at inculcating all people with stricter morals, and the King attempted to undermine the relationship between masters and subjects.

King Rama IV's edicts and essays⁹⁶ exerted social constraints and demanded good behaviour of nobles and people. For him, social restraints helped improve his power in the larger chain of social interdependencies among many uncontrollable social actors, and he was trying to construct the concept of the king who had power over the nobles and people in his territorial kingdom. The King convinced the people that they were part of the we-group of the territorial state, and he taught them to do their duties.⁹⁷ In “People Recall the Power and Merit of the King,” King Rama IV stated:

...a king possessed the land. At that time, all men who lived in the kingdom gave consent to [the king] and became subjects under the laws and commands. ... All individuals, including oneself, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, grandmothers and great grandparents, had ever received the merit and the protection from the king. [They] lived peacefully and happily. Besides, in the past, [nobles who] had ever sworn the

⁹⁴ Khongchan, 2004.

⁹⁵ The Working Group on a History of Printing in Thailand, 2006, pp.19-20, King Mongkut, 2004.

⁹⁶ His essay's title is People Recall the Power and Merit of the King (King Mongkut, 1965).

⁹⁷ See Elias and Scotson, 1965, pp.164-172; Verrips, 1986; King Mongkut, 1965, pp.6-8; King Mongkut, 2004.

oath, received royal money, rewards, honour and titles [from the king]. [They] should not disdain and devastate power and merit of the king...⁹⁸

The King attempted to put forth the idea of an exemplary king with absolute power over his kingdom. A good king should improve the living conditions of his people. According to Edict No. 56, a king of the territorial kingdom and its citizens had to collect taxes to support the people's well-being.⁹⁹ According to the Proclamation's content on the tax rate, "[the King] wrote the edict to indicate all people. From the past, kings have ascended the throne and possessed territory and people. Without money from taxes, [kings] will not be able to maintain happiness for the territory. ...King Mongkut aims at supporting people's well-being."¹⁰⁰

The King expressed himself as being more refined, civilised and decent than individuals in lower ranks. Although he wanted to improve behaviours of nobles and people, he wanted to be distinct from other lower individuals. Therefore, the King issued proclamations for "helping" masters and people to get out of uses of coarse language, uses of drugs and superstitions¹⁰¹. His edicts aimed at building up a hierarchical relationship, in which the king was at the apex of the kingdom.¹⁰²

Between the 1850s and the 1860s, King Rama IV found it difficult to control masters. Although King Rama IV established social control through stricter morals and laws, many nobles and princes kept helping convicted *phrai* who had evaded punishment for their crimes. Between 1857 and 1861, King Rama IV repeatedly announced in seven edicts that nobles had to understand and follow royal orders by not taking convicted *phrai* under their patronage. This reflected that King Rama IV was unable to control subjects, masters and, indeed, the entire game. From the masters' viewpoint, patronising convicted subjects helped them gain more

⁹⁸ King Mongkut, 1965, p.6.

⁹⁹ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.64-5.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.20-1, 37-8, 50, 207-8.

¹⁰² For example, In the Edict No.53 of 1854, the King agreed with "one who has less charisma conforms his code of manner, appropriate to his charisma..." and "one who has less charisma asks for helps from several patrons..." (King Mongkut, 2004, p.62).

charisma.¹⁰³ From the King's perspective, masters were the outsiders who behaved "badly" and "insolently" by breaking the King's edicts.¹⁰⁴

In July 1866, Dan Beach Bradley, an American missionary, reported in his newspaper—the *Bangkok Recorder*¹⁰⁵—that subjects of lords robbed valuables from boats in central Bangkok. Although there were witnesses, they did not dare to sue the subjects. Bradley and witnesses suspected that the lords tried to help their subjects escape their wrongdoing, and the case was not brought to the court. Many witnesses realised that judges usually took the lords' side rather than people's side, and for these reasons, the case was brought to the newspaper anonymously, instead. This illustrated that the edicts of Rama IV were not applied in practice.¹⁰⁶

The King tried to construct a new social relationship: All individuals should be decent social actors who respected each other. The concept of a direct relationship between the King and the people was conceived to undermine the power of the masters' groups. Between 1854 and 1861, the King ordered individuals to police the bad behaviours of nobles, monks and people, such as engaging in robbery, quarrels, physical abuses, excessive use of drugs and use of weapons. Punishments would be applied to delinquent acts of all individuals.¹⁰⁷ Following Edict No. 183 of 1860, the King ordered that subjects had to reveal the crimes of their masters to the royal court.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, a king's edict in 1857 ordered that all heads of households, instead of only masters, could arrest ruffians who broke into their houses.¹⁰⁹

It should be noted that King Rama IV also tried to put forth the unprecedented idea of a pacified state. Violence in his territorial kingdom was now viewed as being "barbaric," "bad," and "insolent."¹¹⁰ Between 1857 and 1860, the King's edicts repeatedly expressed the same concern about the use of violence (No. 106, 154, 186 and 195), which indicates that his civilising program failed to have a strong impact.¹¹¹ In Edict No. 203 of 1861, the King again

¹⁰³ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.137, 173-8, 203, 221, 287-9.

¹⁰⁴ King Mongkut, 2004, p.175.

¹⁰⁵ The *Bangkok Recorder* was the first newspaper in Siam. It was published monthly during the 1840s and the 1860s.

¹⁰⁶ BR, 12 July 1866, pp.109-110.

¹⁰⁷ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.59-60, 131, 190-4, 236-249, 264-287.

¹⁰⁸ King Mongkut, 2004, p.240.

¹⁰⁹ King Mongkut, 2004, p.131.

¹¹⁰ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.287-8.

¹¹¹ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.131, 193, 249, 274-5.

promulgated an order to punish groups of subjects and masters who physically abused people.¹¹² However, the government lacked the cooperation of nobles and people. It did not have the power to enforce the edicts, protect complainants and prosecute criminals and their patrons. Following Bradley's report, the King was unable to control and punish wrongdoings of lords and subjects, even in central Bangkok.¹¹³

The King encountered a tendency that masters and subjects attempted to gain power under the framework of a patron-client group and the *mandala* state. The feeling of shame had not yet emerged in a state that was not centralised. It was most likely that the government successfully suppressed crime by police patrols rather than cooperation from commoners and nobles.¹¹⁴ However, the Patrol Office's power was limited, and police who patrolled in Bangkok could not cope with the level of crimes committed.¹¹⁵

A form of social control imposed by the government could engender temporal self-control among unruly people. Wrongdoers who were afraid of police avoided committing crimes. This success of the King's policy to stop crimes sometimes pleased Bradley. In October 1865, Bradley observed a group of police who were assigned by the King to inspect a market in Bangkok. He reflected on this royal policy: "I saw all of the people were afraid of the royal power that was represented by police holding swords. [The people], therefore, did not fear anything. I appreciate the great deed of the King. And [I] praise that Bangkok is far better than before. Thanks to his majesty's charisma, [the people] are happy."¹¹⁶

5.3.3 Civilising Transportation

Between the coming of Sir John Bowring in 1855 and the end of Rama IV's reign in 1868, many foreigners came to Siam in order to trade, but they felt uncomfortable during their stays because the quality and quantity of the means of transportation were poor.

¹¹² King Mongkut, 2004, pp.287-9.

¹¹³ BR, 15 May 1866, p.68.

¹¹⁴ BR, 15 May 1865, pp.32-3; BR, 16 June 1865, p.50.

¹¹⁵ The Bangkok Reporter reported: "Robbery abounds. Every night, people cannot be confident that their properties will be free from any danger" (BR, 15 May 1865, p.33).

¹¹⁶ BR, 5 October 1865, p.132.

In the mid-nineteenth century, many Westerners complained about the state of sanitation in the country, about disgusting and dirty roads, waterways and Capital city.¹¹⁷ In 1856, King Rama IV received complaints from foreigners and provincial people about polluted water. The King stated: “Were provincial [people]...to pay a visit to the Divine city and find the same objectionable custom still in practice, they would undoubtedly carry away the impression that conditions inside the city are not as healthy as outside it...The same similar impression would be given to Englishmen, Chinese and other foreign Asiatics who come to do business in the Divine City.”¹¹⁸ Rama IV, therefore, issued an edict to prohibit any action of littering dead bodies into rivers and canals. Heads of sub-districts would cooperate with witnesses to find and punish delinquents.¹¹⁹

In 1861, European consuls who resided in Bangkok also criticised the poor condition of roads. They lodged a letter of complaint to King Rama IV, complaining that Bangkok did not have any proper roads for riding horses to get fresh air during their recreation time, and they frequently got sick.¹²⁰ In response, King Rama IV applied a plan to aid in redefining the Kingdom’s image. King Rama IV replied to the consuls’ letter: “While their [or the European] countries have many clean and neat roads, our country has only untidy and crooked roads and small streets. [Our] main routes, which are dirty and unpleasant, are disgraceful in the eyes of the foreigners. Their [the Europeans’] complaints are a reminder for us to polish our country.”¹²¹ Therefore, between 1861 and 1863, the king ordered his officials to build three roads for horses and horse-drawn carriages. The King named roads to declare publicly his initiative to civilise the Capital. Their names were Charoen Krung Road (Road [for] civilising the Capital City), Bamrung Mueang Road (Nourished City Road) and Fueang Nakhon Road (Road [for] nourishing/glorifying/flourishing the Capital City).¹²² After the new roads had been completely constructed, King Rama IV arranged a ceremony and visited every new road to mark the civilised state of the Kingdom.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Bowring, 1857, p.153; Earl, 2012, p.131; Mouhot, 2012b, p.129; King Mongkut, 2004, pp.121-2; Dibakarawongsa, 2005, p.169.

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Moffat, 1962, pp.30-1.

¹¹⁹ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.121-2.

¹²⁰ Dibakarawongsa, 2005, p.169.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Dibakarawongsa, 2005, pp.169, 205.

¹²³ Dibakarawongsa, 2005, p.205.

For an American journalist, the construction of the means of transportation to facilitate the commercial demand of Westerners was proof of economic progress and civilisation.¹²⁴ For them, Bangkok was still barbarous, since transportation in Bangkok could not be compared with that in Britain and British colonies. On the occasion that the Bowring Treaty of 1855 was signed, Queen Victoria gave a model of a train as a present to Rama IV. This gift was interpreted by Rama IV as an insult.¹²⁵ Bradley criticised the construction of new roads in Bangkok: “If Bangkok, the new city, wants to become famous and civilised, [the government] must enthusiastically improve public roads. If cities have a few roads, it means that those cities are barbarous.”¹²⁶

Rama IV addressed Bradley’s criticism, feeling shamed by Bradley’s insult and his request for improvement. In October 1865, Bradley who observed a road in the Sampheng Market in Bangkok recounted: “[I] saw a road that was better, cleaner and more ordered than before. I think that this is because of King Rama IV’s charisma...[However,] two days ago, I travelled and saw a road that was partially poor and in ruin. I think the government may not see it yet. I wish that there will be a royal order to command officers to fix it.”¹²⁷ King Rama IV was concerned about the country’s self as it was being reflected by foreigners, and about two weeks later the ruined road was already fixed. Bradley then praised the King who had visited and ordered officers to fix the road.¹²⁸

However, the significance of the civilising project was not widely perceived by many people. At the Buppharam Temple in Thonburi Province, whose location was less than three kilometres away from the Sampheng Market, people and children “persuaded one another to remove bricks and stones, which were made as edges of a road. [They] aimed to dig [the road] to catch crickets for fun. This would ruin the public road so much.”¹²⁹

¹²⁴ BR, 7 December 1866, p.246.

¹²⁵ Kasetsiri, 2003, p.(23); Weiler, 2013, p.1.

¹²⁶ Bradley continued: “If cities have many public roads for riding horses and vehicles, those cities are truly *sawang*. In English, *sawang* is a characteristic of a civilised nation. For us, that Bangkok has three or four roads should be praised. However, there are too few.....We want to repeat that the west of Bangkok is still barbarous” (BR, 22 December 1866, p.254). For Bradley’s explanation of the civilised characteristics of Westerners that implied an uncivilised identity of the Siamese, see BR, 1 July 1865, p.58.

¹²⁷ BR, 5 October 1865, p.132.

¹²⁸ BR, 19 October 1865, p.142.

¹²⁹ BR, 15 May 1866, p.68.

It can be said that pressure from the British and Americans who perceived the means of transportation in Siam as uncivilised encouraged the Siamese government to respond. King Rama IV's successor was disturbed by their insults. He furthered progress by constructing tramways, railways and luxurious boulevards, but he remained unable to escape the criticism of the British. By criticising the uncivilised conditions in Siam, the British could maintain their superior civilised status and privilege to interfere in its economic and legal affairs.

During Rama V's reign, he ordered the construction of tramways and railways. At the World's Fairs in the 1890s and the 1900s, Rama V's government made representations to foreigners that modern means of transportation and communication were already present in the Kingdom.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, Westerners criticised that the Kingdom's displays of modern technology were just imitations of Western civilisation.¹³¹ Curtis also complained that modern vehicles like trams were not proper for the uncivilised and superstitious Siamese.¹³²

In 1901, King Rama V ordered the construction of two roads in Bangkok, Ratcha Damnoen Nok and Ratcha Damnoen Klang (Outer and Central Royal Progress, consequently). The Westerners praised that these two roads were "the finest boulevard." Building these roads was a way of expressing the civilised identity of Siam to foreigners.¹³³ Nevertheless, the Westerners later gave a large part of the credit for the newly constructed roads to the Western employees.¹³⁴

5.3.4 Civilising Clothes and Lifestyle

In the mid-nineteenth century, Westerners depicted the Siamese customary dress in which they wore nothing or just a few pieces of cloth from the waist up as an uncivilised characteristic.¹³⁵ Rama IV understood how the opinions and perceptions of foreigners were important. He presented many characteristics of cosmopolitan and civilised identities to them. King Rama IV enthusiastically observed Western opinions of Siam. Townsend Harris,

¹³⁰ Winichakul, 2000b, pp.540-2; Peleggi, 2002, pp.144-159.

¹³¹ Peleggi, 2002, p.159.

¹³² For example, Curtis stated that the Siamese did not dare to ride an electric tram because they believed it was a devil tram (Curtis, 2012, p.415).

¹³³ Peleggi, 2002, p.85.

¹³⁴ Norman, 1895, p.423; Curtis, 2012, p.414.

¹³⁵ Palmer, 1970, p.128.

the American envoy, stated: “The King is eager to procure everything that is published regarding Siam.”¹³⁶ Therefore, when the King had official relationships with Western countries, he would feel ashamed. The King and his diplomats who had to present themselves to the Westerners consciously wore clothes suited to Western perceptions. It should be noted that the Siamese elite and diplomats did not fully desert their traditional clothes and lifestyle. They expressed both traditional and Western cultural practices.

Rama IV perceived that portraits of heads of states were internationally disseminated for public relations objectives, and he likewise wanted to present himself to the world as a civilised king. Between 1857 and 1861, portraits, which showed Rama IV wearing full regal attire and Western-style uniforms, were presented to Queen Victoria, Pope Pius IX and Napoleon III.¹³⁷

Meanwhile, in 1858, when the King invited Europeans living in Bangkok to join a banquet in his birthday party, his party and clothes were made in a Western style, although he retained other aspects of his lifestyle, such as chewing betel.¹³⁸

During a diplomatic mission in England in 1857, although the Siamese elite and officials tried to deflect British insults by wearing their traditional clothes for nobles, the British mocked the Siamese’s clothes. In their eyes, their manner of dress was the only legitimate style. In October 1857, the English newspapers, *Times* and *The Hampshire Telegraph*, stated their views regarding Siamese diplomats who went to England. The traditional uniform of the Siamese officials was weird and ridiculous, they claimed.¹³⁹ The Siamese elite and high-ranking civil servants responded to the Westerners’ insult by wearing Western styles, and the newspapers were pleased when the Siamese diplomats switched to wear the English-styled clothes.¹⁴⁰

Although Siamese nobles already wore Western-style clothes in England, nobles and commoners who inhabited in Siam wore just a few pieces of clothing.¹⁴¹ The insults from foreigners led King Rama IV to order all officials to wear more clothes when appearing before

¹³⁶ Quoted in Moffat, 1962, p.53.

¹³⁷ Peleggi, 2002, pp.47-8.

¹³⁸ Moffat, 1962, p.99.

¹³⁹ Khokhithen Suemuanchon, 2013, p.26. See Figures 11-13 in Illustrations.

¹⁴⁰ Khokhithen Suemuanchon, 2013, p.26.

¹⁴¹ BR, 1 July 1865, p.58; Smith, 2008, p.32.

royalty. The King became an exemplar of the civilised lifestyle. For the King, nobles and civil servants should imitate this civilised manner so that the country would become civilised in the same ways as other powerful countries. In addition, the King tried to differentiate the civilised Siamese from the ethnic people who did not wear clothes. The King constructed the otherness of civilised Siam by showing that the ethnic people were barbarous.¹⁴²

As a result of Rama IV's order, nobles enthusiastically wore clothes. It can be said that Rama IV successfully became an exemplar of civilised lifestyle. The process that his civilised identity disseminated involved the King's civilising plans and nobles' imitation. In the next reign, Rama V also played an important role in civilising his people's bodies.

In the reign of Rama V, only among commoners would appear naked in public, as they had in the previous reign. In the eyes of Rama V, the naked body could be viewed by Westerners as uncivilised. In January 1899, King Rama V did not want to feel ashamed when Prince Henry of Prussia visited Bangkok. Rama V issued a decree ordering his people to wear proper dress.¹⁴³

Although the upper-class Siamese who wore Western-style clothes received compliments from the Westerners,¹⁴⁴ the royal elite probably realised that the imitation was the action of accepting the superiority of the Western custom over the inferiority of the Siamese culture. In the 1870s, the elite created a semi-Westernised bureaucratic suit (the royal-patterned cloth or *ratcha pataen*) by combining a traditional loincloth with Western shoes, socks and a five-buttoned shirt. The semi-Westernised bureaucratic suit was created to argue that the Siamese custom itself possessed civilised characteristics. This was the attempt of the elite to refuse the superiority of Western standards. The status of the royal-patterned cloth (*ratcha pataen*) was equated to the standard of the Western clothes. The civilised Siamese elite wore both styles of clothes.

The royal-patterned cloth that was widely worn by the elite was later assigned to civil servants and students.¹⁴⁵ The royal-patterned cloth became the national cloth, a distinguishing

¹⁴² In 1868, King Rama IV stated "Ones who do not wear shirts look naked. Their bodies will get ringworm. Their sweat is so disgusting. People in other powerful countries wear shirts. However, Lawa and Laotians, the barbarians, do not wear clothes. They are abject. Siam is also a powerful country that has many sophisticated customs. [Siam] should not follow the ancient [traditions] of the barbarians. I ask all of you [nobles and civil servants] to wear shirts when appearing before royalty" (Dibakarawongsa, 2005, p.6).

¹⁴³ Peleggi, 2002, pp.61-2; Bangkok Samai, 2 February 1899, p.15; Bangkok Samai, 19 April 1900, p.9.

¹⁴⁴ Au Siam, 2012, p.289; Norman, 1895, p.435.

¹⁴⁵ See Peleggi, 2002, pp.59-60; "Khamsang Kan Taengtua," 1902, pp.149-153.

element between the superior and more civilised status of the state's officials and the commoners. This distinction process engendered a tendency for inferior people desiring to imitate their superiors' uniform. The civilised body, which was embodied by prestigious clothes, was now significant for some commoners. In the 1900s, the official uniform of civil servants attracted students with a commoner's background.¹⁴⁶

In conclusion, the Siamese elites' civilised self-images were expressed through their clothes, rationalised Buddhism and high moral principles (in opposition to the dangerous British and ferocious French). These constructed identities illustrate that they tried to negotiate with Westerners, rather than simply imitating or pursuing the idea of Western civilisation.

Between the mid-nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the Westerners and the Siamese elites became increasingly interdependent economically, politically and socially. As a result of the "dangerous" British and "violent" French who subverted the indigenous elites' power in Asia as well as intense interactions between colonial subjects and the Siamese, the Siamese elites faced a great deal of pressure to civilise. The Westerners did not deliberately plan to bring the colonial civilising mission and standard of civilisation to the attention of the Siamese elites. Rather the introduction of Western notions of civilisation was part of negotiations during colonisation and expansion of "free trade."¹⁴⁷ The Siamese elites' enactments of civilising offensives were deliberate reactions to these pressures from colonial actors. The civilising offensives were part of the Siamese elites' construction of a civilised self-image in which their capable rulers could civilise their own territorial state. However, these self-images applied only to the identities of the elites and high-ranking nobles rather than of the majority of Siamese individuals.¹⁴⁸ The planned civilising process in Siam emerged amidst the long-term, unplanned development of civilisation.

Despite the difference between the planned civilising offensive in Siam and the unplanned process of civilisation in Western Europe, these two settings experienced a similar pattern. In both contexts, the spread of civilisation occurred simultaneously alongside the process of

¹⁴⁶ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.19-20; 68-73, 257.

¹⁴⁷ Hall, 1974; Gong, 1984; Osborne, 2001, pp.89-97; Chaiyaporn, 2017, p.5; Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015, p.83.

¹⁴⁸ BR, 22 December 1866, p.254; King Mongkut, 2004.

state formation. The expanded interrelationship and the elites' attempt to centralise power within a state led to an increasing demand for civilised behaviour. In the age of social and economic interdependence between the Siamese and the Westerners, the elites not only took the idea of territorial state but also civilised their country in order to deny the Western perception of Siam as being "uncivilised." In the internal political context, King Rama IV and V who aimed to found the absolutist regime launched civilising offensives in order to establish their power to control lords and commoners.

In the next two chapters, I will focus on a change from an aggressive behaviour to a more civilised manner through sporting, warring, day-to-day and educational contexts. In Chapter VI, I will emphasise constructions of aggressive masculinity in gender relation in the universal monarchical era. Whereas, in Chapter VII, I will focus on how a legitimate masculine identity was gradually reconstructed to become more softened in the age of colonialism.

Chapter VI

Pastimes and Aggressive Masculinities in Pre-Modern Siam

In Chapter III, I indicated that before the 1820s, violent contests in wars, coups and pastimes frequently emerged between groups of patron-client networks.¹ Aggressive actions, exerted in the inter-patron-client groups, were necessary for members of each social unit to survive. All male subjects were required by their masters to serve in wars between patron-client groups and pre-modern states. Violent character was indispensable for all men.² This chapter focuses on how men as a gender were trained and expected to become aggressive in day-to-day contexts, warfare and pastimes.

Section 6.1 appraises how gender regimes, individuals' creative actions and the state's roles determined gender differences, power and relationships in Siam. This section analyses how this appraisal helps to solve the problems of Elias and Dunning's explanation in terms of unplanned social processes and unintentional individual roles which lead to changes in gender power and relationships. I also explore how gender roles and identities of Siamese men and women (from different social classes) were (un)related to legitimate practices of violence.

Section 6.2 illustrates how masculine and feminine identities were (re)produced in the context of pastimes. I explain how men during the pre-modern era trained to be aggressive in exclusively-male pastimes during times without war. This section also assesses how Elias and Dunning's analysis of sports is useful to capture how warlike games could provide relief from routine and control for the Siamese.

6.1 Aggressive Masculinity in Gender Relations in the Pre-Modern Era

During the pre-modern era, individuals did not have self-control to refrain from the use of violence between social units like patron-client groups and states. Violence between social units frequently occurred. There were many wars between pre-modern states. In the domestic politics of pre-modern Siam, coups were staged by groups of lords about every two reigns.³ Therefore, each patron-client group and state needed to strengthen its physical

¹ See Eosewong, 2000, pp.62-78; Eosewong, 2004, pp.240-295; Sartraproong, 1998, pp.6-19; RCA, 2006, p.385; Charney, 2004, p.9.

² See Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.55-6.

³ See Appendix 3.

power in order to survive this violent tendency. In peacetime, men were required to improve their abilities to fight so that they would be ready for any future warfare. These men trained to become aggressive and strong by participating in warlike pastimes during their leisure time. Through practice in violent games, men could also release the boredom they felt from farming and working for their masters.

6.1.1 Gender Relation, Division of Labour and Violence

In Elias and Dunning's idea of masculine identity, they did not pay much attention to how men creatively and actively decided to express their choices of action.⁴ The addition of the concept of hegemonic masculinity is useful to see how social actors can have power to some extent to make their own choices to express a pattern of masculine identities. Siamese men from low and high social strata attempted to negotiate with the ideal values of being aggressive men.⁵ A man who could express some ideals of hegemonic masculinity through his ability to protect his family members, fighting ability, courage, strength and troop size and achievement would be considered as a legitimate man.⁶ There were several ways that men could negotiate with the ideal of hegemonic masculinity. Not all men were brave enough to fight in war. Warriors who went to war might pretend to show their masters that they dared to fight.⁷ Although a king competed with other monarchs to show his charisma by making wars against them, commoners of the Ayutthaya Kingdom felt that wars caused suffering,⁸ and some evaded and hid in the forests or entered the monkhood instead of fighting.⁹

Many of the male roles were linked to the use of violence and deadly risks.¹⁰ Apart from the dangers faced by becoming a soldier, some male commoners who undertook distant trading

⁴ Elias, 2000, pp.8-9; Rojek, 1986, pp.587, 594; van Krieken, 1998, p.78.

⁵ Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, pp.832-844; Cowburn, 2013, pp.186-7; Connell, 2013, p.10; Kriesky, 2014, pp.15-7.

⁶ Other ideals of the hegemonic masculinity were sexual prowess and fertility, a number of wives and abilities to patronise their family members (see Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.55-6; RCA, 2006, pp.385-6; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, p.26; Sartraproong, 1998, pp.23-8; Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.153-5, 196; Aphornsuvan, 1998, pp.164-6).

⁷ See Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.55-6.

⁸ See Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, p.133.

⁹ Rabibhadana, 1984, p.172; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6.

¹⁰ The roles of men included being husbands, fathers/patrons/protectors of families and social units, warriors, rulers, judges, tax collectors, nobles, administrative civil servants, travelling merchants, farmers, corvée labourers, athletes, presidents of fairs (of a municipality and a state) (see Rabibhadana, 1984; Baker &

risked death or serious illness during their trips in the forest. In the judiciary process, male patrons/judges imposed violent punishments, dictated by the male-dominated state. Male roles shaped the adventurous, aggressive and fighting personalities of men. Violence was considered to be part of masculine identity and the use of violence was monopolised by men as a gender.

In traditional education, boys from all social strata had to learn how to be aggressive, strong, courageous, tough, adventurous and how to have warring identities and to fight-to-die. The royal family studied politics, art and music, treatises on traditional warfare and weapons, the use of boats, horses and elephants and boxing and physical education.¹¹ From the age of the pre-modern state to at least the early modern state or around the 1900s, commoners also learned boxing from monks or lay experts at local temples.¹² Monks also taught commoner boys to read and write and understand Buddhist principles at the local monasteries. These boys probably spent six months to a year in their studies.¹³ Meanwhile, women's roles suggest affirmation that men monopolised the use of violence.

The realm of politics, which highly required a fighting ability for the survival, celebrated men as ideal warriors. Female commoners expected men to be strong and good at fighting and sports. These characteristics were sexually attractive to women who wanted, and needed, men to protect their families.¹⁴ While all social units required men to take the role of protectors, women were considered to be fearful and unable to fight.¹⁵ However, during war, some women expressed an aggressive masculine identity to defend their social units. There was a peculiar case in 1548. Alongside her husband and two sons, Queen Suriyothai led the army to fight against the invasion of Burma.¹⁶ Nonetheless, her actions did not engender any new aggressive identity for women.¹⁷

Phongpaichit, 2013, p.217; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.9-17; RCA, 2006; Dibakarawongsa, 1995; Dibakarawongsa, 2004; Dibakarawongsa, 2005; Patana, 2004, pp.41-2).

¹¹ Vail, 1998b, pp.56-7; Charney, 2004, p.11; Wolters, 2008, pp.149-163; Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, p.78.

¹² Vail, 1998b, pp.69, 82-3.

¹³ Wyatt, 1969, pp.10-4.

¹⁴ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, p.32.

¹⁵ See Paramanuchit Chinorot, 2002, p.5.

¹⁶ RCA, 2006, p.34.

¹⁷ See Paramanuchit Chinorot, 2002, p.5; Songsamphan, 2008, pp.34-5, 88.

Women took the main role in the household because men had to frequently take serious risks and fight in wars in distant areas.¹⁸ Women's domestic activities did not require them to become as strong as men. However, women from different social strata were not equally strong and active. These characteristics were determined by women's social functions and the duties of each social class. The female elite played a major role as wives who maintained the political relationships between aristocratic families. The tradition of same-class marriage made the female elite's personality more controlled and passive than female commoners.¹⁹ For the elite, women who were best at comforting husbands and serving their roles in the home were considered most attractive.²⁰ Attractive women reflected the female sense of passivity: wives had to respect their husbands. In return, husbands had to be merciful to their wives.²¹ As a result of the reproduction of women's submissive identity, women's bodies tended to be smaller than men's. Small bodies were perceived to be beautiful bodies.²²

The social functions of female commoners were related to the frequent absence of male commoners in the household. Female commoners had to perform the main roles in families and communities because male commoners had to serve their lords on battlefield and at masters' farms. Female commoners who were breadwinners in their families and community leaders developed active and vigorous personalities. Female commoners were confident and served as heads of their households,²³ where they farmed and traded to support their family members. After farming and trading, female commoners mainly spent their time in their communities, and women were presidents of the religious fairs in the communities.²⁴ The female *phrai* had a certain freedom in life because they did not have to serve their lords, more so than the female elite who were prohibited from leaving their homes.²⁵ Although female commoners were physically stronger than female elite, they hardly ever used violence.²⁶

¹⁸ Songsamphan, 2008, p.69; Earl, 2012, p.127; Ma Huan, 1970, p.104.

¹⁹ Wyatt, 1968; Wyatt 1986; Loos, 2005; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, pp.30-2; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.29-43; Songsamphan, 2008, pp.56-73; Suklarpkit, 2013; King Mongkut, 2004, p.507; Smith, 2008, p.102; Bradley, 1981, p.4; Patana, 2004.

²⁰ Sattayanurak, 2003a, p.252; Suklarpkit, 2013, p.34.

²¹ Sattayanurak, 2003a, p.252.

²² Songsamphan, 2008, pp.34-88; Smith, 2008, p.117.

²³ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, p.6.

²⁴ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.10-1, 36; Songsamphan, 2008, p.94; Suklarpkit, 2013, p.41; Patana, 2004, pp.44-56.

²⁵ Eoseewong, 2005, p.145; Smith, 2008, p.93.

²⁶ See Songsamphan, 2008, p.66; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.8-34; Ma Huan, 1970, p.104; Bowie, 1996, p.107; Patana, 2004, pp.44-56.

Under this gendered division of labour, all men were expected by all social members to play roles which were related to an aggressive masculine identity. Men who were soldiers and protectors had to protect their social units from foes. However, men also attempted to negotiate with the value of being aggressive males. Men might reproduce, pretend to show or avoid expressing qualities of being legitimate men. On the other hand, women, who did not go to war, took the role of the head of the household. Women's activities did not incorporate violence. Women tended to be weaker than men. However, the degree of weakness relies on women's social functions of each social stratum. In the next subsection, I will focus on the state's roles, which help legitimise aggressive masculinity. I also emphasise how effects of the male-dominated state violently harmed women.

6.1.2 State as the Institution to Legitimise the Males' Use of Violence

This subsection argues that the power balance between genders does not stem from unplanned social process as Elias and Dunning suggested.²⁷ In Siam, the state played a significant role in nourishing the legitimate uses of violence among men as a gender. As a result, the state determined a change in the power balance between men and women.²⁸ Due to male domination in the majority of bureaucratic posts, the male elite were considered as the proper source of power (manpower, privilege and affluence) in their families. In the economic relations of gender, in the elite strata, men acquired power and privilege for patronising women.²⁹ The state tended to celebrate and reward men's effective use of violence. Men could climb the class ladder to attain titles through the virtues of warriors and kinship-based bonds,³⁰ whereas the social mobility of women depended on marriage. In peacetime and wartime, women, who were considered by law and social members as property of men, were a target for the use of violence.

According to the state's rules, social mobility could occur in warfare when men proved themselves by expressing virtues of a warrior.³¹ Women could climb the class ladder only through the marital relationship in the patriarchal system. High-ranking women could be

²⁷ Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.165.

²⁸ Hargreaves, 1992, pp.170-8.

²⁹ See Suklarpkit, 2013, p.42.

³⁰ Eoseewong, 1984, p.106.

³¹ Rabibhadana, 1984, p.226.

married to a king. These women would become networking agencies through marriage and the king's prestige.³²

The violent relationships between states and cities reproduced the female roles (as a wife and a daughter) as the clients of a husband/father/family's protector.³³ Commonly, men in power were thought as source of security for wives and families.³⁴ Passive roles of females made them become targets of violence from masters/warriors and even husbands. In wartime and peacetime, women were target for sexual assaults. In the wartime, if the invaders conquered a city or a state, women would be captured and taken as slave wives of the victors.³⁵ Women would be considered as rewards of the triumphant soldiers.³⁶

In peacetime, under male elite's monopoly of manpower, judiciary and violence, the men in power were above the laws. The male elite arbitrarily forced female commoners in suburban cities to become their wives.³⁷ Within households, wives might be violently abused by their husbands.³⁸ Wives could not blame their husbands.³⁹

The state tended to preserve the patriarchal society of the male elite. The law allowed husbands to kill their adulterous wives and their lovers.⁴⁰ In cases where an adulterer killed the husband, both the adulterer and the wife would receive the death sentence.⁴¹ In cases where a husband had mistresses, it legitimised his and also his wife's status. The possession of a number of wives was considered his charismatic power and good for his social groups (including his family and patron-client group) because the man has high degree of sexual

³² Loos, 2005; Wyatt, 1968; Wyatt, 1986; Khongchan, 2004; Phatthanothai, 1970, p.31; Patana, 2004, pp.41-2.

³³ Suklarpkit, 2013, p.42; Songsamphan, 2008, p.66; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.26-33; Patana, 2004; Ma Huan, 1970, p.104; Bowie, 1996, p.107.

³⁴ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, p.27.

³⁵ Wannarat, 1982, p.4; Bowie, 1996, p.107; Grabowsky, 1999, p.46; Charney, 2004, p.18; Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, p.174; Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, p.688.

³⁶ TKP, 1991, p.38; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, pp.30-3.

³⁷ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.211-5; Songsamphan, 2008, pp.71-6.

³⁸ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, pp.31-2; Phatthanothai, 1970, p.31.

³⁹ See Phatthanothai, 1970, p.42.

⁴⁰ Ngoensawat, 2006, p.73; Patana, 2004, pp.48-9; Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, pp.675-9. However, this law was probably applied to masters only. A female commoner who had sexual relationships with several men at the same time was afraid of social condemnation rather than law (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.23-5).

⁴¹ See Phatthanothai, 1970, p.34.

virility, fertility,⁴² and ability to patronise his subjects.⁴³ The way a wife accepted polygamy reflected that the sexual custom reserved the use of violence only for the male.

From the state's perspective, women were thought of as valuable objects. Wives were the property of husbands, and fathers had the right to sell their wives and children.⁴⁴ If a man took away another's wife, his punishment would be in the same category as punishment for theft of property, titles and the subjects of others.⁴⁵ Sex slaves were either war captives or redeemable slaves. A man who could afford to redeem a female slave could take her to be his wife or mistress.⁴⁶ Many female subjects (including servants and redeemable and irredeemable slaves in lords' houses) were the property and sexual partners of lords.⁴⁷

6.2 Pastimes and Aggressive Masculinity

According to Elias and Dunning, leisure functioned to de-routinise people's everyday lives and free their emotional restraints.⁴⁸ Their idea can be applied to pre-modern Siam. In peacetime, Siamese men had routine lives. Many male commoners farmed on their own and their masters' lands. The male royal elite regularly spent their time inside their palace walls. They went out of their places during wartime, traditional rituals and pastimes. Men from all strata could release their boredom and found pleasure in playing pastimes.⁴⁹ Furthermore, according to Elias and Dunning, games were spaces where individuals could enjoy the 'mimetic' feelings of real-life situations. Although games have the imitating aspect of feelings in real life, they were done in safer form.⁵⁰ Their idea can be applied to explain how the Siamese experienced pastimes. In the elephant round-up, boat race, fencing, kite fighting and boxing, all players and spectators experienced the mimetic feelings of real wars between

⁴² Sexuality, for both of elite and commoners, was considered as the fertility of their family and community (Songsamphan, 2008, p.46).

⁴³ Phatthanothai, 1970, p.60.

⁴⁴ Phatthanothai, 1970, p.77.

⁴⁵ Sattayanurak, 2003a, p.252; Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, pp.453-4.

⁴⁶ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, p.33.

⁴⁷ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.28-9; Bowie, 1996, p.107; Phatthanothai, 1970, pp.59-60.

⁴⁸ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.96-8.

⁴⁹ See RCA, 2006, pp.385-6.

⁵⁰ Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.125.

social groups, enjoyment in using or watching dexterous sporting/warring skills against opponents, pleasure in humiliating near-status players/foes and so forth.

Elias and Dunning's study provides a model to investigate how a pastime had a function for non-leisure activities in a social condition. Elias's analysis of ancient Greek games can usefully be applied to the Siamese context. In both contexts, violent pastimes had a crucial function for societies where cycles of violence occurred. Under violent inter-state conflict in Ancient Greece, fighting in games was part of training for warfare. The expression of warrior virtues was crucial for the survival of the state. Social members praised effective and skilful displays of a very high degree of violence in games.⁵¹ In pre-modern Siamese politics, cycles of violence created situations in which patron-client groups fought for their survival. Each group feared that they might be violently attacked by other groups.⁵² Therefore, several pastimes (elephant round-up, boat racing, fencing, kite flying and boxing) functioned as a form of training for warfare.⁵³ In animal fights such as crocodile and rhinoceros fights, a male owner had his animal perform as a symbol of his aggressive, warrior-like identity.⁵⁴ Men have played or joined these pastimes since their childhood and have learned to express several characteristics of the aggressive masculinity from these pastimes.⁵⁵

These pastimes celebrated the effective use of violence that appropriated with men as a gender. These pastimes were a sphere for engendering a number of specialists of violence. The aggressive masculinity in the pastimes served the need for survival of a family, a patron-client group and a kingdom. These pastimes, patronised and organised by the state or a patron, tended to exclude the participation of women. The women's role in these pastimes was to be a spectator or a head of a ritual before the elephant round-up.⁵⁶

Usually, fighters (including both humans and animals) belonged to a patron or owner. A patron could prove himself to others by showing the quality and quantity of his fighters. An elite patron declared his legitimate masculinity in a game and a poem. A patron's fighters

⁵¹ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.138-142.

⁵² See Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.26.

⁵³ See Low, 1836, pp.278-9.

⁵⁴ Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

⁵⁵ The characteristics were the aggressive, strong, courageous, fight-to-die, tough, adventurous and warring identities (see RCA, 2006, pp.346-387; Low, 1836, pp.387-8; Leahai, 2013, p.41; Ma Huan, 1970, p.107; Sethaboot, 1921; Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.146-9; Vail, 1998b, pp.56-7).

⁵⁶ Gerson, 1996, p.54; Reid, 1988, pp.177-9; Low, 1836, p.388; Sethaboot, 1921, p.29.

and/or subjects could also demonstrate their masculine identity by telling people his and his patron's statuses before a game started. Athlete's statuses such as "Lord" and "royal fighter" would guarantee how important and great he was within the male-dominated and bureaucratic social hierarchy.⁵⁷

All of these games were spaces for contestants to demonstrate their quality of being *nakleng*, or a "player" or "macho man." The term used during the Ayutthaya and Bangkok periods, *nakleng*, described the manly qualities of being courageous enough to fight to the death, strength, fighting skills and toughness. Although the term *nakleng* was not found in several pieces of evidence about physical games, these characteristics were omnipresent. A poem written in the Ayutthaya period, "Samutthakhot Khamchan" (SK), illustrated many pastimes. In a crocodile fight, a man had his crocodile, Ai Nakleng, fight in a match. The owner's selection of this name reflects the desirability of being *nakleng*. The *nakleng* characteristic was an extension of the owner's identity and a reflection of what was considered socially legitimate masculinity. Despite the fact that Ai Nakleng (a crocodile) lost to its rival, the royal poet of SK praised that it forcefully and courageously fought so hard that it almost died in this bloody fight.⁵⁸

Elias and Dunning's analysis, which focused on a change in male violence through male-dominated sports, does not apply to the Siamese context. Unlike what Elias and Dunning suggest, this chapter argues that emphasising relational characteristics of genders can clarify how male violence and female weakness were constructed through gendered division of labour and beliefs, and in gender differences and pastimes. Focusing on women's identities and roles in sporting contexts helps understand that both men and women played important roles in defining the legitimacy of male violence. Warlike pastimes were gendered as the arena of men to compete to express the virtues of warriors. There was no place for women to actively use violence in either warfare or physical activities related to imaginary warfare. Women only participated in those pastimes as part of the spectators who celebrated and enjoyed the expressions of hegemonic masculinity as deeds in battles. Girls tended to play

⁵⁷ Samutthakot Khamchan, 2017.

⁵⁸ The royal poet stated that Ai Nakleng and its rival "frantically slashed [each other] with their feet and moved [their bodies] to crash [into each other] several times." "The courageous Ai Nakleng lost its face. It nearly died from the brutality of the fight. It suddenly managed itself to run away" (Samutthakot Khamchan, 2017).

non-violent and less adventurous pastimes like hide-and-seek and chess. Such practices in non-violent pastimes shaped their passive and gentle identity.⁵⁹

It should be noted that in this section, I will illustrate the changes that occurred in the characteristics of elephant round-ups and boat racing from the pre-modern to the colonial eras. These changes are not related to the scope of analysis of the next chapter, which focuses on the Siamese elites' plans to civilise pastimes. The loss of function for elephant round-ups and boat racing in warfare was related to the improvement of warfare technology and a decrease in pre-modern warfare in mainland Southeast Asia rather than a planned civilising policy of Siamese elites. In other words, these two pastimes were not standardised and developed by Siamese elites to be part of modern sports.

6.2.1 Elephant Round-Up

Elephants were considered as to be a precious and sacred vehicle for wartime and peacetime. Elephant hunting and the possession of elephants reflected the reinforcement of the charismatic power of the rulers. In Southeast Asian culture, a king had to collect and preserve white elephant(s) as a sacred symbol and to represent the merit of a king.⁶⁰ As it was rare to find albino elephants, they were symbolised as precious property of a highly charismatic monarch of a *mandala* state. Anyone who captured them had to send them to their patron. The patron would later send the elephants to his allied monarch of a *mandala* state.⁶¹

Possessing a white elephant(s) was the mark of a powerful supreme overlord. Any opposing monarch could start a war by asking for or taking the white elephants of a king. If the auspicious elephants of a monarch were sent to or seized by an opposing monarch, the act reflected the superior identity of the latter.⁶² Catching a precious rare elephant, an act that was met with infrequent success, was a route to climbing the class ladder.⁶³

⁵⁹ Low, 1836, p.382; Sangkhanukit, 2017; Low, 1836, p.382. See Figure 31 in Illustrations.

⁶⁰ Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.208; Charney, 2004, p.136; RCA, 2006, p.43.

⁶¹ Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.85-6; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.78-155; RCA, 2006, p.43.

⁶² RCA, 2006, pp.43, 357; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.115-9.

⁶³ RCA, 2006, pp.246, 290, 324-358, 436-444; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, p.116; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, p.68; Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, p.111.

Elephant hunting and the possession of elephants were the tests used to demonstrate a higher degree of merit. Men who caught and possessed them were considered courageous and strong in warfare. An elephant round-up was sponsored by a patron, who could be a monarch of a *mandala* state or a local noble of low to high ranks.⁶⁴ A group of huntsmen, comprised of a high-ranking master, lower-ranking masters and subjects (mahouts and hunters), went on a dangerous expedition⁶⁵ in the jungle in order to participate in elephant round-up. Hardship faced in the forests could cause death.⁶⁶ After hunters had found a herd of wild elephants⁶⁷, the huntsmen drove their elephants to contain and chase the fierce, wild elephants to run inside the corral.⁶⁸

The rituals of elephant hunting were performed by both masters and commoners to deal with the uncontrollable dangers of the nature. Before an elephant round-up, mahouts who were lords or *phrai* and their wives conducted a spiritual rite to avoid upsetting the spirit of the hunt and jungle by asking it for permission to hunt. Without this rite, mahouts believed that the huntsmen might be more susceptible to injuries or death.⁶⁹ Then, mahouts and a hunter would scope a location where a herd of wild elephants was.⁷⁰

In 1706, King Suea [r.1703-1709], accompanied by his children, lords and mahouts, went to catch wild elephants. A group of huntsmen probably consisted of several hundred men on elephant-backs.⁷¹ The highest patron, the king, led and commanded the group. Local people might be recruited by a master to facilitate the round-up.⁷² If an edge of the jungle had a built

⁶⁴ Gerson 1996, p.54; Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.137-9; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.70, 112-131; Dibakarawongsa, 2005, p.205; Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.86-7, 115-9; RCA, 2006, p.325; Moffat, 1962, pp.132-3.

⁶⁵ For an elite, it was dangerous to leave his palace wall. An opposing clique of masters assassinated a royal elite when he went to catch wild elephants. The viceroy of King Worrawongsathirat [r.1548] was killed off during his procession to hunt wild elephants (RCA, 2006, pp.23-5). In 1706, King Suea suspected that his sons, who were ordered to supervise the renovation of the route for hunting, planned to kill him. That an elephant of his group sank into a deep mire made the king doubt his sons' loyalty (RCA, 2006, p.387).

⁶⁶ In 1706, King Suea's subjects, who were ordered to hurriedly erect a corral stockade, had to work under the torrential rain and flood in a forest. Many subjects were "ill," "starved for food," "grown emaciated," and "dead" (RCA, 2006, p.386). In 1709, King Suea who enjoyed going to hunt elephants was severely sick and later died after the elephant round-up (RCA, 2006, p.396).

⁶⁷ Ibrahim, 1972, p.78; Charney, 2004, p.139.

⁶⁸ RCA, 2006, pp.386-7. One of several tactics to catch wild elephants was to use tame elephants to lure the former into a corral (Charney, 2004, p.139).

⁶⁹ Gerson, 1996, p.54.

⁷⁰ See Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

⁷¹ This is because the number of tamed elephants had to be enough to chase a large herd of wild elephants. In a round-up in 1663, around 470 wild elephants were caught (RCA, 2006, p.268).

⁷² RCA, 2006, p.387.

kraal, the huntsmen would plan to encircle and chase the herd to the corral. If there was no corral, the highest master would order the rest to construct a kraal. Some large logs would be cut for erecting a corral to prevent elephants from breaking out.⁷³ The most auspicious elephant in the herd would be caught and then belong to the highest master.⁷⁴

Fore-pleasure was experienced in the moment of searching and tracking a herd of wild elephants in a dangerous jungle. It was also experienced in planning where to set up the kraal at an edge of a forest. Then, a large group of men enjoyed riding their tamed elephants to chase and catch fierce and rare elephants. The enjoyment would increase highly if they got albino or short-tusked elephants. When a white elephant was found, it would be treated like a lord.⁷⁵ The elite gave the elephants ranks, according to their characteristics and peculiarity in “auspicious” appearances.⁷⁶ A celebration would be conducted to remark the successful round-up. The celebration empowered self-images of a monarch and a huntsman who possessed high levels of merit and fighting skills.⁷⁷

The climax of the hunt was the ultimate catching of elephants. Before the 1820s, each round-up was enjoyed for several days, both in a forest and a kraal. The climax of a round-up was the result of the accumulation of several moments of excitement during its long period.⁷⁸

Before the 1820s, the wild elephants, which had been caught, were left in the kraal so that mahouts could gain trust and train the wild elephants to be tamed.⁷⁹ All caught elephants were tamed so that they would be used for riding, fighting in war⁸⁰ and performing in royal rites. Men named each elephant and knew its characters (like fierce and good at warfare).⁸¹ In an elephant round-up, the cooperation and communication between huntsmen and their

⁷³ See RCA, 2006, pp.386, 453.

⁷⁴ RCA, 2006, pp.42, 487. See Figures 34-40 in Illustrations.

⁷⁵ Moffat, 1962, pp.129-130.

⁷⁶ Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.137-9; Prince Damrong Dechanuphap, 2003, pp.86-7, 115-9; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.30-1, 58-70; Dibakarawongsa, 2005, pp.205-7; Weiler, 2013, p.25.

⁷⁷ Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.86-7, 137-165; Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.118-9; Dibakarawongsa, 2005, p.205.

⁷⁸ RCA, 2006, pp.386-9.

⁷⁹ Gerson, 1996, p.55; RCA, 2006, p.325.

⁸⁰ RCA, 2006, p.376.

⁸¹ Leahai, 2013, p.41; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2017, p.90.

tamed elephants were crucial.⁸² In a round-up, a tamed elephant, rode by a huntsman, sometimes chose its prey by itself and edge to its side to prevent evasion.⁸³

The physical practices of the masters in round-ups (re)produced the hierarchy of the charismatic power. A highest-ranking patron had the right to command his entourages and privilege to select the most auspicious prey. The game reproduced the power relationship within the Siamese Kingdom. The ability to catch and possess the auspicious elephants was a symbol of a monarch's charisma in a *mandala* state.⁸⁴ The way that nobles or commoners sent the caught auspicious elephants to a king reflected the parallel characteristics of the rules of the game and the social order of the kingdom.

The significance of elephant-hunting was connected with the long and jeopardised marches during wartime. The actions of a round-up were imaginary situations of chasing and fighting against aggressive foes. The huntsmen had to skilfully drive their elephants to confront other wild and fierce elephants.⁸⁵ One skill of the huntsmen, in controlling their arms, was to use a lasso to catch an elephant; this was an imitation of the use of a halberd to kill adversaries. The elephant hunting produced the mimetic feeling and tension of warfare; however, the hunting contained lesser risks of serious injury or death than real wars. The rule of the game was: the size of a ridden elephant has to be larger than its prey.⁸⁶ Selecting a smaller prey reduced the dangers of its possible attack to the elephant being ridden.

The game also encouraged men to train their fighting abilities in case of an elephant duel.⁸⁷ Elephant round-ups would bring about the possession of sacred elephants and caught elephants for any future war. To attain many elephants reflected that the kingdom had enough animals to train and prepare for any battle.⁸⁸

⁸² Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.86, 116-118; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.95, 155, 188.

⁸³ Ibrahim, 1972, pp.78-80; Gerson, 1996, pp.54-5.

⁸⁴ RCA, 2006, p.42.

⁸⁵ King Rama V recounted his experience of seeing fierce and brave wild elephants, which fought against large tamed elephants of the royal mahouts (Leahai, 2013, p.41).

⁸⁶ Gerson, 1996, p.55.

⁸⁷ Phatthanothai, 1970, p.31.

⁸⁸ RCA, 2006, p.384. During the late seventeenth century, both elephants and mahouts trained very seriously to fight in a deadly contest. Following an account of a secretary of a Persian envoy who attended a training, the Ayutthayan King had his mahouts train captured elephants by fighting against a wild tiger in an enclosure. Unarmed mahouts had to employ their riding skills to drive their tamed elephants to attack the tiger. During this fight, a rider was snatched and killed by the tiger (Ibrahim, 1972, pp.71-2).

Furthermore, the Siamese believed that a spirit of some king or hero dwelled in a white elephant. A white elephant could bring the safest, most prosperous and most peaceful living conditions to a people and a country because it had the spirit of a veteran hero that would keep dangers and calamity away. The act of catching a white elephant, therefore, was probably related to an imaginary fight between a huntsman and a great hero. A successful elephant round-up was a way to show a man's greatness, as the sport required high degrees of aggression and merit.⁸⁹

Between the late eighteenth and the late nineteenth centuries, the accuracy of firearms was improved so much that elephants on the frontline became easy targets. As a result, elephants were used for transporting warriors and weapons, rather than fighting on the frontline.⁹⁰ After the 1820s (when battles between monarchs of *mandala* states were less important)⁹¹, the elephant round-up gradually lost its appeal. The new function that focused on the show of catching the previously captured elephants to royal guests (like Westerners) emerged. King Rama IV and V did not want to be ashamed to take Westerners to participate in any dangerous moments of finding and chasing wild elephants from jungles. Rather than spending weeks in forests, kings and Westerners spent only several hours watching the less dangerous part of elephant round-ups at corrals.⁹² The pleasure from planning where to trap wild elephants, from searching, encircling and chasing a herd of elephants in dangerous jungles and from the training of elephants for warfare were gradually less important.⁹³ The period of enjoyment was shortened because the elite wanted to see or only catch elephants in a kraal.⁹⁴ The direction of greater pacification in the Siamese Kingdom proceeded alongside the overall decrease in aggressive characteristics. There was an emerging pleasure from only watching

⁸⁹ Moffat, 1962, p.129.

⁹⁰ Charney, 2004, pp.145-6, 162.

⁹¹ The change from an aggressive to the more civilised identities of men gradually occurred when the Siamese elite interacted with the British in the 1820s. They tend to avoid making wars within the colonisers' areas of influence. The traditional warfare that needed such aggressive training was slowly becoming less important. More civilised tendencies of warfare and pastimes developed in parallel directions. Colonisation and increased interaction with Westerners generated the tendency of more self-control among the elite. For details, please see Chapter IV and Chapter V.

⁹² Leahai, 2013, pp.40-1; Weiler, 2013, pp.14, 113.

⁹³ In the reign of King Rama V, it was recounted that the king and his entourage went to watch elephant round-ups by train and ship (Young, 2012, p.384).

⁹⁴ See Leahai, 2013, pp.40-1.

and/or doing at the moment of catching previously captured elephants in a kraal, rather than in both of a forest and an enclosure.

As the number of wars reduced, elephant-hunting gradually lost its function in warfare. Although the actions of catching elephants were continually conducted, the function of elephant round-ups was reduced to serving the charisma of a monarch in possession of precious elephants, rather than the function of warfare.⁹⁵

6.2.2 Boat Race

From the Ayutthaya to the early Bangkok periods, boat racing was part of the training for warfare.⁹⁶ Racing involved competitions between masters to express their charismatic powers through the ability of their subjects as oarsmen. A royal patronage boat race was held annually during “the ritual to repel water.”

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the ritual to repel water represented the worldview where King Narai [r.1656-1688] expressed his image of supernatural powers and charisma. Towards the end of a rainy season, the king’s presence in the ritual represented his supernatural powers. The king drew his sword across the water to repel floodwaters, and it was believed that the king’s magic brought about a good harvest and fertility to the kingdom.⁹⁷

After King Narai had presented robes to monks, there was a boat race. This game was a popular pastime among people. Boats were made in almost identical sizes so that patron-client groups could compete against others. Spectators betted for fun and the dignity of their patron-client groups. In the context of the royal ritual to repel water, the boat race was a status battle in which the King could show his superior inborn merit over other patrons. The boat race was a chance for the king to express his superior warfare ability and charisma over

⁹⁵ Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.78, 95, 155, 205-7.

⁹⁶ The Siamese trained their abilities not only to quickly row but also to fight on the boats (Ma Huan, 1970, p.107). A piece of evidence claimed that during the 1540s, the King of Ayutthaya possessed three thousand boats (Charney, 2004, p.105). During the reign of King Narai [r.1656-1688], he ordered his officers to prepare over ten thousand soldiers to travel upstream by boats to attack Chiang Mai (see Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, pp.118-120).

⁹⁷ Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, p.127.

the nobles who frequently challenged a king through coups.⁹⁸ The ritual and the race represented the power hierarchy and charisma of all participants. The royal patronised boat, whose number of male oarsmen was more than other boats, could overcome the competition. Because the race represents the exclusively-male imaginary warfare and fighting ability of a patron-client group, women who also paddled to trade were excluded from boat race. Women, as supporters of oarsmen of their patron-client group, tended to celebrate the characters of the masculine identity, related to the skills to fight a war, strength and toughness.⁹⁹

From the late eighteenth century onward, the trading experience of the Siamese elite made them believe in their own potentiality and rationality rather than their merit.¹⁰⁰ King Rama V [r.1868-1910] did not believe in the ritual to repel water that had been performed for expressing the supernatural power to send away the floodwaters. Around 1888, he stated:

...The ritual to repel water had been done until this present age. ...Water came as much as it had happened in the past, but [I] did not perform [the ritual]. [The ritual] was no longer arranged. ...This ritual might not occur in the future. ...¹⁰¹

The abolition of the royal ritual to repel water, which included the boat race, also stemmed from the centralisation of the state and the advent of steam warships. In the second half of the 1880s, the construction of the centralised state did not depend on the expression of the king's superior charismatic power and warfare ability over other masters, as the previous kings in the pre-modern era had shown through the ritual to repel water and the boat races. Rather than allowing the nobles to have their own oarsmen/navies, King Rama V tried to monopolise the physical power by establishing of the Ministry of War and Marine, which took over all matters of warfare of the state.¹⁰²

The ability of oarsmen to quickly and steadily row boats upriver had also been less important for warfare since the 1820s. In the First Anglo-Burmese War in 1824, the British steam

⁹⁸ SK (2017) illustrated the triumph of the Ayutthayan monarch's boat over the queen's in a race:

"Samatthachai [the king's boat] conquered. [This king's triumph] proves to all of the three worlds [hell, heaven and earth] that the king will purge all enemies."

⁹⁹ Reid, 1988, pp.177-9; de la Loubère, 1963, pp.42, 50; Wongthes, 2007, pp.92-101; Songsamphan, 2008, p.41.

¹⁰⁰ See Eoseewong, 2012b; Sattayanurak, 1995.

¹⁰¹ King Chulalongkorn, 1964, p.72.

¹⁰² Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.236-241.

warships could ply a strong, adverse current in the sea and river to attack the Burmese successfully.¹⁰³ This war led the Siamese elite to realise just how important the technology of the steam warship was. King Rama III [r.1824-1851] who learned the war strategy of the British ordered a steam warship to strengthen his kingdom and to prevent possible attacks from the British.¹⁰⁴ The functions of the traditional boats in warfare and boats used for racing (for the warfare training) were in decline.

In the 1900s, unrelated to traditional warfare, boat racing became a source of amusement. In 1907, boat racing was no longer a competition between patron-client groups of lords. Instead, a prince, high-ranking nobles, civil servants, bourgeoisie and foreigners all joined a motorboat race. They sailed their motorboats from Bangkok to Nonthaburi and back. For the Siamese elites, the oarsmen's ability to row a boat was replaced by the capability to build or buy a high-quality motor boat.¹⁰⁵ The ability of oarsmen was part of the entertainment of commoners. In a suburb of Bangkok, peasants celebrated harvesting fertile crop yields by making merit and arranging boat races.¹⁰⁶

6.2.3 Fencing

Following SK (2017), in a royal fair in Ayutthaya, a king of Ayutthaya ordered his swordsman to fence with a representative of the northern city-state of Phayao. Swordsmen could consciously demonstrate their legitimate masculinity to impress their lords and supporters. Swordsmen also competed to show their superior manly identities to one another. The Ayutthayan swordsman declared that he was "truly brave." He expressed his high degree of masculinity and proud status as a royal favourite swordsman by stating that "the Thai King had [me] volunteer [to fight]." The swordsman also said that he had "stabbed many [men] to death..." and threatened to decapitate Phayao's swordsman.

¹⁰³ Charney, 2004, pp.253-4.

¹⁰⁴ Bradley, 1981, pp.36-7. Moreover, during the reign of Rama III, Chuang Bunnag, a son of an influential minister, built Western ships. These ships were used to fight a war against Vietnam (Damrong Rachanuphap, 1931, pp.36-7).

¹⁰⁵ BT, 28 December 1907, p.2; BT, 30 December 1907, p.2; BT, 4 December 1909, p.6; BT, 20 December 1909, p.5.

¹⁰⁶ BT, 26 October 1904, p.5; BT, 4 December 1909, p.6.

This match reflects a 'mimetic' feeling of real-life tension between Ayutthaya and northern city-states, which the former continuously struggled to take as its tributaries. An aftermath of this game was far much less violent than a real war. The number of dead or injured swordsmen were less than casualties from a war. The semblance of warfare was expressed through skills of using swords, expressing pleasure in hurting or killing players and humiliating players or foes. The Ayutthayan royal poet declared the triumph of Ayutthaya's representative over several swordsmen from Phayao (Laotians): "Everywhere, the group of Laotians lost, became afraid and dispersed..."¹⁰⁷ The fencing story in SK reflects the Ayutthayan king's superior military force over foreign warriors. Furthermore, the way the foreign fighters feared and evaded the Ayutthayan swordsman reflects that some fighters could not express all legitimate characteristics of masculinity.

6.2.4 Rhinoceros fighting

Ayutthayan kings attempted to express that they were mightiest both in their cities and in the forests. They possessed and had their officials train fierce animals (elephants and rhinoceros) to fight in contests.¹⁰⁸ An Ayutthayan king had his mahouts train a wild rhinoceros to become a fighter. The name of this royal rhinoceros, Rai [Fierce], reflects the extension of the identities of the monarch and the mahouts. The royal poet declared the victory of Rai over an opposing rhinoceros that was probably trained by an outsider. The poem featured a royal mahout's voice: "[Our rhinoceros] could cause elephants to run away ...Tigers, lions, bears and bulls [might] become completely confused." Through fights and the poem, Ayutthaya's kings, therefore, could show all other lords that they possessed the fiercest animals, best mahouts and greatest fighters.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

¹⁰⁸ Ibrahim, 1972, pp.71-2; Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

6.2.5 Kite Fighting

At least from the late seventeenth to the turn of the twentieth century, kite flying was popular among masters and subjects.¹¹⁰ Following evidence in the late Ayutthaya period around the turn of the eighteenth century, it was common for kings and police to fly kites in the morning and evening. Their selected time period for flying kites reflected how kite-flying was a way for these groups to break from their normal routines. In peacetime, the kings and police might be more or less bored by their routine duties like conducting meetings and guarding the palace.¹¹¹ Kite fighting involved a degree of de-routinisation and de-controlling of restraints. Players could exert their energy in order to express strength and aggression.

There is evidence showing that kite flying was part of warfare. In the reign of King Phetracha [r.1688-1703], kites were used by Ayutthaya's troops as a weapon to suppress violently the rebelling group of the governor of the municipality of Nakhon Ratchasima. Kites, tied with flammable objects, were flown across the city wall of Nakhon Ratchasima by the troop of Ayutthaya. The city was burnt by the use of kites and the group of the rebelling governor was defeated.¹¹² Furthermore, from the Ayutthaya period to the late 1860s, the Siamese monarchs realised how kites might be used by aggressive men or a rebelling group of a master to endanger the security of the throne. The monarchs enforced a violent punishment and prohibition in order to prevent any possible deadly danger, in the age that was full of centrifugal tendencies. According to the Three Seals Laws, used in the Ayutthaya and the early Bangkok periods, the violent punishment was enforced: "...[if] anyone flies a kite across the palace, [if anyone] throws a stick, a hammer, rock, or a brick into the palace, the punishment is amputation of [his or her] hand..."¹¹³

The function of kite fighting as a form of warfare training can be seen by how the police executed their duties to protect their king against deadly dangers. The main duties of police

¹¹⁰ Low, 1836, p.389; Kitiarsa and Samutthakup, 2003, p.50; Sethaboot, 1921; Gerson, 1996, p.50; King Mongkut, 2004, p.65; Hongsaton, 2010, p.147; Young, 2012, p.331; Tamra Ratcha Sewok, 1994, pp.18-9.

¹¹¹ Tamra Ratcha Sewok, 1994, pp.15-8.

¹¹² RCA, 2006, pp.346-7.

¹¹³ Text of the Three Seals Law, 1981, p.124. It should be added that during the reign of King Rama IV, many people and civil servants flew kites at the Royal Ground (Sanam Luang) in front of the Grand Palace. King Rama IV issued an edict to disallow any player to fly a kite around the palaces. The King ordered to punish anyone who infringed the proclamation (King Mongkut, 2004, p.65).

were to protect the king from assassination, coups and wars. Police served as the king's guards.¹¹⁴

Following *The Treatise of the Court Official*, written around the first half of the eighteenth century, kites were flown as a contest between two sides. This contest, the kite fighting, emphasised the game that one flew his kite to engage and tangle the opponent's kite and line. The winner was one who could bring the opposing kite down to the ground. If the wind was suitable to fly a kite in a garden of the Grand Palace, a director and a deputy of the Police Department would report to the king of Ayutthaya. The king, with the support of his low-ranking police officers, would fly the royal kite to tangle kites, flown by opponents from outside the palace. The director and the deputy would stand by at the garden to receive any royal order. Four low-ranking police would help the king to pull the string of the kite. After the royal kite had won a contest, the police would report the name of the loser to the king.¹¹⁵

During a kite-fighting contest, the in-group identification of the king (consisting of the monarch and police officers) trained to guard against any possible enemies who might endanger the throne by using kites as weapons. Police demonstrated their abilities to fly royal kites to tangle opposing kites which were flown from outside the palace. This was a contest of two sides to express some characteristics of masculinity. Apart from flair, good eyesight and precision to control the kite, strength to hold and bodily quickness to move a big kite was also important for tangling an opposing kite or escaping from an opponent's attack.¹¹⁶

In early-eighteenth-century kite fighting, the king's victory in the game was more important than in kite fighting contests of the turn of the twentieth century. Around the early eighteenth century, the kite-fighting team of the king and police (or kings' guards) represented the king's political cliques. The members of the king's team competed with other masters and commoners to tangle each other's kites. The royal kites represented their weapons, which could suppress their opponents. If the kings' cliques lost, it reflected that the kings were in

¹¹⁴ During an enemy invasion, they had to guard the palace gates and walls. When the king had a meeting with nobles, a director and a deputy of the Police Department would lead police officers to surround the outside walls of the meeting hall. Police officers would not permit any master and his soldiers to amass outside palace walls. This is because they might try to pretend to have an audience with royalty in order to endanger the king (Tamra Ratcha Sewok, 1994, pp.15-20).

¹¹⁵ Tamra Ratcha Sewok, 1994, pp.18-9.

¹¹⁶ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.3, 114-5, 120-3.

danger because of their failure to protect themselves from enemies. However, in the early twentieth century, King Rama V did not patronise or participate in any team. He only hosted tournaments. Competitions between teams of princes, nobles and commoners were carried out in order to fight for the rewards from the king.¹¹⁷

Early eighteenth century kite fighting tended to be much more aggressive than the twentieth-century contests. Around the early eighteenth century, self-restraints to inhibit the use of violence existed only within a patron-client group. Aggression was vital for the survival of a social unit (a patron-client network and a kingdom).¹¹⁸ The kings enjoyed channelling the aggression of an imaginary war. Rama V, who was king of the modern state of Siam, enjoyed watching disciplined players who flew kites to fight each other. Modern kings no longer enjoyed watching aggressive spectacles.¹¹⁹

6.2.6 Boxing

Boxing [*muai*] in Siam is also known as kickboxing or Thai boxing [*muai thai*]. Following boxing's rules in the pre-modern age, the uses of punching, kicks, catching, slamming, head-butting, wrestling, knee-strikes and elbow-strikes were permitted. Boxers were also allowed to break their opponents' body parts.¹²⁰ During the Ayutthaya and Bangkok periods, boxing was a popular pastime among members of the royal family, lords and commoners.¹²¹ A royal poet during the reign of Rama III [r.1824-1851] wrote the poem *Laksanawong* [The Tale of Prince Laksanawong] which depicts boxing during that period. He emphasised how people enjoyed watching the violence of the sport. He wrote:

Boxers threw their fists and guarded disorderly.

[They] quickly moved, hit, kicked and nudged each other.

¹¹⁷ BT, 30 March 1906, p.5; BT, 2 April 1906, p.5; BT, 4 April 1906, p.5; BT, 20 April 1906, p.5; Sethaboot, 1921.

¹¹⁸ See Eoseewong, 2000, pp.62-78; Eoseewong, 2004, pp.240-295; Sartraproong, 1998, pp.6-19; RCA, 2006, pp.346-7, 385; Charney, 2004, p.9.

¹¹⁹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.138-9.

¹²⁰ Low, 1836, pp.278-9; Niwasawat, 1928, pp.16-8; Vail, 1998b, p.18; Wetsuwan, 2007, p.23; Kantamra, 2008, pp.8-11; Kaenwongkham, 1987, pp.2-5; Pansakun, 2012, pp.8-9. See Figures 30-31 in Illustrations.

¹²¹ RCA, 2006, p.385; Pansakun, 2012, pp.6-13; Low, 1836, p.388; Dibakarawongsa, 1978, pp.146-9.

After [boxers] who had been hit reeled, spectators clamorously shouted “Ha!” and “Hey!”

The black side was superior, while the red side was inferior. [The former] was awarded.¹²²

In the pre-modern age, boxing was part of the military training that was important for the survival of a patron-client group.¹²³ Boxers were also used to protect a king who was a main target of any opposing political clique. Many good boxers were selected to work as king’s guards, *thanai luak*,¹²⁴ in the division of palace guards. According to a recruitment of *thanai luak*, skilled boxers competed with one another in front of the throne in order to show their fighting ability to the king. No one was permitted to carry weapons inside a palace because they might be used to harm the king. Therefore, *thanai luak* had a duty to protect the king inside the palace. In addition, *thanai luak* were also responsible for teaching young royals to box in order to attain the aggressive masculine identity.¹²⁵ It can be said that boxing was an arena to train and celebrate the aggressive, fight-to-die, strong identities of men. If a man or a patron-client group had greater degree of violent masculinity than others, it would be perceived that the man or the group possessed a high level of merit. Any man or group, being unable to exert violent characters to beat others, might ended up with the result of death.

In peacetime, lords would arrange boxing matches in fairs, annual festivals, religious events and royal ceremonies.¹²⁶ Apart from training for warfare and entertainment, boxing functioned to help enhance and remark a king’s merit. During the reign of Rama I [1782-1809], after a lord and huntsmen had caught a white elephant in Nakhon Ratchasima, the elephant was sent to Bangkok. While the elephant was travelling past Saraburi, a province located between Nakhon Ratchasima and the capital city, Rama I ordered a high-ranking lord to “arrange a ceremony. [There were] dramas in a playhouse, fifteen boxing matches, a cockfighting pitch and a theatre.” After the ceremony, the lord brought the white elephant to a raft in order to deliver it to Bangkok. When it arrived in Bangkok, the King received it from

¹²² Quoted in Pansakun, 2012, p.12.

¹²³ The Siamese court encouraged boxing with the use of feet because of its military utility (Reid, 1988, p.191).

¹²⁴ *Thanai luak* were unarmed when they served as guards to a king (Vail 1998b, pp.62-3; Sangsawang, 1979, pp.31-4).

¹²⁵ Pansakun, 2012, p.8.

¹²⁶ RCA, 2006, pp.385-6; Pansakun, 2012, pp.10-2; Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.137-8.

the raft. The King held a royal ceremony. The Royal Chronicle of King Rama I stated: “On every day, there was boxing in the afternoon. At night, there were dramas in two theatres.”¹²⁷ Boxing, therefore, was entertainment that attracted people to gather and witness the white elephant which represented the King’s merit.

Following some historical evidence, boxing was both warfare training and a form of entertainment. In peacetime, King Suea (r.1703-1709) and his entourage travelled incognito to box at a fair in a community’s temple of the municipality of Wiset Chaichan (located in the northwest of Ayutthaya). For the Siamese, boxing was not only an imaginary warfare that made men be ready for the future warfare, but also an entertainment for releasing boredom.

King Suea stated:

Although We have been lord for a long time, We have not done any boxing-wrestling at all and Our hands have accordingly become weak, worn out, slow and soft. On the morrow, We shall go to have a good time, do some boxing, and try Our skill to Our heart’s content for just a little while. ...His Majesty thereupon went in holy royal procession with His crown servants in disguise among all the people, inhabitants of the villages, who were strolling around and looking over that fair.¹²⁸

That King Suea and his servants travelled *incognito* reflects that the King did not fear any peril of dying. Indeed, previous kings of Ayutthaya had been afraid of endangerment from assassination, coups and wars.¹²⁹ Following the *Treatise of the Court Official*, written around the early eighteenth century, the kings of Ayutthaya were strictly guarded. When a king left his palace to watch any entertainment, the director, the deputy and low-ranking police of the Police Department had to carry their swords and lances in order to guard the king. They would follow and guard the king from the palace to a king’s pavilion, where he watched the entertainment. In a boxing match, police would surround a king’s pavilion. Police would also take boxers to a ring.¹³⁰ The police’s strict control over boxers reflects that in the king’s and police’s eyes, these boxers might try to assassinate the monarch. However, King Suea expressed a very high degree of legitimate masculine identity. He and his servants who were

¹²⁷ Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.137-8.

¹²⁸ RCA, 2006, p.385.

¹²⁹ Text of Three Seals Law, 1981, pp.1352-7.

¹³⁰ Tamra Ratcha Sewok, 1994, pp.16-7.

incognito might not carry their swords and lances with them. Although he could be a major target for other patron-client groups which aimed to violently cast him down, he thought that he was strong enough to deal with any violent man or group.

Wiset Chaichan, where King Suea went for fights, was an adjacent city that was under the close control of Ayutthaya.¹³¹ This was the time when a patron and his subjects in Wiset Chaichan could release their tension from being controlled by Ayutthaya. For Ayutthaya, if its boxer won over opponents of Wiset Chaichan or other areas, this would reproduce the notion of the supremacy of the monarch of the *mandala* state over all kings and lords. For the community in Wiset Chaichan, if its representatives won over the boxer of the capital, the charisma of the patron and the self-defense and attacking abilities of the community would rise.

A local patron who hosted boxing matches was also a referee. The local patron could express the military strength of his patron-client group by sending his good boxers to fight contenders from other groups.¹³² The one-on-one boxing match was a contest to show fighting skill and strength. If a boxer beat an opponent, the host could summon more boxers to fight the winner. This can be interpreted, as an opportunity for the patron try to prove the strength of his group again by sending another boxer to fight the winner. It was also a chance for the winner to show that his strength or merit was greater than what the spectators had seen in the previous match. The more matches the winner could win, the more pleasure from observing the virtues of the warriors the spectators received.

According to the contests between King Suea and boxers from Wiset Chaichan, the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya stated:

Now the skills of both parties were nice and equal to each other, enough to be able to interchange them with each other; they did not make mistakes with each other and their strength was enough to make it a fair contest. Now the various people who were watching them accordingly praised the skills of both parties and loudly gave shouts of “Ha” continually on every beat. Now that [other] boxer had little merit and little was his reincarnate knowledge. And he began to compete against the Supreme Holy Grand

¹³¹ See RCA, 2006, pp.264-5.

¹³² RCA, 2006, p.385.

King of Kings and Lord, who was endowed with the greatly superior status resulting from merit and the ten transcendental virtues, and the force of that merit and reincarnate knowledge oppressed and hindered him.

When they had managed to compete together for about half a round, his strength began to be reduced and he [the local boxer] lost position, made a mistake and was hit handily in a vital spot. Being hurt to excruciation for many beats, he lost through His constant condition of merit in that round.

Thereupon the King ordered a crown servant to say to the master of the arena, "Arrange for and summon an opponent for another contest!" ...And that boxer, being unable to withstand His merit, lost in half a round. Everyone noisily praised the skill of the hand of His holy hands and then said, "The skills of this boxer from the Capital are exceptional."¹³³

Spectators, most likely including women¹³⁴, had fore-pleasure while waiting for and talking about an upcoming boxing match. They enjoyed predicting how good unknown boxers from the capital or other areas would be.¹³⁵ During the matches, spectators enjoyed seeing each severe hit. In each match, the climax would emerge when a boxer made a series of serious hits to knock his opponent down. A winner would be decided only by this climax.¹³⁶ Therefore, the pleasure of the winner and the spectators stemmed from completing and watching the successful practice of a very high level of violence. A high level of violent masculinity, perceived as a high degree of merit, was celebrated and lauded by all participants.¹³⁷

¹³³ RCA, 2006, pp.385-6.

¹³⁴ The evidence mentioned "inhabitants of the villages" went to watch this boxing match (RCA, 2006, p.385). Although the evidence did not specifically mention the involvement of women, the contest was set up at the temple of a community, where was a social space of women. The pieces of the evidence recounted that women mainly spent time staying, farming and raising their children in their village. Women took a leading role in any religious ceremony at temples (Songsamphan, 2008, pp.41, 66-7; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.8-34). In addition, the evidence in the 1830s recounted that the young and adult royal female elite went to support their boxer (Low, 1836, p.388).

¹³⁵ RCA, 2006, p.385.

¹³⁶ Pansakun, 2012, p.9; RCA, 2006, pp.385-6.

¹³⁷ The degree of violence in boxing was very high. Hands were wrapped with "cord" or "cotton tape." Boxers might get a serious injury or even die (Vail, 1998b, p.65; Low, 1836, pp.278-9, 387-8).

That masters and their people enjoyed a very high degree of violence was prevalent during the pre-modern era. Any moment in which a boxer proficiently used violence to hurt his opponent generated a high degree of pleasure among spectators.¹³⁸

King Rama II [r.1809-1824] wrote poems which referred to a boxing match. His interest game reflected how significant boxing was. In an age in which martial arts were vital for the survival of social units such as the pre-modern state and a patron-client group, the use of violence in pastimes was legitimised by the King and people. Effective practices of aggressive masculinity in boxing were praised by the author of this poem (Rama II) and many spectators.¹³⁹

The Three Seals Laws also indicate the high degree of violence in boxing. Between the late Ayutthaya and early Bangkok periods, the law, implemented in the Siamese Kingdoms, legitimised the acts of killing in boxing. It stated: "If two people agree to box or wrestle, that is fine. Perhaps one get hurt or even dies. This is not punishable by law. ...It is the fate (karma) of the participant".¹⁴⁰

A chronicle that referred to a boxing match in the late of the eighteenth century substantiated that the ability to box was crucial for the self-image of social groups, which included the kingdom and a patron-client group. In 1788, two French brothers, boxers who "had triumphed in many countries already," asked a Siamese official to arrange a boxing match. When this proposal was heard by King Rama I (r.1782-1809) and the Viceroy (Bunma) (1744-1803), the Viceroy said to the King:

¹³⁸ In 1807, Suthon Phu, a royal poet, depicted a boxing match in central Siam. In his poem, *Nirat Phrabat* [Poetic Travelogue to Buddha's Footprint], he stated:

...The flicks of his limbs frightened [his opponent] and made [spectators] shout "Ha!" loudly.
Spectators roared vociferously and thunderously. ...

Nose and mouth were swelling up.

[The boxing match] was very fun and profoundly pleasurable (quoted in Pansakun, 2012, p.11).

¹³⁹ According to a boxing scene in *Sang Thong* [The Golden Conch], the King wrote:

Then, people who were spectators ...saw both dexterous sides jumped in the air.

[The spectators] were stunned and amazed [by boxers' actions].

Some [spectators] gaped at [boxers].

[Some spectators] looked at the King who passionately supported [the boxer(s)].

[Spectators] thronged [around the boxing ring] to watch the boxing match.

[They] shouted to support [their boxers] to win [the game] and praise [their boxers' abilities] (Quoted in Pansakun, 2012, p.11).

¹⁴⁰ The Three Seals Laws, 1962, p.160 quoted in Vail, 1998b, pp.28-9.

If we don't send someone to fight a match with these white men, they, who are foreigners, will look down on us and say that this country does not have any boxer who is good enough to fight them. This will blemish the honour of Your Majesty. [And this will be known] in all countries. I will take upon myself to find a good boxer who will fight the white men and to bring us victory.¹⁴¹

The patron-client group of the Viceroy who was the younger brother of King Rama I was the representative to show the self-image of the Siamese Kingdom. In the imaginary warfare of this boxing match, the skills and courage to fight reflected the strength of the surviving units of the Kingdom and the viceroy.

The boxing match was set up at the Grand Palace. The participants were the king, the Viceroy, the royalties, palace attendants, nobles and the French brothers' subordinates. The Viceroy was also the head of referee. During the match,¹⁴² the way the elder brother of the French boxer infringed the boxing rule of the Siamese elite by helping his younger brother to fight threatened the self-image of the Kingdom and the Viceroy's group. Indeed, the aggressive character of the Viceroy (Bunma), demonstrated in many wars, was widely known by the lords and people in Siam and its tributaries.¹⁴³ If the Viceroy's boxer was defeated in front of a number of the Siamese masters attending the match, the Viceroy would lose face and charisma. The French infringement immediately infuriated the Viceroy. The Viceroy kicked the French elder brother in order to demonstrate that the former had superior strength and courage to the French.

In conclusion, this chapter suggests that the Eliasian approach does not fully capture how the state, men and women partially constructed gender differences, relation and power in day-

¹⁴¹ Dibakarawongsa, 1978, pp.146-9.

¹⁴² During the match, it was recounted: "The white man was hit but did not fall, and kept reaching for Mun Phlan [the Viceroy's boxer], who in turn kept stepping backwards while hitting. Thus the white man could not get at and seize him. The white man's elder brother saw this, leaped up, went over and pushed Mun Phlan so he could not backstep any further and avoid his opponent. At this, the Viceroy became angry. He said they were fighting a wager match one to one, and asked why then the other should help, making it two on the other side. The Viceroy quickly jumped off the platform, brought his foot up and kicked the elder white man, who tumbled down. The referees [boxers who were the royal guards] there rushed in and began fighting with two white brothers. Both brothers were badly hurt" (Dibakarawongsa, 1995, p.87). I mainly followed the translation of Thadeus and Chadin Flood (Dibakarawongsa, 1978, pp.146-9).

¹⁴³ Sartraproong, 1998, pp.23-8.

to-day contexts and pastimes in Siam. Roles of the Siamese men and women in education, occupations, family, male-dominated bureaucracy and physical activities shaped the ideal values of being aggressive men and passive women. However, Elias and Dunning's analysis remains valuable for understanding how leisure could break the monotony of routine and state control and war-related functions in Ancient Greece and pre-modern Siam. Warlike pastimes were recreational spaces, where the Siamese men trained to be aggressive fighters and protectors of their social units. Women's practices in non-violent games and women's roles as patrons and supporters of exclusively-male, violent pastimes engendered the gentle identity of women.

The change in sports was related to both unplanned and planned processes of civilisation. Elephant round-up and boat race gradually lost their function for warfare because of a larger social interdependence. From the late eighteenth to the nineteenth century, the application of efficient firearms and the arrival of steam warships to Siam reduced the importance of emphasising warfare in these two games.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, the civilising tendency of these pastimes was unplanned. In the next chapter, I will investigate how the elites' civilised behaviours affected characteristics of outdated warlike pastimes like kite-fighting and boxing. I will also explore how the elites modified warlike pastimes, fencing, kite fighting and boxing to become civilised games in order to govern the aggressive personalities of people in the age of the territorial state. Eventually, I will delineate how the elites adjusted and assigned European sports and modern education in order to civilise people's behaviours.

¹⁴⁴ BT, 4 December 1909, p.6; Charney, 2004, pp.145-6, 162, 253-4. Weiler, 2013, pp.14, 113.

Chapter VII:

The State's Plan for Education and Civilised Physical Activities: Gentle and Aggressive Masculinities

In Chapter V, I showed that the extended network of interdependencies of nineteenth-century colonisation contributed to increasing demands for civilised conduct from both the Westerners and the Siamese elites. This chapter will appraise whether this civilising tendency also arose in sporting contexts. Following Elias and Dunning (1986), parliamentarisation and the 'courtisation' of warriors under the context of the urban-industrial nation-state of England, ran parallel with a civilising tendency in sports. However, late-nineteenth-century Siam did not yet experience parliamentarisation and the urban-industrial condition. This chapter assesses whether the processes of making Siam into a nation-state and taming lords alone would be operated alongside a civilising tendency in the sporting sphere.

Unlike the English civilising process that was unplanned, the Siamese modern state played a key role in launching the civilising offensives in order to soften the aggressive masculinity of non-elites through education and sports. Their civilising offensives were products of their increasing interrelationships with commoners/citizens and Westerners. The adoption of modern education and sports as well as the 'sportisation' of indigenous games were deliberately done by the Siamese elites to respond to Westerners' insults. This chapter will trace the civilising tendencies in education and sports in Siam in order to understand its effects on gender regimes and men's pleasure in engaging in violence.

This chapter assesses the state's roles in constructing gender identities through education and sports. I also appraise changes in the power relationship between women and men, beliefs about gender differences, the division of labour at home and at the workplace and sexual customs. This chapter also analyses whether these assessments on the gender issue can solve Elias and Dunning's theoretical problems, which are the male-based analysis of unintentional transformations in aggressive behaviours and the absence of a state role in constructing gender identities.

7.1 Aggressive Masculinity and Civilising Policy in Education

7.1.1 Social Groups and Patterns of Masculine Identity

By the late 1890s, the Siamese elites were under heavy pressure due to the French annexation of Cambodia (in 1884), French occupation of Vietnam (in 1885), the abolition of the Burmese monarchy (in 1885) and the founding of the Protectorate of Laos (in 1893).¹ Under this pressure, the Siamese elites wanted to avoid European interference. They applied a self-defence strategy by attempting to civilise their country. Therefore, the Siamese elites felt compelled to attune their people's conduct to the Western standard of behaviour. The Siamese elites believed that education and a strong bureaucracy would help Siam become civilised enough to guarantee "the freedom of Siam" from colonising threats.² Prince Damrong, the Minister of Interior, argued that education would help prevent Western encroachment: "[S]ituations outside [Siam] are factors which force Siam to hurriedly organise the country in a good direction... Whenever we stop [developing the country] or recede or are exhausted, danger will harm Siam. ...Education is a necessary tool that has to be used to rescue the country in the future."³ Apart from pressure from the colonial powers, the prevalence of Siamese non-elites' unruly behaviour also made the elites apply civilising programmes to soften their conduct.

Between the late nineteenth century and the 1900s, members of the royal family and high-ranking nobles (henceforth, members of the ruling strata) addressed the issue of aggression as a major problem found in numerous domestic schools and Siamese society at large.⁴ The Bangkok-based ruling elites struggled to pacify the state. Some local nobles extended their political and economic power by patronising non-elite *nakleng* who were involved with violence and robbery to remedy the latter's economic suffering. These crimes undermined the Bangkok-based ruling elites' power to control bureaucracy and pacify society.⁵ To

¹ Osborne, 2001, pp.89-97.

² Saraya, 1997b, pp.105-6; Quoted in Wasanthasing, 2017, pp.148-9.

³ Quoted in Wasanthasing, 2017, pp.148-9.

⁴ "Withison," 1901, pp.48-51; Chuanparian, 1901, pp.103-4; Thaem, 1901, pp.80-84; "Khamnam," 1901, pp.80-1; "Boraphot Suphasit," 1901, pp.26-28; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901a, pp.323-9; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901a, p.415; "Bot Tuayang," 1901, p.461; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1903a, p.628; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904b, p.204; Aun, 1907a, pp.50-3; "Kan Sueksa Nai," 1908, p.185; "Khao Krom Sueksa," 1908, pp.250-2; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1909, p.658; Johnston, 1980.

⁵ Chaidaisuk, 2008, pp.29-138; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2016, p.196.

consolidate their domestic power, the ruling elites designed civilising plans for education and sports to civilise the behaviours of students (future civil-servants) and unruly commoners. Furthermore, Prince Damrong hoped that these future civilised and disciplined civil-servants would loyally serve in positions throughout the country.⁶

From the Bangkok-based elites' perspective, members of social classes whose statuses were lower than the royalty and high-ranking nobles conducted themselves too aggressively. In 1898, King Rama V stated, "I have investigated in the provinces, and we have seen the great decay of a Thai people without religion, which caused them to lose their morals."⁷ Meanwhile, in 1895, Prince Kittiyakara⁸ surveyed operations of four domestic elite schools (including the Normal School) and five temple schools. According to his report, he expressed shock at the lack of discipline of both teachers and pupils.⁹ Following the ruling elite, throughout the 1900s, non-elite continually behaved "viciously."¹⁰

I coin the term "non-elite people" to define those who were members of families of low-ranking civil servants, *corvée* labourers and Sino-Siamese petty-bourgeoisies. According to pieces of evidence around the turn of the twentieth century, non-elite students competed with other boys both in their own school and between schools in order to demonstrate their superior aggressive masculinity. By the standards of the ruling elite, non-elite people's behaviours were aggressive, unruly and vicious.¹¹ The elite believed that behaviours of the upper-class and bourgeois people were more moral and refined than the demeanours of "the bad-class [and] lower-class people."¹² The ruling elite did not want their children to imitate "bad" behaviours of the lower-class people. The former tried to exclude the latter from elite schools.¹³

⁶ Saraya, 1997b, pp.105-6; Quoted in Wasanthasing, 2017, pp.148-9.

⁷ Wyatt, 1969, p.225; Nitjit, 1987, p.67.

⁸ Prince Kittiyakara was the twenty-one-year-old son of the King. He had graduated in England and later came back to Siam. He served in the Education Department.

⁹ Wyatt, 1969, pp.181-2.

¹⁰ Sat, 1903b, pp.155-6. In 1909, Pia Malakul, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Public Instruction, noted that "the bad-class [and] lower-class people" "...do not behave correctly, or [they] take their knowledge to commit more vicious behaviours" (Malakul, 2008, pp.i-ii).

¹¹ Wyatt, 1969, pp.181-2; Sunthonphiphit, 1972; Sathiankoset, 1988; Sathiankoset, 2004; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7; Malakul, 2008.

¹² Malakul, 2008, p.ii.

¹³ Wyatt, 1969, pp.233-375; Nitjit, 1987, pp.215-220.

In 1903, a Bangkok Times¹⁴ correspondent also agreed with the Siamese elites' perception of the vicious self-image of non-elites. The correspondent criticised that the lower-class people neglected to send their children to school. As a result, their children became unruly and aggressive.¹⁵

Those who came from the ruling strata disliked aggressive masculinity. Following the elites' perspective, their offspring were taught "well."¹⁶ Boys from the ruling strata who were born after the 1870s shared a common experience in their educational life. If boys were members of the royal family, their parents liked to send them to study abroad for the primary or secondary level and undergraduate level. Meanwhile, some children of high-ranking civil servants took a chance to study abroad at the higher educational level.¹⁷

Between the 1890s and the 1900s, although the government attempted to exclude non-elite boys from prestigious state schools in Bangkok¹⁸, the elite's measures could not fully prevent non-elite students from entering these schools. Student populations consisted of those who came from families of high and low-ranking royalties, high and low-ranking nobles, Chinese merchants and commoners whose cousins served royalties. These schools, therefore, did not fully represent a social space of the members of the ruling strata. Even in the elite schools like Suankularb School and Royal Pages School, aggressive identity was widely practised by non-elite boys.¹⁹

Although the prestigious state schools were composed of students from different backgrounds, each school had a different proportion of ruling-class members. Distribution of

¹⁴ The *Bangkok Times* was a bilingual newspaper (English and Thai). It was established by T. Lloyd Williams in 1887. In 1904, the newspaper was taken over by a limited liability company. C. Thorne and W. H. Mundie became managing director and an editor, respectively. The editor was assisted by two European assistants. The *Bangkok Times* was "said to have the largest circulation among the European residents in Siam" (Wright, 1908, p.295). The *Bangkok Times* regarded itself as "the leading English Newspaper in Siam. Also widely circulated in China, Japan, Cochin-China, Ceylon India and the Far East generally" (BT, 12 January 1901).

¹⁵ The correspondent stated, "...Nowadays, there are so many children. From the time they know the way of the world to the time [they] are old enough to enter school, [they] and their friends rowdily behave such as stealing, hitting one's head, smoking opium and gambling. ...Why do people not send their offspring to study in those schools? [I] answer that these people are stupid and poor" (Noble Man, 1903, p.5).

¹⁶ Smith, 2008, pp.115-6; Malakul, 2008, p.ii.

¹⁷ Santasombat, 1992, pp.33-66; Wongthon, 2007, pp.7-12; Kridakara, 1971. Since the late 1890s onwards, many students from ruling-elite family graduated from King's College. They later went abroad to study in Europe (Wyatt, 1969, pp.138, 143). For more detail, see Appendix 4.

¹⁸ Wyatt, 1969, pp.121-143, 277-285.

¹⁹ Wyatt, 1969, p.121; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.67-94.

the governmental resources towards investment in schools' facilities also determined a degree of prestige that a student could express. A pupil produced and expressed a certain degree of prestige of a school as his in-group identification when interacting with students from different schools. Degrees of schools' prestige became a source of conflict between groups of men in contexts of physical activities like drills and soccer.²⁰

7.1.2 The Plan to Civilise the Masculine Identity in Education

Beginning in the late 1890s, the ruling elite planned to improve the "vicious" conducts of the non-elite students and teachers through moral education.²¹ Prince Damrong²² responded to the King's desire to improve people's immorality. Prince Damrong stated, "For moral instruction we have no textbook, nor is there any in a foreign language, so we will have to compile it from scratch."²³ The ruling elite in the educational sector (like Prince Damrong, Prince Patriarch Vajirañana²⁴, Pia Malakul²⁵ and Sanan Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya²⁶) played an important role in defining a newly legitimate mode of conduct for all men. The mode of demeanour was designed to instil a guilty conscience in students regarding aggression.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, elite and civil servants in the educational sector attempted to alleviate the King's worry about people's vicious conducts. In 1898, Prince Damrong and Prince Patriarch Vajirañana emphasised that school subjects about righteous conduct and science of human behaviour should be designed to inculcate students to have the self-control to usefully exert energy for a peaceful society.²⁷

²⁰ Sunthonphiphit, 1972.

²¹ Wyatt, 1969, pp.181-2.

²² He was a half-brother of King Rama V. He was a major architect of Siamese education and public administration.

²³ Wyatt, 1969, pp.220-3.

²⁴ He was King Rama V's half-brother and a key figure of modern education and a nationalising plan for Buddhism.

²⁵ Pia was a son of Prince Khachoncharatwong. In the late 1890s, Pia was a diplomat of the Siamese Embassy to England. His main role was to monitor the King's sons and nephews who studied in Europe. In the 1900s, he came back to Siam to work as the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Public Instruction.

²⁶ In the early reign of Rama V, Sanan's father was the head of the Department of the Privy Purse. In the 1900s, Sanan was a key figure who wrote many textbooks on moral education and physical exercise. He was also an organiser of sporting events (Wongthon, 2007).

²⁷ Takananand, 2008, pp.164, 193.

From 1900 to 1909, several articles in *Witthayachan* [Teachers' Knowledge], the journal of the Education Department, illustrated the worry on how to govern unruly behaviours.²⁸ This worry reflected that aggressive masculinity was widely and continuously produced among non-elite men. Throughout the 1900s, self-control to refrain from acting violently was not well established in any situation that lacked external control of the state.²⁹ Following the viewpoint of a commoner, aggression was a legitimate form of conduct.³⁰ The Buddhist ideas were interpreted by the government in order to redefine violence as acts of “delinquents.” Siamese education mainly focused on how to regulate one's bodies and minds in order to restrain physical and verbal abuses.³¹ According to *Witthayachan*, mischievousness was an unacceptable sin and uncivilised. Mischievous behaviours included the use of weapons, any action to bully weaker persons, ambushes, licentious manners, gambling, noisy actions and the use of rude words.³² These behaviours were the opposite of those demonstrated by a *phudi* or a gentleman.³³

Between the late 1880s and the 1900s, the government propagated the meaning of *phudi* or a gentleman through a religious book (*Vajirañana Suphasit* [Vajirañana's Proverb]) and a series of textbooks (*Thamma Chariya* [Dharma Conduct]). *Phudi* is one who “honestly conducts, says and thinks.” Following *Thamma Chariya*, to be a *phudi* depended on “virtue” rather than social origins. Social status, wealth and family names were not criteria to become a *phudi*.³⁴ A *phudi* was “polite, humble, friendly, forbearing, compassionate, kind and philanthropic.”³⁵

²⁸ For example, “Withison,” 1901, pp.48-51; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901b, p.415; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1903a; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904b; Aun, 1907a; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1909, p.658

²⁹ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.3-56; Sathiankoset, 1988, pp.1-19; Malakul, 2008, pp.i-iii; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7; Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.3-182.

³⁰ See Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.3-52; Johnston, 1980; Sathiankoset, 1988, pp.1-19; Sathiankoset, 2004; Chaidaisuk, 2008, p.116.

³¹ “Withison,” 1901, pp.48-51.

³² ; Chuanparian, 1901; Thaem, 1901; “Boraphot Suphasit,” 1901; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901a, pp.323-9; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901b, p.415; Aun, 1907b.

³³ Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904a, p.121.

³⁴ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, p.133.

³⁵ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.117, 119.

Phudi should have the self-control to consciously avoid violent conduct.³⁶ To act like *phudi* was to maintain peace in unequal social relationships.³⁷ To become *phudi*, ones had to realise how to interact politely with members of each social class.³⁸ The ideal set of qualities of the *phudi* would civilise both individual subjects as well as the country.³⁹

In the book *Sombat Khong Phudi* [Characteristics of a Gentleman], Pia Malakul compiled a list of the elites' manners, which described how all people should behave. The written style of the book also aimed to prevent non-elite from displaying improper behaviours. The standards of manners of the elite were illustrated. For example, "Do not physically hit persons." "Do not yell or harshly say." "Do not be angry and misbehave." "Do not be vengeful persons." "Do not bully and quarrel."⁴⁰

The above-mentioned print materials reflected that the elites shared the mode of conduct. The books showed the uniformity of norms, self-discipline, refined manners and elaborated taboos that defined the social standard of the elite. The books also reflected that the ruling elite held a key position and acted as exemplars and philanthropists of the nation-state.⁴¹ The ruling elite expected people to submit their own social restraints. People who did not conform to the elite's standards were referred to as the "bad- and lower- class" people.⁴²

The state planned to connect people to the symbols of the nation-state. King Rama V was defined as a representative of people from different social groups. The king was portrayed as a centre for people's coordination and integration of the absolute monarchy.⁴³ Students were taught to maintain the social order, where the King was on the top.⁴⁴ The curriculum of the

³⁶ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.118-121.

³⁷ Following *Thamma Chariya*, "a *phudi* will not bully ones who are inferior or weaker." This peaceful manner is applied to relationships between "masters and subjects," "stronger people and weaker people" and "armed men and unarmed men" (Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, p.127).

³⁸ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.119, 227.

³⁹ Following *Thamma Chariya*, the authors stated, "when people unite and avoid quarrels [and] disunity, civilisation/progress will definitely occur among those people" (Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.178-9). See also Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.118, 164; Ruea, 1907, pp.313-329.

⁴⁰ Malakul, 2008, pp.87-100.

⁴¹ See Elias and Scotson, 1965, pp.5-6, 152-153.

⁴² See Elias and Scotson, 1965, pp.17-8; Malakul, 2008, pp.i-ii.

⁴³ Winichakul, 1994, pp.141-8; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Phraya Anukitwithun, 1933, pp.95-7.

⁴⁴ Following *Thamma Chariya*, a human "is not born to live alone. Rather [humans] are born to depend on one another. Therefore, [humans] have to regularly obey social values or traditions....We have to obey our ruler or ones who have power over us. They are knowledgeable, wise and capable of governing and directing us. And

Normal School in 1905 reflected that the government aimed to train students to know how to properly interact with members of the royal family and Westerners in different occasions. Students learned to speak the royal language and sing the royal anthem.⁴⁵

Authors of *Thamma Chariya* Volume 6⁴⁶ told students: “[They] should imitate the person who has the most courteous manners. We usually perceive and see [the manners of this person]. [This person] is our King. Ones, who were elite, commoners, the rich and the poor, appeared before royalty. They were absolutely grateful and delighted. And they all praised the King’s might and great kindness, which the King gave to all subjects in the Kingdom.”⁴⁷

Subjects were expected to conform to the courteous manners of the King. One of the King’s manners was his amity to people from all strata. The imitation of this character would generate self-control to avoid harming all individuals in Siamese society. This was the elites’ plan to put the civilising pressure on people in order to strengthen the peaceful relationship under the nation-state.

The Education Department energetically supported teachers and parents to apply several forms of external control on students. *Witthayachan*’s writers continually suggested to teachers that a proper punishment was necessary to correct students’ behaviour.⁴⁸ In 1903, the Education Department ordered teachers and parents to report and monitor students’ school-record, behaviour and hygiene through the personal report card.⁴⁹

According to pieces of evidence, boys practised the softened and gentlemanly form of masculinity when they interacted with teachers in classrooms and the ruling elite in ceremonies. They intentionally and temporarily curbed their violent behaviour. The boys consciously tried to show their teachers and the ruling elite that the formers behaved properly and followed the social order. Choei Sunthonphiphit, a son of gardeners, recounted that in the early 1900s, his teachers were pleased by his voice, reading skill and discipline. He

we need to give our body and mind to conform to their orders” (Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.7-9).

⁴⁵ “Khao Krom Sueksa,” 1905, pp.532-3.

⁴⁶ It was the textbook for high-school boys. It was firstly published in 1905.

⁴⁷ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.42-3.

⁴⁸ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901a, pp.323-9; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1903b; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904b.

⁴⁹ Malakul, 1903c, pp.575-581; “Huakho Thamma Chariya,” 1905.

was selected by a teacher to sing the royal anthem when having an audience with royalty.⁵⁰ Choei's discipline more or less impressed his teacher. He was selected to be a school representative in order to train to be a squad leader at an elite school.⁵¹

However, the aggressive masculinity of commoners was also conducted in social spaces of the government like schools and sports arenas. Male students did not have any self-control to be ashamed of violent conduct in situations where the external control was absent. On the contrary, when the elite and state officials were away, boys felt compelled to compete with one another to express a legitimate degree of another, more aggressive, pattern of masculinity.

Choei recounted fighting experiences in his childhood in the late 1890s: "When I was a child, my body was puny and also frail. The characteristic was not a fighter. However, when children usually play any game, [they] tended to be estranged. [This was] because they tried to win and take advantage of one another. ...A fight, therefore, occurred as though it were a judgement. At this moment, whether [my body] was bigger or smaller [than the opponent], [I] had to fight. Although [I] knew that [I] was unable to compete with them, [I] had to fight. Surrender was a shame of a life and degeneration. Nonetheless, [I] had to persist for a while, and [I] hoped that there would be someone who stopped [the fight]. I had to fall into the situation like this for many times. ..."52

Around the late 1890s, Yong (a son of Sino-Siamese petty bourgeoisie) and many of his friends also felt compelled to compete to express aggressive masculinity. Yong said, "In my childhood, [I] was rather a brat because social environment forced [me]."53 Yong felt ashamed when he lost a fight with his foe.⁵⁴

In situations where the external control of the state was absent, non-elite men felt they had to express the identity of a brave and skillful fighter in any fight. Weaker boys felt compelled

⁵⁰ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.11-9.

⁵¹ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.18-19.

⁵² Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.8.

⁵³ Sathiankoset, 1988, p.8.

⁵⁴ He recounted: "On a day, a quarrel with a boy who was my enemy happened. [We] fought each other. I made a false step because my pigtail was seized by him. [I] was upset and agonised by my pigtail because I thought that [it] was a reason of [my] disgrace.... [I] came home and found a scissor. [I] angrily cut my pigtail right away" (Sathiankoset, 1988, p.4).

to negotiate with bullying boys in order to maintain their image of the legitimate aggressive masculinity. The bullying boys tended to choose targets who had more feminine characteristics. In Choei's case, his "puny" build was quite similar to the identity of educated women who did not engage in any high-contact physical activity.

7.2 Changes in Gender Regime and the Image of Courteous and Passive Women

7.2.1 A Struggle to Define Female Identities

Relationships within a pre-modern regime were kinship-based. The state of early Bangkok was enlarged through a large network of kinship under a sizeable network of patriarchal gender order. A larger faction of male warriors was developed by the practice of marrying women to a family of a high-ranking master.⁵⁵ The size of the state and political alliances partially depended on this function. A hierarchy of the king's wives and concubines was created to produce the future generations of the ruling class. Young female elite were kept in residences and taught to preserve their virginity so that they would be arranged to marry high-ranking men. They lived to comfort their husbands. Female roles tended not to involve any use of violence.⁵⁶

During the transition from a pre-modern state to the demarcated state of Rama V's reign [1868-1910], the female elite continued to play a role in bridging political networks under the patriarchal relationships of the elite.⁵⁷ Polygamy tended to be continually practised as it was compatible with the absolute monarchical state of Rama V. Rama V assigned his (half-)brothers and sons to ministerial and military posts.⁵⁸

Westerners and Thianwan⁵⁹ viewed polygamy of the Siamese elite as a mark of unequal status between men and women. From the Westerners' viewpoint, Siamese women were treated as servants and slaves in a harem. Following Westerners, the way to improve women's status

⁵⁵ Suklarpkit, 2013, p.41; Wyatt, 1968; Wyatt, 1986.

⁵⁶ Suklarpkit, 2013, p.42; Songsamphan, 2008, p.66; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.26, 33; Bowie, 1996, p.107.

⁵⁷ Woodhouse, 2009, pp.73-7.

⁵⁸ Songsamphan, 2008, p.43; Loos, 2005.

⁵⁹ Thianwan (1842-1915) was a solicitor, journalist and writer (Aphornsuvan, 2005b, pp.67-70).

was to convert the Siamese to Christianity. Westerners believed that missionary schools were a means for Siamese women to empower their status.⁶⁰ Siamese female elites and the well-known intellectual (Thianwan) later agreed to improve the female status through education; however, they did not agree that Christianity would bring about the improvement of the female status.⁶¹

The need of the Siamese elite to interact with Westerners led to a new mode of education among the female elite beginning in the 1850s. Following the Europeans' viewpoint, women were expected to be educated so that they could play a maternal role in raising and socialising children. Therefore, women's education would nourish the idea of excluding women from the public sphere of the state.⁶² In Siam, high-ranking royalties and nobles founded schools in their palaces and residents. Western and Siamese teachers were hired to teach elite sons and daughters. In these schools, the men wanted to maintain traditional modes of study and add cosmopolitan culture. They studied the Thai language, customs to serve a king, the English language, performing art, embroidery, mathematics, health education, physical exercise, Western table manners and cooking.⁶³ Women's education tended to emphasise and prepare them for the role of a housewife in a cosmopolitan society.⁶⁴

Female literacy was considered by elite fathers to have a potential to weaken their authority and damage the existing gender regime based on polygamy and a strict injunction against adultery and premarital sexual relations.⁶⁵ The neat, passive and subservient characters of women were preserved by male and female elite so that they could maintain the gender regime and their power to arrange marriages for their daughters.⁶⁶

In the reign of Rama V, the Siamese elite believed that Western culture encouraged their daughters and nieces to be more physically active, self-confident and brazen. Rama V, Queen

⁶⁰ Songsamphan, 2008, pp.24-30; Suklarpkit, 2013, pp.24-30, 47-9.

⁶¹ Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.43; Barmé, 2002, p.24; Suklarpkit, 2013, pp.47-51.

⁶² Women's participation in politics would degenerate civilisation of a country (Townns, 2009, pp.696-8).

⁶³ Nitjin, 1987, pp.81-92; McFarland, 2012, pp.98-101; Woodhouse, 2009, pp.111-3.

⁶⁴ Barmé, 2002, pp.22-2.

⁶⁵ Barmé, 2002, p.27.

⁶⁶ Nitjin, 1987, p.85; Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.28; Barmé, 2002, pp.23, 28; Songsamphan, 2008, pp.50-2; Smith, 2008, pp.115-6.

Saowapha⁶⁷ and Princess Marayatkanya Ditsakul⁶⁸ recounted that Western teachers trained female students to be untidy and disobedient. In the elites' perspective, female identity should be passive and girls should refrain from too much physical exertion. The King and Queen were upset that their daughters were spoiled by foreign teachers. They felt that their daughters' behaviour seemed masculine.⁶⁹

While women were expected to demonstrate a passive demeanour, it was believed that the characters of men were naturally active, untidy and aggressive (see Chapter VI).⁷⁰ This perception of gender difference was similar to those of nineteenth-century European states. In both Siamese and European contexts in the second half of the nineteenth century, men who were regarded as the strong, active and rational gender, were suitable for governing the state. Women, who were perceived as weaker, passive and emotional, should be excluded from state affairs.⁷¹ Under the new context in which the Siamese elite wanted to pacify the state, the elite believed that the aggressive behaviours of men should be disciplined. The need to suppress violent identity tended to serve the male elite's monopolisation of the use of violence.

Although upper-class women agreed with male elite to maintain the physically passive, neat and courteous characters among women, elite women as well as a male journalist struggled with the male elite to support women's participation in education and public matters. The opinion of Queen Saowapha contradicted that of Rama V.⁷² An entourage of the Queen recounted the Queen's viewpoint on women's education: "The progress and civilisation of the country could be achieved through men's and women's education. Furthermore, at that time, the Queen thought that status of Thai women was far behind men's status."⁷³ Nevertheless, Rama V viewed that boy schools were more important than girl schools. Rama V believed that boy schools could produce civil servants to help the country. He thought that

⁶⁷ Saowapha was a half-sister of Rama V. In 1878, she became the Royal Consort of Rama V. Around the mid-1890s, she was raised to become the Queen.

⁶⁸ Princess Marayatkanya was a daughter of Prince Damrong. Her name means "courteous girl," a reflection of the ideal characteristic of women among the Siamese elite.

⁶⁹ Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.28.

⁷⁰ Yodhong, 2013, p.246.

⁷¹ Towns, 2009, p.691.

⁷² Barmé, 2002, p.22.

⁷³ Quoted in Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.43.

because appropriate roles of women were wives and mothers, women's education was not a priority.⁷⁴

Male elite attempted to deny supporting women's education and accessibility to male-dominated bureaucracy. Around the early 1890s, Rama V believed that educated women were not capable of performing any state missions.⁷⁵ However, around the turn of the twentieth century, Thianwan followed the women's suffrage movement in civilised countries, including the United States. He adopted the idea from examples of the movement in these countries. He believed that women's participation in public matters would enhance the standard of civilisation in Siam.⁷⁶

Despite the criticism, Rama V expressed that involvement of women in education and public matters would hold the country back rather than expediting a greater degree of civilisation. The investment in female schools would waste government revenue.⁷⁷ The King, therefore, did little to support women's education and job opportunities. The proportion of girls who entered schools was small.⁷⁸ Women found it hard to find jobs outside of their homes.⁷⁹

7.2.2 Civilising Female Identities

Siamese elite believed that behaviours of female commoners were coarse, rough, vicious, barbarous⁸⁰ and obscene.⁸¹ Female commoners made a living just for surviving in the short term.⁸² Queen Saowapha strictly trained her children to be polite and refined because she

⁷⁴ Nitjin, 1987, pp.109-124.

⁷⁵ Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.48.

⁷⁶ Barmé, 2002, pp.24-5; Towns, 2009, p.686.

⁷⁷ Nitjit, 1987, p.123.

⁷⁸ By March 1910, in 622 educational institutions in Bangkok, there were 38,726 (96 %) enrolled boys and 1,588 (4 %) enrolled girls (Wyatt, 1969, p.356).

⁷⁹ Between the 1890s and the 1900s, teaching jobs and midwifery were newly female-preserved occupations. However, in these decades, the lack of female teachers had never been seriously solved by the government (Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.70).

⁸⁰ Phasakorawong, 2001, pp.68-74; Malakul, 2008, pp.i-ii. In the preface to *The Recipe Manual of the Great Female Cook* of Plian Phasakorawong, the wife of the Minister of Public Instruction, complained about barbaric cooking practices of commoners. She stated: Actions of viciously and barbarously born [people] should be abstained and changed..." (Phasakorawong, 2001, p.70). She also criticised that unrefined cooks sometimes "roughly and negligently" cook their food. (Phasakorawong, 2001, p.72).

⁸¹ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, p.34.

⁸² Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.30.

disliked any lower-class mannerisms.⁸³ Following an elite viewpoint, female commoners' behaviours should be improved by civilising projects. In the 1900s, the elite believed the improvement of female behaviour would help the country to reach a higher stage of civilisation.⁸⁴

Queen Sawapha enthusiastically attempted to improve midwifery to replace the old tradition of giving birth.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, Plian Phasakorawong believed that her book, *The Recipe Manual of the Great Female Cook*, printed in 1908, would help female commoners become more civilised and courteous. Plian hoped that female commoners would get out of their "barbaric and vicious" ways and understand the refined Siamese and foreign recipes. Plian's aim was that women would "have a better, complete and refined custom and behaviour." Plian stated that her book would "be useful for women who were born in this common Kingdom of the Thais." Plian hoped that her book "will be beneficial for women" and the "nation" in the future.⁸⁶

Furthermore, the Queen tried to support women's education for commoners.⁸⁷ In 1893, Prince Damrong gave advice to the Queen on a project to establish a school. He proposed that commoners' daughters should be trained to become honourable and courteous.⁸⁸ In the school system, the identity of a courteous lady, which had been taught in the palace and lords' residences, was introduced in schools.⁸⁹ Although the elite aimed to promote this identity among female commoners,⁹⁰ the former wanted to preserve their superior status.⁹¹

Commoners did not support sending their daughters to school, so the neat, passive, subservient, weak, courteous and erudite qualities of the female elite was slowly transmitted

⁸³ Smith, 2008, pp.115-6.

⁸⁴ Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.74.

⁸⁵ Siamese people believed that after mothers had given birth of children, they had to rest near a bonfire for weeks. Queen Saowapha wanted to put an end to this custom (Smith, 2008, pp.81-3; Boonyasathit, 2005, pp.132-3).

⁸⁶ Phasakorawong, 2001, pp.67-74.

⁸⁷ Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.30.

⁸⁸ Nitjit, 1987, pp.215-6.

⁸⁹ "Maeruean Thi Rap," 1908, p.296; Woodhouse, 2009, pp.111-2; Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.69; Nitjit, 1987, pp.77-92.

⁹⁰ Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.43.

⁹¹ Prince Damrong stated: "...If [a girl school's entry regulation] disallows commoners to join the same school as the elite, it is possible to use the criteria of the family status and property." (Prince Damrong, 1893 quoted in Nitjit, 1987, p.220).

to female commoners through schools.⁹² The civilising project for women tended to empower female elite and simultaneously undermine female commoners' power. Female elite could partially participate in state affairs, an arena which had previously been monopolised by elite men. Meanwhile, female commoners who enrolled in schools would learn to attain the identity of a courteous housewife. Under the context that the job market largely recruited men, educated women would become dependent housewives at home rather than independent workers like farmers and merchants.

The idea of establishing a girl school reflects the elite's perspective on women. For the elite, female elite should not leave home alone.⁹³ The male elite still lived in the worldview that women were men's sexual targets or prey.⁹⁴ When the elite wanted to send their female children to a new girl school, the elite tended to create a girl school that built up a protective identity of women. Regardless of socioeconomic background of school girls, they tended to learn the elite's values, the importance of virginity and passive supporting roles at home.⁹⁵ These values tended to undermine the more equal gender relationship among commoners.

The female commoners who were studying would desert their previous active role of being farmers and traders, jobs which required them to travel outside home by themselves. Therefore, educated female commoners tended to have little physical strength.⁹⁶ Female students would be more under the custody of men when they left home.⁹⁷ They would be prone to be sexually objectified by men. Men as a gender would take more responsibility for using violence to protect a weaker woman.⁹⁸ Following the elite's viewpoint, female commoners' security would rely more on men.

⁹² "Raingan Prachum," 1903b, p.667; Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.30; McFarland, 2012, p.117.

⁹³ Songsamphan, 2008, p.66; Woodhouse, 2009, p.96.

⁹⁴ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.211-5; Songsamphan, 2008, pp.71-6; Prince Damrong, 1893 quoted in Nitjit, 1987, p.215.

⁹⁵ Chaengchenkit, 1987, pp.28-35; Nitjit, 1987, pp.215-231; Sattayanurak, 2003a, p.252; Songsamphan, 2008, p.65; Smith, 2008, pp.115-6. According to a textbook for secondary-school students, the writers stated, "Women are like flowers, which are soft. [Women or flowers] should be preserved stuff. Husbands [who] have force should give every support to their wives. And the wives should be enlightened, supported, induced and instructed so that they will be erudite" (Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.182-3).

⁹⁶ Songsamphan, 2008, pp.41-66; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Phraya Anukitwithun, 1933, pp.1-6.

⁹⁷ Nitjit, 1987, pp.230-1.

⁹⁸ Following the book *Sombat Khong Phudi* [Characteristics of a Gentleman], written by a ruling elite, women were categorised as weak social actors as same as children. Women were to be taken care of by men in public space (Malakul, 2008, pp.89-100).

Furthermore, because girl schools tended to decrease female commoners' economic power, commoners resisted the elite's civilising plan by not sending their female children to schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, following commoners' perspectives, modern education tended to take commoners' children away from their family tasks, including farming, trading and housekeeping. Commoners did not want to lose their labour power to schools.⁹⁹ Although the Siamese state tried to assign the same characteristics considered part of the female identity to women from various social strata, the female identity of the commoners who had to work outside home tended to be tougher than that of the elite women. This tendency suggests that the concept of femininity should not be considered as a homogeneous category.¹⁰⁰

7.3 Siamese elites' and Westerners' Constructions of Siamese Masculinities in Physical Activities

Following Horton (2012), British and American sports emerged in Asia as a result of cultural imperialism. Horton focused on the roles of American missionaries, the British and the Japanese as colonising powers who brought Western sports to interact reciprocally with native agencies.¹⁰¹ However, the roles of missionaries and the Western people created an indirect impact on the Siamese context. Their negative opinions of the very high level of violence in indigenous pastimes generated pressure on the Siamese elite to adjust indigenous pastimes to the civilised standard. This section demonstrates that Horton's model does not suit the Siamese context where the indigenous individuals had a degree of power to negotiate with the civilised standard of the Westerners. Like the Irish and Canadians, the Siamese redefined the indigenous games in order to refute the foreigners' insults.¹⁰² Furthermore, Elias and Dunning's idea of sports as an outlet for expressing tensions between social groups

⁹⁹ Saowapha founded the Saowapha School in Chonburi in 1892 to support both boys and girls to learn cultivation and handicrafts. The government was responsible for tuition fees. Nevertheless, commoners did not want to send their children to enroll in schools. They did not see how education could improve their economic opportunity (Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.30; McFarland, 2012, p.117).

¹⁰⁰ Liston, 2007, p.630.

¹⁰¹ Horton (2012) assessed the expansion of sporting activities from Britain and America to colonised countries in Asia. His evidence was limited to a few countries, which included Singapore and East Asian countries (Horton, 2012, pp.515-7).

¹⁰² McDevitt, 1997; Robidoux, 2002.

is useful for capturing the way the Siamese denied the Western perception of the Siamese as being uncivilised and weak in a polo game.¹⁰³

The characteristics and values of organised pastimes and sports in Siam around the turn of the twentieth century were a result of a partial negotiating process between the Siamese elite and Westerners. Between the 1830s and 1880s, the British perceived that people in Siam did barbarous, uncivilised and violent pastimes.¹⁰⁴ In 1886, C.W.E. Stringer¹⁰⁵ experienced boxing games that took place during the cremation ceremonies in front of the Palace of Nan's ruler. His account reflected that for him and the Europeans, the boxing style in Nan was so violent that boxers suffered pain.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, he considered that custom in Nan, which he regarded as part of Siam, was commonly "barbarous."¹⁰⁷ As Westerners viewed that the Siamese lived in a barbarous social condition, the former believed that the Siamese were cruel and unruly. The Siamese lacked self-control.¹⁰⁸

Although Siamese men engaged in this fatal pastime, Westerners did not think that the Siamese were manly, strong and brave. On the contrary, Westerners believed that Siamese men were puny, weak and cowardly. Around the late 1850s, Henry Mouhot, a French explorer, stated that the Siamese had woman-like habits.¹⁰⁹ Anna Leonowens, a British governess who lived in Siam between 1862 and 1867, believed that Asian people were cowardly.¹¹⁰ John A. Eakin, the principle of a Christian school in Bangkok, recalled his experience around 1893 that "a stalwart strength of character" "is rare in Siam."¹¹¹ Meanwhile, between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, following Malcolm Smith's review of the Siamese, the European race was stronger than the Siamese race.¹¹²

¹⁰³ Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.181.

¹⁰⁴ Following James Low's account in the 1830s, "Len chok moei, or boxing matches, are common at all great festivals and entertainments. They are often very bloody, and would frequently end in the death of one or both of the parties, did not the king, or other great man present, stop the battle before it becomes dangerous. ... The king if present, or if he is not, some one of his courtiers regulates the barbarous sport..." (Low, 1836, pp.387-8).

¹⁰⁵ Between 1886 and 1887, C.W.E. Stringer travelled to Siam. He wrote Report of a Journey from Bangkok to Nān. In 1888, this report was presented to the Houses of Parliament of Great Britain.

¹⁰⁶ Stringer, 1888, p.7.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Fournereau, 1998, p.100; Leonowens, 1954, p.20; Curtis, 2012, pp.409, 414.

¹⁰⁹ Mouhot, 2012a, pp.277-290.

¹¹⁰ Leonowens, 1954, p.20.

¹¹¹ Brain, 1912, p.332.

¹¹² Smith, 2008, p.52.

Apart from these perceptions of Siamese men, Westerners also widely believed that the Siamese were lazy and sluggish.¹¹³

The elite did not want to be ashamed of their Siamese identity.¹¹⁴ Around the turn of the twentieth century, the elite attempted to deal with the Westerners' insults by redefining the identity of Siamese men. The elite tried to construct an image of Siamese men as being strong, active, brave, skillful, non-violent, disciplined and civilised. The elite did not entirely deny the Westerners' perception on the inferior Siamese identity. The elite accepted that the Siamese were physically weaker and more lethargic than some foreigners. In the 1900s, Sanan accepted that the Siamese had smaller bodies and a more lethargic character than foreigners who lived in cold countries. Following Sanan, in the cold weather, foreigners had to exercise; therefore, their bodies are "quickly and fully grown." The tropical weather made the Siamese lethargic and weak. Siamese people should do physical exercise in order to make their bodies stronger and bigger.¹¹⁵ To improve their self-image, the elite attempted to express themselves as strong and civilised men by playing Western games.

7.3.1 Civilised Identity of Elite Men in Sporting Contexts

In 1901, King Rama V granted a royal charter to found the Royal Bangkok Sports Club (henceforth, RBSC) for "improving the standard of horse breeding and various other field sports."¹¹⁶ The King allowed the RBSC to rent royal land in Bangkok for horseracing and other sports.¹¹⁷ A European executive of the Club thanked the King for the royal support.¹¹⁸ King Rama V played a role as an energetic patron who helped improve operations and a standard of civilised sports. Therefore, his patronage represented his image as a civiliser who helped

¹¹³ Norman, 1895, pp.414-5; Mouhot, 2012a, pp.277-290; Mouhot, 2012b, p.116; Leonowens, 1954, p.20; Au Siam, 2012, p.300; Curtis, 2012, pp.409-414; Weiler, 2013, pp.21-34.

¹¹⁴ In the 1900s, Sanan stated, "If [people of] our country make good things, honours will belong to our nation. If [people of] our country commit sins, they will bring disgrace on our nation" (Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1977, p.78).

¹¹⁵ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1957, pp.18-9. The idea of the relationship between lethargic character and tropical weather can be seen in Khun Charatchawanaphan (1904b, pp.204-5).

¹¹⁶ The Royal Bangkok Sports Club, 2013.

¹¹⁷ BT, 13 September 1901, p.5.

¹¹⁸ BT, 11 September 1901, p.2.

maintain strong and civilised identities of the Club's members (foreign residents, Siamese elites and civil servants).¹¹⁹

The King and members of the royal family continually showed that they were the main civilisers who endorsed the "good sport" of "gentlemen."¹²⁰ For example, in 1901, the King arranged a horse-racing tournament.¹²¹ Through the RBSC, the royal elites could show all civilised foreigners that they were civilised men and patrons of civilised games. In December 1906, at the RBSC, the Crown Prince Vajiravudh was the president of a horse race contest for the King's Cup. Prince Valdemar of Denmark and Prince George of Greece also attended to watch this race.¹²²

Although the *Bangkok Times* had a positive opinion on the elites' identity as energetic and passionate supporters of civilised sports, the paper questioned whether junior civil servants, who were the RBSC's members, were keen to do civilised sports. The Siamese civil servants joined the RBSC because they wanted to build a social network with high-ranking nobles and princes. Although Siam already had a functionally differentiated bureaucracy, a promotion to higher-ranking posts was not based on skills or specialisation. Rather, getting promoted highly depended on a patron-client relationship.¹²³ Therefore, many junior civil servants hoped that their relationships with the elites would help them get promoted. When teachers formed a football club, the *Bangkok Times* did not believe that they had a passion for playing football. The paper stated,

We hope that this club [a teachers' football club] will be permanently established and run for longer time than other abolished clubs. In the [Royal Bangkok] Sports Club, when members became Luang and Phraya [middle- and high-ranking noble positions], they all quit [the Club].¹²⁴

The opinion of the newspaper also reflected that civilised ways of doing civilised sports were not yet perceived as part of junior civil servants' identity.¹²⁵ The civilised identity was

¹¹⁹ BT, 19 January 1901, p.3; BT, 30 December 1901, p.2; BT, 11 January 1902, p.3.

¹²⁰ BT, 16 December 1907, p.3.

¹²¹ BT, 11 September 1901, p.2.

¹²² BT, 12 December 1906, p.2

¹²³ Batson, 1984; Sawatchuto, 1966, p.v; Sunthonphiphit, 1972; The Family of Loi Pasuttanawin, 1972.

¹²⁴ BT, 12 September 1901, p.5.

¹²⁵ I will elaborate on this point in the next section and chapter.

continuously constructed by the elites. The royal elites constructed the identities of strong, dexterous and civilised Siamese men through Western sports. That the Siamese men could beat the Westerners in civilised sports produced the identity of the superior Siamese and the inferior Westerners. For example, in 1902, Prince Phichitprichakon won a horse race and received the King's Cup at the RBSC.¹²⁶

Furthermore, the Siamese elite seized a chance that the Siamese played a Western game like polo against Westerners in order to redefine the identity of the Siamese men. In 1905, King Rama V, Crown Prince Vajiravudh and their entourages visited Chiang Mai. Siamese players played polo for the Siamese's team against a team of Westerners. The Siamese players were regarded by the Crown Prince as graceful, skilful and "vigorous" "gentlemen." Tiab, a page of the Crown Prince, was highly lauded by the Crown Prince because Tiab redeemed the team's "prestige" with his outstanding skill. Tiab eventually helped the Siamese team to beat the Westerners' team. Following the account of the Crown Prince, Westerners praised the King and the Siamese team for this triumph.¹²⁷

7.3.2 Civilising Non-Elite Men and Popular Pastimes

The RBSC was preserved for the Siamese elites, junior civil servants and foreigners. In the eyes of the elites and foreigners, male commoners behaved violently and immorally and were therefore excluded from the Club. Moreover, these commoners enjoyed playing pastimes in a violent way. To remove the image of the "barbarous" character of Siamese pastimes and the Siamese, the elites encouraged commoners to avoid engaging in any violent pastimes. Moreover, the elite tried to set up rules to eliminate all violent characteristics of pastimes like kite fighting and boxing. All violent manners were thought of as a threat to "Thai sport."¹²⁸

Due to the social interdependence with Westerners, a tendency to prohibit and condemn the use of violence emerged in many social spheres, including educational¹²⁹, sporting and ceremonial spaces of Siam. Following the elites' viewpoint on standardised pastimes, "good"

¹²⁶ BT, 10 January 1902, p.5. For another example, see BT, 6 January 1910, p.6.

¹²⁷ King Vajiravudh, 1968, pp.88-9.

¹²⁸ Sethaboot believed that aggression in kite fighting would decrease the game's popularity and harm "Thai sport" (Sethaboot, 1921, pp.68-9).

¹²⁹ Sanan, 1901b, p.328; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904a, pp.118-9.

kite fighting players and boxers had to have discipline and self-control over aggressive behaviours.¹³⁰ Kite fighting was constructed as a national game as the elite believed that this game was never played anywhere else in the world.¹³¹ The elites' construction of rules to soften this pastime reflected the national identity the elite wanted to define and express to the Westerners. It was noted by many travel writers that kite fighting was popular among foreign spectators between the seventeenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³² King Rama V wanted to present kite-fighting games, whose possibility of violence was controlled by rules, to foreign diplomats and people.¹³³ The government wanted to show the foreigners that the Siamese enjoyed playing the civilised, manly and less violent game of kite-flying.

Kite fighting was also believed to support the idea that the identity of Siamese men was superior to any other foreigners' identities. Sethaboot thought that their refined invention of kites was a reflection of the superior ability of Siamese men.¹³⁴

7.4 Political Centralisation, Physical Activities and Disciplined Men

In the English and Siamese contexts, the establishment of political systems, which attempted to eradicate violent tendencies, was related to an increase in sensitivity with regard to violence in the sporting sphere. Furthermore, according to studies of the 'sportisation' in England, Singapore and Siam, a civilising process in the sporting sphere ran parallel with an economic development that engendered a long chain of interdependence and an increasing level of multi-polar control among social groups.

In England, the parliamentarisation of the landed classes brought an end to a cycle of violence in politics. In parallel to the political context, games of these individuals had a set of rules and civilised characteristics. A variety of local rules of each pastime was gradually replaced by the standardised rules of members of the landed classes. Under the expanded social dependence

¹³⁰ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.3-8, 122-149; Vail, 1998b, pp.75-85; NAT, 1907a.

¹³¹ Sethaboot stated: "...[T]here is no other kite game in any other country in this world that was created to make war and compete in the air like our [game.] [It] has to be considered that our kite betting [or kite fighting] was uniquely different from, and better than [playing patterns] of other nations" (Sethaboot, 1921, p.10).

¹³² de la Loubère, 1693, p.49; Low, 1836, pp.279, 387-9; Stringer, 1888, p.7; Dibakarawong, 1995, p.87; Kitiarsa and Samutthakup, 2003, p.50; Sethaboot, 1921, p.29.

¹³³ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.25-9.

¹³⁴ Sethaboot, 1921, p.134.

in the urban-industrial nation-state of England, civilised games which had been played by the landed classes were unintentionally spread to urban industrial classes.¹³⁵

The “sportisation” in Singapore and Siam was initially formed in the colonial era. The commercial activities rapidly increased after the British had established their free-trade network in Singapore and Siam. In Singapore, beginning in the 1820s, the economic development that caused social groups to interact at an increasing level developed alongside sportisation. The civilised conduct in modern sports diffused from the upper class to the lower classes through both unintentional and intentional processes such as non-Europeans’ imitation of the bourgeois Europeans’ sports practices, the Europeans’ organised sporting events and the government’s physical education programmes in the 1900s.¹³⁶

As a result of the 1855 Bowring Treaty, the number of commoners entering commercial activities in Siam continuously increased. The elites could collect taxes from people under this unprecedented expansion of their commercial and monetary network.¹³⁷ The “sportisation” of pastimes that emerged in Siam was parallel to the King’s attempt to build up the nation-state through centralising fiscal and physical power. However, a sensitivity with regard to violence and civilised sports emerged as a result of Siamese elites’ plans for monopolising physical force. The rules of pastimes, which differed from one local area to another, were standardised by the Siamese elites. The spread of civilised sports from the elites to other lower social groups was a result of the intentional plans of the elites.

In European society, which experienced an increase of civilised behaviour in games, pleasure that was related to a certain level of violence was deprived by a more civilised standard. This situation tended to engender boredom among players and spectators. Elias and Dunning suggested that involved actors would modify game-rule norms of a sport to avoid risk of boredom. Elias’s idea of a change in game-rule norms is suitable for analysing how the rules of kite fighting were modified to enhance entertainment without increasing any degree of violence.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.21-50.

¹³⁶ Lim and Horton, 2012.

¹³⁷ Lysa, 1983; Bunnag, 2008, p.33.

¹³⁸ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.21-203.

The sportisation in the initial phase of Siam did not make any strong impact. Therefore, sportisation did not develop in a unilinear direction. Both players and supporters did not develop self-control when they participated in civilised games. The Siamese men who engaged in kite fighting and drills curbed their violent behaviour only when social control from the elites, state officials and Westerners appeared. Meanwhile, the Siamese spectators enjoyed watching violent boxing and kite fighting. This weak process of civilisation was different from a contemporary fighting game like the mixed martial arts. Following a study on the mixed martial arts that developed from the 1960s onwards, it unilinearly developed through a sportisation process because violence was continuously controlled at a stricter level.¹³⁹

Beginning in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, education, pastimes and physical activities were deliberately (re)designed by the Siamese elites to soften the aggressive and violent masculine identity of non-elite men. Following the textbook, *Thamma Chariya*, volume 1, published in 1902, a writer wrote: "If [children] want to play anything, [they] should play properly. Do not be ruffian!"¹⁴⁰

Women's participation in physical activities was limited. Women were required to do physical exercise and activities within the walls of homes and schools. Male elite supported women to practice non-contact physical activities. In female and male elites' accounts, the active use of bodies was viewed as improper conduct for women. The untidy and disobedient character was appropriated to men rather than women. The identity of vigorous and strong women was undesirable in the eyes of an elite man.¹⁴¹ Tennis and croquet were played by the female elite in their residents.¹⁴² Tennis was regarded as the sport that was "softly played."¹⁴³ These games were unisex games. The games' function served to support a social relationship between male and female elite to participate together in a less physical activity at home. Drills that did not require any state investment was provided to all women and men. Although women trained drills, this training did not make them strong enough to leave their homes

¹³⁹ Sanchez-Garcia and Malcolm, 2010, pp.16-25.

¹⁴⁰ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1902b, p.1. See also Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901a; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901b; Sethaboot, 1921; Lekhayanon, 1977.

¹⁴¹ Chaengchenkit, 1987, pp.28-35.

¹⁴² Kritpet, 1982, pp.40-1; Boonyasathit, 2005, pp.118-9. See Figures 54-55 in Illustrations.

¹⁴³ Ruea, 1907, p.316.

alone.¹⁴⁴ Women were trained to conduct themselves properly according to the roles of being a healthy mother, a courteous housewife and a great cook. Erudite women were expected to maintain politeness and neatness. Female-specific physical exercises tended to reinforce the male ruling elites' monopolisation of violence.

During the early modern period, the Siamese elite men were aware of the female elites' and intellectuals' attempts to challenge the patriarchal order. However, the power balance between women and men did not evolve into a gynarchy as it evidently had in Western Europe during the second half of the twentieth century. The Siamese elite men who were annoyed by this challenge used sport as a tool to encourage the women to play passive roles in the sporting and domestic spaces.¹⁴⁵

7.4.1 Fencing and Standardised Boxing

During the age of the centralised state, aggressive and fight-to-die masculinity was less important as the survival of the demarcated state relied on modern military science, military technology and the centralised and disciplined army.¹⁴⁶ For Rama V's government, aggression and the use of violence in local areas were considered a big threat to the order of the state.¹⁴⁷ Many non-elite *nakleng* used swords and other weapons to rob people of their valuables.¹⁴⁸ For the government, the pleasure of seeing the virtues of warriors, like aggression and a fight-to-the-death mentality, was unacceptable. The ultimate pleasure from excruciation and killing became an uncivilised action. In the 1900s, fencing was no longer important for modern warfare. It was unpopular among educated men, and was subsumed into the teachers' Wrestling Club. Rather than emphasising fighting, fencing instruction focused on sword dances.¹⁴⁹

In the era of Rama V, boxing training was largely done in local temples. The government aimed to get rid of the aggressive character through the religious reform. The government tried to

¹⁴⁴ Smith, 2008, pp.121-7; Woodhouse, 2009, p.108.

¹⁴⁵ Barmé, 2002, p.22; Liston, 2006.

¹⁴⁶ See Chapters IV and V.

¹⁴⁷ Johnston, 1980; "Huakho Thamma Chariya," 1905; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901a.

¹⁴⁸ Chaidaisuk, 2008, pp.26-8.

¹⁴⁹ "Chaeng Khwam Samoson," 1907, pp.206-7.

push boxing practice out of the temple through the religious reform of 1902. The government attempted to put an end to boxing competitions in temple festivals. That monks taught boxing to people was considered by the state as inappropriate behaviour. Under this reform, the state bureaucracy tried to centrally control all temples from several sects. Nevertheless, because of poor means of communication and transportation, temples and local people could resist the reform. In many local areas, boxing competitions, whose rules were locally diverse, were still arranged.¹⁵⁰

Rama V's government attempted to centralise all boxing contests. Several boxing camps of patrons (governors), monks and lay experts were required by the government to send their best boxers to compete at a provincial level. Local winners would be selected to fight at the royal tournament, the Boxing Before the Throne (*Muai Na Phra Thi Nang*) in Bangkok. This tournament was founded by Rama V. Before the age of Rama V, great boxers were subjects of patrons who might not be loyal to a monarch in Bangkok. In the reign of Rama V, all great boxers from provinces were sent to compete in Bangkok. The King took winning boxers to serve him as civil servants. They were rewarded and given titles.¹⁵¹

The Boxing before the Throne tended to undermine the power of local patrons who possessed great boxers. That the central government took all the best boxers from provinces to become royal boxers generated a new social relationship. The boxing contests were now meant to find the best boxers in the country rather than only local champions. The competitors' goal was to become boxers under royal patronage. Local patrons, therefore, had to give their best boxers to the government. Bangkok became the best place for all the best boxers, although their hometowns were still widely remembered. The boxers' names were replaced by titles, which were created by the central government. A boxer's identity tended to be linked with the centralised state.¹⁵²

Rama V also created a new royal unit, the Royal Boxing (*Muai Luang*). *Muai Luang's* function was unlike *Thanai Luak* (the Palace Guard) of previous reigns, which had served to guard kings. Modern Royal Page soldiers were also founded to serve as king's guards. Boxing skills were not enough for protecting the King as Rama V wanted disciplined and loyal Royal Page soldiers

¹⁵⁰ Paisan Wisalo, 2005, p.205; Vail, 1998b, pp.69-85.

¹⁵¹ Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-7; Kritpet, 1982, p.38; Vail, 1998b, pp.69-82.

¹⁵² See Sangsawang, 1979, pp.97-8; Vail, 1998b, p.76

to guard him.¹⁵³ Therefore, boxing lost its function of training for warfare and guarding a king. The creation of *Muai Luang* brought an end to *Thanai Luak*. *Muai Luang* was designed to centralise and control matters of boxing in the territorial state of Siam. Apart from training the young generations of the royal family to box, boxers of *Muai Luang* had a duty to organise and control boxing games in Bangkok. *Muai Luang* played an important role in redefining boxing as a form of entertainment rather than a traditional way of protecting the King. There were no regulations on boxers' weight and ages. There was no any adoption of any boxing stage. Nonetheless, referees were unprecedentedly assigned by the centralised government.¹⁵⁴

In the age of Rama V, the rules of boxing were already set up and boxing gloves were already introduced.¹⁵⁵ The levels of violent and aggressive masculinity decreased. Following the rules of Thai boxing in the period of absolute monarchy¹⁵⁶, boxers were not permitted to “punch, kick and nudge anyone who collapses.” “If a referee considers that a boxer is seriously injured and unable to continue fighting, [the referee] can have him lose [the match].”¹⁵⁷ Violence was no longer regarded by the government as part of the Siamese pastime. Instead, it was constructed by the elite to belong to the Japanese martial arts. Following a rule, boxers were “not allowed to apply Jujitsu for breaking [one's] arms and legs.”¹⁵⁸ Players were required to follow the rules of standardised games if they wanted to win a match.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, boxing competitions were created to train players to curb their use of violence. Through the competitions, spectators could also more or less learn to enjoy a low degree of violence in standardised sports.

However, boxers and spectators still did not commonly adopt the standardised rules. In a competition in 1923 at the Royal Ground, a boxer from a southern province did not know that the game began after a referee hit a drum. The boxer was forcefully kicked by his opponent

¹⁵³ Sangsawang, 1979, pp.74-5.

¹⁵⁴ Before Rama V's reign, referees were patrons of boxing competitions. Patrons of the events were main social actors who determined the game rules. The rules were different depending on the local areas (Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-8; Kritpet, 1982, pp.37-8; Dibakarawongsa, 1995, p.87; Vail, 1998b, pp.62-4; The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, 2006, p.385).

¹⁵⁵ NAT, 1907a. See Figure 32 in Illustrations.

¹⁵⁶ I use the boxing rule which was printed in 1928. It is the oldest piece of evidence of the boxing rule that I have found.

¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, boxers were “not allowed to exchange coarse languages” (Niwasawat, 1928, pp.16-7).

¹⁵⁸ Niwasawat, 1928, p.17.

¹⁵⁹ Niwasawat, 1928, pp.17-8.

from Nakhon Ratchasima (a province in north-eastern Siam). Some people enjoyed this violent moment. The social control of the standardised rules had not yet led to the new standard for violence among these people. Their excitement was related to moments of using violence improperly rather than enjoyment under the newly legitimate standard of softened and standardised games. That the referees and officials allowed the injured boxer to rest and have a rematch reflected that the state insisted on supporting the controlled mode of enjoyment under the rules.¹⁶⁰

It should be remarked that in the reign of Rama V, from the elites' viewpoint, boxing was transformed to being a spectator sport rather than a method of training for warfare. Rama V enjoyed watching boxing rather than getting actively involved in fights as King Suea [r. 1703-1709] and the Viceroy of Rama I [1744-1803] had done. In the reign of Rama V and VI, Siamese boxing was arranged as a show for pleasing European diplomats, soldiers and people.¹⁶¹

Whereas the government endeavoured to build self-pacification within the social unit of the nation-state, it also constructed the idea that violence was appropriate when it was exerted against other nation-states. During the reign of King Rama V [r.1868-1910], Prince Phichitprichakon, the King's half-brother, wrote a poem to reinterpret a life of a boxer who came from the city of Ayutthaya. Following a chronicle of Burma, in 1774, after the fall of Ayutthaya, Burmese troops captured and took war prisoners, including members of the royal family and commoners, to Burma. Nai Khanom Tom, a war prisoner and a boxer taken from Ayutthaya, participated in boxing matches against Burmese boxers in a religious ceremony in Rangoon.¹⁶²

In Prince Phichitprichakon's poem, he reinterpreted that Nai Khanom Tom represented "Siam" as "the nation-state of the Siamese" to fight against the Burmese. The social unit of Ayutthaya Kingdom was not united as a "we-group" identification of a nation-state. The Ayutthaya Kingdom frequently encountered centrifugal tendencies. During that period, the Burmese were understood to be the enemy of Buddhism rather than the Siamese nation.¹⁶³ This poem could be seen as the elite's attempt to nourish the idea that violence had to be

¹⁶⁰ Sangsawang, 1979, p.98; Vail, 1998b, pp.75-6.

¹⁶¹ Dibakarawongsa, 1995, p.87; Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-9; The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, 2006, pp.385-6; Kritpet, 1982, p.8.

¹⁶² Vail, 1998a, p.80; Vail, 1998b, pp.29-30.

¹⁶³ Vail, 1998b, pp.31-2.

done only in the name of the state. Besides, violence would be used at the inter-state level. Following the Prince's poem, he stated:

...There was a Siamese, whose name was Khanom Tom,
Volunteered to fight and the Burmese recognised [him as] the master of boxing.
[He] kicked, hit, [and] punched with loud bangs.
[He] threw a hook.
A bunch of the Burmese lost.
The Burmese dared not fight back.

More than ten [Burmese] were knocked out before the second round.

The Burmese King groped his chest and said:

No matter how crucially the nation of Siam fell into trouble,
The [Siamese] people, though being unarmed, can survive any danger...¹⁶⁴

Through a reconstruction of a boxing story, the government propagated the idea of self-pacification within the nation-state while legitimising the use of violence at the inter-state level.

7.4.2 Standardised Kite Fighting and Quests for Non-Violent Forms of Excitement

In the absolute monarchical period, kite fighting¹⁶⁵ functioned to break the monotony of routine life as it had during the pre-modern age. In 1905, the government applied standardised rules to eradicate aggressive characteristics of kite fighting, which had frequently occurred in the late nineteenth century. Men and women could avoid boredom

¹⁶⁴ Phichitprichakon, 2006. This is my literal translation from the original format of the Thai poem.

¹⁶⁵ In a kite-fighting match, two antagonistic sides, a team of Chula kite and a team of Pakpao kite, competed to fly their kites. Chula kite is a large star-shaped kite, while its opponent, Pakpao kite, is a small diamond-shaped kite. The team that could make its opponent's kite fall down was the winner. See Figures 44-45 in Illustrations.

after finishing work by playing or watching civilised kite fighting.¹⁶⁶ Despite the application of the standardised rules, game-rule norms of kite fighting were continuously co-constructed by players, spectators and the government.

In the reign of Rama V, traditional warfare and a need to fly kites as part of training for warfare had already disappeared. However, non-elite men still used kite fighting as an arena to compete to show their aggressive masculinity. In the 1880s and the 1890s, kite fighting, played by junior civil servants and commoners, was inseparable from the possibility of physical and verbal disputes. Several non-elite players and supporters felt compelled to compete to express aggressive masculinity. Many players from both sides and spectators gambled and heightened the dispute and tension. Players from both sides tried to take advantage of each other as they did not want to lose their stakes and legitimate masculine identity. Some bettors, comprised of the players' network and outsiders, would walk into the ground or loudly cursed to disturb their opposing players.¹⁶⁷ Under the increased tension of a game, aggressiveness, the use of coarse language, uncompromising, one-upmanship and courage to get into a fight were expressed as part of kite fighting. These characteristics were part of masculine identity. These men could not afford to lose their manly dignity, and the tension frequently developed so much that they almost fought with each other.¹⁶⁸

Before beginning the kite fighting game, forepleasure would be experienced as the players made and tested their new kites. Kite makers and players tested their kites to know how good their kites were.¹⁶⁹ They would give a name to the kite. They were proud of their kites, which could be flown high in the sky and turn smoothly. If their kites brought them success, the owners would love and express pride of their kites. Before a match, Sethaboot¹⁷⁰ felt that an owner of a good kite, named Ongkhot, who won a lot of games, "has been continuously good at boasting so much."¹⁷¹ The pleasure of the owner of the kite was high, due to forepleasure from his confidence in winning an upcoming game.¹⁷² In the kite fighting games, players

¹⁶⁶ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.3-4.

¹⁶⁷ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.7, 68-9, 131.

¹⁶⁸ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.4-69. Moreover, Sethaboot recounted his experiences in kite fighting matches: "There were so many tricks, disputes and one-upmanship. Sometimes, each side was unwilling to make a concession to each other. In many games, [they] almost got into a fight" (Sethaboot, 1921, p.7).

¹⁶⁹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.76-128.

¹⁷⁰ He was a high-ranking civil servant.

¹⁷¹ Sethaboot, 1921, p.27.

¹⁷² Sethaboot, 1921, pp.27-8.

enjoyed overcoming the antagonistic side through the actions of damaging the opposing kites, tangling and engaging the opposing kites, bringing the rival kites down and verbally or physically fighting against opponents.¹⁷³

In 1899, the Chula-kite¹⁷⁴ side, comprising of a low-ranking civil servant and a teacher, competed with the royal pages. The former side flew their Chula kite from the Royal Ground, while the pages flew their Pakpao kite¹⁷⁵ from the viceroy's palace.¹⁷⁶ A notorious Chula kite, named Ongkhot, which had gained reputation by beating many opponents, was severely damaged by the pages' kite. The crowd shouted, "Ha!" loudly, when the Chula kite was damaged and fell. The angry and vengeful team members of the Chula side ran to see the wreckage of their kite. They started a quarrel with the Pakpao side by blaming the latter for cheating them. They "almost fought each other."¹⁷⁷ The regular spectators, whose number usually overwhelmed the Royal Ground, were men, old and young women, children, monks, novices, royal members, princes and foreigners.¹⁷⁸ The lost sense of superior masculine identity, having been received from many winning games of Chula kite (Ongkhot), made the Chula side angry and ashamed in front of the large crowd. To defend their prestige, the Chula side became aggressive. A contest began between the two sides to show who possessed the superior aggressive identity. The physical fight was more or less controlled by the abovementioned spectators, especially the royal elite and the foreigners who criticised the use of violence.

Beginning in 1905, the elite officially tried to eliminate aggression from the game. Following the government, pleasure from playing and watching kite fighting should not be related to aggressive acts. Sethaboot and other players were annoyed and bored by these aggressive matters.¹⁷⁹ The aggressive behaviours would harm this "Thai sport."¹⁸⁰ The aggression was

¹⁷³ Sethaboot, 1921; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.31-3.

¹⁷⁴ Chula kite is a large star-shaped kite. Due to its large size, it can severely damage any smaller kite. However, that its large body is blown by the strong wind's force makes a player gets exhausted quickly. It needs to have at least two players who can swap to fly Chula kite (Sethaboot, 1921, pp.120-1).

¹⁷⁵ Pakpao kite, diamond-shaped kite, is about half-size smaller than Chula kite. Pakpao can be moved quicker than any bigger kite (Sethaboot, 1921, pp.120-1).

¹⁷⁶ At that time, the title of viceroy was abolished. The last Viceroy was Prince Wichaichan (1838-1885). Some parts of the viceroy's Palace (Front Palace) were taken by the king. The pages who flew the kite were the king's officials (Susayan, 2009, p.301; Stengs, 2009, p.10; Smith, 2008, p.105).

¹⁷⁷ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.27-8.

¹⁷⁸ Sethaboot, 1921, p.29.

¹⁷⁹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.7-69.

¹⁸⁰ Sethaboot, 1921, p.69.

considered by the elite as a repulsive behaviour and a threat to the Siamese identity and the Siamese physical activity (kite fighting). The standardised kite-fighting games were arranged in a royal ceremony and annual event under royal patronage.¹⁸¹ The elite aimed at encouraging people in the nation-state to develop new morals, serving the pacified social order of the elite. The modification of the popular pastime would be an efficient tool to convince people of the softened and disciplined identity. King Rama V chose the kite fighting to be modified because of its popularity.¹⁸²

However, the abolition of violence from kite fighting might generate a risk of boredom. The new source of entertainment that was unrelated to violence was gradually created by the government in order to convince people and civil servants of this newly pacified and exciting pastime.¹⁸³ However, the government overlooked designing regulations to curb aggressive behaviours of supporters, and aggression still emerged in contests where ruling elite were absent. Meanwhile, in kite fighting games, women played supporting roles as spectators and organisers. Women's roles tended to reproduce their weak and passive identity and celebrate the vigorous, brave and strong identity of male kite-fighters.

In 1905, the King attempted to make players focus on beating opponents' kites under a set of rules rather than competing through verbal or physical disputes.¹⁸⁴ To eradicate any dispute that might arise during a match, the King assigned a head of the grounds to be a referee in the first tournament of 1905. The referee had authority to decide which side would gain points and win a game. The referee also counted the playing time for each match.¹⁸⁵ Following the rule, a winner who could win more games than other players within a competing day would receive garland as a reward from the King's hands.¹⁸⁶ Players derived their pleasure

¹⁸¹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.34-40.

¹⁸² Sethaboot recounted: "In 1905 while kite betting was joyfully played and watched by a large number of people at Sanam Luang [the Royal Ground], King Rama V ...saw [these people]. That the great fun of a large crowd made the King pleased. [The King] ordered [his officials] to arrange the players to play at the ground of the Dusit Palace in front of the throne hall. ...And [the King] ordered [his officials] to write the rules of kite betting..." (Sethaboot, 1921, pp.33-4).

¹⁸³ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.3-4.

¹⁸⁴ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.76-128.

¹⁸⁵ BT, 7 April 1905, p.5.

¹⁸⁶ Sethaboot, 1921, p.33.

from becoming famous and spectators derived pleasure from watching notorious players and famous kites.¹⁸⁷

To promote pacified pastimes among people, the elite tried to add other forms of non-violent entertainment into kite fighting. Beginning in 1905, a non-violent form of entertainment like playing music was added to heighten the excitement of the game. As a result, in 1906, the overwhelming number of people who watched the games accompanied by music felt “joyful and boisterously merry.”¹⁸⁸

Starting from 1905, feasts were arranged by the King and the Queen after the matches had ended.¹⁸⁹ The kite-fighting events were modified to become a way of entertaining rather than contests between two antagonistic patron-client groups of men as it had been in the past.

1906

The ruling elite tried to reduce any possibility of verbal and physical disputes between players by eliminating any unclear and inconsistent characteristics of kite fighting. The King ordered princes and nobles to review the previous regulations, which had been used in 1905. This review led to the standardised rule of 1906.¹⁹⁰ To prevent any conflict during a match, the elite specified how to give or not to give points in each case.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, the elites tried to make the kite-fighting tournament fair for all competitors. The organiser of the tournament produced a fixture list randomly and publically.¹⁹² Therefore, each player had an equal chance to compete with skillful players.

In 1906, the royal elite standardised the rules of kite fighting so that the social control and self-restraint would be imposed on the players and spectators. External control from a governmental official, such as the head of the ground, was applied in every organised match. The head of the ground would have players register their names and kites before each tournament started. The head of the ground had to note the names and the bad behaviours

¹⁸⁷ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.26, 100-1. See Figures 46-51 in Illustrations.

¹⁸⁸ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.33, 41-5.

¹⁸⁹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.33-45.

¹⁹⁰ Sethaboot, 1921, p.47.

¹⁹¹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.47, 143-7.

¹⁹² BT, 30 March 1906, p.5; BT, 31 March 1906, p.5.

of the players so that he would “no longer” allow those who “did inappropriate actions to fly [the kite]” on the ground. Aggressive players would be banned from participating in any competition.

Apart from external control from the head of the grounds (a primary referee), players from each side would be designated as auxiliary referees who could help control their teammates’ behaviour. The primary referee (the head of the ground) and two assistant referees (one from each side) would consult with each other and judge any dispute between both sides. If there was a dispute, the assistant referee from each side would warn his teammates.¹⁹³ An assistant referee who was also a player became part of the state’s rule. His application of the rules reflected a degree of internalised self-control. He was a state’s representative who exerted social control on his own teammates. Auxiliary referees, or players who had the self-control to conform to the rules, tended to prevent their teammates from using verbal and physical behaviours. Aggressive conduct of a team member would upset and handicap his team because the troublemaking player would be disqualified. Players tended to refrain from bringing their social unit (their registered team) down.¹⁹⁴

Following the rule of 1906, a prohibition of the use of any sharp material (like metal, ceramic and glass) in making kites would help prevent any possible “tricks, disputes and one-upmanship” between sides.¹⁹⁵ An exciting period from playing and watching was extended because both sides did not use any sharp material. The sharp materials would easily damage the kites of opponents. Therefore, these materials tended to cause a game to finish quickly. In a game played on the Royal Ground, the use of a sharp cord was publicly condemned.¹⁹⁶

Before the application of the rule, players focused on winning rather than entertaining spectators. Many players, therefore, flew their kites slowly to make sure that their kites would not be damaged. They would safely and slowly seize a chance to tangle opponents’ kites. Nevertheless, their strategy generated boredom among spectators.¹⁹⁷ The elite tried to solve the retardation of each game. According to the rules of 1906, pleasure from watching was

¹⁹³ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.138-9.

¹⁹⁴ See Sethaboot, 1921, pp.138-141; BT, 30 March 1906, p.5.

¹⁹⁵ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.7, 126-142.

¹⁹⁶ See Sethaboot, 1921, pp.126-7.

¹⁹⁷ In 1904, Sethaboot recounted: “It took too long [for a Chula kite] to tangle a Pakpao kite in each game. What a dawdled [games]!” (Sethaboot, 1921, p.31).

increased through decisiveness and an ability of players to play the game.¹⁹⁸ It was a great honour for a player to demonstrate this value to the King and spectators. In the tournament, the players who won the most points from Chula and Pakpao kites would receive gold trophies from the King.¹⁹⁹ The standardised rules of the game that focused on how many winning points each player could collect put the pressure on players to decisively and quickly attack opponents.

According to the rules of 1906, referees had the right to eliminate any player who tried to waste time.²⁰⁰ When playing under this new rule, players unprecedentedly prepared many kites and cords so that they would be able to play many games within one day.²⁰¹ The more games they could play the more chances they had for accumulating total points. The state propagated a new and safe form of pleasure for spectators by emphasizing quickness and decisiveness in kite fighting's new rules.

To increase the entertainment value of kite fighting, the King also awarded dexterous players who tended to use their skills to make moments of games more exciting and "beautiful" to watch. The players who could fly their Pakpao kites to tear or break the frames of the Chula would receive special awards from the King.²⁰²

Before the tournament for the gold trophy of 1906 started for several days, the number of men who had come to train in kite fighting had swamped the Royal Ground. The number of players who registered for the tournament in 1906 exceeded the expectations of the government.²⁰³ These men might have thought that this was the biggest tournament to ever be held in the Kingdom. A winner of the tournament at the Royal Ground would have more notoriety than winners at small local grounds. The government successfully attracted players from various social strata to learn the new source of masculine honour, which included decisiveness and the ability of players to win the game.²⁰⁴ Those who avoided expressing the

¹⁹⁸ Before adopting the rule of 1906, many spectators already attained pleasure from seeing a player who decisively flew his kite to tangle an opponent's kite. See Sethaboot, 1921, p.30.

¹⁹⁹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.36, 157; BT, 3 April 1906, p.5.

²⁰⁰ Sethaboot, 1921, p.36.

²⁰¹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.36-7.

²⁰² Sethaboot, 1921, p.39; BT, 3 April 1906, p.5.

²⁰³ Sethaboot, 1921, p.35.

²⁰⁴ Players of the tournament of 1906 were people from the upper to the lower classes. The Crown Prince, princes, nobles, junior civil servants, bourgeoisie, students and commoners registered for joining the competition (BT, 30 March 1906, p.5; BT, 31 March 1906, p.5; BT, 4 April 1906, p.5; Sethaboot, 1921, pp.50-4).

identity of being decisive and skillful tended to feel ashamed. In matches of the 1906 tournament, Sethaboot recounted:

Now, [players] slowly tangled [opposing kites] so much that the games reached stalemates. This was because [they] were all afraid of losing... [Their] hesitation wasted time. [It was] not fun. [Then,] there was the Chula kite of the Prince of Burapha Palace...[His Chula kite] suddenly and decisively attacked Pakpao kites....[The Prince] received more scores than other Chula sides, which had come to play earlier in the afternoon. [The Prince's performance] made players who had hesitantly and tactically played felt embarrassed. [They] had to hurriedly seize [opposing kites] in a chaotic way too. The kite fighting for the gold trophy, therefore, became full of fun.²⁰⁵

The government also achieved its goal of attracting a number of people to enjoy this standardised and civilised pastime.²⁰⁶ The *Bangkok Times*, run by the Europeans, commented on the games during the first day of the tournament: "The amusement of kite fighting was amazingly hilarious."²⁰⁷ This was probably because aggressive characteristics of the game were curbed by the rules and external controls of referees, the elites and the Westerners.

In a male-dominated and more physical game like kite fighting, women from all social strata and generations played a supporting role by being passionate spectators.²⁰⁸ The female elite very much enjoyed watching the competitions. After the competition for the gold trophy of the King had finished, Queen Saowapha initially arranged another tournament to compete for her silver trophy. However, the Queen only supported men to play this game.²⁰⁹ Women, therefore, took the roles of passionate supporters and organisers who maintained, supported and celebrated expressions of vigorous, disciplined, witty, brave and dexterous masculinity.

²⁰⁵ Sethaboot, 1921, p.48.

²⁰⁶ BT, 4 April 1906, p.5.

²⁰⁷ BT, 2 April 1906, p.5.

²⁰⁸ Sethaboot, 1921, p.29.

²⁰⁹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.33-7.

1907

In early 1907, although the King was unavailable to be the president of the tournament for the gold trophy, almost 100 players arranged a competition by themselves at the Royal Ground. Lieutenant General Lord Samoson Sapphakan, the former head of the ground, was absent, so Chang, a commoner, took this role. Under the social interdependence that lacked the participation of (or social control from) the King and the “respectable” head of the ground (like Lord Samoson), players, supporters and spectators tended to have less self-control. An in-group identification composed of the players and supporters of a side who gambled their money on the success of their side. Without a high degree of social and self-control, this We-group verbally abused its opponents. Players of a team disputed with their opponents over occurrences in the game that were not clearly defined by rules and over which they could not reach an agreeable conclusion.²¹⁰

Players applied a strategy to specifically attack weak targets in order to quickly collect points first. After that, the formers would try to tangle the kites of skillful players. This strategy was based on contests to gain as many points as possible. Some players who wanted to win points by seizing inferior targets sent their spies to find out which kites belonged to weak players. Many players struggled to create and apply new strategies so that they could successfully express the identity of decisive and skillful men.²¹¹

Nevertheless, the dexterous players took advantage of players who had inferior ability, which tended to reduce excitement. This was because unbalanced skills between teams made the games’ results easily predictable. Sethaboot recounted that the strategy to give priority to attack weak opponents generated boredom. Following Sethaboot, “bunches” of “inexperienced players” who quickly lost “were bored [and] withdrew.” Sudden attacks of skillful players made weak players “go mad [and] fear.”²¹²

The angry and frightened emotions of the inexperienced players were also catalysed by the lack of social control and self-control among supporters and spectators. The masculine identity of the supporters depended on their players’ skills and the joyful expression of unruly

²¹⁰ Sethaboot, 1921, p.55.

²¹¹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.54-7.

²¹² Sethaboot, 1921, p.55. Sethaboot concluded: “Long as [the players] played, [the games] were increasingly dull (Sethaboot, 1921, p.55).

behaviours. The supporters of the superior sides could confidently and proudly express their masculine identity during the unbalanced games. Some supporters of skilful players insulted inexperienced players who easily and quickly lost. They “mocked the weak players face-to-face.” Some supporters and spectators also insulted the inexperienced players that the latter should have kept their money for living from hand to mouth rather than gambling their bet away.²¹³

Kite fighting was no longer a contest between patron-client groups that competed to strengthen the groups’ warfare ability. The centralising political tendency of Rama V’s government tended to undermine patron-client groups. The players, supporters and spectators tended to form an in-group identification in different patterns, based on the new social relationship of the Siamese modern state. The state tended to encourage civil servants and others to focus on tangling opponents’ kites rather than fighting verbally or physically. Therefore, following matches reports of Sethaboot, kite fighting became the contests between the groups of dexterous and inexperienced players and between the groups of civil servants who had different rankings and organisations. Meanwhile, the abolition of *corvée* labour gradually liberated the *phrai* and slaves to be a more independent social actor, whose life relied more on their personal economic accumulation rather than their patron-client groups.²¹⁴ Accordingly, there were also the contests between the groups of the wealthy and the poor.²¹⁵

Expressions of superior abilities and verbal abuses also defined the lesser quality of the masculine identity of inexperienced players. The inexperienced players had the self-control to refrain from escalating their frustration. Although their masculinity was openly and aggressively insulted, they chose not to curse back. It was possible that they controlled their aggressive behaviour in order to avoid getting banned for life from playing in the Royal Ground.²¹⁶

²¹³ In addition, these supporters and spectators compared the weak players to ready-made “pork” and “ice-cream,” which were easily and quickly eaten by the dexterous players (Sethaboot, 1921, pp.54-7).

²¹⁴ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.27-57.

²¹⁵ Please see the insult from the spectators that I just mentioned. The spectators, who tried to attack the poor and inexperienced players, probably supported and gambled on the wealthier players. The spectators insulted the inexperienced players that the latter should not worsen their poor life by gambling their money away (Sethaboot, 1921, p.55).

²¹⁶ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.138-9.

The rule of 1906 did not result in nourishing self-control among supporters and spectators. Therefore, when the royal elite who disliked aggressive behaviours did not participate in the tournament in 1907, supporters and spectators did not feel compelled to restrain themselves from aggressive conduct. Social control was still necessary for Siamese society, where many men still enjoyed competing to demonstrate their superior aggressive masculinity.

There was evidence confirming that non-elite men felt that aggressive masculinity was a legitimate identity. In a kite-fighting match where social control of the state was absent, non-elite men who did not have a sensitivity to violence fought each other. In 1907, according to *Bangkok Times's* report, two attorneys who had finished their work at a court in Ratchaburi Province spent their leisure time kite-fighting. They also gambled for stakes, liquor and beer. After a loser had given the stakes to a winner, they rematched. After this game, a fight erupted.²¹⁷

7.4.3 Drills

Around the mid-1890s, the government assigned physical exercise, including drills, athletics and simplified gymnastics, to students and subjects.²¹⁸ In order to attract students and people, the Physical Exercise Textbook was sold at a more accessible price.²¹⁹ At schools, students were required to do physical exercise every day in order to achieve its objectives.²²⁰ Physical exercise was designed to release boredom from routine activities in classrooms. The elite assigned physical exercise to build up the strong, active, disciplined and courageous men who united to serve the order of their social units like school and nation-state.²²¹ It should

²¹⁷ BT, 10 April 1907, p.5.

²¹⁸ "Laksut Mun Sueksa," 1903, p.62; Malakul, 1903a; Johnson, 1908, p.227.

²¹⁹ See NAT, 1899.

²²⁰ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1901b, p.415.

²²¹ Sanan made a speech about "Physical Exercise" in 1895: "We teach physical exercise because its utility consists of

- 1) That exercise can build muscle to be strong
- 2) That teaching engenders an active habit, being ready to consistently complete everything
- 3) That training makes students suddenly follow orders like soldiers. When teachers order anything in classrooms, students will immediately act according to their commands the same as soldiers.
- 4) That lesson relieves children from the long studying period after they worked so much that they were tired

Apart from these utilities, that physical exercise also brought charm to schools and gracefulness to students (Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1902a). Meanwhile, according to Pia Malakul, an objective of the physical

also be added that the way the government tried to discipline men's behaviours was to prove the civilised Siamese identity to the Westerners. The government ordered its officials to write an instruction manual for drills for teaching soldiers. As a result, in 1906, the *Bangkok Times* praised Siam for having "the instruction manual for drills," just like other civilised countries.²²²

Drills, which were already practised in military training, were assigned to students to train the same character.²²³ A piece of evidence pointed to its success in building military character among students. Pong Malakul, a daughter of Pia, recounted what she witnessed between 1899 and 1902: "...[A]t the Royal Pages School, I saw physical education was done vigorously and joyously. When [students of the school] were marching on the street, many people gave compliments that these pupils were very strong."²²⁴ However, limitations of drills on building students' discipline will be soon illustrated.

Apart from the abovementioned manly characters, drills helped to inculcate morals to make trainees follow and be loyal to a leader of their social unit (the school or the nation).²²⁵ A school was an imitation of the nation-state. A school and the nation-state became in-group identifications, whose members had to protect their good reputations. When non-members falsely insulted these social units, their members would be infuriated.²²⁶

Students were expected to train to have self-control in order to behave properly for the reputation of their beloved school.²²⁷ In order to encourage students to behave appropriately, the Education Department issued a certificate to attract any student who passed a drill test.²²⁸ A form of external control was applied through the use of student uniform. To discipline students, the state also applied a student uniform that had been initiated beginning in the early 1900s. Before this period, students had been able to wear free-form clothes. After adoption of the uniform, which usually looked like a semi-Westernised

exercise was "to train students' body and mind to become strong, courageous and manly" (Malakul, 1903a, p.560).

²²² BT, 19 December 1906, p.5.

²²³ Battye, 1974, pp.296, 471-486; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Phraya Anukitwithun, 1933, pp.33-4.

²²⁴ Malakul, 2017, p.91.

²²⁵ See Wyatt, 1969, p.366; Battye, 1974, p.490.

²²⁶ "Huakho Thamma Chariya," 1905; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Phraya Anukitwithun, 1933, pp.92-9; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1977, pp.126-7; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904c, p.148.

²²⁷ In 1902, Sanan stated, "There is another kind of love that is to love [one's own] school. ...Although [the student] left [his] school, [he] still wears the colour with his respect for any occasion" (Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1902b, p.57).

²²⁸ Wongthon, 2007, pp.33-4.

bureaucratic suit, each student had to wear modern shoes and socks, a five-buttoned shirt, a loincloth or shorts, and a straw hat tied with a school-coloured silk fabric. The uniform would be worn by students simply in days of drills and state ceremonies.²²⁹ This uniform became a proud status that a social actor could imitate a higher identity of ruling elite through this new modern dress.²³⁰ This uniform was widely worn by the Siamese elite beginning in the 1870s.²³¹

The Inspection Department (*Krom Truat*) had an authority to allow each school to use each distinctive colour of a ribbon. Department staff would be able to inspect students' behaviour easily through the different colours of ribbons.²³² Deviated behaviours and dressing up would be quickly and visibly controlled by state officials and others. In addition, the uniform was a constructed process of moralisation that led each student to control and direct his own manner.²³³

From the early 1900s onward, select students from each public school in and around the capital city were chosen by their teachers to train to become squad leaders at Suankularb School in Bangkok. After having been trained to become squad leaders (*darunanat*), they would be assistant trainers for drills at their own schools.²³⁴

All squad leaders would receive a small monthly scholarship from the government. A squad leader had the authority to caution undisciplined students of their own school anytime. If the undisciplined students did not conform to the squad leader's warning, the squad leader could report them to the teacher. All squad leaders would warn one another if some of them conducted themselves improperly.²³⁵

The student uniform engendered homogeneity, discipline, and unity among students. Nonetheless, the uniform became a maker of unequal statuses between schools. The homogeneity and the heterogeneity of the uniform with little marks of school-coloured silk fabrics categorised the visible identities of students, at which everybody could gaze. To

²²⁹ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.19-20; "Khamsang Kan Taengtua," 1902. See Figure 26 in Illustrations.

²³⁰ BT, 6 October 1904, p.5; BT, 8 October 1904, p.5.

²³¹ Peleggi, 2002, pp.59-60.

²³² "Rueang Pha Ribbin," 1902, pp.153-5.

²³³ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Phraya Anukitwithun, 1933, p.36.

²³⁴ Malakul, 1904a, pp.365-8; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.18-9.

²³⁵ Malakul, 1904a.

prevent any disunity among different schools, the Education Department tried to organise a drill training, which brought students from disparate schools together.²³⁶

In a society where the state maintained social hierarchy by excluding commoners from accessing prestigious schools, a difference of schools' statuses was inevitably perceived by students and people. Students took this new social identification (their school's status) as a source of power when interacting with pupils from different schools. The social control issued by teachers could not make students restrain themselves from insulting lower-status boys. Students did not have the self-control to maintain unity between schools and the disciplined identity. A group of male students from a school felt compelled to overcome students from another school by expressing a superior degree of the aggressive masculinity.

Around the early 1900s, Choei and his schoolmates at Bophitphimuk School came to a field of Suankularb School (a prestigious school) that was used for rehearsing drills to become squad leaders.²³⁷ They encountered affronts from host students. Choei recounted his experience:

...Indeed, [as for] the colour [of the silk cloth] of Bophitphimuk School, green looked so beautiful and nice. [Meanwhile,] the pink of Suankularb School was pale, [it] looked ugly. However, Bophitphimuk[']s students] were called [by the Suankularb's students] "the bastard green bottle flies." When they saw [us], [they] shouted that the bastard green bottle flies were coming--'Hey, really stinking shit, they'd eaten crap., and so on. Bophitphimuk[']s students] were insulted so much. When [we walked] past them, they echoed these. When [we] lined up, [they] regarded [us] with disgust. The repetition of these insults was intolerable.

After the drills, four or five of us went out of Suankularb School and walked back to [our] school through Tripetch and Pahurat Roads. [They] voiced all the way we walked. ...Our frustration exploded. We stopped walking and negotiating with them for two or

²³⁶ Malakul, 1902, pp.441-6.

²³⁷ Around the 1890s, Suankularb School was reserved for sons of junior members of the royal family, noblemen and Sino-Siamese bourgeoisie (Wyatt, 1969, pp.105-140, 277-285; Battye, 1974, pp.292-3). While Suankularb School was founded by King Rama V in 1882, Wat Bophitphimuk School was established by priests in Bophitphimuk Temple in 1901 (BT, 26 December 1901, p.2). It is important to stress that Choei also admitted that the status of Suankularb School is higher than Babhitpimook School (Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.19).

three words. The wrestling happened. I used my straw hat as a weapon. Its brim was sharp. [If I] violently [thrashed them with the brim], [they] bled. When a battle broke out on the road, people cried for us to stop [this battle]. And [people] came out to disrupt [this quarrel] because they knew who the bastard green bottle flies were. We enjoyed beating and taking revenge on them. Then, we quickly walked to the back of our school.²³⁸

From this case, the Education Department partially achieved its task of encouraging people to enforce the state's standard for violence. The bystanders who watched the fight could differentiate the marks of schools. The bystanders already developed a degree of self-control; therefore, they suddenly disagreed with the quarrel. However, the social control could not make Choei and his friends feel guilty of conducting themselves violently.²³⁹ The social control from bystanders created pressure on Choei and his friends to be afraid of any possible punishment because their aggressive behaviour might be reported to any teacher by the bystanders. The fight, therefore, was shortened by the bystanders who dissuaded them from hitting.

It should be added that the state's control over students' discipline had a limitation regarding quantity and quality. Between 1898 and 1901, the proportion of people who entered schools was less than one percent.²⁴⁰ Meanwhile, several students, who trained to become squad leaders, did not yet internalise the state's mode of being a gentleman. In the previous example, the quarrel between the students gradually developed when teachers who trained these students did not notice.

7.4.4 Sporting Events

Beginning in the late 1890s, the government inculcated students with civilised manners under the unequal social relationships of the absolute monarchy through sporting events. In order to attract students and Westerners, the ruling elite also arranged events to express the

²³⁸ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.20-1.

²³⁹ Later in life, Choei admitted that his violent behaviour was wrong and uncivilised (Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.22).

²⁴⁰ In this period, there were over 12,000 students. Meanwhile in 1901, Siam had a population of about 6,400,000 (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.247; Population Statistic, 2004).

civilised identities of the Siamese and the elites' roles in strengthening the progress of the nation-state.

In 1897, Rama V visited Europe in order to strengthen Siamese sovereignty in the areas not covered by the Anglo-French Agreement of January 1896.²⁴¹ The ruling elite struggled to bargain with the British and the French so that the King would be welcomed as a king of a sovereign state.²⁴² After the King had arrived in Siam, a sports festival was held to celebrate his successful mission in Europe. During the festival, the conversation exchange between the King and students represented their commitment to progressively civilise many affairs of the kingdom. Within this narrative, these social actors in different social positions should diligently do their duties to reach the goal for all people, the civilised kingdom. Following the King's speech, the King encouraged students to help stabilise and civilise the country.²⁴³ Following the students' speeches²⁴⁴, the students "gladly" thanked the "persevering" King for his visitation in civilised European countries in order to civilise the Siamese "kingdom" and "students."²⁴⁵

According to Rama V's speech, he also showed students in Siam how to be as good as *farang* (Westerners) while simultaneously maintaining Siamese tradition.²⁴⁶ The Siamese tradition and social order²⁴⁷ were produced through space where each social actor could sit and stand in the festival. From a centre to a periphery, the King who sat on his throne was encircled by blue-blooded members who also stayed in a royal pavilion. Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction, foreign diplomats, and civil servants had an audience with royalty at the pavilion's veranda. Royal pages took their place behind the pavilion. Students who lined up

²⁴¹ Following the agreement, the British and the French agreed to maintain the independence of Siam as a buffer state (Wyatt, 1969, p.197; Soontravanich, 2001).

²⁴² Soontravanich, 2001; Chutintaranond, 2001.

²⁴³ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.6-7.

²⁴⁴ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.8-9.

²⁴⁵ The students also thanked the "beloved" Queen Regent (Saowapha) for her engagement with educational development, as well as people's health (Lekhayanon, 1977, p.5).

²⁴⁶ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.101-2.

²⁴⁷ The sporting events were a political space, where the ruling elite could show masses how the social order and the Siamese tradition should be. The King watched the sports until the close. The King eventually left the festival to visit demolished palace's walls of the late and last Viceroy, Prince Wichaichan. The destroyed walls represented the end of the King's political challenger. The King's visit to the site, therefore, symbolised the rise of his centralised power (Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.2-9, 75).

on the field received the audience before royalty, while thousands of people watched this dignified event outside ropes.²⁴⁸

The sporting competitions were annually held since 1905.²⁴⁹ The competitions were arranged to celebrate the birthdays of Queen Saowapha and Crown Prince Vajiravudh.²⁵⁰ Members of the royal family, high-ranking nobles, parents and female and male students attended the competitions.²⁵¹ In the annual sporting competitions, the games consisted of the 100-yard race, long jump, hurdle race, one quarter mile open, one-quarter mile race, high jump, obstacle race, three-legged race, and tug of war. In 1906, a soccer competition was also arranged in the annual sporting event.

According to the annual sporting events in 1897, 1900, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1908, 1909 and 1910, there was no report showing that students did not follow the rules of the games. Probably, this was because the way teachers and headmasters had selected and trained students to be schools' representatives before the contests began.²⁵² This process helped guarantee that the representatives who were supervised by teachers and headmasters would act appropriately in the events. An account of a sportsman reflected that his training focused on beating opponents under rules rather than expressing aggressive behaviours.²⁵³ The educational inspectors and teachers organised the games to help control players' behaviours. Furthermore, participation of the ruling elite and Westerners more or less made students feel compelled to conduct themselves appropriately.²⁵⁴ In 1905, a report of the *Bangkok Times* confirmed that players and spectators behaved well during an annual sporting event. They were enthusiastic about playing and watching civilised games under rules. Moreover, the paper reflected that sportsmen trained to be good at civilised games.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁸ See Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.3-9.

²⁴⁹ "Khao Kan Kritha," 1905; "Chaeng Khwam Krom," 1905; "Khao Kan Sueksa," 1907; Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.60-75.

²⁵⁰ The *Bangkok Times* reported, "...the amusement [the sports contest] will be held to honour the Queen and the Crown Prince at the Ratchaburana Secondary School" (BT, 30 December 1904, p.5).

²⁵¹ "Khao Kan Kritha," 1905, pp.25-8.

²⁵² Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.41; Malakul, 1904b, pp.392-3; "Chaeng Khwam Krom," 1907; BT, 17 December 1908, p.4.

²⁵³ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.41.

²⁵⁴ BT, 3 January 1905, p.2.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

According to this report, the Siamese government successfully proved to the Westerners who worked for the *Bangkok Times* that the government energetically and successfully civilised students through these new and modern games.²⁵⁶

That the civilised identity was smoothly conducted could be seen in the students' account of a sports competition in the late 1900s. A student of the Royal Medical School recounted that in a game of tug-of-war, players of his school were respected by all opponents. He stressed that the players were not cruel like ruffians; however, they were "cheerful," "gentlemanly," "kind-hearted" and "generous."²⁵⁷

In conclusion, the civilising tendencies in Western Europe and Siam were similar. Processes for building a centralised state and taming lords emerged alongside "sportisation." However, the Siamese civilising process did not arise from parliamentarisation and the urban-industrial condition.

Social interdependencies during the colonial era made the Siamese elites aware of Westerners' negative perceptions of Siam. Under pressure from the British and French colonial missions, the elites felt compelled to build up their civilised self-image as a strategy to prevent these colonisers from encroaching upon their country. Between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the civilising development in Siam was partially planned by the Siamese elites. Although elephant round-up and boat racing went through an unplanned process of civilisation; the elites deliberately planned to re-orient the purpose of fencing, kite fighting and boxing away from warfare preparation towards improving behaviour among commoners.²⁵⁸ The concept of the 'civilising offensive' indeed helps demonstrate that the planned civilising process emerged alongside the long-term, unplanned process of civilisation that had developed in Western Europe. Around the turn of the twentieth century, to repudiate the Westerners' construction of the weak and barbaric Siamese, the Siamese

²⁵⁶ In 1908, the *Bangkok Times* gave a compliment to the Crown Prince, players and spectators who enthusiastically joined the event. A school was praised by the newspaper for winning civilised games (BT, 4 January 1908, p.2).

²⁵⁷ See Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.138-9.

²⁵⁸ "Chaeng Khwam Samoson," 1907; Sethboot, 1921; Vail, 1998b; Charney, 2004, pp.145-254.

elites deliberately negotiated in integrating vigorous and civilised characteristics into their identities and indigenous pastimes.²⁵⁹

The concept of the “civilising offensive” helps capture the Siamese state’s plan to maintain an unequal relationship between philanthropic civilisers and docile and disciplined non-elite men, under the newly established territorial state. Moreover, emphasising men’s creative role can help demonstrate how men competed with each other and impressed bystanders by fluidly expressing legitimate patterns of masculinity in each situation. In classrooms and sporting fields where forms of the state’s external control were practiced, boys temporarily curbed their violent identity. However, in day-to-day contexts, men, whose self-control was not deeply developed, switched to compete with others to express their superior qualities of aggression and manliness. The civilising plans tended to change the gender regime, requiring all women to be passive and dependent.

In the next chapter, I will focus on how the government tried to construct the civilised identity of Siamese men in a game typically reserved for men: soccer.

²⁵⁹ NAT, 1907a; Sethboot, 1921.

Chapter VIII:

(Un)civilised Soccer and Masculinities, the 1880s - 1900s

In the previous chapter, modern sports and civilised indigenous games were part of the Siamese elites' plan for civilising non-elite men's behaviour and reacting to the Western perception of uncivilised Siam. This chapter again assesses whether the concept of "civilising offensive" can be applied to the context of football in Siam.¹ Indeed, the previous chapter showed that the effect of the Siamese elites' civilised sports engendered non-elites' ambivalent attitude towards the civilised masculinity. This chapter will evaluate whether this ambivalence occurred on football pitches. I will assess how the concept of hegemonic masculinity, the Goffmanesque aspect of self-presentation and the Geertzian emphasis on manly status contests can help capture the non-elite footballers' and spectators' creative and fluid expressions of civilised and aggressive masculinities to impress others and compete with other men to show their superior masculinity. I will appraise the non-elites' masculine identities which fluctuated according to which group they were interacting with. I will also appraise how the relationships between these actors shaped the gender regime.

This chapter analyses how the elite adopted and introduced football to refute foreign perceptions of male commoners which the elite found insulting. This chapter provides an understanding of how Siamese elites, local rulers, non-elite men (students and teachers) and Westerners constructed the social meanings of football around the turn of the twentieth century. This chapter assesses whether the paradigm that emphasises interactions and conflicts between actors can fill the gaps of previous models which focus on Westernisation and imitation.²

I already demonstrated that Elias and Dunning's conceptualisation of the game-rule norms can be applied to civilised kite fighting. The Siamese elites modified the rules and features of kite fighting to avoid the boredom that tended to emerge from the civilising tendency in the sports sphere. This chapter again employs this concept to appraise how actors tried to adjust the rules and styles of football to maintain a level of excitement under the civilising offensive

¹ Verrips, 1986; Powell, 2013; Kruithof, 2015; Flint, Kruithof & Powell, 2015.

² These models can be seen in Kritpet (1982), Allison (1998, p.721) and Siri (2006).

in the football sphere. Moreover, the Eliasian analysis—the mimicry of everyday-life emotions aroused in sports—will be applied to understand how Siamese footballers and spectators enjoyed “controlled decontrolling” of emotional restraints.³

The chapter begins by describing the local playing styles of football which existed between the 1880s and the early 1900s (see 8.1). By the close of the nineteenth century, many football players were still incorporating violence into the game. To curb this unseemly violence and civilise the game, the elites introduced association football in 1901. To understand the social outcomes of the promotion of this game, it is important to examine whether the elite achieved the objective they sought in that first football competition of 1901. Moreover, in order to comprehend how masculine Siamese identities were constructed from participation in this game, the Westerners’ reaction to the elites’ promotion of football needs to be investigated (see 8.2).

The third section illustrates the ways in which elites dealt with non-elite men who played soccer violently in unofficial matches in the mid-1900s. In order to understand the extent to which the violent style of play became restrained, section 8.4, explores the ways in which civilising agents—Siamese elites, Siamese civilised footballers and Westerners—interacted with non-elite players during unofficial football matches. This section also investigates the role sports clubs of foreign expatriates played in promoting civilised football in Siam.

Section 8.5 clarifies whether footballers and spectators adopted a civilised identity during official football matches in the second half of the 1900s. Further, this section discusses the ways in which elites constructed social meanings about football to serve the absolute monarchical state.

8.1 Mob Soccer: 1886-1905

The Siamese adopted different rules for their local-styled football during the period in which association football and monopolisation of physical force were not yet firmly established. Between the late nineteenth century and the early 1900s, association football was not widely known by local elite and non-elite Siamese men. In contrast, they engaged in various styles of

³ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.73-90, 165.

football that were violent and based on the mob. Violence in physical activities, including mob soccer, served as a means for training individuals to become aggressive.⁴

During the era of King Rama IV [r. 1851 – 1868], Europeans residing in Siam were the first to play football,⁵ and around the turn of the twentieth century the Siamese adopted the game. However, they played it using their own aggressive style and rules. In the provinces and the capital city, local elites and non-elite men organised or played violent mob soccer. From the 1880s to the 1900s, local rulers and non-elites widely practiced violence during physical activities and in political situations. Violent pastimes still functioned as a way to train men to become aggressive. Local rulers and commoners used violence to resist the centralising plans of Bangkok-based elites. As a result, Bangkok elites struggled to monopolise the use of violence. They responded by establishing the Ministry of War and universal conscription and promoting a more civilised form of soccer.⁶

A report by C.W.E. Stringer⁷ in the 1880s provides the first evidence of local-style mob soccer. Stringer went to Bangkok's northern tributary, Nan,⁸ where he experienced traditional games during cremation ceremonies, arranged by Nan's ruler in front of a palace. He watched a traditional style of a game that looked like soccer. He stated:

On the second day, in addition to boxing, a game was played which bore some resemblance to football. A large cocoa-nut well greased was thrown amongst a number of young men, who struggled to get possession of it, and one who managed to get away with it to the other end of the ground received a prize.⁹

Stringer also viewed a form of boxing on the first day of the ceremonies, was violent. He viewed the customs in Nan as barbarous.¹⁰ Stringer thought that the use of violence was improper. From this it might be surmised that as players in the soccer game struggled to

⁴ Stringer, 1888, p.7; Sunthornphiphit, 1972, pp.23, 45; Johnston, 1980.

⁵ Ratanarasi, 1997, p.10.

⁶ Battye, 1974, pp.276, 303-483; Lekhayanon, 1977, p.52.

⁷ He was a British man. Around the second half of the 1880s, he wrote a report and sent to both Houses of British Parliaments (Stringer, 1888). In 1892, he was Acting Vice-Consul in Chiang Mai.

⁸ At that time, Bangkok assigned its commissioners to oversee administrative affairs of Nan in order to make the local rulers follow Bangkok's policies. However, local rulers of Nan still maintain their official titles (Ongsakul, 2005, pp.180-191; Na Thalang, 1998, pp.184-7; Bunnag, 1977, pp.18-269; Bunnag, 2005, pp.130-1; Bunnag, 2008, pp.6-7).

⁹ Stringer, 1888, p.7.

¹⁰ Stringer, 1888, p.7.

possess and take the ball to the other end of the pitch, they probably faced many violent attempts by their opponents to seize the ball.

The violent characteristics of mob soccer and boxing in Nan emerged under the specific social conditions of late-nineteenth-century Siam. In the 1880s, Bangkok had not yet started promoting any organised sports, including soccer, in other parts of the country, the residents of Nan did not know how to play association football. Leather or rubber balls, which were more suitable for passing and shooting, could not be easily acquired in Siam.¹¹ Moreover, the style of play by players in Nan which focused on aggression, toughness and strength was largely a product of broader political conditions. The use of violence in pastimes still served as expressions of the physical power of local rulers, low-ranking officials and people, and Bangkok-based elites had not yet monopolised physical force.¹²

Although the characteristics of mob soccer in Nan mainly derived from local attitudes to violence during physical activities, they were also partially influenced by association football. Local players' taking a ball to an end of a ground was rather similar to footballers' scoring a goal by shooting across a goal line at an end of a soccer pitch. Moreover, the way local players controlled the ball on the ground was similar to the way footballers dribbled a ball in association football. Mob soccer's rule on how one was allowed to dribble the ball was different from that of the Southeast Asian traditional ball game, *sepak takraw*. In *sepak takraw*, players could only kick a rattan ball into the air and were not allowed to let the ball touch the ground.¹³

It was most likely that men in central Siam were familiar with only a few rules of soccer. For example, players used their feet to control the ball on the ground rather than using their hands to carry and throw the ball like they did in *toikong*.¹⁴ When playing mob soccer, players did not focus on kicking the ball into the air and avoided letting the ball touch the ground as they did in *sepak takraw*. Therefore, the way mob soccer was played differed significantly from *toikong* and *sepak takraw*.

¹¹ Sanitwong, 1963, p.411.

¹² Johnston, 1980; Walker, 2014; Keyes, 1977. For detail, please see 4.2.7.

¹³ Reid, 1988, p.6.

¹⁴ Following the rule of *toikong*, players of each side took their turn to toss a rubber ball to ruin a pile of tiles. While the players from the waiting side placed fallen tiles back into a tidy pile, the players from the playing side could arbitrarily throw the ball to hurt the players of the waiting team (Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.44).

However, the playing method of Nan's mob soccer differed. It did not require players to be divided into two teams as was the case in association football. Instead individual players of mob football struggled physically to possess and dribble the ball to one end of a ground. The lack of teams encouraged a high degree of physical contact. A player who could win this game had to be tougher and stronger than all the others. The spectators could enjoy moments when players physically battled against each another, and the length of those moments depended on the players' physical abilities. If the levels of players' physical abilities were similar, the pleasure of seeing a player taking the ball to the other end of the ground should be high, because the spectators had more time to enjoy seeing several violent acts by players who were equally strong. The value of the game was related to the virtue of the players, and to be deemed legitimate, men had to physically compete with one another.

Other descriptions of mob soccer come from games played at schools. When Choei, a son of gardeners, studied at Wat Bophitphimuk School and Wat Nuannoradit School¹⁵ between 1900 and 1905, these schools did not participate in any of the Education Department's football tournaments. During this period, Choei recounted that he and his friends played football aggressively with their bare feet. They used a grapefruit or a small rubber ball as the ball.

He elaborated on the way he and his friends played mob football between 1903 and 1905:

It was fun when [we] bumped [each other] and lashed against the others' shins. There was not any football goal. We did not divide into two teams. Each one tried to compete for getting a ball ... [There were] no rules. [Playing this game] was indeed to train to be strong and aggressive.¹⁶

Students broke the monotony of studying by using violence against each other when playing mob soccer. In mob soccer, players lacked the feeling of being part of a group or a team which would have likely constrained their violent action against their teammates. Instead, all participants were opponents. To be successful a player had to show that he was ready to aggressively use his strong physique and legs to protect the ball. His opponents had to physically attack the player in order to seize the ball. Regardless of whether players possessed or touched the ball, they could attain pleasure by physically abusing one another.

¹⁵ Wat Bophitphimuk School and Wat Nuannoradit School are located in Bangkok and Thonburi, respectively.

¹⁶ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.45. For another example, see Sunthonphiphit (1972, p.23).

These examples of mob soccer in Nan and central Siam illustrate that a civilised form of masculinity was not yet part of the identities of local elites and commoners. In the first half of the 1900s, Bangkok-based elites had already promoted organised soccer to a few schools in Bangkok and Thonburi. However, the existence of mob soccer in central Siam reflected that the government's power to promote softened behaviours was limited to a few schools. The next subsection discusses how the Bangkok elite started to more widely promote civilised soccer in order to counter the legitimate aggressive masculinity. I also investigate how the elite also promoted organised soccer to respond to Western expatriates' perception of the Siamese as an uncivilised and weak people.

8.2 Beginning Stages of Organised Soccer, 1895-1902

8.2.1 Origin and Aims of Organised Football in Siam

Beginning in 1901, the Siamese elite introduced organised soccer at public events and in a few elite schools in Bangkok and Thonburi (located near Bangkok in central Siam). At that time, the game was not widespread among the Siamese.

Sanan Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya¹⁷ and other royal elites played an important role in adopting association football to Siam. These individuals modified the objectives of playing football in order to address the problem of Siamese men being too aggressive. In 1896, Sanan, who was a teacher and an assistant of the headmaster of the Normal School, was selected by the government to study in England. Sanan studied how the educational systems operated in England and the British Raj from 1896 to 1898, and he later became a leading architect of Siamese modern education and sports.

Between 1896 and 1898, Sanan experienced association football in England and in British India. During that period, football was a popular game among English labourers. There were more than one thousand professional players based at over five hundred English football clubs.¹⁸ Sanan, who would later organise football and sports competitions in Siam, studied at Borough Road College during this period. When he was studying there, football in educational

¹⁷ Sanan was a son of the Director of the Office of the Privy Purse. Sanan's forebear was an elder sister of King Rama I [r.1782-1809] (Wongthong, 2007, pp.7-11; Phutthamat, 1986, pp.5-7; Sutdiakrai, 1983, pp.1-5). For his brief biography, see appendix 4.

¹⁸ Walvin, 1987, p.255; Keech, 2003, p.8; Tranter 1998, pp.21-4.

institutes, including Borough Road College, was an important part of students' education because this game could fulfil three key elements of male education: physical, intellectual and moral.¹⁹ The College hired young teachers from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to teach pupils. Joseph Holmes Gettins, an amateur footballer of Millwall Football Club and a teacher, taught at Borough Road College during the time that Sanan studied. As stated in Gettins' biography which was printed in the College magazine, he became overwhelmingly popular in College. He was praised as having a strong "games ethic." He was:

... playing for the side and not for self. Being modest and generous in victory and staunch and cheerful in defeat. Playing the game for the game's sake: there might be physical and moral benefits but there should be no other rewards and certainly not prizes or money. No player should ever intentionally break the rules ... Hard but fair knocks should be given and taken courageously and with good temper.²⁰

After Sanan graduated from his course in England, he applied the educational and sporting values which he had learned to Siam's education system. The values comprised of the three main pillars of education, players' courage, the importance of teamwork and respect for rules. These sporting values were later applied to playing football in Siam. In the middle of Sanan's trip from England to Siam, he visited the British Raj to observe its education system, spending two months in Punjab and a month in Madras. He wrote a report on education to the Director-General of the Education Department (Prince Kitiyakara) and King Rama V, describing what he learned of the British Raj's education and sports activities. He stated that education consisted of intellectual, moral and physical teachings. In government schools, students trained in gymnastics, exercised frequently and learned to play football. The schools together hosted an annual football tournament. Indian students enjoyed playing sports, and they acknowledged that sports helped them become physically strong.²¹

When Sanan observed football in Punjab, he likely realised that football could help improve not only the physical strength but also discipline of Punjabis. In addition, football also improved the relationship between the coloniser (British) and the colonised (Punjabis). Unlike Bengal, Punjab was a place where football was not developed as an arena to resist British

¹⁹ Mangan and Hickey, 2009, pp.12-3. See Figures 57-60 in Illustrations.

²⁰ Mangan and Hickey, 2009, pp.17-50.

²¹ NAT, 1899, pp.23-4.

rule. The Punjabis also played football in order to strengthen their physique.²² Therefore, it was likely that Sanan perceived that football successfully improved group cohesion, physical strength and discipline. Consequently, Sanan adopted football in Siam as an attempt to civilise the disobedient and unruly behaviour of non-elite men.

After the King had read Sanan's report²³ on education and sports in the British Raj, he was interested in how to apply these ideas to serve the current situation of the nation.²⁴ Indeed, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, the Education Department and the ruling elite greatly worried about the aggressive behaviour of Siamese men and therefore decided that a major objective of education and sporting activities should be to discipline and soften aggressive men. Sanan who designated the objectives of playing organised soccer gave a high priority to curbing aggressive masculine identity.

According to a February 1901 edition of the Education Department's journal, *Witthayachan* (Teacher's Knowledge), the purpose of playing soccer was "to inculcate pupils' demeanour with four moral values:

1. *Jai nakleng* [literally meaning 'a spirit of macho'] (fair play) is to engage in face-to-face confrontations. Do not ambush [opponents]. When [you] lose, do not be vengeful. When [you] win, do not mock [opponents].
2. Unity: [A player should] aim to unite his teammates together in trying to beat [an opposing team]. Do not show off. Do not try to defeat [opponents] by a one-man show.
3. Bravery: [A player should] take risks so that [he] will not be milksoppish.
4. Patience: A blunder, made [by a player] at the beginning of a game, should not cause [his whole team] to be discouraged and to be beaten [by an opposing side] in the end."²⁵

Drawing on the first of these moral values the Education Department modified the game of soccer and used the new version of the game to try and transform aggressive modes of

²² Dimeo, 2002, pp.79-85; Majumdar and Bandyopadhyay, 2005.

²³ From 1898 to 1901, Sanan was a teacher of the Normal School, a narrator of textbooks and an assistant of the Head of the Inspection Section [Krom Truat], the Education Department (Sutdiaokrai, 1983, p.4).

²⁴ NAT, 1899, pp.9-67.

²⁵ Quoted in Lekhayanon, 1977, p.52.

masculinity. In the 1900s, the government repudiated the previous meaning of being an aggressive macho man or a *nakleng*. In the late nineteenth century, a *nakleng* was a brave man who was ready to violently fight in any combat.²⁶ However, in 1902, Sanan criticised *naklengs*: they “are not brave because [they] are only good at bullying others or attacking someone from behind ... or abusing weaker persons. These [actions] reflect absolute cowardice and ruffianism.”²⁷ Sanan suggested students avoid pastimes like *toikong*, which encouraged aggressive actions and gambling. Instead, he urged students to play the civilised game, football. He stated: “To play football is a physical activity which makes a body healthy ...”²⁸ Football was seen as part of a training to become a civilised man. The Education Department constructed the new meaning of *nakleng* replacing aggressiveness with a more civilised mode of behaviour. Following the first moral objective of playing football, male footballers were trained to compete in a fair manner with opponents. Physical and verbal abuse was deemed improper. Male footballers who followed the rules and avoided using violence were regarded as *nakleng*.

The Education Department focused on the ability of a player to restrain from violence. Its staff believed that playing soccer trained players to maintain discipline and perform their duties throughout a game. Furthermore, the Education Department believed that playing football could degenerate students’ discipline and duties if it was played during a non-leisure period. Therefore the government supported students to play soccer only during leisure periods²⁹ and condemned any student who played football during his study time.³⁰

In Siam, a primary aim of promoting soccer in schools was to teach students to love key social units, which were schools and the nation-state. In the textbook, Sanan described how students or supporters should behave when watching a school football match. He stated that students should be excited when their school team scored and frightened when their team were attacked by an opposing school. They should not want anyone to insult their school in soccer games. He argued that a school football team was a microcosm of the nation-state. A school or a nation-state was a social unit whose members should passionately unite to

²⁶ Johnston, 1980, p.91.

²⁷ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1902b, p.52.

²⁸ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1902b, p.24.

²⁹ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Phraya Anukitwithun, 1933, pp.47-50; “Chariya Sueksa,” 1901, p.89.

³⁰ Luang Bamnetworayan, 1902, p.350; Ruea, 1907, pp.316-8.

protect.³¹ Members of each social unit should enjoy moments in a soccer game. When the members were excited and feared during moments of a game, the We-group identity of their team was being constructed. This construction also occurred if these members became angry when their beloved social unit was intimidated. However, Sanan believed that all feelings should be aroused in a controlled manner. Competitions between schools should be governed by rules. Relationships between schools needed to be free from violence.³² Soccer games, therefore, he believed, were an outlet where men could release aggression, feelings of hate, vengeance and boredom in an enjoyable and safe way.

8.2.2 Civilised Football in 1901: Roles of the Education Department and the Westerners

Because the Education Department aimed to educate commoners in civilised behaviour, it organised public soccer matches between its foreign staff, Siamese teachers and students. In March 1901, the government arranged the first official football match between “Bangkok” (a team of Western expatriates) and “the Education Department” at the Royal Park. While the government initially planned to arrange this game at the King’s College’s ground, it decided to move the game to the Royal Park in order to attract a larger audience. The Education Department held Bangkok to a 2-2 draw.³³ The majority of players of both sides were British. There were at least four Siamese players who played under the “Education Department” team.³⁴ The match report of the game showed that both sides tried to score. There was not any report about either side displaying aggressive behaviour. Evidence reveals that players and spectators did not view this game as battle between the Siamese side and the Westerners’ team. The *Bangkok Times*³⁵ reported that some Siamese spectators laughed when some players could not head the ball properly. Their laughter reflects that Siamese people found the game amusing.³⁶

³¹ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1902b, pp.58-9.

³² See Lekhayanon, 1977, p.52; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7.

³³ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.41-6.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ The *Bangkok Times* was a bilingual newspaper (English and Thai). The newspaper was owned and run by the Westerners (T. Lloyd Williams, C. Thorne and W. H. Mundie) (Wright, 1908, p.295).

³⁶ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.41-6.

The Siamese government greatly encouraged teachers and students to form football clubs. It was most likely that the Education Department supported teachers to form Club Futbon Khwaeng Klang [the Central Subdistrict's Teachers Football Club]. The name of the club reflected the geographical division of the Education Department. Teachers of every school in the Central Subdistrict came to the first meeting. Teachers aimed to "properly organise the club to play fairly." Their aim was similar to the government's main purpose of promoting football. The first captain of the club was an inspector of schools. He was probably selected by the department in order to help control players' behaviour because many teachers at that time played soccer violently.³⁷

The *Bangkok Times*, a foreign-owned newspaper, believed that the Siamese did not really want to play this game. Instead, the newspapers felt that some of them played football because they wanted to network with the Siamese elite who would help them be promoted.³⁸

The *Bangkok Times* believed that the Siamese were imitating a Western game which was not suitable for the Siamese. The newspaper also viewed that the Siamese were less civilised than the Westerners and that Siamese low-ranking civil servants played European football just because they wanted to appear more civilised, but that the Siamese should find their own way to become more civilised.³⁹ Moreover, the newspaper added that football was suitable only in cold countries. The game suited Westerners who are stronger and more masculine than the Siamese are. Therefore, the newspaper asserted that the Siamese who were more effeminate could not play the masculine games of Westerners. On 14 September 1901, the newspaper wrote:

Since a bunch of teachers of schools have founded a football club; following [our] observation, students who play football continually become more civilised (charoen). However, [we] are afraid that students' bodies, which are used for playing football, will be unable to withstand the game. [This is] because [during a football match, they] have to exercise intensely. Nevertheless, [we] hope that [pupils] will also play Thai

³⁷ BT, 12 September 1901, p.5; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.50.

³⁸ BT, 27 September 1901, p.5.

³⁹ BT, 12 September 1901, p.5.

games. If [students] had not become too Westernised (farang), [they] will be civilised (charoen) for a long time.⁴⁰

Sanan accepted these criticisms. However, he insisted on supporting teachers and students to play football because he hoped that playing this game could disprove the aforementioned Westerners' perceptions. That the Education Department annually arranged the competition in winter reflected how the Siamese followed the Westerners' belief about what should be the suitable weather for football.⁴¹ In the 1900s, Siamese governmental officials also accepted that the Westerners' build and strength were superior to those of the Siamese.⁴² However, Sanan was not pleased with Siamese's physical inferiority, and encouraged Siamese men to do physical exercises, which included Western games and standardised pastimes, in order to make their bodies stronger.⁴³

Two months before the first tournament of state schools started in December 1901, the Education Department arranged a soccer match between teachers from schools in central Bangkok and students of the Normal School. The former defeated the latter, which had "a big reputation of playing European-styled football." The large crowd who watched this match surprised the *Bangkok Times*. The newspaper altered its stance, now supporting the growth of football in Siam.⁴⁴

8.2.3 The First Football Tournament of 1901

The Education Department arranged inter-school football contests in order to improve students' discipline. Sanan organised the first knock-out football tournament in Siam, which was entitled "The Competition for the Silver Shield of the Department of Education."⁴⁵ All games started in the evening. Players and spectators could de-routinise their day-to-day study

⁴⁰ BT, 14 September 1901, p.5; BT, 27 September 1901, p.5.

⁴¹ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.16-7; Charatchawanaphan, 1907, p.792.

⁴² Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1957, pp.18-9; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904b, pp.204-5.

⁴³ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1957, pp.18-9.

⁴⁴ The *Bangkok Times* declared: "In this match, there was a huge audience. ...Fortunately, the stand was large, [the spectators] comfortably watched [the game]. As for the size of the audience, if passers-by were included, there were several thousand spectators. If there will be another match in the future, the number of spectators may be larger than this game" (BT, 2 October 1901, p.5).

⁴⁵ The competition was held again in 1904. The competition was annually held between 1904 and 1910 (Lekhayanon, 1977).

and work by participating in football games.⁴⁶ In 1901, the first year of the tournament, eight schools from Bangkok and another school from Thonburi participated. Although there is no evidence revealing how the Department recruited schools to join this first competition, an official document in 1904 stated that to join the upcoming football competition, school staff had to communicate their interests to the Inspection Section [Krom Truat] of the Education Department. To register players, a school's headmaster had to give his assurance that they belonged to his school. The headmasters of all participating schools, therefore, were the first state agents who approved whether each player was disciplined enough to join the competition. The Inspection Section which had a name list of each school team could easily control all registered players' behaviour.⁴⁷

There was a difference between chaotic and violent mob soccer games and officiated games, where players felt they had to treat others (including opponents) according to the rules and act gently in order to avoid punishment and shame.⁴⁸ Continuing this pattern in the first Competition for the Silver Shield, there was only one game which reported improper behaviour. In a game between the Survey School and Klomphitthayakon School, a match reporter stated: "We are disappointed that both teams played unfairly."⁴⁹ The Department did not want to provide much detail about the improper demeanour of players because it would cause students' parents to protest against the game.⁵⁰ The *Bangkok Times* reported that the way players of both teams competed to obtain the ball led to a very violent fight between the two teams. This report showed that these players fluidly switched from civilised to aggressive patterns of masculinity. There was not a single or homogenous attitude towards masculinity. That the old non-elite version—the aggressive masculinity—was still desirable for some young men.

The *Bangkok Times* stated:

Each team had many supporters ... At the beginning, it was fun because both sides enjoyed competing to seize a ball. Later, players tumultuously scrambled to win a ball. [They] no longer played for fun. One side was angry and displeased. [A person of this

⁴⁶ "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910f, p.759; BT, 5 November 1909, p.4; BT 10 December 1909, pp.6-7.

⁴⁷ Malakul, 1904b, pp.392-3.

⁴⁸ Lekhayanon, 1977, p.32.

⁴⁹ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.54-8.

⁵⁰ See Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7.

side] stabbed Mr. Chang, a student of Wat Chetuphon [Wat Poh or Klomphitthaya School], in his arm with a knife. [Chang] bled. Chang also received another wound on his head [as he] was hit. Fortunately, [the wounds] were not mortal. There was significant chaos and a free fight ... Both sides, which had fought each other, stopped [the fight] by themselves. [This was] because the students of Klomphitthaya [Wat Chetuphon or Wat Poh School] were far younger [than the pupils of the Survey School.]⁵¹

During play both sides competed to win the ball and this involved physical contact. When one side made violent contact with the opposing side, the latter became infuriated and sought revenge. Then both sides drew on aggressive modes of masculinity in an attempt to show their superiority, and they inflicted more violence upon each other. The moment the player of Klomphitthaya School jumped on his opponent made the players of the Survey School stopped playing by rules. The latter focused on avenging their player by launching severe physical attacks on their opponents. The we-group of a school now became a pacified social group of students.

From 1901 onwards, students who were from the same school tended to avoid using violence against one another. Nevertheless, a non-violent relationship between schools was not firmly established. Because of the aggressive behaviour in this official game and mob soccer, Sanan (the inspector of the Department of Education) who tried to support civilised football had to insist that football needed to be played fairly and less violently. Khun Wirunchanya, a teacher, explained Sanan's attempt to reduce the violence in football after the Competition for the Silver Shield in 1901:

[Sanan arranged] to have a shield as the reward from the Education Department to the winner of the first competitions. This issue was not supported, cooperated with and agreed on by the parents of students. [The parents] blamed football on leading to a number of bad outcomes. It made students waste their study time and receive dangerously injuries like broken legs or shins and, in a few cases, even caused death.

⁵¹ BT, 26 December 1901, p.5. Please also see BT, 24 December 1901, p.3.

However, Sanan did not stop and cancel the football competition. This was because he profoundly thought that injury might occur sometimes.⁵²

Sanan did not want to cancel this tournament, despite the violent match between the Survey School and Klomphitthayakon School. That these two teams were allowed to play a rematch reflects Sanan's belief that civilised soccer could eventually transform students' behaviours from being aggressive to gentle.

Another match report of a game showed how spectators and footballers found pleasure in watching and playing civilised football.⁵³ The report suggests that in a game between Saisawali School and the Survey School, the spectators enjoyed watching players score goals. They were amused by the determination of a team that tried to equalise.⁵⁴

8.3 Violence in Unofficial Soccer games, 1904-1909

Around the mid-1900s, the Education Department was still worried about the vicious and violent demeanour of some pupils during football matches. Therefore, in 1904, when the Education Department wanted to arrange the competition again, its staff members requested teachers to help promote a civilised playing style and control students' behaviours during unofficial games. Khun Charatchawanaphan, a textbook writer, realised that unorganised soccer played by students tended to be "vicious."⁵⁵

However, in practice, some teachers were not worried about students' aggressive style of play, and they did not reproach students who played mob soccer.⁵⁶ Even though the Teachers' Unity Association promoted civilised soccer matches between students and teachers unofficial games between the two groups were often still aggressive. In these cases individuals competed to display their aggressiveness, strength and toughness by physically abusing each other. Even though the Education Department exhorted another mode of

⁵² Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7.

⁵³ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.57-8.

⁵⁴ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.57-8.

⁵⁵ He wrote that a game such as soccer, which required students to exert significant physical power, could "be a means to make [students] wicked. However, it is a teachers' duty to encourage students to avoid playing on the street..." (Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904a, pp.118-9).

⁵⁶ In Choei Sunthonphiphit's account, when he and his friend were playing mob soccer, their teacher who walked past and saw their game did not come to complain about their aggressive playing style (Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.45).

masculinity many non-elite men understood these values as “weak” and did not want to be perceived as weak, soft, fearful and passive. They considered these characteristics to be feminine. Peaceful behaviour occurred only between teammates during unofficial matches, while players tended to use violence against members of opposing teams. In addition, many enjoyed playing and adopting a violent playing style.

A specific example of teacher’s role in the civilisation process took place in 1905, when the Section of the Sports Club (*Phanaek Samoson Kritha*) of the Teachers’ Unity Association supported teachers, students and *Witthayachan*’s readers to learn how to play a more civilised form of soccer. The section encouraged readers to watch soccer training and friendly games between club members on weekends.⁵⁷

However, overall, the Education Department’s attempt at encouraging non-elite men to enjoy civilised football was unsuccessful. In football matches, supporters of a side enjoyed seeing their players physically abuse their opponents. For example, in a match in 1909, a match reporter recounted: “[The spectators] was amused seeing players fall. And [the spectators] continually mocked the fallen players. Will [the spectators] mock women who fall down on a road from a jinrikisha?”⁵⁸

These spectators mocked men who were not aggressive, and viewed men who were frequently hurt to be soft and effeminate. A match reporter who served the Education Department instructed these supporters to pity injured men. For the reporter, suffering men and women should be pitied. However, spectators believed that men should be able to endure the pain stoically. The spectators’ perception of men was the opposite of the reporter’s viewpoint.

To make an opponent tumble down was a barbaric action in the eyes of civilised players, but aggressive non-elite players found high satisfaction doing this because they thought it demonstrated their superior strength and toughness. For a player to attain manly dignity he needed to show that he was strong enough to courageously face any dangerous situation or

⁵⁷ “Phanaek Samoson Kritha,” 1905a, pp.489-490. Moreover, the Section of the Sports Club reported friendly games for school students and teachers. Ruen, the Secretary-General of the Section, sent match reports to be published in *Witthayachan*. Through these reports the section promoted the state’s values to players and readers (“Phanaek Samoson Kritha,” 1905b).

⁵⁸ “Khao Kan Khaengkhan,” 1910a, pp.29-31.

serious injuries. Between 1905 and 1909, in an unofficial match between students from the Royal Pages School and civil servants from Ministries of Justice and Finance, Choei recounted his battle against Nuam, an interpreter of Ministry of Justice:

[He was] an important opponent. Once when we bumped each other, his buttocks violently hit my stomach. [I] felt pain and suffered from colic, but when the ball came to me again, I stood up and kicked it as if I were absolutely fine. However, when I spitted, my saliva was mixed up with green liquid too. It was bile. ...⁵⁹

Without the external control of the state agencies, during interactions between non-elite men on soccer fields, they often expressed their aggressive and tough masculine identity. Choei's toleration of the pain was a reaction to his opponent and other men who policed Choei's quality of being a tough man. When students and civil servants played soccer as a team game, they avoided using violence against their teammates and tried to verbally and bodily abuse the members of the opposing team. Violence was more controlled because the We-group identity of a soccer team had been developed.

It should be noted that Elias and Dunning's conceptualisation of game-rule norms can be applied to Siam. Non-elite men who were not yet entirely committed to a civilised identity did not follow all of the rules of association football. Non-elite footballers and spectators ignored the importance of goal difference and fair play. They created their own rule when playing association football. Non-elites enjoyed their aggressive and stoic acts during a match, and so winning violent contests was more important than scoring goals and demonstrating one's footballing abilities.

Additionally, within the social strata of the non-elite, there were tensions between non-elite men who had different social statuses. Social units of self-identification such as schools and state organisations, which were markers of different social statuses, were constructed during soccer matches, similarly to Elias and Dunning's observations for England.⁶⁰ Soccer reflected, as it did in England, the mimetic emotions of real life, which was full of tension and hatred among individuals of several state organisations.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.48.

⁶⁰ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.73-90, 165.

⁶¹ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.25-158, 193-223.

Between 1905 and 1909, students and teachers arranged an unofficial match at the pitch of Suankularb School. The students of the Royal Pages School played against a team of teachers of various schools, including Suankularb School. Students of Suankularb School supported their teachers' team. This game became a status contest between the Royal Pages and Suankularb Schools. The Royal Pages School and Suankularb School were among the first schools established by King Rama V. Therefore, both sides competed to show their superior aggressive masculine identity. To aggressively act against the opponent as well, to be courageous and tough, and to fight against the opposing team were ways to reflect the higher status of a team over another. Choei stated:

On that day, I played as an inside-left. There was Mr. Poth as a left-half who supported [me]. Mr. Poth frequently battled against a right wing of the teachers' team. Students thunderously supported teachers beside the pitch. Regardless of whether we made a right or a false step, they always booed loudly. When teachers bumped or kicked our legs, and we fell down, students' laughed, shouting that it served us right ... [When] we made teachers tumble down, the students laughed at us as though we played barbarically. Mr. Poth was a boy, having a *nakleng's* spirit, no fear, and much fury, so he suddenly censured the pupils. The students were angry. Our players and some teachers who were still collected and calm dissuaded [them from a quarrel]. ... Shortly, I scored the first goal against the teachers' side. Then, the students collectively laughed at me. When I ran to the side of the pitch, they were always so barbarous that I could not stay patient. [I] was forced to scold them. And when I got a chance, I fiercely kicked the ball against a bastard's face instead of the goal. Mr. Poth really wanted to wrestle with [them]. At this moment, teachers who were not playing repelled them. A calamity, therefore, did not occur ...⁶²

That Choei defined Poth's behaviour as *nakleng* reflects that the government had so far failed to establish a more civilised version of *nakleng*, in the football field. Indeed, throughout the 1900s, the Bangkok Times continually recounted the aggressive version of *nakleng*.⁶³ Evidence also shows that the aggressive version of *nakleng* was prevalent in everyday life. In January 1906, a *Bangkok Times* correspondent was disappointed that a student who had been

⁶² Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.50.

⁶³ BT, 8 October 1901, p.5; BT, 5 November 1904, p.2; BT, 18 April 1907, p.2; BT, 28 December 1907, p.5.

taught to be civilised did not behave properly. The newspaper reported: “[The student’s]...behaviour was unruly. [He] did not deserve any honour. After that boy had finished playing football, [he] persuaded his four or five friends to wait at a bridge. [They] punched a man or a boy...That student was good at being vicious, so he was capable of troubling [others].”⁶⁴

It should be noted that both students and teachers produced an aggressive masculine identity. The Education Department was also aware of the aggressive behaviours of teachers both in classrooms and sports fields, and the inspectors of the Inspection Section constantly monitored the discipline of teachers.⁶⁵ The Department’s staff believed that if teachers behaved well, they could act as moral exemplars to students.⁶⁶ However, the aforementioned evidence suggests that in unofficial matches, teachers enjoyed playing football violently, and that the Education Department had thus failed to curb teachers’ aggressive behaviour.

8.4 The Civilised Style of Play and Westerners’ Roles in Soccer Games

8.4.1 Civilising Roles of Civilised Siamese and the Westerners in Unofficial Games

It is useful to explore the roles some Siamese and the Westerners played in helping civilise the behaviour of the non-elite Siamese when the latter played football, since such an investigation can help to understand developments in the self-control in non-elite men. Moreover, this subsection also appraises the civilised and “good” style of play that the *Bangkok Times* produced and propagated. I also assess how the newspaper’s narrative affected non-elite players’ style of play.

The Education Department had successfully taught students to play civilised football at the Normal School and King’s College. Sanan who taught at the Normal School between 1898 and 1906 likely trained his students to play European-styled football,⁶⁷ and it was most likely that English teachers taught students to play civilised football at King’s College.⁶⁸ These two

⁶⁴ BT, 18 January 1906, p.5.

⁶⁵ “Khamnaenam Samrap,” 1902, pp.45-50.

⁶⁶ Aun, 1907c, pp.757-765; Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904c, p.148.

⁶⁷ See Sutdiaokrai, 1983, p.4.

⁶⁸ Lekhayanon, 1977, p.56.

schools arranged friendly matches between each other. According to *Witthayachan's* report, there were no accounts of the improper demeanour of either of these sides.⁶⁹

Before the first Competition for the Silver Shield of 1901 began, the Normal School had already been regarded as a team that played European-style football.⁷⁰ Between 1905 and 1909, the Normal School (which by now had merged with the Western Normal School) played unofficial football matches against other schools whose style of play was still violent. When playing against the Normal School, players of other schools switched from employing a violent to civilised playing style. Players of these other schools knew that the Normal School was renowned for its victories in the competition for the Silver Shield. They realised that they were competing against the team that was most successful in adopting a civilised style of play. Since they did not want to be ashamed of losing to the Normal School, they sought to achieve the best match results by playing soccer by the civilised rules. These players compared their team's capacity to that of the Normal School. Choei, a player of the Royal Pages School, proudly recounted that his team's ability was close to a team of the Normal School.⁷¹

During the two matches between the Royal Pages School and the Normal School, Choei's and his teammates' pleasure from physical abusing the other team was completely absent. His team had adjusted to the Normal School's civilised style of play.

Aside from the civilising agents (players of the Normal School), Westerners also partially played a role in promoting a civilised style of play to non-elites. In the 1900s, the *Bangkok Times* regularly published announcements of upcoming games and match reports.⁷² These games included the Competition for the Silver Shield and other unofficial games.⁷³ Individuals could go to watch games, which were regularly held in the afternoon of weekdays and weekends at the Royal Park, schools' pitches and the ground of the Royal Bangkok Sports Club

⁶⁹ "Raingan Rongrian Achan," 1902, p.178.

⁷⁰ BT, 2 October 1901, p.5. The Normal School and the Western Normal School won the Competition for the Silver Shield in 1901 and 1905, respectively. After these schools had been merged as the Normal School, their two triumphs were counted as part of the successes of the Normal School. Therefore, between 1901 and 1909, the Normal School was regarded as the most successful school of the Tournament because they won thrice in 1901, 1905 and 1906 (BT, 5 November 1909, P.4). Please see Table 8.1.

⁷¹ He stated: "... [The match results showed that] our and their abilities were neck and neck. ... They were counted as the greatest team among all the schools in the Education Department[']s competitions]" (Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.52).

⁷² BT, 23 September 1904, p.2; BT, 30 March 1906, p.2; BT, 20 December 1907, p.2; BT, 4 January 1909; BT, 10 January 1910, p.4.

⁷³ BT, 20 September 1901, p.2; BT, 20 December 1907, p.2.

(RSBC). Although games at the RBSC were reserved for its members who were civil servants, the elite and foreign expatriates, non-members could find out about these games through the *Bangkok Times*' match reports. Therefore, they could learn how civilised the matches' style of play was.⁷⁴

The Bangkok Times played a role in defining a narrative of the civilised and "good" style of play. Indeed, the newspaper and the Siamese government shared some characteristics of the civilised style of play, which emphasised non-violence, fair play and teamwork.⁷⁵ However, the newspaper added that the quality of a football match relied on players' clever decisions as well as accuracy of playing the ball (like kicking, shooting and tackling). This emphasis reflected that the newspaper focused on how to be the best in this civilised game. Additionally, the newspaper implied how the Western style of play was superior to the Siamese government's values of playing football and non-elites' emphasis on physical power. For example, the newspaper reported that Siamese men and Western expatriates played a soccer match at the Chiang Mai Gymkhana Club in Chiang Mai in 1909. There were roughly four Siamese on both teams.⁷⁶ "The World" defeated "Government Services" by the score of two goals to nil. The match report focused on teamwork, the players' accuracy in kicking and shooting the ball and making clever decisions. The *Bangkok Times* stated:

Shortly after half time Mr. Nash secured the ball and passing to Mr. Braham, a nice little piece of combination took place, ending in Mr. Braham scoring from a short centre by Mr. Nash. Mr. Ryan on kicking off looked very dangerous for a few minutes, but owing to a good clear by Mr. Chaldecott, the danger was averted. Play after that was mostly about the Services goal, and 2 minutes before time Mr. Chaldecott made a brilliant run, leaving the ball to Kru Wai, who scored with a good shot.⁷⁷

Elsewhere, *The Bangkok Times* regarded a match as one of the best games played so far in Chiang Mai by emphasising accuracy and strategy.⁷⁸ Non-elite men widely perceived how Westerners enjoyed playing and watching civilised football through the *Bangkok Times*. As a

⁷⁴ BT, 23 September 1904, p.2; BT, 26 September 1904.

⁷⁵ BT, 15 December 1908, p.6; BT, 12 September 1910, p.5.

⁷⁶ BT, 11 November 1909, p.5.

⁷⁷ BT, 11 November 1909, p.5.

⁷⁸ BT, 26 January 1910, p.3; BT, 30 December 1907, p.3.

result, the style of play that focused on precision prevailed in both official and unofficial games.⁷⁹

Between 1905 and 1909, Choei and his teammates played a friendly game against a European students' team. The European students' team consisted of sons of the Siamese elite who went to study in Europe, and members of the team had previously played football in Europe. Before Choei's team played against the European students' team, he had already aimed to build his team's reputation to be one of the teams which had a civilised playing style. Choei and his teammates wanted to maintain their reputation by not losing the European students' team. Choei and his teammates realised that to defeat the European students' team would be very difficult. They trained very hard, particularly in regards to shooting and defending. Their focus was highly influenced by the *Bangkok Times'* emphasis on shooting accuracy. Choei stated:

In this competition, we were worried so much because we thought they had previously played football in Europe and were adults taller than us. [They] had advantages over us for many reasons. We might concede a number of goals and our Blue-White team's reputation might end at this time. Thus, we had to train a lot. ... [We] hoped that we would not concede too many goals. Then, [my teammates] trained to score. The first day and the second day passed. I had to save the ball so much that my hands were bruised. ... All the forwards enjoyed goal-scoring training.⁸⁰

When recounting about the game with the European students' team, Choei was proud that his team triumphed. Choei implied that his team had better teamwork and a higher capability to score goals than the opposing team. Choei claimed his team's superiority by mentioning a *Bangkok Times'* narrative that emphasised shooting accuracy. Moreover, he and his teammates enjoyed demonstrating their teamwork, skills and strength rather than showing their aggressive behaviour. He was excited to see the way Prince Sithiporn played. Choei stated:

After the game had been going on for a short while, I felt relaxed. [This was] because I observed that the European (Student) Team was not as great as I had feared. Their training was not enough. [They] lacked strength. And [they] lacked teamwork. The ball

⁷⁹ For example, in an official game in 1910, spectators were pleased by a defender who "precisely and powerfully kicked a ball" ("Khao kan Khaengkhan," 1910e, pp.301-2).

⁸⁰ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.54.

had been in their area almost all the time. ... I was almost the viewer. [I] had to be careful, when Prince Sithiporn Kridakara controlled the ball. He played as a left winger. When receiving the ball, he directly dribbled to our wing-back area and delivered the ball to the front of our goal... but [their strikers] hardly trained [to score]. This dangerous plan, thus, was inefficient. ... I feared the Prince Sithiporn' abilities.⁸¹

Choei recounted that between 1905 and 1909, he and his schoolmates from the Royal Pages School played two soccer matches against a team of civil servants from the Ministries of Justice and Finance. Unlike the first game⁸², the second game was played without any violence.⁸³ Westerners who worked at a department store came to watch the second game at the Royal Park in front of the Grand Palace. According to the Choei's anecdote about the game, the spectators enjoyed non-violent soccer. To please these spectators, Choei and his teammates consciously applied disciplined and non-violent norms of playing used by the royal elite and Westerners. Choei and his teammates felt compelled to curb their violent behaviour and express a civilised self-image. Furthermore, to impress the Westerners, Choei sought to express his identity as a player who made clever decisions during a game.

Choei stated:

...Westerners [*farang*] from Badman Department Store⁸⁴ ... intended to watch because in Thailand, it was hard to find a good and skilful football team at that time ... When [an opponent passed] the ball over our defenders who went upfield, Nuam ran to control the ball and dribbled [it] to our goal. [Our] defenders could not follow him, so he confronted me in a one-on-one situation. If I let him come closer to the goal, [he] would have a clear sight of the goal, and I would not be able to save his shot. I immediately decided to quickly run and chase the ball in order to obstruct his shot. ... Two Westerners from Badman Department Store who stood near me clapped their hands and shouted to express their appreciation of my decision. Then, [they] walked to the back of the goal [and] smiled joyously ...⁸⁵

⁸¹ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.55-6. See Figures 62-63 in Illustrations.

⁸² For the first match, please see 8.3.

⁸³ See Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.47-8.

⁸⁴ Messrs. Harry A. Badman & Co. was one of the largest retail shops in Siam (BT, 8 January 1901, p.3; Wright, 1908, pp.270-3).

⁸⁵ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.48-9.

I already mentioned that Choei and his teammates wanted to maintain and improve his team's reputation of being good at civilised soccer. They wanted to receive praise from renowned teams such as the Normal School, the players of the elite stratum, and Westerners. Therefore, they reproduced the *Bangkok Times'* style of play by emphasising their abilities to make intelligent decisions and accurate plays.

8.4.2 The Westerners' Sports Club and the Siamese Elites

An important issue when understanding the impact of soccer is the way Siamese elite positioned themselves in the sports clubs of foreign expatriates. To comprehend the sports clubs' role in promoting civilised football, it is necessary to assess the way the Westerners and the Siamese interacted during several football games, which were arranged by the clubs.

In the provinces, Siamese elite patronised sports clubs of Westerners by having Siamese commissioners be their representatives and to facilitate operations of the clubs. In Chiang Mai, foreign expatriates and a Siamese high commissioner founded the Chieng Mai Gymkhana Club in 1898.⁸⁶ The Siamese High Commissioners and local rulers patronised the Club. The Club was reserved for Westerners and Siamese civil servants.⁸⁷ Similarly, in Lampang, the Siamese Commissioner and the Chief of Lampang patronised the Lakon Sports Club. The club's committee members included Westerners. The club was a place where they came to meet and play civilised sports. The favourite sport of the club's members was soccer.⁸⁸

The Siamese elite supported Westerners in establishing the RBSC as a way of demonstrating their civilised identity by helping Western expatriates join sports clubs. In 1907, after the English and the Scottish had finished playing soccer at the ground of the RBSC, they had dinner together. During their dinner, they praised King Rama V.⁸⁹

Reports showed that the Siamese played civilised soccer with Westerners in Bangkok and Chiang Mai. In 1908, Prince Sithiporn was the only Siamese player who participated in a match

⁸⁶ The Chiengmai Gymkhana Club, 1997, pp.11-3.

⁸⁷ The Directory for Bangkok and Siam, 1914, p.312; BT, 11 November 1907, p.5; The Chiengmai Gymkhana Club, 1997, pp.11-24; The Chieng Mai Gymkhana Club, 2016a; The Chieng Mai Gymkhana Club, 2016b.

⁸⁸ The Directory for Bangkok and Siam, 1914, p.312; BT, 18 January 1910, p.5.

⁸⁹ The *Bangkok Times* reported: "The health of His Majesty was given from the chair [of the United Club], and most enthusiastically drunk, Dr. Hays [the chair] pointing out that it was His Majesty who had given the Sports Club its ground" (BT, 30 December 1907, p.3).

among Westerners at the RBSC. Prince Sithiporn's team lost by the score of two goals to one. The *Bangkok Times* reported that both teams fairly played.⁹⁰ Concurrently, Choei Sunthonphiphit recounted that Westerners invited his team to play at the RBSC. Although Choei was absent from this game, he found out what happened during the game from his teammates. What Choei chose to report was the result: his team lost to the Westerners' team by only one goal.⁹¹

Although Siamese men widely joined Westerners to participate in civilised football matches, Westerners believed that the Siamese were not good enough at football. Western newspaper reporters believed that since their capability to play football was superior to that of the Siamese, the former had a right to assess them and suggest ways for the Siamese to improve their ability. In a match between the Normal School and the Europeans' team in 1910, a reporter of the *Bangkok Times* and the Europeans who participated in the game were pleased with the Siamese players' performance. However, the reporter still thought that the Siamese needed to continue improving their ability to play. He stated:

There was a very interesting Association Football match at the Normal College, in Bangkok, on Saturday, when Mr. Sutton's team played the College. The game was keenly contested, and the visitors' win of two goals to none, was largely due to the good goalkeeping of Mr. Dick. The spectators applauded very impartially, and the game was conducted in a sporting spirit. There was perhaps an undue appreciation of high-kicking and acrobatic kicks in general, but the Europeans present were distinctively impressed with the improvement in Siamese football. It is hoped that this will be the first of a series of matches this season.⁹²

This quote reflects how Western expatriates expressed their view of themselves as being able to play this game at a higher level than that of the Siamese. Through playing football, these expatriates were able to maintain their self-image of being highly civilised men.

⁹⁰ BT, 3 April 1908, p.5; BT, 6 April 1908, p.8.

⁹¹ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.56.

⁹² BT, 12 September 1910, p.5.

8.5 Official Games during the Second Half of the 1900s

Between 1907 and 1910, the behaviour of Siamese players and spectators became more civilised. However, it appears that frequent incidences of violence during matches still worried the Education Department. Players and spectators moved between civilised and aggressive masculine identities during matches. So the Department still needed to implement several measures to reduce violence.

8.5.1 More Civilised Students and the Government's Measures to Reduce Violence

From the mid-1900s, it was obvious that players and supporters received pleasure from predicting the results of upcoming matches and watching civilised football. In 1905, the Teachers' Unity Association arranged a friendly game and several hundred spectators got more enjoyment from exchanging their predictions about the result of the match than from any expectation of witnessing aggressive fights.⁹³

Between 1907 and 1910, the behaviour of Siamese players and spectators became decreasingly marked by violence. The Education Department was pleased that the Competition for the Silver Shield of 1907 had less violence than those of 1901, 1904, 1905 and 1906.⁹⁴ A department reporter noted that the Tournament of 1907 was "an achievement." The way students played and watched was:

...more proper than previous years. And there was no significant danger. Discipline during the games was much better than in previous years. [It] was much more satisfying. However, there were still some incorrect playing methods and peevish and trouble-making behaviour. This is because some players were inexperienced. [They] were not dexterous and familiar [with soccer] enough. Schools need to be responsible for teaching and training [how to play and watch soccer to] students who are players and spectators.⁹⁵

⁹³ "Phanaek Samoson Kritha," 1905b, p.536; "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910d, p.706; "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910d, p.707.

⁹⁴ There was no evidence of match reports between 1904 and 1906.

⁹⁵ Lekhayanon, 1977, p.73.

8.5.1.1 Long-Shot Contest in 1909

This subsection assesses how the conceptualisation of game-rule norms is applied to understand how the Education Department organised a long-shot competition as a response to non-elite men's demand to use and see violent actions during football matches. In the long-shot contest, footballers could exert aggressive force without becoming injured, and spectators could gain pleasure from seeing strong men powerfully unleash shot. The player who could powerfully unleash the longest shot was the winner. Instead of kicking one another, a player had to compete to show that he was the strongest since could generate the most powerful shot. Players and spectators respectively enjoyed unleashing and watching a ball travelling in the air and falling into a distant area.⁹⁶

In the 1900s, Sunheng, a footballer, was well-known as the first man who could kick a ball over a two-floor building of Suankularb School and a road.⁹⁷ Although no reports can be found describing how spectators enjoyed the long-shot contest of 1909, a few documents reveal that people had fun when seeing a long shot.⁹⁸ In an official football game in January 1910, the spectators enjoyed watching a powerful shot by a defender. In the match between King's College and Royal Medical School, a reporter said: "The game in the second half was more fun than in the first half. Spectators clapped their hands very loudly because they applauded a defender of Royal Medical College. [The defender] precisely and powerfully kicked a ball."⁹⁹

It can be stated that between the 1900s and 1910s, there were famous players whose shooting ability enhanced their reputation. In addition to Sunheng and the defender of Royal Medical College, Loi was a player who was also good at kicking the ball powerfully. In his family's account, the football team of the Southern Naval Academy "was very famous at that time. ... Our father was quite well known. So, [he] received the nickname, "Loi Dong [Flying High]." This was because he played [full] back [and] forward, and [he] could kick a long ball."¹⁰⁰ The reputation of these players and Loi's nickname reflected that a civilised style of play was becoming more widely accepted by players and spectators.

⁹⁶ Lekhayanon, 1977, p.74.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ *Witthayachan* reported that spectators were entertained by the annual sporting event of 1909 that contained the long-shot contest. The Journal stated: "In this sports event, there were many spectators. [The event] was joyful" ("*Khao Samakkhayachan*," 1909, pp.148-9).

⁹⁹ "*Khao Kan Khaengkhan*," 1910e, pp.301-2.

¹⁰⁰ *The Family of Loi Pasuttanawin*, 1972.

8.5.1.2 The Education Department's Disciplinary Measures, 1909-1910

The Education Department also tried to use teachers to act as state agents helping civilise students' behaviour, holding a soccer contest for teachers so that they could later help train students to play civilised football. The Department also requested teachers to monitor students' behaviour during official football games.

Between March and April 1909, Pia Malakul, the Director-General of the Education Department, arranged a football competition for teachers in Bangkok. A meeting report of the Teachers' Unity Association stated that the competition was held "to make teachers become skilful players so that [they] will train students in the future."¹⁰¹ In 1910, the Education Department urged teachers to become responsible for teaching their students to avoid injuries that might occur during a game.¹⁰²

The Education Department disseminated the objectives of playing football and the sport's rules and regulations in a handbook. To encourage students to understand these objectives and its rules, which the department believe would correct their behaviours, the handbook was sold "at the modest price of four satang."¹⁰³ Several regulations of the Competition of 1909 suggest that the department sought to control the students' unruly behaviour:

9. A school team must send teachers to oversee every playing game in order for them to control students. And [the teachers] are responsible for the students. One of these supervising teachers has to be a linesman during matches.¹⁰⁴

Teachers were the state's agents and the school's representatives who monitored their students (both footballers and supporters). In addition to the linesman who surveilled players' behaviour from the sideline, other teachers observed supporters' demeanour. The Education Department applied strict external controls because it wanted to continuously improve the unruly behaviour of students when they are playing or watching football. The department attempted to prevent any violence from occurring so that students' parents would not object to its civilising plan.

¹⁰¹ Lekhayanon, 1977, p.89.

¹⁰² "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910c, pp.640-1; BT, 16 August 1910, p.6.

¹⁰³ BT, 5 November 1909, p.4.

¹⁰⁴ For other regulations of the Competition of 1909, see "Kho Bang Khap," 1909; BT, 5 November 1909, p.6.

The Education Department was afraid that parents of students would not support football competitions. It is possible that parents believed that football was a game during which their children enjoyed exercising violence against each other. It is likely that parents frequently perceived that their sons had become injured during soccer games.¹⁰⁵

8.5.2 The *Bangkok Times*' Support for the Government's Competitions, 1909-1910

In the late 1910s, the newspaper believed that football would help address the long-standing problem of the unruly behaviour of students if the Education Department continued supporting this sport. The newspaper supported the Department's efforts by publishing match reports of official matches between 1909 and 1910.

The *Bangkok Times* believed that discipline, determination and respect for rules, which were developed during football games, should be significant traits of Siamese civil servants:

There have been changes to the football competition that the Education Department arranged this year. The duration of games is much longer. However, the football competition has not become merely a fun annual game. Instead, football is very useful for students. For example, students usually are unruly and undisciplined. Practicing [football] may be a means for correcting and improving their behaviour. [Their] mind may become resolute and courageous. In the future, [they] will become civil servants who dutifully serve the King and the country. [Their positions in civil services] will depend on their qualifications and competition [between students]. [Students] may win [the competition] and obtain [good positions in the civil service] if they are determined to become reputable and praiseworthy. Because high-ranking officers of the Education Department intend to nurture virtues of students through this [promotion of football competitions], [we] hope that the efforts of the Education Department will never fail.¹⁰⁶

Between 1901 and 1909, the opinions of the *Bangkok Times* changed from completely opposing to enthusiastically supporting the promotion of football in the country. This was

¹⁰⁵ Evidence shows that serious injuries occurred in soccer games during the 1900s (see Wannakowit, 2010, pp.26-39; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.47; "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910a, p.569; BT, 13 August 1910, p.7).

¹⁰⁶ BT, 19 November 1909, p.6.

probably because the Education Department continuously attempted to implement its civilising plan through its promotion of football throughout the decade. This attempt could disprove the *Bangkok Times*' dismissal of the Siamese fervour for Westernised games.¹⁰⁷ In addition, throughout the 1900s, Siamese men constantly competed in several football tournaments and played in matches with Western footballers, and Siamese men were able to demonstrate to Westerners that they were strong enough to play this Western sport, and that they could successfully refute the Westerners' perception of them as weak men.¹⁰⁸ Although the newspaper did not completely believe that football could solve the problem of students' unruly behaviours, it nonetheless decided to support students to play this game. This newspaper's opinion likely reflected its recognition of some improvement in the pupils' civilised identity.

After the *Bangkok Times* supported the idea of the Education Department to promote football competitions, the newspaper published many match reports of soccer games, which were recorded by the Department's staff, in 1909 and 1910. The department's journal, *Witthayachan* also printed reports. The contents of the reports were related to the four purposes of the Competition for the Silver Shield.¹⁰⁹

In 1910 the *Bangkok Times* published a match report which illustrated the civilised behaviours of players and spectators. In a match between Christian High School and Nuannoradit Secondary School, the former took the lead twice. However, the latter twice scored equalising goals. When a Nuannoradit player scored the team's second goal which levelled the score, "many spectators [who] surrounded the pitch complimented both sides unanimously and loudly clapped their hands." In the end, Christian High School won the game by the score of four to two. The match report added: "... Mr. Bun, the left midfielder of Christian High School, should be complimented. A Nuannoradit player kicked [Bun's] buttocks. [Bun] was not mad at [him]."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ BT, 27 September 1901, p.5.

¹⁰⁸ BT, 27 September 1901, p.5.

¹⁰⁹ BT, 27 November 1909, p.6; "Khao Kan Khaengkhan," 1909a, p.738; BT, 10 December 1909, p.7; BT, 3 December 1909, p.6; BT, 8 December 1909, p.6; BT, 10 December 1909, p.6; "Khao Kan Khaengkhan," 1909c, p.840; "Khao Kan Khaengkhan," 1909c, pp.842-3.

¹¹⁰ BT, 15 September 1910, pp.6-7. For other examples, see "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910a; BT, 12 August 1910, p.7; "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910c; BT, 17 August 1910, p.6; BT, 26 August 1910, p.7; "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910b.

This evidence reveals that both footballers and spectators adopted a civilised demeanour during the game. However, in match reports of other games published by the *Bangkok Times*, the newspaper described aggressive actions of players and supporters.

8.5.3 Aggression of Players and Spectators from 1909-1910

Evidence suggests that players and spectators expressed both civilised and aggressive identities in different situations. Therefore, it is useful to examine why students who had enjoyed adopting a civilised style of play reverted to violence against their opponents during soccer games.

In a game of the League Competition for the Silver Shield of 1909, a player tried to cheat his opponent in order to score a goal. The cheated player was infuriated and suddenly wanted to violently lash out against the cheater. In a match between Debsirin School and Benchamabophit School, the abilities of both teams were probably similar to each other as the latter could only beat the former by one goal to nil. Therefore, when Debsirin School was behind by one goal, one of its players wanted to secure a draw and probably thought that he could not afford to concede any more goals. That player did not want to concede a free kick or penalty kick to his opponents. He lost his temper when he thought that a Benchamabophit School player took a dive. The Debsirin School player thought that his opponent pretended to be hit by him so that the Debsirin team would be punished. The Debsirin School player “lifted his fist to punch the Benchamabophit School player...but the referee [Mr Cartwright] stopped [him from punching the player] in time. Then, they played without any further quarrels until [the game] finished. I, the reporter of this journal, warn [any player] that this wrath is wrong. ... We who are polite *naklengs* should not seek to exact revenge. The losing team should also be very careful. Don’t let anyone blame [the team] as a bad loser who easily feel resentful! [I] hope that we will seriously focus on achieving the four objectives listed in the first page of the guidebook of the football contest of the Education Department.”¹¹¹

Players of both sides already believed that the aim of soccer was to score and not to concede a goal. However, the players’ desire to avoid violence was not fully established. When the

¹¹¹ “Khao Kan Khaengkhan,” 1909c, pp.836-8.

player of Debsirin School was infuriated by the unfair behaviour of his opponent, he felt that the use of violence was necessary. Therefore, the angry player did not yet have sufficient self-control to restrain from the use of violence as the Education Department expected. External control was needed to restrain the angry player.

In some matches, players' contests to seize the ball frequently involved violence. Many players tried to use violent force to help them win the ball. However, it should be noted that most players did this only to win the ball rather than to inflict serious injuries on their opponents.

For example, in a game between Ratchaburana and Debsirin Schools in December 1909, there were around 300 spectators. A reporter stated he "must object to the way both sides played. In order to win the ball, players of both teams pounced upon each other so hard that they frequently tumbled. Later, small players did not dare to try to win [the ball]." ¹¹²

This evidence showed that players' gave lower priority to expressing a superior aggressive masculine identity than they had before. Smaller players did not feel compelled to enthusiastically pretend to participate in violent physical contests. It should be noted that contests to exhibit aggressive masculinity did not yet entirely disappear from matches. In some situations in which players thought that they were unable to or did not want to change the result of a match, they turned to focusing on showing their superior aggressive masculinity. ¹¹³

On 6 September 1910, during the match between Ratchaburana School and Anong Secondary School, the former had the upper hand over the latter. Anong Secondary School's players who were losing were angry and decided to defeat Ratchaburana School by using violence. The game became a contest to show which team had a superior masculine identity. ¹¹⁴ However, spectators also enjoyed watching a player who persistently played fairly. These spectators believed in the value of being a polite *nakleng* as defined by the state. A match reporter recounted:

¹¹² "Khao Kan Khaengkhan," 1910b, p.71.

¹¹³ See "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910e, p.741; BT, 7 September 1910, p.5.

¹¹⁴ "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910f, pp.761-2; BT, 10 September 1910, pp.6-7.

There was a praiseworthy and admirable player who was brave, agile and disciplined. He was Mr Chub, that winger of Anong [School]. As I observed, Mr Chub only focused on winning the ball. [He] did not aim to hurt anyone. Although he fell down, was tackled from behind, and his thigh and leg were kicked, he did not express any anger at or fear of those [abusive] men. Many spectators praised his ability and behaviour: 'He is a real *nakleng* footballer.'¹¹⁵

This quote suggests that some players and spectators enjoyed the civilised aspect of the game. The value of being a civilised and gentle *nakleng* was already accepted by these non-elite men. Therefore, it can be said that the Education Department had partially achieved its task promoting the self-control of some non-elite men. However, their self-control was not firmly yet instilled.

During a game between Prathum Khongkha Phiset Secondary School and Anong Secondary School on 12 September 1910, the former led the latter by two to one in the first half. In the second half, both sides competed to win others by physical abuse rather than skill. Prathum Khongkha's players did not want to prove their superiority under the rules, while Anong's players still wanted to equalise. However, when Anong's players were infuriated by violent tackles, they switched to joyfully seek revenge. Now, each side competed to express its superior aggressive masculinity.¹¹⁶

The Education Department and its staff (referees and teachers who were linesmen) never strongly punished players during games of the Competition for the Silver Shield. None of the reports mention aggressive players being sent off. No school was punished after their team played aggressively during matches. The reporter urged the department to punish vicious players.¹¹⁷ Probably the referees' lack of strictness was a reason why the civilised behaviours were not firmly instilled into players and spectators' identity. However, the external control, which was applied by the Department, could help prevent a very violent incident as it once broke out in the Tournament of 1901. Following the match reports in 1909 and 1910, a chaotic free fight no longer happened. Probably, the civilised identity was partially instilled into

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910g, pp.815-6; BT, 16 September 1910, p.7.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

players and spectators. Moreover, presences of teachers who were linesmen partially made students feel compelled to curb a high degree of violence.

In 1909 and 1910, although many spectators enjoyed watching civilised football, they also still gained pleasure from seeing violent physical contacts. In a match between Ratchaburana School and Assumption School on 13 September 1910, a match reporter (Khun Withan Darunkit) recounted:

In today's game, both sides' energy and agility were equal...All of the players showed determination, quickness and bravery. This pleased the spectators...In the first half, when each team could remedy [a hard situation emerging during the game] and kick the ball during a crucial moment, spectators clapped their hands to support and congratulate them. Then, in the second half, [I] did not know why they increased their joy and amusement. [Supporters] of both sides increasingly laughed and clapped their hands, when [players] kicked the ball too high, kicked [the ball] to the wrong place and fell down. Especially, when the game was almost over, they even laughed more than before.¹¹⁸

Sometimes spectators urged players to exert violence against the opposition. In some cases, the spectators successfully instigated players to use violence. However, players' self-control and the external control from the Department's staff probably helped prevent players from becoming too incited.

In the game between Udom School and Pratum Khongkha School in 1909, players from both sides fairly played, despite the fact that they sometimes bumped each other accidentally. The high degree of fairness pleased a match reporter. However, the match reporter was upset when spectators provoked footballers.¹¹⁹

In August 1910, Benchamabophit School played against Klomphitthaya School. A match reporter thought that spectators' instigation probably led to players' misconducts. The reporter stated:

¹¹⁸ "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910g, p.817; BT, 19 September 1910, p.6. For other pieces of evidence showing their pleasure from seeing violence during matches, see "Khao Kan Khaengkhan," 1910a, pp.29-31; "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910d, p.709; BT, 5 September 1910, p.7.

¹¹⁹ "Khao Kan Khaengkhan," 1909c, p.841.

“[Each team] conceded many free kicks because [players of both teams] badly jumped and bumped one another. ... In addition, voice of spectators was very noisy. When [players] did any little thing, [they] shouted “Ha!” loudly. This voice probably provoked vulnerable players to lose their minds and violate the rules.”¹²⁰

In the match between Ratchaburana and Klomphitthaya Schools in November 1909, a match reporter recounted that spectators encouraged footballer to use violence. He stated:

Both sides behaved politely. But, in a last few minutes of the game, there were shouts from the sideline: “Hit each other! Hit each other!” It is normal that such unruly people attended the game since it was played in the public ground [of Ratchaburana School]. When players of both teams heard the provocations, they sometimes responded to these spectators’ [speeches]. However, the players could consciously restrain themselves from picking [a quarrel] or endangering [their opponents] throughout the game.¹²¹

It can be concluded that between 1909 and 1910, players and spectators had developed a degree of self-control and showed restraint in relation to violence. They enjoyed playing and watching civilised football. However, their civilised identity did not fully replace their aggressive personality. A student could fluidly express these opposing identities in different situations of a game. Usually players and the spectators expected to play and watch players play by the rules. However, contestations between players to win a match could still lead to aggressive fights. Nevertheless, the more civilised players and external control helped prevent a high degree of violence from occurring.

8.5.4 Civilised Football and the Absolute Monarchical State

At the turn of the twentieth century, football matches were held by the elites to extoll the civilised identity of the royal elite who help civilise the Kingdom. Football was a form of civilised entertainment that was patronised by the royal elites. King Rama V himself was a patron of civilised football to both Siamese and foreigners. He not only supported having

¹²⁰ BT, 19 August 1910, p.6.

¹²¹ “Khao Kan Khaengkhan,” 1910a, p.38. For other examples, see Raingan Kan Khaengkhan,” 1910d, pp.704-5; BT, 2 September 1910, p.6; “Khao Kan Khaengkhan,” 1910d, pp.250-2.

football competitions but also watched football matches. His presence in a football match was recorded in *Witthayachan* and the *Bangkok Times*.¹²² The elite constructed their self-image as civilisers of the absolute monarchical kingdom. In order to attract people to celebrate elite events, the finals and trophy ceremonies of soccer competitions were arranged during the birthdays of Queen Saowapha and Crown Prince Vajiravudh. On 29 and 30 December 1906, at the Royal Bangkok Sports Club, the police organised a sports competition to celebrate the Crown Prince's and Queen's birthdays. In this competition, police competed to be crowned its champion. On 3 January 1909, sports and a ceremony to give the Silver Shield to the winning football team were held in Bangkok. The Education Department organised the events on this day to celebrate the birthday of the Queen and the Crown Prince.¹²³

However, as football was deemed an entertaining sport, it was not permitted to be played during the mourning period of head of the absolute monarchical state. When King Rama V died on 23 October 1910, the ongoing Competition for the Silver Shield and other types of entertainment were suspended. *Witthayachan* published an article "Mourning" which reveals why all leisure activities were postponed or cancelled. The article stated: "We are sad to say that the beloved and praiseworthy King of all people passed away...This news makes all people's hearts shocked, shaken and mournful. [This news] causes all people's mind that had been joyful and delighted by the King's merit and charisma immediately to collapse."¹²⁴

The royal elite utilised football to encourage people to display the emotions of civilised pleasure and grief. Therefore, from the elites' viewpoint, football helped generate and maintain the We-group of the absolute monarchical state.

¹²² "Raingan Kan Khaengkhan," 1910c, p.641; BT, 13 August 1910, p.6.

¹²³ Lekhayanon, 1977, p.79; BT, 28 December 1908, p.4.

¹²⁴ "Khvam Saosok," 1910, p.768. The Director-General of the Education Department (Pia) gave a reason of the cancellations of the Annual Sports Contest and the Soccer Competition for the Silver Shield: "In this year, we are sorrowful because of the death of the King. The annual sports event ... is cancelled for a year. The Soccer Competition [for the Silver Shield of 1910] that has been already proceeded... is cancelled" (Malakul, 1910b, p.775).

8.6 Conclusion

As several previous studies of modern sports suggested¹²⁵, people in different settings responded differently to the imposition of Western sports. The elites' promotion of civilised football was clearly a way for them to rebut the Western accusation of the Siamese as being weak and uncivilised. Further, the Siamese elite patronised sports clubs of Western expatriates so that they could show expatriates that they were civilisers. Moreover, for the Siamese elites and the British rulers in Punjab, football and civilised games were used as a means to consolidate a peaceful relationship between the rulers and the ruled. This Siamese elites' plan can be captured by the concept of civilising offensive. The elites played the role of civilisers by supporting non-elite men to play and watch football and thereby training them to become more disciplined and gentler. By holding football games during state ceremonies, elites hoped that football would attract people to attend and enjoy the events. These events were arranged as a strategy to extol key figures of the absolute monarchy. The elites used football to guide people to express feelings of civilised excitement and grieving. Therefore, football was a means to lead citizens to behave in the ways which served the existing social order.

Moreover, Elias and Dunning suggest that the standard of violence that players exhibit during a game is related to the society's norms. Games were a space where mimetic emotions of real life were released. In medieval society in which violence was more regular, groups of men within communities and between villages released tension by arranging fights through folk football. Elias and Dunning also emphasise actors' modification of game rules to maintain excitement under the civilising tendency.¹²⁶ Their argument is valid in the Siamese context. Between the 1880s and the 1900s, when the Siamese government could not firmly instil the civilised identity into non-elites, these commoners widely gained pleasure by playing football aggressively. The actions of players to violently and aggressively lash out against opponents when playing football are related to what was considered legitimate expressions of masculinity by local rulers and non-elite men. Between 1905 and 1909, to increase excitement and imitate their day-to-day conflicts, non-elites added degrees of violence to unofficial

¹²⁵ See Horton, 1997; Alpin and Jong, 2002; Brownfoot, 2002; Marshall, 2003, pp.23-30; Majumdar and Bandyopadhyay, 2005; Dimeo, 2002; Cho, 2013; Connell, 2013; Chehabi, 2002; McDevitt, 1997; Robidoux, 2002.

¹²⁶ Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.25-223.

matches of association football. Non-elites demonstrated the intense rivalry between state organisations by allowing violence in soccer games.¹²⁷ Meanwhile, the elites permitted non-elites to enjoy violence in a safe form by creating a long-shot contest.

Elias and Dunning suggest that the civilising process in the football sphere in England developed as part of social interdependence.¹²⁸ The development of soccer in Siam confirms their argument. Under the lengthened chain of interdependence between Siamese elites, non-elites and Westerners, the non-elites who were more aware of the course of their actions tended to behave more civilly on the soccer pitch. Between 1905 and 1910, the conflicts between the Siamese elites and non-elites were mitigated in that the ruled temporarily accepted imposed forms of conduct during social encounters between the Siamese elite, non-elite and Westerners that occurred in their shared social spaces (the Royal Park, the RBSC's pitch and school fields for official games). External controls from state agents and Westerners were significant factors that encouraged students to curb their violent behaviour. Therefore, the concepts of Connell, Goffman and Geertz about identity expressions are useful to capture these non-elites' fluid masculine identities, produced for impressing others and competing with other men. Furthermore, the Siamese elites' plan for supporting civilised soccer and the civilising effect of interdependence between the elites, non-elites and Westerners showed that planned and unplanned processes of civilisation in early-twentieth-century Siam coexisted.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, in social spaces where ruling elites could exert social control, non-elite men were under high pressure to behave civilly. In Bangkok between the late 1890s and the 1900s, during the annual sporting events at which ruling elites presided, players and spectators fully engaged with the civilised standard of conduct.¹²⁹ During sporting games which were arranged and controlled by the state agents in Bangkok, non-elite men did not have the self-control to curb their violent behaviour. When standardised soccer and kite fighting were officially played in Bangkok during the second half of the 1900s, non-elite players and spectators sometimes enjoyed using and watching

¹²⁷ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.50.

¹²⁸ Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.103.

¹²⁹ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, p.41; Malakul, 1904b, pp.392-3; "Chaeng Khwam Krom," 1907; BT, 17 December 1908, p.4.

violence.¹³⁰ However, in areas outside Bangkok where the Siamese government could not send their staff to inspect men's behaviour closely, the elites' civilising offensives scarcely created any impact. During boxing and kite-fighting games, local individuals widely ignored standardised rules. These men applied their own rules.¹³¹ Therefore, the elites' civilising offensives could make a significant impact only on non-elite students and people who could come to be part of the official sporting events in Bangkok. It can be said that civilising offensives in the sporting field, which were deliberately promoted around the turn of the twentieth century, created little impact on the long-term, unplanned civilising process.

Eventually, negotiations between social actors to define gender differences and identities determined the power of women. Non-elite men believed that a civilised masculine identity was effeminate and that football players should physically abuse others and be able to endure pain. They considered men who were unable to express an aggressive and stoic identity as weak and fearful. These characteristics belonged to the feminine identity that had been constructed by the government.

¹³⁰ Lekhayanon, 1977; Sethaboot, 1921, pp.54-7.

¹³¹ BT, 10 April 1907, p.5; Vail, 1998b, pp.69-85.

Tables 8.1
The Soccer Competitions for the Silver Shield of the Education Department¹³²

Knock-out Competitions

Years	Winners	Runner-ups	Other participating Schools
1901	Normal School	Sai Sawalee School	Survey, Watmahan, King's College, English Suankularb, Ratchakan (Royal Pages School), Thai Suankularb, and Klomphitthaya (Wat Poh)
1904	Watratchaburana Secondary School	Western Normal School	Suankularb Secondary, Suthat Secondary, Dhebsirin Primary
1905	Western Normal School	n/a	Klomphitthaya (Wat Poh), Watratchaburana Secondary, Suankularb Secondary, and Suthat Secondary
1906	Normal School (merged with Western Normal School)	n/a	n/a
1907	King's College	Royal Medical College	Normal School (entered semi-final round), English Suankularb, Secondary College, Watratchaburana Secondary, Suankularb Secondary, and Suthat Secondary
1908	King's College	Normal School	Suankularb, Royal Medical College, Suthat, Ratchaburana, Dhebsirin, and Nuannoradit

¹³² Malakul, 1907, p.434; "Kan Len Futbon," 1907, pp.783-7; "Kan Kritha Nakrian," 1910, p.156; "Khao Kan Khaengkhan," 1910e, p.303; BT, 5 November 1909, p.4; Lekhayanon, 1977.

League

Year	Winner	Runner-up	Third Place	Other participating Schools
1909	Royal Medical College	King's College	Normal School	Ratchaburana, Dhebsirin, Klomphitthaya (Wat Poh), Benchamabophit, Udom, Prathumkhongkha and Nuannoradit

* Royal Medical School and King's College earned the equal points, 13. Meanwhile, the Normal School gained 12 points. According to the rule, Royal Medical School and King's College had to play a play-off game to find a winner. The former won the game and gained two more points. The former was crowned the champion (Bangkok Times, 5 November 1909, p. 4; "Khao Kan Khaengkhan Futbon," 1910e, p. 303).

The Soccer Competition for the Silver Shield of Mr W. G. Johnson (The Advisor to the Ministry of Public Instruction)¹³³

Knock-out Competition

Year	Winner	Runner-up	Other participating Schools
1910 (halfway cancelled after the death of King Rama V)	-	-	King's College, Ratchaburana, Klomphitthaya, Suthat Primary, Bophitphimuk Primary, Borom Niwat Primary, Thngnoppakhun Primary, Sukumalai Primary, Sam Chine Tai Prathom, Anukromthayakarn Primary (Wat Saket), Dhebsirin Phiset Secondary, Prathumkhongka Phiset Secondary, Assumption Phiset Secondary, Christian Phiset High School, Anong Secondary, Nuannoradit Secondary, and Benchamabophit Secondary

¹³³ Lekhayanon, 1977.

Chapter IX

Conclusion

This chapter reconsiders how Elias and Dunning's analysis of sports and the civilising process in Western Europe can be applied to understand the long-term development of violence and civilisation in sporting and political spaces in Siam. I conclude by exploring how an investigation of actors' negotiations to adjust standards of violence in indigenous and Western sports helps transcend the historical understanding of the Westernisation process in Siam. This chapter revisits how the concept of the civilising offensive, which focuses the Siamese elites' intentional roles in planning the civilising programmes, is helpful in addressing the difficulties in approaching the civilising process as an unplanned development. It also engages with the ways in which Elias and Dunning's explanation of gender power is problematic to the extent that it overlooks how masculinity is redefined and performed under the civilising offensive, drawing on the concept of hegemonic masculinity.¹ I also highlight other applied theoretical aspects, especially the Goffmanesque emphasis on presentations of identity and Geertzian focus on status contests among men. The interplay between my findings from a historical study of Siam and the applied concepts will be discussed throughout this chapter.

The first two sections revisit the processes of state formation and civilisation in Siam. Section 9.3 reconsiders how the Eliasian analysis of sports, the concept of the civilising offensive and the concept of hegemonic masculine identity are valuable for capturing the development of sports in Siam. Section 9.4 notes the remaining limitations of this study, and provides suggestions for further research.

9.1 The Processes of State Formation and Colonisation

Before the political monopolisation under King Rama V in the late nineteenth century, patron-client groups and kingdoms were the We-group identifications whose survival depended on

¹ Elias & Dunning, 1986; Connell, 2008; Cowburn, 2013; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005.

their fighting ability and the size of their troops.² Within a pacified patron-client group, subjects fought, farmed and worked for their masters; while the latter provided legal and life protections for the former. The pre-modern states of Siam (the Ayutthaya and Thonburi Kingdoms) were formed by powerful cliques of lords who ended the period of free competition struggle.³ The kings of the Ayutthaya, Thonburi and early Bangkok periods could effectively exert administrative power simply around the capital city. Provincial and tributary lords had a high degree of political and financial autonomy. Disobedient lords in the capital, provinces, tributaries and other kingdoms frequently rebelled against, attacked or toppled the Siamese kings. This centrifugal tendency lasted for about five centuries until political centralisation.⁴ The patterns in the pre-modern politics of Siam were quite similar to those of medieval Europe, where warriors or lords unceasingly fought to end the period of the free competition struggle and became dominant kings, only for these kings and their successors to be continuously challenged by other ambitious lords.⁵ Moreover, Siam and Western European states developed their forms of centralised power through the processes of elimination contests. In Siam, the loose control of centralisation of the *mandala* regime was later tightened by King Rama V's adoption of fiscal and political monopolisation. Rama V used Western-style bureaucracy and communication technologies to include various tributaries into parts of centralised Siam.⁶

Western European lords did not fight as a means of attaining control over populations, as Western Europe was abundantly and densely populated. Rather, it was the scarcity of land that put pressure on lords, who had to fight to become territorial rulers. Attempts to strengthen military power and expand a territorial state, therefore, were vital in Western Europe. Their attempts unintentionally led to the process of building a pacified, territorial state, and the civilising process partially emerged from this development.⁷ In contrast, the Siamese elites and other lords fought each other in order to seize manpower and seaport cities, which were scarce and lucrative, respectively. Because land was abundant, tightened

² RCA, 2006, pp.385-6; Terwiel, 2010, pp.71-2; Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.153-196; Charney, 2004, pp.1-2; Jory, 2002b, pp.36-45.

³ Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.117, 153-5; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6; Aphornsuvan, 1998, pp.164-6; Elias, 2000, pp.263-282, 304-314.

⁴ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a; Wyatt, 1984.

⁵ Elias, 2000, pp.263-282, 304-314.

⁶ Elias, 2000, pp.187-194, 313-4; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a; Wyatt, 1984.

⁷ Elias, 2000.

control over it was unnecessary, and lords in pre-modern mainland Southeast Asian states did not fight to have clear-cut demarcated territories. Under the *mandala* state, a central ruler loosely controlled the land and military forces of distant cities and tributaries. This loose control, which operated continuously between the 1350s and the 1860s, did not require the formation of a pacified, territorial state.⁸

The Siamese court's ability and strategy of accumulating wealth and power did not produce the richest and strongest central ruler within a territorial state as it occurred in Western Europe. Before the late nineteenth century, Siamese kings were unable to monopolise tax collection within the *mandala* state as local lords and tax farmers had a significant degree of power to take a large portion of taxes for themselves. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the Siamese court ennobled bourgeoisie who rose from the commercial sphere, and this strategy blocked the development of the autonomous power of the money-owning class. Without the bourgeois class, the court could not appropriate a large amount of taxes.⁹ Therefore, the Siamese court was not rich enough to hire a large unit of soldiers as were the Western European monarchs who collected taxes from the money-owning class and town-dwellers.¹⁰ Furthermore, the royal mechanism, which the Western European courts built to maintain their superior status by counterbalancing the degenerating aristocratic group with the rising clique of the bourgeoisie, did not exist in Siam.¹¹ As a result, the economic and military powers of the Siamese court were not much superior to those of other lords.

Between the sixteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, the Siamese elites preserved gunfire technology for a small unit of foreign mercenary soldiers who they hired as personal protection. The Siamese court did not impose peasant levies in order to battle opposing lords and monopolise their physical power as the Western European court did.¹²

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, colonial powers pressured the Siamese elites to deliberately negotiate with the idea of the demarcated and centralised state and the standard of civilisation. Economic, social and political interdependencies between the Siamese, British,

⁸ Anderson, 1972, pp.28-32; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6; Grabowsky, 1999; Bowie, 1996; Wyatt, 1984; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a.

⁹ Lysa, 1983, pp.383- 398; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, pp.24-6, 230; Rabibhadana, 1984, pp.172-268; Eoseewong, 2000, p.64; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009a, pp.34-6.

¹⁰ Elias, 2000, pp.346-361.

¹¹ Elias, 2000, pp.320-337, 394-7.

¹² Chutintaranond, 2004, pp.59-64; Eoseewong, 2012a; Charney, 2004, pp.219-227.

French and other foreign powers catalysed the development of several elements necessary for the emerging territorial state and civilising tendency. These elements, which had previously developed in Europe, were the idea of clear-cut state boundaries, the principle of non-intervention, monetarisation, commercialisation, the division of labour, transportation techniques and state-centralised administrations for financial, military and political matters.¹³ Although the British and French who came to expand their trade network claimed to bring the idea of the territorial state and the civilised standard peacefully to supposedly “barbarous” Siam, they threatened to use violence against Siam if the latter did not agree with the former’s requests for accepting their rights over colonised territories and free-trade agreements. The Siamese elites negotiated with these Europeans by signing unequal treaties with foreigners and reconstructing their civilised self-image. Accordingly, at the inter-state level, the British and French did not in fact demonstrate a civilised identity, and the Siamese elites did not meekly assimilate Europeans’ standards as Elias thought.¹⁴

In the mid-1820s, the British coerced Siam into accepting a free trade agreement for specific goods, the political regime of the territorial state and the principle of non-intervention. The Siamese elites, who had not failed to notice how the British had destroyed Burma, tried not to use violence in the British area of influence in the Malay Peninsula (former Siamese tributaries).¹⁵ The elites began to accept the European idea of the sovereign and territorial state. Furthermore, British wanted to avoid the financial burden of directly governing Siam. Thus, they urged Siam to sign the Bowring Treaty of 1855 so that it would turn Siam enter the semi-colonial condition. Siam accepted this semi-colonial status by taking up the liberal economy and granting extraterritoriality to foreign subjects.¹⁶ To counterbalance the British power, Siam signed treaties similar to the Bowring Treaty with fourteen foreign powers.¹⁷ This new economic order encouraged the process of commercialisation and monetarisation in Siam. Several farmers cultivated lucrative plants and sold them on the international market. In the late nineteenth century, the Siamese elites felt that they could benefit from these

¹³ Elias, 2000, pp.38-9, 261, 287-9, 314-361.

¹⁴ Elias, 2000, pp.384-6; Dépelteau, Passiani, and Mariano, 2013, pp.46-7; *The Siamese Government and the British Government, 1826*; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.179-180; Vella, 1955, pp.332-3; Vella, 1971, pp.126-9; Hall, 1979, pp.628-630; Webster, 1998, pp.160-1; Wyatt, 1984, p.183.

¹⁵ Vella, 1971, pp.126-9; Hall, 1974, p.45; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.101.

¹⁶ Linklater, 2011, pp.53-8; Gong, 1984, p.217; Young, 1997, p.84; Loos, 2006, p.2; Jackson, 2004, p.230.

¹⁷ Suehiro, 1989, p.22; Ingram, 2009, p.49; Loos, 2006, p.2.

money-owned agrarians; therefore, the former gradually abolished the degenerating forced labour system and turned the latter into taxpayers, conscripts and citizens of the modern Siamese state.¹⁸ This new economic condition supported King Rama V's fiscal centralisation.

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the Siamese elites learned the financial, governmental and military techniques of the European colonial powers' colonies. King Rama V directly and strictly controlled tax collection via a new financial office.¹⁹ Moreover, the old ministerial system that had provided significant power sources for nobles was replaced by a functionally differentiated cabinet. Ministries of War, Interior and Finance, responsible for monopolising physical and fiscal power, were founded.²⁰ The government hired men who studied specialised subjects to serve in all new state organisations. The government ruled the centralised state via means of communication, post, telegraph and railways. Furthermore, the government also founded the colonial residency to interfere in political and economic affairs of tributaries and to protect its territories from British and French encroachment. The colonial residency allowed the elites to expand their centralised power throughout the demarcated state. However, the shape and size of Siam, French Indochina and the Malay States were also co-constructed and determined by the British and French desires to have Siam become a buffer state, the colonial powers' aims to occupy lucrative territories and the imperial powers' strategies to reduce their operating cost in unmanageable areas.²¹

9.2 (Un)planned Processes of Civilisation

In both Western European and Siamese contexts, civilised demeanours expanded alongside the centralising processes of territorial states. In Western Europe, prevalent civilised conducts were unplanned products of a lengthened chain of social and economic interdependencies and the central ruler's effort to centralise and pacify the state.²² During the colonial period, the spread of civilised Western conduct to Siam resulted from both unplanned and planned

¹⁸ Bunnag, 2008, p.33; Kesboonchoo-Mead, 2004, p.46.

¹⁹ Sahai, 2003; Bunnag, 1977, p.51; Vickery, 1970, pp.873-5; Vella, 1955, p.335; Loos, 2010, p.85; Kesboonchoo-Mead, 2004, pp.52-3.

²⁰ Battye, 1974, p.276; Bunnag, 1977, pp.60-1, 92-3.

²¹ Bunnag, 1977, p.72; Ongsakul, 2005, pp.180-191; Battye, 1974, p.287; Winichakul, 1994, pp.102-3; Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015, pp.83-5; Keyes, 1977; Loos, 2010; Walker, 2014.

²² Elias, 2000, pp.67-87, 187-191, 320-397; Elias, 2006, pp.93-4, 110-6, 143; van Krieken, 1998, pp.88, 97-8.

processes. From the early nineteenth century onwards, missionaries, traders and officials of colonial states applied their civilised standard towards judging and interacting with the Siamese.²³ Under this pressure, the Siamese elites did not want to be disdained by the Western standard of civilisation. They also feared colonial or civilising missions. Therefore, beginning in the early nineteenth century, the Siamese elites deliberately planned to engage with the civilised standard of behaviours and the ideas of free trade and territorial state as their interdependencies with the British and French continuously cemented.²⁴ The concept of the civilising offensive helps demonstrate that, between the late 1820s and the turn of the twentieth century, the long-term Western civilising process coexisted with the Siamese elites' civilising offensives.

The concept of the civilising offensive helps capture how the Siamese elites meticulously designed plans for maintaining their power and prestige at the internal and inter-state levels. This concept can trace the interrelationships of actors in several directions and levels.²⁵ Therefore, it can fill the gap of the concept of *Orientalism* which tends to focus only on the one-way relationship—Westerners' construction of their dominant knowledge of a superior and philanthropic Occident and an inherently barbarous Siam.²⁶ The concept of the civilising offensive helps explain how Kings Rama IV and V, who craved for a change from a noble-dominated polity to the absolute monarchical regime, applied civilising policies to produce the relationship between the philanthropic, civilised kings, less civilised nobles and uncivilised citizens. Nonetheless, their civilising policies were widely resisted by lords and people.²⁷ Furthermore, the projection of the self-images of the kings and absolutist state was also a response to the (semi-)colonising pressure and Westerners' condescension towards the supposedly uncivilised Siamese.²⁸

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the British and French presented themselves as civilised people who could not accept the uncivilised conditions in Siam, such

²³ See 5.2.

²⁴ Gong, 1984, p.208; Osborne, 2001, pp.89-97; King Mongkut, 2004; Chaiyaporn, 2017, p.5.

²⁵ See Verrips, 1986; Powell, 2013; Kruithof, 2015; Flint, Kruithof & Powell, 2015.

²⁶ Said, 2000.

²⁷ BR, 15 May 1866, p.68; BR, 12 July 1866, pp.109-110; Malakul, 1903a, p.560; Sethaboot, 1921, pp.68-9; King Mongkut, 1965; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.20-50; Lekhayanon, 1977; King Mongkut, 2004; Khongchan, 2004.

²⁸ BT, 10 January 1902, p.5; BT, 30 December 1907, p.3; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1957, pp.18-9; The Chiangmai Gymkhana Club, 1997; King Vajiravudh, 1968, pp.88-9

as the repressive elites, religious intolerance and immoral legal system.²⁹ They believed that Siam had to apply civilised legal regimes in order to be regarded a full participant in international society.³⁰ Furthermore, they considered that their civilised, extraterritorial law would help protect their lives and property in Siam.³¹ However, Siamese elites and intellectuals rejected the Western perception of the Siamese as being barbarous. In fact, many Siamese believed that it was the outsiders—Africans, French and British—who were the ones exhibiting uncivilised behaviour. The Siamese considered the French and British as ferocious and vile colonisers,³² and the Siamese elites presented themselves as civilised, cosmopolitan and believers of scientific and rationalised worldview.³³ In the 1900s, the Siamese intellectuals constructed the past and present of pacified Siam.³⁴ The Siamese elite, whose power and status were diminished and denigrated by their semi-colonial condition, promulgated new civilised criminal laws to abolish the extraterritorial privilege of the Westerners and become part of international society.³⁵

Between the late 1820s and the 1860s, Mongkut (King Rama IV) employed a stricter code of conduct through a religious reform and civilising offensives to help demonstrate himself as a moral, civilised and absolutist ruler under his formulated idea of a territorial kingdom. He criticised the insolent behaviours of nobles who wanted only to increase their power, but he also considered commoners immoral and irrational. He issued edicts to have all nobles and people behave in a civilised, rationalised, obedient and non-violent way. Although he wanted to build a pacified, absolutist state; disobedient nobles and commoners constantly violated the royal proclamations by planning or participating in robberies and uses of violence. King Rama IV could not establish absolutism and the pacified, territorial state. Furthermore, he hoped that his civilising offensives would convince the Westerners of the Siamese civilised identity. Nonetheless, in the eyes of one American journalist, the King's attempts were

²⁹ Hall, 1974, pp.56-63; Bradley, 1981, p.xi; Pallegoix, 1981, pp.48-9, 51.

³⁰ Gong, 1984, pp.14-5; Jackson, 2004, p.234; Horowitz, 2004, p.453.

³¹ Towns, 2009, p.693.

³² See Crawford, 1830, pp.216-7; Gong, 1984, p.208; Puaksom, 2003, p.32; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, p.12; Gützlaff, 2012, pp.66, 75; McFarland, 2012, pp.43-4.

³³ Puaksom, 2003, pp.140-2; King Mongkut, 1965, pp.119-122; Bowring, 1969, p.279; Gützlaff, 2012, p.69; Limapichart, 2009, pp.366-7; Damrong Rachanuphap, 1964, pp.75-7; Leonowens, 1954, p.191; Batty, 1974, pp.79-80.

³⁴ Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1926, pp.32-119.

³⁵ Piamsombun, 1980, pp.13-4, 18; Lingat, 1983, p.150; Horowitz, 2004, p.464.

scarcely sufficient to fulfil the standard of civilisation.³⁶ Mongkut's civilising offensives had little impact on Siam. Therefore, both in the Siamese and Dutch contexts, civilising offensives did not engender a significant change in the overall civilising tendency.³⁷

The next section will conclude how the concept of the civilising offensive can capture the parallel development of the planned civilising policies and nation-state building process in the late-nineteenth-century political and sporting contexts.

9.3 An Eliasian Analysis of Sports, the Civilising Offensive and Gender Power

Elias and Dunning's model (1986) is useful for demonstrating how sport played a role in gradually pacifying aggressive forms of demeanour. The application of their model to the Siamese context can elucidate and explain the long-term change from violent to civilised masculinities in political and sporting contexts. In Western Europe and Siam, the standards of violence in sports tended to decrease alongside the processes for building a centralised and pacified state and taming warriors/lords. In Siam, around the turn of the twentieth century, the civilising plans in the sporting sphere were applied alongside the Bangkok-based elites' efforts to monopolise the use of violence among all disaffected lords in provinces and tributaries. King Rama V invited the boxers of local patrons throughout the nation-state to compete under the civilised rules at a royal tournament. The King used this tournament to take or steal skilful local boxers from lords to serve him as civil-servants.³⁸ Nonetheless, unlike the Western European civilising tendency, the Siamese civilising process did not stem from parliamentarisation, urbanisation and industrialisation.

Elias and Dunning's analysis of sports, particularly in terms of functions of sports in society, the 'mimetic' feelings of real-life situations in sports and actors' production of game-rule norms, is suitable for understanding sports in pre-modern and modern Siam. However, to be able to apply their concept to Siam, Elias and Dunning's model should be reinforced by the idea that the transformation of masculinity relies on actors' creative expression of fluid gender identities and negotiations between the state and actors to produce gender power,

³⁶ BR, 5 October 1865, p.132; BR, 12 July 1866, pp.109-110; King Mongkut, 1965; King Mongkut, 2004; Wadkean, 2010.

³⁷ Verrips, 1977; Powell, 2013.

³⁸ See Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-7; Kritpet, 1982, p.38; Vail, 1998b, pp.69, 74, 82.

differences, relationships and division of labour.³⁹ Furthermore, to be able to capture how and why the Siamese elites designed civilising plans in the sporting sphere, Elias and Dunning's explanation of the unplanned development of civilised sports in Western Europe is modified by the concept of the "civilising offensive."⁴⁰ This concept helps illuminate how the Siamese elites intentionally selected, designed and promoted Western sports and civilised indigenous pastimes to deal with disobedient and aggressive commoners and the Western perception of the Siamese as being weak and barbarous. Furthermore, the elites' attempts to modify sports to cope with actors at both internal and inter-state levels reflect that the elites did not just want to imitate Western culture.⁴¹

Subsection 9.3.1 emphasises how the aforementioned concepts are applied to comprehend pre-modern sports in Siam. Subsections 9.3.2 and 9.3.3 focus on the concepts which are helpful for explaining the changes in gender power and sports in Siam during the age of colonisation.

9.3.1 Hegemonic Masculinity and Pre-Modern Sports

Elias' analysis of Greek sports is valuable for understanding pre-modern games in Siam. In both Greece and Siam, violent games had both war-related and entertainment functions for societies where violence between social units was common and continuous. Spectators lauded players' abilities to express the virtues of warriors, as these desirable qualities were vital for their survival.⁴² Under violent tendencies in warfare, coups and political conflicts during pre-modern Siam, each patron-client group or kingdom required its male members to train to become strong and aggressive by participating in warlike pastimes. These games also functioned as a way to escape the boredom of routine life. In boat races, elephant round-ups, kite fighting, fencing and boxing, all sportsmen and spectators experienced the mimetic feelings of real wars between social groups, pleasure in using or seeing deft sporting/warring capabilities against rivals and enjoyment in mocking opponents. Although players could die

³⁹ Elias & Dunning, 1986; Connell, 2008; Cowburn, 2013; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005.

⁴⁰ Verrips, 1986; Powell, 2013; Kruithof, 2015; Flint, Kruithof & Powell, 2015.

⁴¹ For studies that emphasise how the Siamese elites pursued and imitated the Western civilised lifestyle and sports, please see Winichakul (2000a; 2000b), Peleggi (2002), Kitiarsa (2010), Kritpet (1982), Allison (1998, p.721) and Siri (2006).

⁴² Elias & Dunning, 1986, pp.138-142.

during an elephant round-up, fencing and boxing, these games were much less dangerous than a real war.⁴³

The concept of hegemonic masculinity brings a consideration of how actors and the state creatively and fluidly constructed the legitimate aggressive masculinity in relation to a gender regime. The pre-modern Siamese state gave noble status to male commoners who could successfully demonstrate warrior virtues during warfare.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, not all swordsmen and warriors were brave enough to pursue the masculine ideal by fighting to the death during fencing and warfare.⁴⁵ The male-dominated bureaucracy reproduced and legitimised the idea that men should monopolise the use of violence. The bureaucracy gave male lords the powers to possess manpower/warriors and to use judicial authority to violently punish individuals.⁴⁶ The state and society excluded women from violent activities in everyday life and sporting spaces. Elite women were responsible for strengthening kinship-based politics through marriage and were required to preserve their virginity and stay at home. They tended to be more passive and weaker than female commoners, who had to leave home to perform their role as breadwinners.⁴⁷ In the aforementioned warlike pastimes, which were organised by male patrons or a male-dominated state, women tended to play supporting roles. For example, they were spectators, or they led a ritual before the elephant round-up.⁴⁸ Women engaged in non-violent and less adventurous games such as chess and hide-and-seek.⁴⁹ Their involvements in pastimes produced the gentle identity of women and the aggressive identity of men.

9.3.2 Masculinities and Sports in the Age of Colonisation

Beginning in the 1820s, political and economic interdependencies between the British, French and Siamese engendered a gradual reduction in the function for warfare of warlike games.

⁴³ Ma Huan, 1970, p.107; Dibakarawongsa, 1978, pp.146-9; Reid, 1988, pp.177-9, 191; Tamra Ratcha Sewok, 1994; Gerson, 1996; Vail, 1998b, pp.28-9; RCA, 2006; Pansakun, 2012; Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

⁴⁴ Rabibhadana, 1984, p.226.

⁴⁵ Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.55-6; Samutthakhot Khamchan, 2017.

⁴⁶ King Mongkut, 2004, pp.211-5.

⁴⁷ Low, 1836, pp.382-8; Wannarat, 1982, p.4; Bowie, 1996, p.107; Grabowsky, 1999, p.46; Charney, 2004, p.18; Terwiel, 2010, pp.73-4; Khamhaikan Chao Krungkao, 1964, p.174; Suklarpkit, 2013; Songsamphan, 2008; Baker & Phongpaichit, 2014, pp.26-33.

⁴⁸ Gerson, 1996, p.54; Reid, 1988, pp.177-9; Low, 1836, p.388; Sethaboot, 1921, p.29.

⁴⁹ Low, 1836, p.382; Sangkhanukit, 2017.

The Siamese elites avoided war with these foreigners as the latter's gunboats were much mightier than the former's military force. The elites turned to focus on possessing modern warships rather than traditional warfare methods of using elephants and rowboats.⁵⁰

In the semi-colonial condition, Western people did not play any direct role in bringing civilised sports to Siam. Rather, the Siamese elites who continuously suffered Westerners' insults deliberately created and used sports as tools to civilise men and the country. Westerners' negative viewpoints of the very high degree of violence in indigenous games engendered pressure on the Siamese elite to adjust indigenous games to the civilised standard. From the 1830s to 1880s, the British perceived that men in Siam engaged in barbarous games, and Westerners considered the Siamese to be puny, weak and cowardly, even though Siamese men engaged in violent indigenous pastimes.⁵¹ The Siamese ruling elites accepted the Western perception of the Siamese as being weak and lethargic.⁵² To avoid these insults, the Siamese elites modified popular indigenous games like fencing, boxing and kite fighting so that these games were regulated by civilised rules. They responded to the Westerners' insults by having non-elite men play and watch civilised indigenous games. The Siamese constructed the civilised and robust images of national games through standardised boxing and kite fighting.⁵³ The Siamese elites also presented the self-images of the civilised and strong Siamese by patronising the foreign expatriates' sports clubs and beating the Westerners in horseraces and a polo game.⁵⁴ The elites also encouraged non-elite men and students to engage in Western, civilised physical activities like drills, sports events and soccer.⁵⁵ In Bangkok, many Siamese non-elite footballers, who interacted with more civilised actors, committed themselves to the civilised style of play. However, Westerners maintained their self-image of being highly civilised men by judging the inferior ability of Siamese footballers and suggesting that they improve the standard of playing.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ See Bradley, 1981, pp.36-7; Damrong Rachanuphap, 1931, pp.36-7; Wyatt, 1969, p.28; Bowring, 1969, p.324; Peleggi, 2002, p.23; Weiler, 2013, pp.14, 113.

⁵¹ Low, 1836, pp.387-8; Stringer, 1888, p.7; Brain, 1912, p.332; Leonowens, 1954, p.20; Smith, 2008, p.52.

⁵² Khun Charatchawanaphan, 1904b, pp.204-5; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1957, pp.18-9.

⁵³ "Chaeng Khwam Samoson Muai," 1907, pp.206-7; NAT, 1907a; Sethaboot, 1921; Niwasawat, 1928, pp.16-8; Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-7; Vail, 1998b, pp.69-82.

⁵⁴ BT, 10 January 1902, p.5; King Vajiravudh, 1968, pp.88-9.

⁵⁵ "Laksut Mun Sueksa," 1903, p.62; Malakul, 1903a, p.560; Johnson, 1908, p.227; "Khao Kan Sueksa," 1907, pp.58-62; Lekhayanon, 1977.

⁵⁶ BT, 12 September 1910, p.5.

The elites tried to express themselves as civilised men who could successfully operate civilising missions in their demarcated state.⁵⁷ However, the *Bangkok Times*, a Western English-language newspaper did not entirely agree with the elites' constructed self-image. The paper reported triumphs of the Siamese elites over Westerners in civilised games and the ruling elites' energetic support for standardised sports.⁵⁸ However, the paper also frequently reported on the failures of the civilising projects.⁵⁹ Thus, the paper sometimes accepted and helped reproduce the civilised self-image of the Siamese elites. However, it also often portrayed the elite's civilising projects as being unsuccessful. In conclusion, the Siamese elites' civilising offensives in the sporting field could sometimes bring about improvement of their self-image. However, in Siam and Western Europe, the impact of the civilising offensives on changes in standard of behaviour is limited.⁶⁰

In the late nineteenth century, Rama V's government tried to establish a pacified territorial state and no longer supported and legitimised the aggressive masculinity. The ruling elites who considered themselves civilisers of the nation-state were repulsed by the aggressive behaviour of non-elite men.⁶¹ Beginning in the late 1890s, the elites deliberately designed education and sports to inculcate the civilised, softened and disciplined masculine identity into non-elite men.⁶² The government propagated civilised boxing, standardised kite fighting, fencing, drills and association football to provide the de-routinising function for non-elite men, whose lifestyle was more related to routine life at school and workplace. The Siamese absolutist monarchical government, which now concretely interacted with citizens of the nation-state, created new social spaces where relationships between the civilised elites and the unruly non-elites were intertwined. In classrooms, pitches for training drills, venues for the annual sporting events, kite-fighting grounds and soccer pitches, the ruling elites and state officials applied the state version of the civilised standard to soften the non-elite men's aggressive behaviour. Moreover, by organising soccer matches and sporting contests during

⁵⁷ Lekhayanon, 1977; The Royal Bangkok Sports Club, 2013.

⁵⁸ BT, 11 September 1901, p.2; BT, 10 January 1902, p.5; King Vajiravudh, 1968, pp.88-9.

⁵⁹ For example, see BT, 26 December 1901, p.5; BT, 10 April 1907, p.5; BT, 10 September 1910, pp.6-7; BT, 12 September 1910, p.5.

⁶⁰ Verrips, 1987; Powell, 2013.

⁶¹ Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya, 1909, p.658; Wyatt, 1969, p.225; Nitjit, 1987, p.67; Johnston, 1980; Malakul, 2008.

⁶² "Withison," 1901, pp.48-51; Wyatt, 1969, pp.181-2; Lekhayanon, 1977; "Chaeng Khwam Samoson Muai," 1907, pp.206-7; NAT, 1907a; Sethaboot, 1921; Niwasawat, 1928, pp.16-8; Sangsawang, 1979, pp.96-7; Vail, 1998b, pp.69-82.

state ceremonies, elites hoped that these games would attract people to take part in the events. These events were held as a plan to praise key figures of the absolute monarchy. The elites used sports to incite people to demonstrate feelings of civilised excitement and mourning. After the death of King Rama V, the government cancelled these entertaining sporting events and encouraged all people to be mournful.⁶³ Thus, sports were tools to guide citizens to behave in the ways which served the existing social order.

Around the 1900s, the civilising tendency in sports—soccer and kite fighting—brought about boredom among sportsmen and spectators who came from the non-elite stratum. This led both non-elites and elites to struggle to modify game-rule norms of these sports to eliminate risks of boredom.⁶⁴ For instance, non-elite men who enjoyed making and watching violent contact created their rules for playing soccer. They considered soccer a contest to show aggressive and stoic identities rather than the competition of gentlemen to score more goals than their opponents.⁶⁵ Non-elite footballers who embodied social units of self-identification—schools and state organisations—tended to use violence against players of their antagonistic social groups rather than their teammates. For these men, soccer was a space where mimetic emotions of their real life (hatred and love) were released. Nonetheless, the elites remained disturbed by the non-elites' violent style of play, and they created a long-shot contest that permitted non-elite players to use violence in a safe form by forcefully kicking the ball rather than fellow players.⁶⁶

From the 1880s to the early 1900s, the elites' plans for promoting civilised sports did not yet bring any significant change in aggressive masculine identity. During this period, violent masculinity was widely displayed by non-elites during kite-fighting matches and soccer games. However, in Bangkok between 1905 and 1910 there was a change in masculine identity among non-elite men who engaged in annual sports competitions, kite-fighting games and soccer matches. The Goffmanesque and Geertzian models are useful to elucidate how non-elite men managed to impress others and compete with other male sportsmen, during sporting contests.⁶⁷ To avoid being shamed and reaffirm the prestige of their social

⁶³ Malakul, 1910b, p.775.

⁶⁴ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.47-147; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.48-50; Lekhayanon, 1977, p.74.

⁶⁵ Sunthonphiphit, 1972.

⁶⁶ Lekhayanon, 1977, p.74.

⁶⁷ Goffman, 1959, pp.1-16; Birrell, 1981, pp.365-372; Maguire, 1992, pp.109-118; Geertz, 2005.

status, the non-elite men competed with one another to fluidly express the aggressive and civilised masculine identities in different social situations. For example, in soccer games in which only non-elite men participated, they felt compelled to compete with other men by showing their aggression, bravery and toughness. However, when playing with or in front of the elites and Westerners, the non-elite footballers temporally submitted themselves to a superior civilised standard of the elites and the Westerners. To avoid being condemned as uncivilised and to maintain their prestige, they temporarily curbed their aggressive manners and acted in a civilised way. They turned to focus on beating the elites and the Westerners by scoring goals.⁶⁸

9.3.3 Women, Power and Modern Sports

A 'gender regime' analysis helps capture the fact that female and male power depends on negotiation rather than the automatic effects of the civilising process.⁶⁹ Beginning in the 1850s, female elites were educated by Siamese and Western instructors regarding maternal roles in domestic space and cosmopolitan culture. This mode of female education was a result of social and economic interdependencies during the age of colonisation. Around the turn of the twentieth century, Siamese intellectuals, Siamese elite women and Westerners supported the idea that women should be educated and active in performing state missions. However, King Rama V, who did not want women to challenge his patriarchal government, paid less attention to improving women's education and status.⁷⁰ Without job opportunities in market and bureaucracy, female education that tended to produce passive and courteous housewives was unpopular among non-elite women. Commoners preferred to keep their daughters at home, so that the latter would engage in farming and trading.⁷¹ To preserve the male-dominated government of the absolute monarchical regime, the male elites only permitted female elites to take some roles in improving maternal and domestic roles of

⁶⁸ See Stringer, 1888, p.7; BT, 26 December 1901, p.5; BT, 10 April 1907, p.5; Sethaboot, 1921, pp.4-141; Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.138-9; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.23-56; Wongthon, 2007, pp.16-7.

⁶⁹ See Elias & Dunning, 1986, p.269; Hargreaves, 1992; Connell, 2008.

⁷⁰ Nitjin, 1987, pp.81-124; Chaengchenkit, 1987, pp.43, 48; Barmé, 2002, pp.22-25; Boonyasathit, 2005, pp.162-3; McFarland, 2012, pp.98-101; Woodhouse, 2009, pp.111-3; Towns, 2009, p.686.

⁷¹ "Raingan Prachum," 1903a, pp.638-9; Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya and Luang Yanwichit, 1905, pp.182-3; Nitjit, 1987; Chaengchenkit, 1987; Boonyasathit, 2005; Barmé, 2002; Songsamphan, 2008; Towns, 2009; Woodhouse, 2009, pp.111-2; Suklarpkit, 2013.

women. Therefore, the elite women promoted civilising campaigns by founding the school for midwifery and publishing *The Recipe Manual of the Great Female Cook*.⁷²

Both female and male elites believed that women should not be vigorous, muscled or untidy. Women were encouraged to participate in non-contact physical activities—drills, tennis and croquet—within the walls of homes and schools. In standardised kite fighting, which required strength and stamina, women played supporting roles—spectators and tournament patrons. In the educational, public and sporting spaces, women tended to reproduce gender differences, which defined men as a robust and active gender and women as a weak and passive gender.⁷³

9.4 Limitations and Suggestions

This research has some limitations. Most of my applied pieces of evidence of sports were records which recounted stories in central and northern parts of Siam, and I could not find any evidence regarding sports activities in other regions of Siam. This means that my evaluation of the development of modern sports largely represents the nationwide policies of Bangkok-based elites and the way individuals played games in central and northern Siam. Accordingly, further research may need to focus on evidence in eastern, north-eastern and southern parts of Siam in order to understand a wider scope of the effect of civilised sports. Furthermore, I could not find any material concerning standardised boxing matches during the reign of King Rama V. These documents would be valuable to portray how Siamese boxers and spectators reacted to the unprecedented introduction of civilised rules to indigenous boxing.

Moreover, this thesis emphasises the concepts of the civilising process and civilising offensive in order to explain the spread of the civilised behaviour at the inter-state and intra-state levels. Nevertheless, the theories of colonialism, which provide various explanations of a change in the power relationships between Siam and colonial countries, are not discussed much in this research. Further research may need to apply some concepts of colonialism in

⁷² Nitjit, 1987, pp.113-4; Phasakorawong, 2001; Woodhouse, 2009, p.104.

⁷³ Ruea, 1907, p.316; Kritpet, 1982, pp.40-1; Chaengchenkit, 1987, pp.28, 35; Boonyasathit, 2005, pp.118-9; Yodhong, 2013, p.246.

order to elaborate on how the colonial relationships in each phase generate an extent of economic, political, cultural and social interdependencies among these countries.⁷⁴

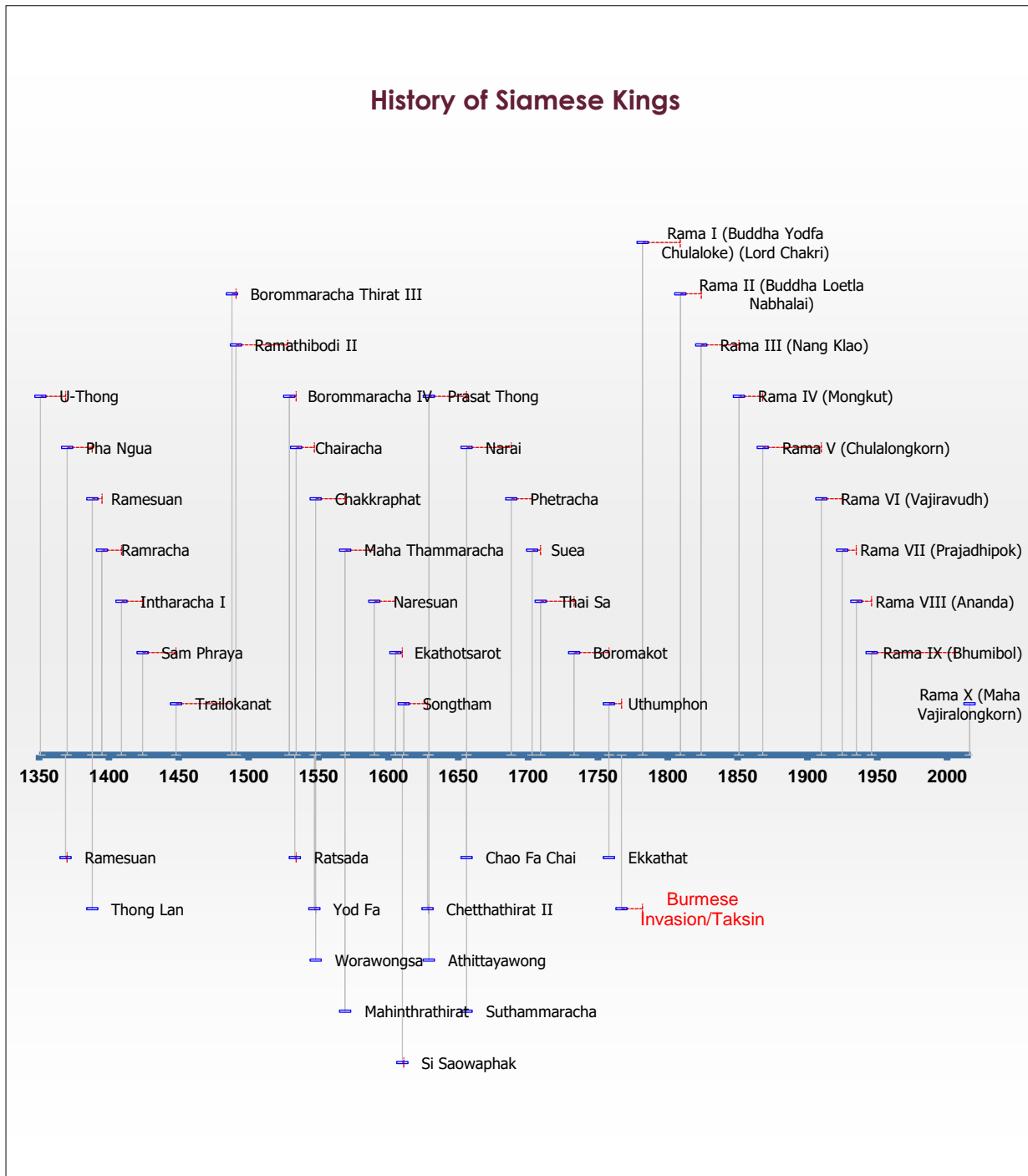
To study the development of territorial states and civilised sports in mainland Southeast Asia drawing on Elias and Dunning's work, it will be useful to focus, more explicitly and in more depth than I have in this account, on how and to what degree colonisation affected these developments. Colonisation was a crucial factor that led to the Siamese processes of building the territorial state and pacifying an internal state. Moreover, the territorial states of Malaysia, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Burma began to be formed during the colonial era.⁷⁵ During the 1880s, the French, who tried to establish an effective bureaucracy by expanding colonial residency to govern Cambodia, simultaneously developed a police force to pacify the state. These French attempts suggest that the processes of building the modern state and pacifying the internal state tend to develop concurrently.⁷⁶ The Siamese elites and French played active roles in deliberately bringing civilised conditions to Siam and Cambodia, consequently. It would be a valuable contribution to the literature on sport and the civilising process, then, to apply the concept of the civilising offensive to investigate whether and how rulers planned to promote civilising policies and sports in Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Vietnam and Burma. Furthermore, outcomes of the rulers' civilising plans and the roles of interdependency in the unplanned civilising process should be thoroughly assessed.

⁷⁴ For studies, which focus on the issues of colonialism and the power relationships between Siam and colonial powers, see Winichakul (2000a; 2000b), Jory (2002a), Lysa (2003; 2004; 2008), Jackson (2004), Limapichart (2009), Loos (2010) and Walker (2008; 2014).

⁷⁵ Battye, 1974; Hall, 1979; Winichakul, 1994; Walker, 2008; Walker, 2014; Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015.

⁷⁶ Bouhours, Broadhurst and Bouhours, 2015, pp.83-6, 91.

Appendix 2: List of Siamese Kings and Political Regimes from 1351 to Present



The Kingdom of Ayutthaya (1351-1767)²

	Name	Birth-Death	Reign	Political Regimes
1.	King U-Thong	1314-1369	1351-1369	Pre-modern regime
2.	King Ramesuan	1339-1395	1369-1370 (The first time before abdication)	
3.	King Pha Ngua	?-1388	1370-1388	
4.	King Thong Lan	?-1388	1388	
	King Ramesuan	1339-1395	1388-1395 (The second time)	
5.	King Ramracha	1356-?	1395-1409	
6.	King Intharacha I	1359-1424	1409-1424	
7.	King Sam Phraya	?-1448	1424-1448	
8.	King Trailokanat	1431-1488	1448-1488	
9.	King Borommaracha Thirat III	?-1491	1488-1491	
10.	King Ramathibodi II	1473-1529	1491-1529	
11.	King Borommaracha IV (No Phutthangkun)	?-1533	1529-1534	
12.	King Ratsada	1529-1534	1533-1534	
13.	King Chairacha	?-1547	1534-1547	
14.	King Yod Fa	1535-1548	1547-1548	
15.	King Worawongsa	?-1548	1548	
16.	King Chakkraphat	1509-1569	1548-1569	
King Bayinnaung of Burma seized the Kingdom of Ayutthaya in February 1569. His army left Ayutthaya in April 1569.				Pre-modern regime
17.	King Mahinthrathirat	1539-?	1569 (Ruling Ayutthaya as a vassal of Burma)	Pre-Modern Regime
18.	King Maha Thammaracha	1517-1590	1569-1590 (Ruling Ayutthaya as a vassal of Burma) (Declaring Independence from Burma in 1584)	
19.	King Naresuan	1555-1605	1590-1605	
20.	King Ekathotsarot	1557-1610	1605-1610	
21.	King Si Saowaphak	?-1611	1610-1611	
22.	King Songtham	?-1628	1611-1628	
23.	King Chetthathirat II	1613-1629	1628-1629	
24.	King Athittayawong	1618-1629	1629	
25.	King Prasat Thong	1599-1656	1629-1656	
26.	King Chao Fa Chai	?-1656	1656	
27.	King Suthammaracha	?-1656	1656	
28.	King Narai	1629-1688	1656-1688	
29.	King Phetracha	1632-1703	1688-1703	
30.	King Suea	?-1709	1703-1709	
31.	King Thai Sa	?-1733	1709-1733	
32.	King Boromakot	?-1758	1733-1758	

² Kasetsiri, 2005, pp.20-92.

33.	King Uthumphon	?-1796	1758	
34.	King Ekkathat	?-1767	1758-1767 (Removed by the Kingdom of Burma)	

The Kingdom of Thonburi (1768-1782)

Name	Birth-Death	Reign	Political Regimes
King Taksin	1734-1782	1767-1782 (usurped by Lord Chakri or later King Rama I)	Pre-modern regime

The Kingdom of Siam/Thailand (The Bangkok or Rattanakosin Era) (1782-Present)³

	Name	Birth-Death	Reign	Political Regimes
1.	King Rama I (Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke) (Lord Chakri)	1737-1809	1782-1809	Pre-modern regime
2.	King Rama II (Buddha Loetla Nabhalai)	1767-1824	1809-1824	Pre-modern regime
3.	King Rama III (Nang Klao)	1788-1851	1824-1851	Pre-modern regime
4.	King Rama IV (Mongkut)	1804-1868	1851-1868	Pre-modern regime
5.	King Rama V (Chulalongkorn)	1853-1910	1868-1910	1. Pre-modern regime (abolished after a series of a political reform between 1873 and 1890)* 2. Absolute monarchy (from the late 19 th century* to 1932) <i>* Between 1873 and 1890, King Rama V established the Finance Office, the colonial residency, the functionally differentiated cabinet-government and the provincial administration in order to centralise his power.</i>
6.	King Rama VI (Vajiravudh)	1881-1925	1910-1925	Absolute monarchy
7.	King Rama VII (Prajadhipok)	1893-1941	1925-1935 (abdicated)	1. Absolute monarchy (1925-1932) 2. constitutional monarchy (1932-present)
8.	King Rama VIII (Ananda)	1925-1946	1935-1946	Constitutional monarchy
9.	King Rama IX (Bhumibol)	1927-2016	1946-2016	Constitutional monarchy
10.	King Rama X (Maha Vajiralongkorn)	1952-present	2016-present	Constitutional monarchy

³ Baker & Phongpaichit, 2002, p.470.

Appendix 3: List of Coups in Pre-Modern Siam⁴

Years of Coups	Coup d'état	Summarized Detail of Incidents
1370	King Ramesuan [r.1369-1370] was replaced by Prince Phra Ngua of Suphanburi.	King Ramesuan was forced by Prince Phra Ngua to leave the throne. King Ramesuan fled to the city of Suphanburi.
1388	King Thonlan [r.1388] was replaced by Prince Ramesuan of Lopburi.	King Thong Lan, a son of King Phra Ngua [r.1370-1388], was overthrown and executed by Prince Ramesuan. King Ramesuan ascended to the throne for the second time between 1388 and 1395.
1409	King Ramaracha [r.1395-1409] was replaced by Prince Nakhon In (Intharacha I) of Suphanburi.	King Ramracha was toppled by Prince Nakhon In, who was a nephew of King Phra Ngua.
1424	After King Intharacha I [r.1409-1424] had died, his sons fought each other to claim the throne.	Sons of King Intharacha I, Prince Ai of Suphanburi and Prince Yi of Sanburi, fought each other. Both of them died. The throne fell into the hands of Prince Sam Phraya.
1534	King Ratsada [r.1533-1534] was replaced by Prince Chairacha of Phitsanulok (the viceroy).	Five-year-old King Ratsada was executed by his uncle who was the viceroy (Prince Chairacha).
1548	King Yod Fa [r.1547-1548] was replaced by Lord Worawongsa.	As a thirteenth-year-old king, King Yod Fa was not able to control power. He was executed by his officer, Lord Worawongsa. As King Worawongsa was not accepted by princes and high-ranking lords, he was removed from power. He was executed by a troop of Prince Thianracha (Chakkraphat).
1548	King Worawongsa [r.1548] was replaced by Prince Thianracha (Chakkraphat).	
1611	King Si Saowaphak [r.1610-1611] was replaced by Prince Songtham.	King Si Saowaphak was brought down and killed by his half-brother, Prince Songtham.
1629	King Chetthathirat II [r.1628-1629] was replaced by Prince Athittayawong.	After the death of King Songtham [r.1611-1628], Lord Sri Suriyawong (Prasat Thong), a powerful noble, supported young Prince Chetthathirat II to ascend the throne. A dispute between King Chetthathirat II and Lord Sri
1629	King Athittayawong [r.1629] was replaced by	

⁴ Eoseewong, 1984, pp.14-120; Dibakarawongsa, 1995, pp.34-5; Sartraproong, 1998, pp.6-20; Damrong Rachanuphap, 2003, pp.6-8; Dibakarawongsa, 2004, pp.131-2; Kasetsiri, 2005, pp.20-86; Kasetsiri, 2013, pp.8-91; RCA, 2006.

	Lord Sri Suriyawong (Prasat Thong).	Suriyawong (Prasat Thong) led to a death sentence for the King. After Lord Sri Suriyawong had chosen the King's younger brother to take the throne for a month, King Athittayawong was usurped and killed by Lord Sri Suriyawong.
1656	King Chao Fa Chai [r.1656] was replaced by Prince Suthammaracha.	The uncle of King Chao Fa Chai (Prince Suthammaracha) and a half-brother of the King (Prince Narai) cooperatively overthrew the King. Suthammaracha ascended the throne and appointed Prince Narai as the viceroy. Prince Narai later toppled and killed the king.
1656	King Suthammaracha [r.1656] was replaced by Prince Narai.	
1688	King Narai [r.1656-1688] was replaced by Lord Phetracha.	King Narai and three princes who were expected to be the King's successors were purged by Lord Phetracha. King Narai's ministers were also executed. The Phetracha's mother was a King Narai's milkmaid. Therefore, he and his family had a chance to serve the court and gain the influence in the bureaucracy.
1703	A successor of King Phetracha was executed by Prince Sorasak (the viceroy). The viceroy crowned himself as King Suea.	Prince Khwan was selected by King Phetracha to be the next king instead of the viceroy (Prince Sorasak or later King Suea). Prince Sorasak executed Prince Khwan.
1733	King Thai Sa's sons fought with a King Thai Sa's brother in order to take the throne.	The son (Prince Aphai) of King Thai Sa and Thai Sa's brother (the viceroy [Phon]) waged a war to claim the right to ascend the throne. The war ended with the death of Prince Aphai and his clique. The viceroy crowned himself as King Boromakot.
1758	King Uthumphon [r.1758] was replaced by Prince Ekkathat.	King Uthumphon was forced to abdicate by his brother, Prince Ekkathat. Prince Uthumphon ordained in order to avoid the violent conflict.
1782	King Taksin [r.1767-1782] of the Kingdom of Thonburi was replaced by Lord Chakri.	King Taksin and his officers were captured and executed by a clique of Lord Chakri and nobles.
1783	Lord Aphai Ronnarit and civil servants who served King Rama I [r.1782-1809] tried to rebel against the king, but the mission was unsuccessful.	Lord Aphai Ronnarit and other royal officers planned to topple King Rama I. Two assassins were captured and executed by officers of the viceroy, who was a brother of the king.

1803	Sons of the viceroy (Bunma) unsuccessfully staged a coup against King Rama I.	After the death of the viceroy (Bunma), his sons, Prince Lamduan and Prince Inthapat, attempted to overthrow King Rama I. The princes were sentenced to death.
1809	Prince Kasattranuchit, his siblings and officials unsuccessfully staged a coup against King Rama II.	Prince Kasattranuchit, a son of King Taksin, planned to overthrow King Rama II, but the plan was apprehended. The prince and his clique were executed.
1848	Prince Kraison planned to topple King Rama III; nevertheless, his plan failed.	Prince Kraison, an uncle of King Rama III, planned to gang up on the King. Nonetheless, Prince Kraison and his officers were arrested and executed.

Appendix 4: Socio-Economic Backgrounds of some Ruling-Class and Non-Elite Men

Names	Backgrounds & Education	Work	Patterns of behaviour
Prince Kittiyakara [1874-1931]	He was a son of Rama V. He studied primary school at Suankularb School, in 1883. Between 1885 and 1894, he studied in England.	After he had graduated from the University of Oxford, he went back to serve Rama V as His Majesty's Principal Private Secretary. Later, he served his role as the Director-General of the Education Department. In 1902, he became the Minister of Finance.	He was probably unfamiliar with the aggressive character of Thai men because, after his graduation from England, he was shocked by undisciplined behaviours of students and teachers. ⁵
Sanan Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya [1876-1943]	He was a son of a high-ranking noble. His ancestor was an elder sister of King Rama I [r.1782-1809]. His father was the head of the Department of the Privy Purse. Between 1888 and 1894, he studied primary and secondary levels at Wat Bophitphimuk School, Suankularb School, Sununthalai School and the Normal School. In 1894, he became a teacher and an assistant of the headmaster of the Normal School. In 1896, the Education Department selected him to study abroad at Borough Road College in London. In 1898, he graduated and visited India for observing educational activities. ⁶	In 1898, during the time that the Education Department still did not have any textbooks, he was assigned by the government to write textbooks himself. At that time, he was also a teacher at the Normal School. In 1900, he rose to become an assistant to the head of the Monitoring Office, the Education Department. He laid down regulations for examination and for inspecting the state schools. In 1901, he initiated the first football competition of the Education Department. Schools contested for the Shield of the Department. In 1902, he rose to become the head of a new Royal Pundits Department. In 1907, he became the head of the Monitoring Office, the Education Department. In 1911, he served as the Permanent Secretary of the	During Sanan's childhood, one of Sanan's teachers liked his intellectual capability, determination and diligence. According to an account of Khuru Sapha (The Teachers Council of Thailand), Sanan was gentle, polite and humble. He never used any coarse language. ⁸ F. K. Exell, a teacher from England who met Sanan in the 1920s, stated: "Suffice to say he [Sanan] was dignified, cultured and kindly man..." ⁹

⁵ Wyatt, 1969, pp.181-2.

⁶ Wongthon, 2007, pp.7-11; Phutthamat, 1986, pp.5-7; Sutdiaokrai, 1983, pp.1-5.

⁸ Wongthon, 2007, pp.9-10, 16.

⁹ Exell, 1963, p.21.

		Ministry of Public Instruction. ⁷	
Prince Sithiporn Kridakara [1883-1971]	He was a nephew of Rama IV. He studied primary school at Harrow School. In 1901, he graduated from City and Guild's Technical College that was later merged to be part of the University of London.	After graduation, he came back to Siam to help a family business. In 1906, he worked as a secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1910, he became the assistant of Director-General of the Department of Opium, the Ministry of Finance. In 1913, he rose to become the Director-General of the Department of Coins. ¹⁰	In a male space like soccer, when playing with opponents who played in a semi-aggressive style, Prince Sithiporn only expressed his gentle and disciplined masculinity. He focused on skills and goal-scoring rather than physical and verbal abuses. ¹¹
Yong Sathiankoset (Phraya Anumanratchathon) [1888-1969]	He was a son of a humble Chinese-Thai family. ¹² His family opened a small grocery store in Bangkok. Around 1897, he studied at a state school, Baan Phraya Nana School. In 1900, he studied at a Catholic School, Assumption College. He graduated Grade 10. ¹³	After leaving school, he worked in a state pharmacy and Oriental Hotel in Bangkok, respectively. Between 1905 and 1913, he worked as a clerk at the Customs Department. ¹⁴	During their childhood, Yong and Choei felt compelled to compete with other boys to express an aggressive masculinity. These boys and their friends physically and verbally abused one another. ¹⁵
Choei Sunthonphiphit [1891-1973]	He was born in Thonburi. He was the son of gardeners. As his parents made a living as gardeners rather than serving their masters as servants, his parents' social rank was that of serfs.	In 1910, he was a secretary of Northeast Precinct. Between 1916 and 1932, he worked as the governor of five provinces. After the 1932 Democratic Revolution, he became a director-general of	

⁷ Wyatt, 1969, pp.223, 303; Wongthon, 2007, pp.7-12; Phutthamat, 1986, p.8.

¹⁰ Kridakara, 1971.

¹¹ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.54-6.

¹² According to the policy of nineteenth-century Thailand, the government required a number of hired Chinese labourers for construction. This was the period during which the money economy and the evasion of serfs highly increased. These Chinese people were not classified as serfs. They had rights to trade and travel in Siam. They had to pay tax, the amount of which was small if compared to the money serfs needed to pay to be exempted from corvée (Susayan, 2009, pp.83-85; Eoseewong, 2012, pp.111-115).

¹³ Sathiankoset, 2003, pp.193-304.

¹⁴ Sathiankoset, 1988, p.72.

¹⁵ Sathiankoset, 1988, pp.1-19; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.8-52.

	<p>Between 1898 and 1905, he studied at Wat Bangsakaenork School (in Thonburi), Wat Bophitphimuk School (in Bangkok) and Wat Nuannoradit School (in Thonburi), respectively. From 1905 to 1909, he studied at Royal Pages School (in Bangkok). His aunt's friend, who had worked for the Queen Mother, recommended him to the Crown Prince (later becoming King Rama VI) for studying at the Royal Pages School.</p>	<p>the Interior Department. From 1946 to 1947, he was a Member of Parliament, a Minister of Health, and a Minister of Interior. Moreover, after 1957, He worked as a member of the Constituent Assembly, a senator, and a lecturer at Thammasat University.¹⁶</p>	
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¹⁶ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.1-75, 257; Sunthonphiphit, 1973.

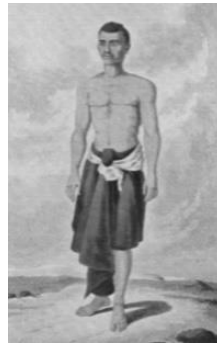
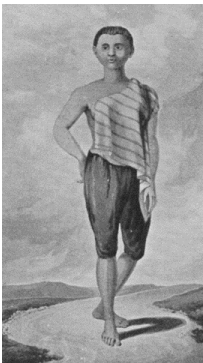
Illustrations



Figures 1: A Siamese woman and her child in the 1680s.¹



Figure 2: A Siamese nobleman talking to his male subject in the 1680s.²



Figures 3 and 4: A Siamese woman and man in the early nineteenth century.³

¹ de La Loubère, 1693.

² Tarchard, 1688.

³ Crawford, 1830, p.176.

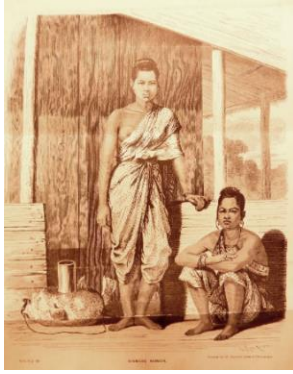
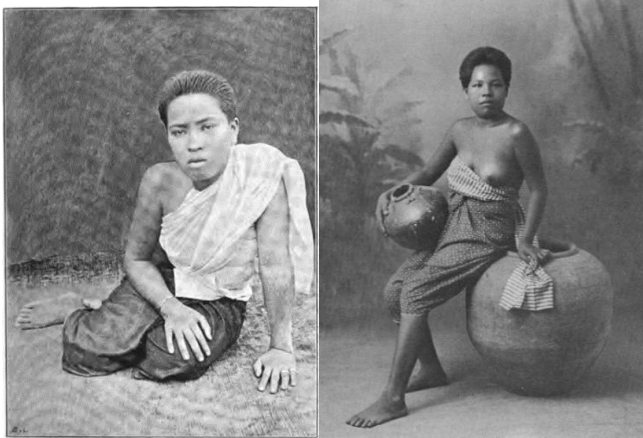


Figure 5: Siamese women in the late 1850s.⁴



Figures 6 and 7: Commoner women in the reign of Rama V [r.1868-1910].⁵

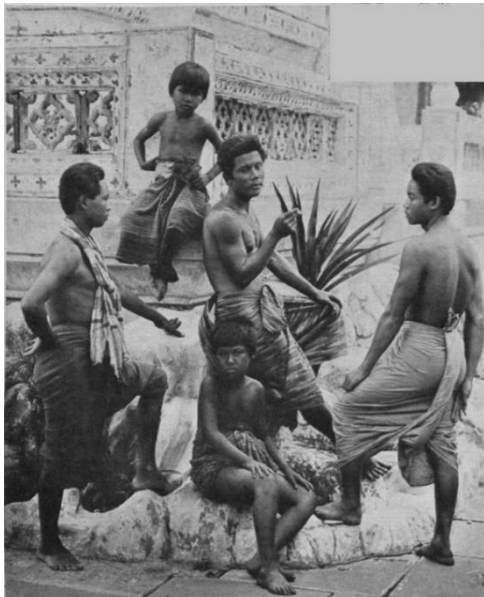


Figure 8: Commoner men and boys in the reign of Rama V.⁶

⁴ Mouhot, 2012a, p.241.

⁵ Norman 1895, p.430; Wright, 1908, p.77.

⁶ Wright, 1908, p.243.

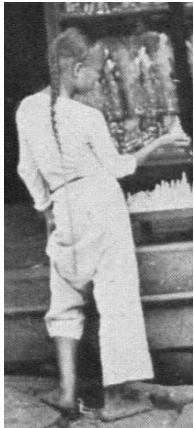


Figure 9: A Sino-Siamese boy in Sampheng, Bangkok's Chinatown, in the era of King Rama V.⁷



Figure 10: Siamese embassy representatives paying respect to King Louis XIV of France in 1686.⁸

⁷ Wright, 1908, p.246.

⁸ Smithies and Bressan, 2001, p.67.



Figures 11, 12 and 13: Siamese embassy paying respect to Queen Victoria in 1857. The English newspapers stated that the traditional uniform of the Siamese officials was weird and ridiculous.⁹

⁹ Khokhithen Suemuanchon, 2013.



Figure 14: King Rama IV [r.1851-1868] and Prince Chulalongkorn (Future King Rama V [r.1868-1910]).¹⁰



Figure 15: Chuang Bunnag (1808-1883) was the Minister of the Southern Provinces (Kalahom) during the reign of Rama IV. Between 1868 and 1873, he served as the regent as King Rama V had not yet come of age.¹¹



Figure 16: Dan Beach Bradley (1804-1873) was an American Protestant missionary to Siam and the founder of the first newspaper in Siam, *the Bangkok Recorder*. The newspaper was published monthly during the 1840s and the 1860s.¹²

¹⁰ Bradley, 1981, plate 1.

¹¹ Bradley, 1981, plate 2.

¹² Bradley, 1981, plate 6.



Figure 17: King Rama V [r.1868-1910] and Crown Prince Vajiravudh (future King Rama VI, r.1910-1925). Rama V built up the unprecedented nation-state of Siam.¹³

Figure 18: Queen Saowapha [1861-1919], a half-sister of Rama V, was the Rama V's chief wife. She believed that the status of women and girls should be improved through education.¹⁴ This picture was printed in Peleggi (2007, p.149).



Figure 19: This was the European-style dining room in Dusit Palace in Bangkok. This picture was originally printed in Wright (1908, p.90).

¹³ Pinterest, 2017.

¹⁴ Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.43; Boonyasathit, 2005, pp.162-3.



Figure 20: Chaophraya Phasakorawong (Phon) [1849-1920] and his wife, Plian [1847-1911]. Phon was the Minister of Public Instruction in 1892. Meanwhile, Plian was the Director of the School for Midwifery in 1897. She also wrote *Mae Khrua Hua Pa* [The Recipe Manual of the Great Female Cook (1908)]. She attempted to civilise the behaviour of female commoners so that they would no longer be “barbaric and vicious” and rather understand the Thai and foreign recipes.¹⁵



Figures 21, 22 and 23: Prince Damrong (left), Prince Patriarch Vajirañana (centre) and Pia Malakul (right). They were the key elite who played roles in introducing new “civilised” and softened demeanours. Between the 1890s and the 1910s, Prince Damrong, King Rama V’s half-brother, was the Director-General of the Education Department and later the Minister of the Interior. He was an architect of education and public administration during the centralising process of the unprecedented nation-state.¹⁶ Prince Patriarch Vajirañana, King Rama V’s half-brother, played a main role in turning temples into state schools.¹⁷ Pia was a son of a prince. In the 1900s, he was the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Public Instruction. In the 1900s, he also wrote *Sombat Khong Phudi* [Characteristics of a Gentleman]. His purpose in writing the book was to propagate the “civilised” and “polite” mode of behaviour to the public.¹⁸ These pictures were published in Bunnag (2008, P.2), Takananand (2008) and UNESCO (2017).

¹⁵ Phasakorawong, 2001, pp.67-9, 74.

¹⁶ Sattayanurak, 2003b.

¹⁷ Takananand, 2008, pp.156-177.

¹⁸ Malakul, 2008.



Figure 24: A temple school was where commoners attained education. At their school, commoner boys were required to wear clothes.¹⁹



Figure 252: In 1892, Queen Saowapha founded the Saowapha School in Chonburi (a province in the east) in order to encourage both boys and girls to become cultivated and learn handicrafts. The government did not charge a tuition fee. Nevertheless, many commoners denied sending their children to enroll in schools because modern education tended to distract the commoners' children from their family tasks, including farming and trading.²⁰ This picture was printed in Moonsilpa (2011, p.306).

¹⁹ Johnson, 1908, p.228.

²⁰ Chaengchenkit, 1987, p.30; McFarland, 2012, p.117.



Figure 26: Students in a secondary school wore a student uniform. They were required to wear straw hats tied with a ribbon bearing the school's colours. The colour of the ribbon was the mark of the school.²¹ This picture was originally published in Johnson (1908, p.228).



Figure 27: Teachers and female students of Sunanthalai School in the reign of Rama V. In this school, students were taught physical exercise beginning in the 1890s.²² This picture was published in Moonsilpa (2011, p.165).

²¹ "Rueang Pha Ribbin Pracham Si Samrap Rongrian," 1900, pp.153-5.

²² Kritpet, 1982, p.52.



Figure 28: Soldiers marching. This mural painting was painted at Phra Sing Temple in Chiang Mai.²³



Figure 29: Warriors fighting in a war. This mural painting was painted at Khian Temple in Ang Thong during the late Ayutthaya period.²⁴

²³ Wyatt, 2004, p.50.

²⁴ Jaiser, 2010, p.46.



Figure 30: A Treatise on Boxing [Tamra Chok Muai], which was written during the reign of Rama III [r.1824-1851], illustrates how to fight bare-knuckled during Thai boxing.²⁵



Figure 31: Two boxers fight bare-knuckled during a Thai boxing match. Elites watch the game from a pavilion. Many female spectators seem to enjoy the match. This mural painting was painted at Bowon Sathan Suthawat Temple in Bangkok during the reign of King Rama IV.²⁶

²⁵ Pansakun, 2012.

²⁶ Fine Arts Department, 2014, p.200.



Figure 32: From 30 November to 2 December 1907, King Rama V presided at Thai boxing matches at a throne-hall in Ayutthaya. Boxers used gloves. This was the age in which fatal boxing was softened by the state. It should be added that, in this picture, spectators wore clothes. Those who did not wear shirts could be arrested.²⁷ The royal elite's social control and influence markedly prompted participants to behave civilly. That people wore clothes can be seen in several pictures showing official events during the reign of Rama V. This picture was given by the National Archives of Thailand (1907, Pho. 003 Ho Wo Yo. 3/7.)



Figure 33: People watching fighters using weapons to beat each other. This mural painting was painted at Bowon Sathan Suthawat Temple in Bangkok during Rama IV's reign.²⁸

²⁷ Bangkok Samai, 2 February 1899, p.15; Bangkok Samai, 19 April 1900, p.9.

²⁸ Fine Arts Department, 2014, p.178.



Figure 34: Huntsmen catching an elephant. This picture was taken from *Phra Samut Tamra Phaen Khotchalak* [A Treatise on Characteristics of Elephants]. This text was written in 1748.²⁹

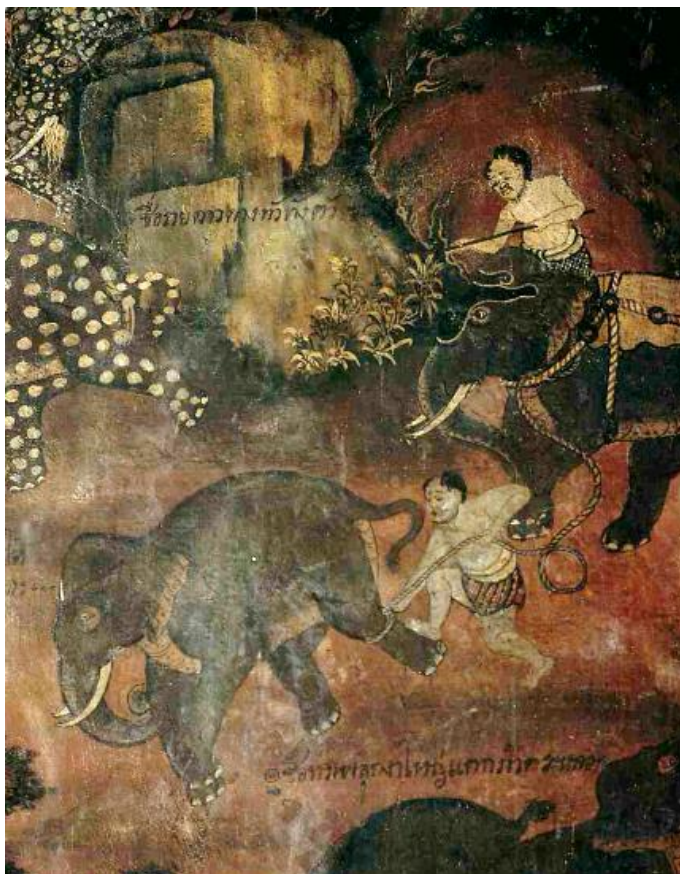


Figure 35: A huntsman lassoes a wild elephant while a mahout drives his elephant to help his co-worker. This mural painting at Chetuphon Temple in Bangkok was painted during the early Bangkok period.³⁰

²⁹ National Library of Thailand, 2003, p.40.

³⁰ Kanchana, 1994, p.99.



Figure 36: Huntsmen were chasing wild elephants outside a kraal at Ayutthaya in the reign of King Rama V. Wild elephants were forcibly moved out from a forest to the kraal. In this royal round-up, huntsmen and spectators wore clothes.³¹



Figure 37: Huntsmen driving wild elephants into a kraal at Ayutthaya during the reign of Rama V.³²

³¹ Wright, 1908, p.236.

³² Antonio, 1997.



Figure 38: An elephant round-up in Ayutthaya in the reign of Rama V. The royal elite watched the round-up in the royal pavilion. At the end of the kraal, spectators, all whom would wear clothes, watched this game.³³

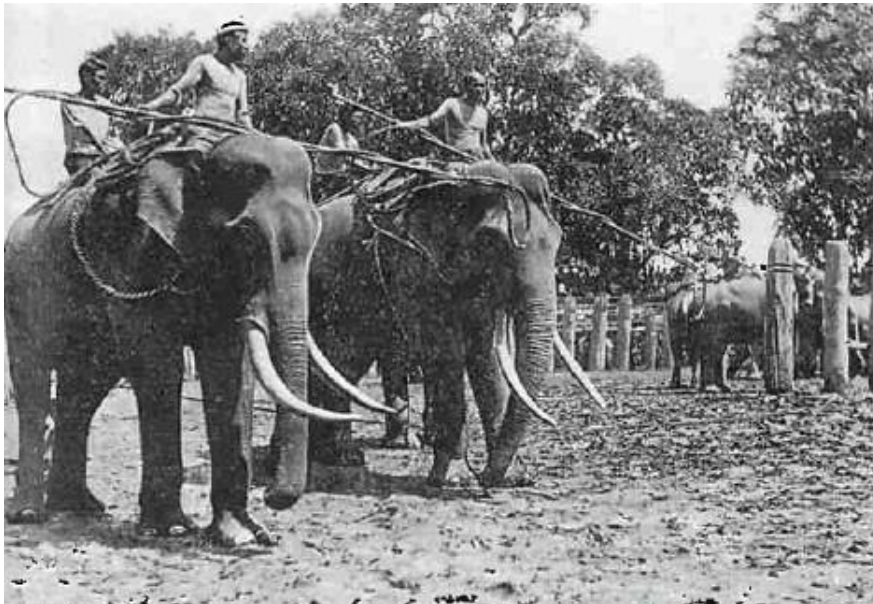


Figure 39: Huntsmen holding a lasso in an elephant round-up in Ayutthaya during Rama V's reign.³⁴

³³ Wright, 1908, p.235.

³⁴ Antonio, 1997.

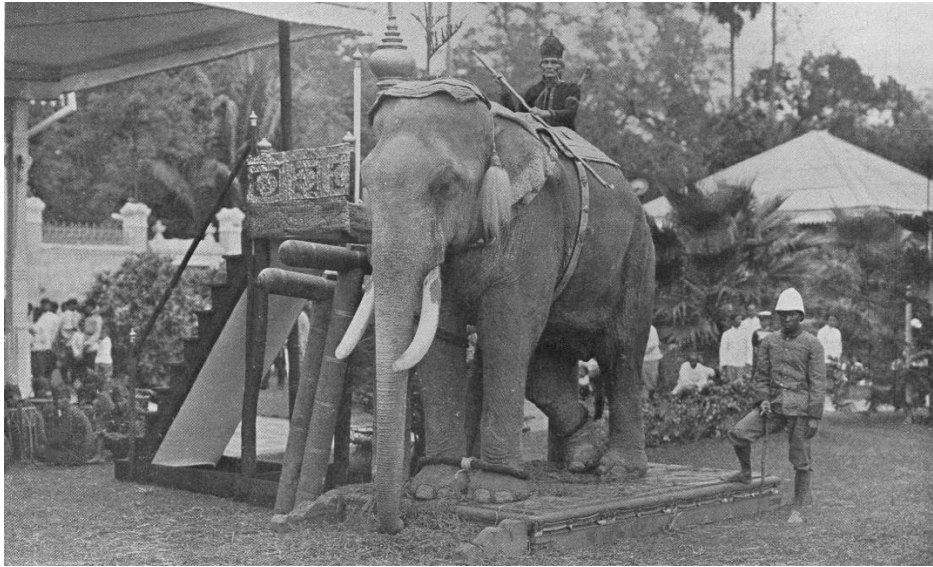


Figure 40: A white elephant of King Rama V.³⁵ White elephants were continually constructed as the symbolic power of a king. During the pre-modern era, a king had to show his charisma by catching and possessing this sacred animal.

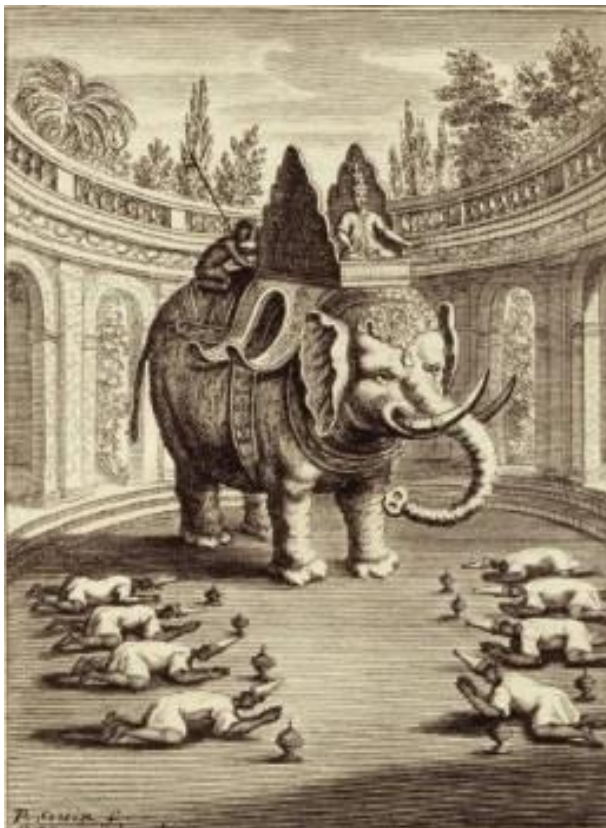


Figure 41: King Narai [r.1656-1688] riding on an elephant's back, while his nobles lay prostrate.³⁶

³⁵ Wright, 1908, p.62.

³⁶ Smithies, 1995, p.10.



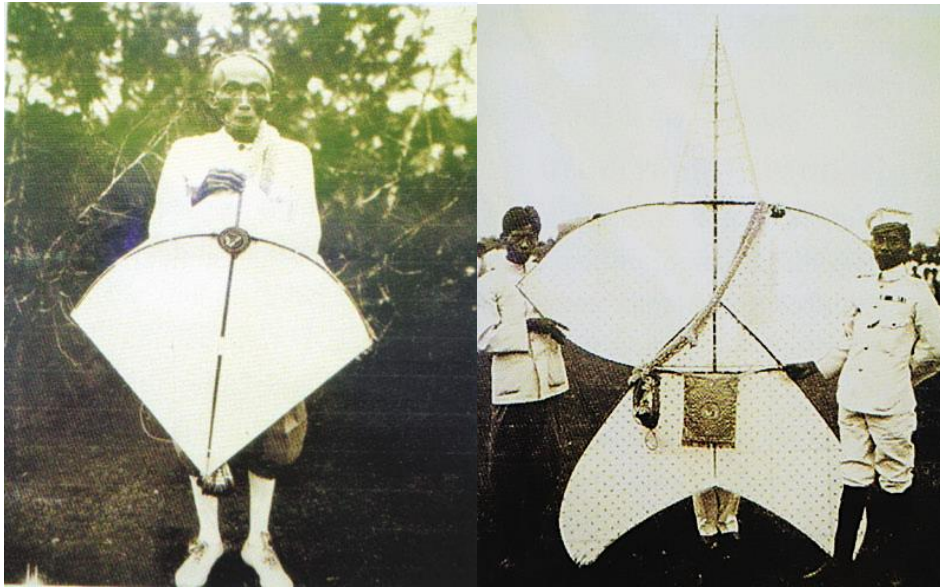
Figure 42: King Narai's royal barges in a royal ceremony [r.1656-1688].³⁷



Figure 43: The royal state barge during the reign of Rama V.³⁸

³⁷ Choisy, 1993.

³⁸ Fournereau, 1998, p.118.



Figures 44 and 45: The Pakpao kite [left] is a small diamond-shaped kite. The Chula kite [right] is a large star-shaped kite. In a kite-fighting game, two antagonistic sides, a team with a Chula kite and another team with a Pakpao kite, compete to fly their kites. A team that could make the adversarial kite fall was a match winner. In these pictures, taken during the era of Rama V, Chom Sethaboot (Phra Phiromphakdi) is showing his Pakpao kite. He was regarded as a dexterous player. The other two men are holding the winning Chula kite.³⁹



Figure 46: King Rama V [the sitting row, the third man from right] presided at a kite-fighting competition at the Suan Dusit Ground in Bangkok around the mid-1900s.⁴⁰ Please notice that spectators wore clothes.

³⁹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.160-1; Traikasem, 1986, pp.38-9.

⁴⁰ Sethaboot, 1921, p.152.



Figure 47: Bunrot Sethaboot (Phraya or Lord Phiromphakdi) [1872-1950] was a son of Chom. Bunrot was also a “skilfull” kite-fighting player. At the request of Prince Damrong, he wrote *The Chronicle of Kite Betting, Manual to Make Kite, Instruction to Fly Kite, and Kite Fighting in the Aerial Space* (1921). In this book, Sethaboot reviewed his experiences as a player and a spectator in numerous kite-fighting matches beginning in the 1880s.⁴¹ He also described how the rules of kite fighting were standardised by the elite in order to eliminate any possible quarrels and fights during a match.⁴² Apart from his favourite kite-fighting game, he also played golf. This picture was collected in the National Archives of Thailand (Po. Ho Wo Yo. 617/21).

Figure 48: Lord Samoson Sapphakan was a referee (or a head of the grounds) of the kite-fighting competitions at the Royal Grounds in Bangkok around the turn of the twentieth century. Following Sethaboot’s account, Lord Samoson was regarded by players as a respectable and decisive referee. He could effectively solve disputes between players during matches.⁴³



Figure 49: In an official kite-fighting contest during the 1900s, a player was holding a Chula kite.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.i, 20-1

⁴² Sethaboot, 1921.

⁴³ Sethaboot, 1921, pp.54-5, 156.

⁴⁴ Sethaboot, 1921, p.153.



Figures 50 and 51: These pictures depict the popularity of kite fighting during the reign of Rama V [r.1868-1910].⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Sethaboot, 1921, p.162.



Figure 52: A nineteenth-century mural painting at Ratchapradit Temple in Bangkok illustrates boys who were flying Pakpao and Chula kites in a kite-fighting game.⁴⁶

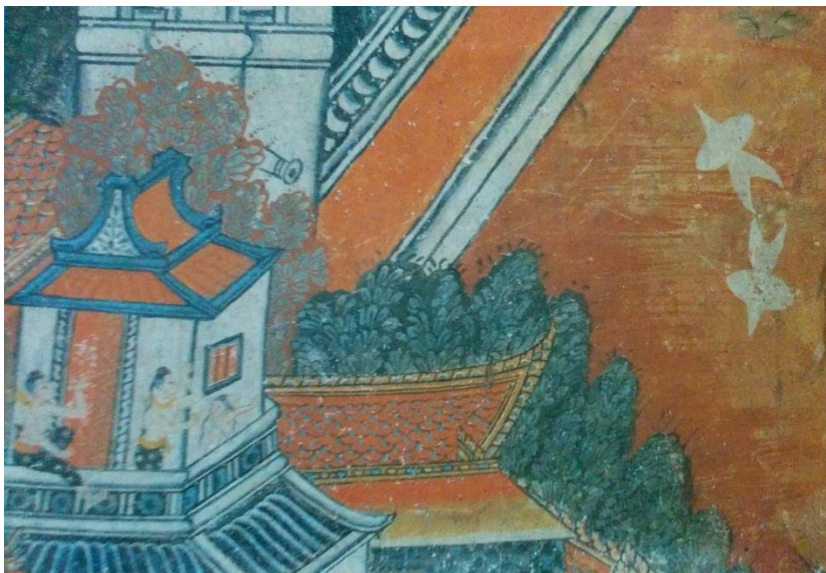


Figure 53: Mural painting portraying children flying Chula kites. This picture was probably painted during the nineteenth century, and is found at Na Phra That Temple, Nakhon Ratchasima (Khorat).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Gerson, 1996, p.38.

⁴⁷ Traikasem, 1986, p.53.



Figure 54: King Rama V, his cousins and royal girls and boys were playing croquet at a ground inside the Royal Grand Palace in Bangkok.⁴⁸



Figure 55: Princesses and princes playing croquet at Siwalai Garden in Bangkok in 1897.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ NAT, Pho. 001 Ho Wo Yo. 33-15.

⁴⁹ Nawikkamun, 2003, p.223.



Figure 56: Siamese princesses and princes playing tug of war in 1897.⁵⁰



Figure 57: Sanan Thephassadin Na Ayutthaya organised football and sports competitions, taught at the Normal School, wrote a physical exercise textbook, co-wrote a series of textbooks, *Thamma Chariya* [Dharma Conduct] and was an inspector for the Education Department at the turn of the twentieth century.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Teakdoor, 2017.

⁵¹ Wyatt, 1969, pp.223, 303; Wongthon, 2007; Phutthamat, 1986, p.8; Malakul, 1907, p.434.

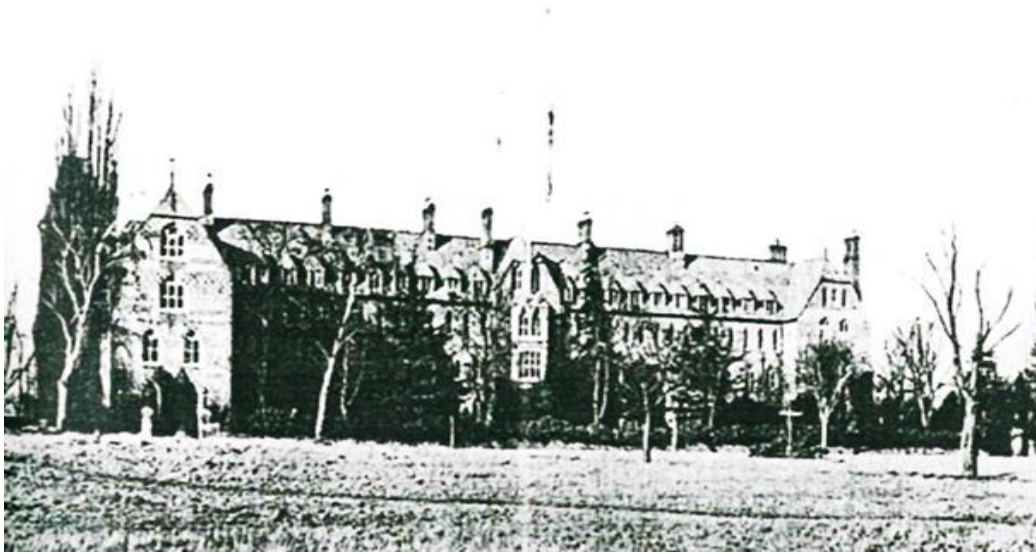


Figure 58: Borough Road College in England in 1900.⁵² Sanan studied at this College between 1895 and 1898.⁵³ This College was where Sanan learned how to play association football and how sports were used as a means for building character.



Figures 59 and 60: Lancaster House, Borough Road, Osterley, London was part of Borough Road College between 1889 and 1976. In 1976, Borough Road and Maria Grey teacher training colleges were merged into the West London Institute of Higher Education. During the late 1990s, the Institute became Brunel University. In 2006, the University sold Lancaster House, and it is now used as private flats.⁵⁴ These pictures were taken by the researcher in December 2016.

⁵² British and Foreign School Society Archives, in Mangan and Hickey, 2009, p.109.

⁵³ Wongthon, 2007, pp.7-11; Phutthamat, 1986, pp.5-7.

⁵⁴ "West London Institute of Higher Education," 2017.

Figure 61: W. G. Johnson served the Siamese government as an advisor to the Ministry of Public Instruction in the late 1900s.⁵⁵ He played a role in supporting the Soccer Competition for the Silver Shield of Mr W. G. Johnson in 1910.

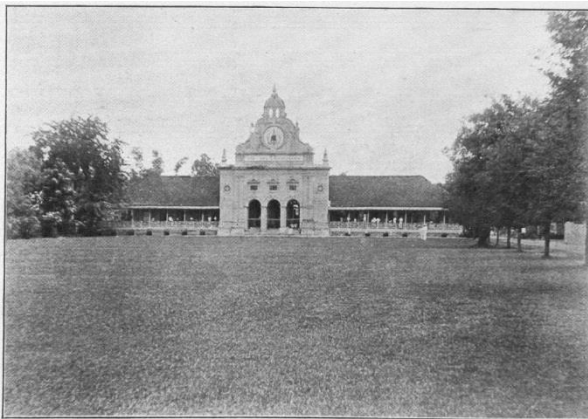


Figure 62: Choei Sunthonphiphit [1891-1973] [the top row, the third man from left] and other football players of the Royal Pages School in the second half of the 1900s.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Johnson, 1908, p.226.

⁵⁶ Sunthonphiphit, 1973.

Figure 63: Prince Sithiporn Kridakara [1883-1971], a nephew of King Rama IV, graduated in England. During the second half of the nineteenth century, while he was a civil servant, he spent his leisure time playing soccer. Following a player's account, he played skilfully and fairly.⁵⁷ During the reign of Rama VI [r.1910-1925], Prince Sithiporn was selected to be the national team's captain.⁵⁸



Figures 64 and 65: King's College was considered one of the most prestigious schools in Siam. Between 1907 and 1908, students of the school won the Soccer Competitions for the Silver Shield of the Education Department two times in a row.⁵⁹ The left picture was originally published in Johnson, 1908, p.226. The right picture showed the teachers and students of King's College during the reign of Rama V.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Kridakara, 1971; Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.54-6.

⁵⁸ FourFourTwo, 2016.

⁵⁹ Wyatt, 1969, pp.138, 143, 277-280, 285; Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.53-182.

⁶⁰ Moonsilpa, 2011, p.306.

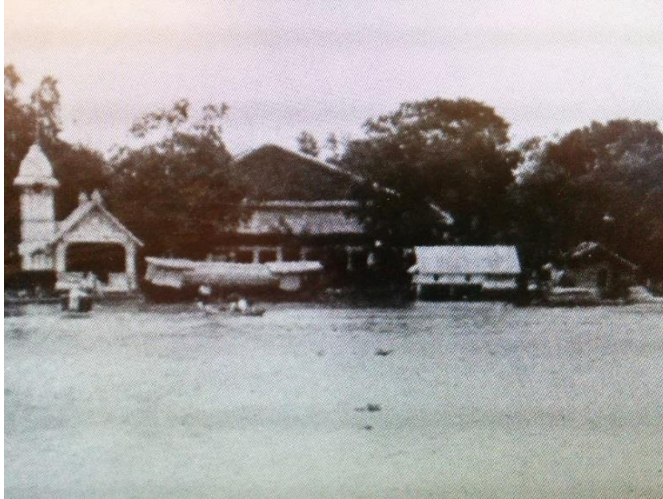


Figure 66: Royal Medical College was located beside Chao Phraya River. In the Soccer Competition for the Silver Shield of the Education Department in 1909, its students were crowned the champions.⁶¹ This picture was originally printed in Wright (1908, p.130).

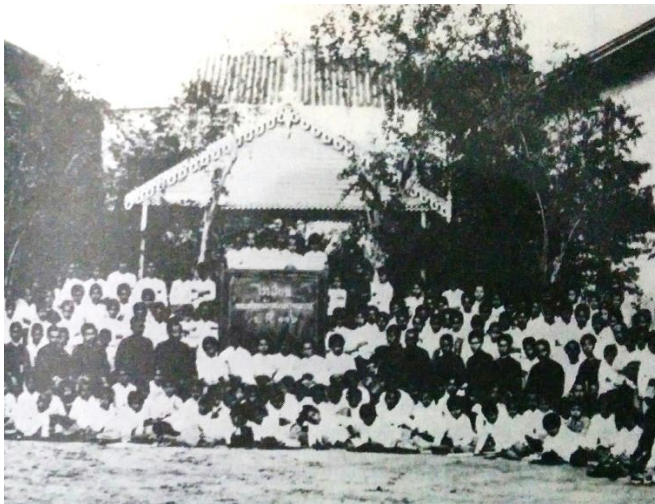
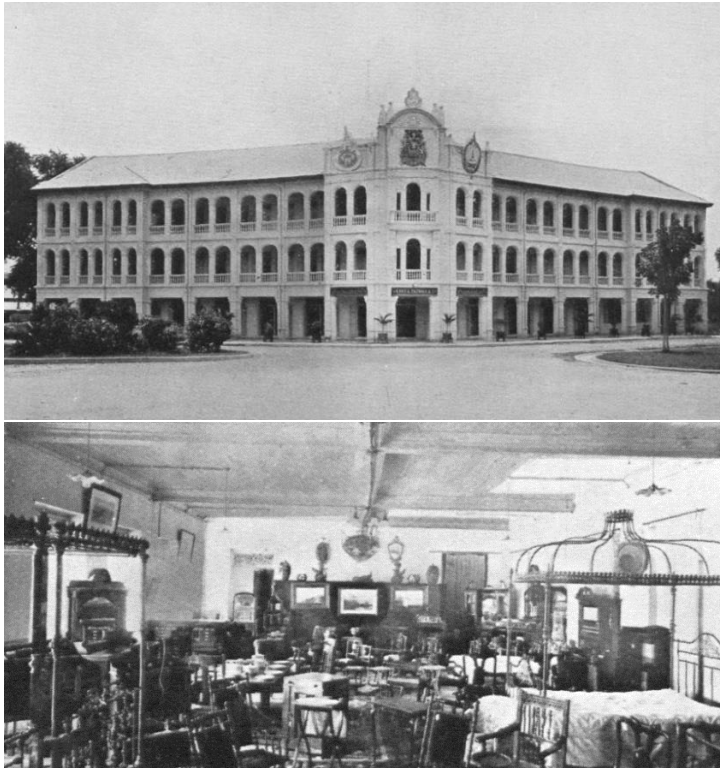


Figure 67: Teachers and students of Suankularb School. The school was considered one of the most prestigious schools in Siam. Between 1901 and 1908, the school's football team participated in the Soccer Competition for the Silver Shield of the Education Department; however, it never won an award.⁶² This picture was taken in 1897.⁶³

⁶¹ Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.53-182.

⁶² Lekhayanon, 1977, pp.52-182.

⁶³ Moonsilpa, 2011, p.163.



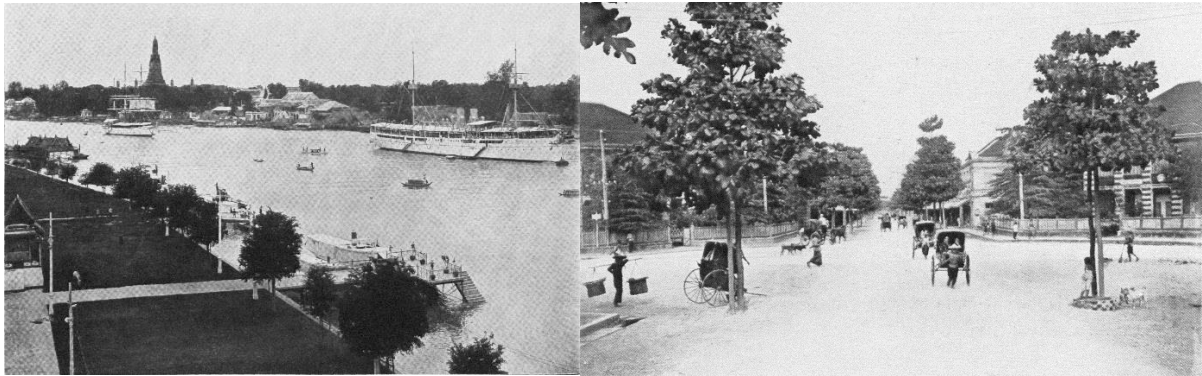
Figures 68 and 69: Messrs. Harry A. Badman & Co. was a leading retail store in Bangkok (Wright, 1908, pp.270-3). Following an account of a football player, Western staff at the store enjoyed watching the civilised playing style of Siamese footballers.⁶⁴ The pictures were originally printed in Wright (1908, p.272).



Figure 70: The Royal Bangkok Sports Club was founded under a grant from King Rama V in 1901.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Sunthonphiphit, 1972, pp.48-49.

⁶⁵ Bangkok Times, 13 September 1901, p.5; Wright, 1908, p.235; The Royal Bangkok Sports Club, 2013.



Figures 71 and 72: Chao Phraya River in Bangkok and Charoen Krung Road (which translates as “Road [for] civilising the Capital City”) during the reign of Rama V.⁶⁶

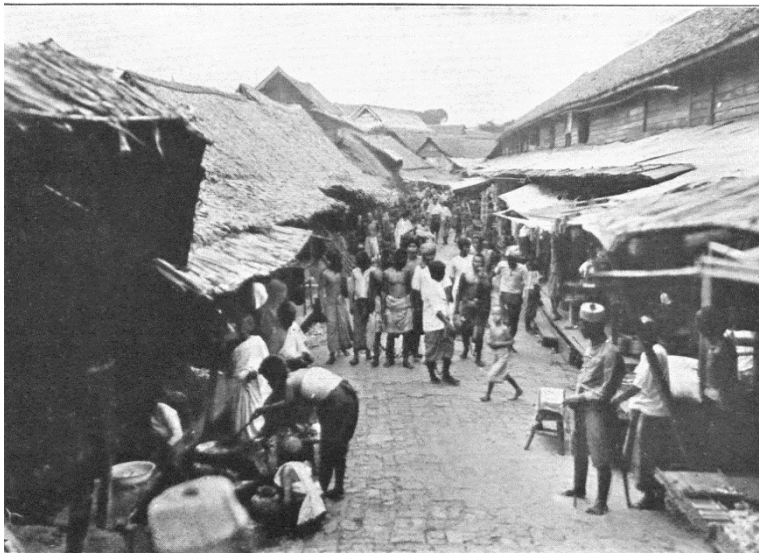


Figure 73: Paknam, near the river mouth of Chao Phraya, during the reign of Rama V.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Wright, 1908, pp.240, 245.

⁶⁷ Wright, 1908, p.246.



Figure 74: Rice cultivation during Rama V's reign.⁶⁸



Figure 75: A train at a station in Bangkok during the reign of Rama V.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Antonio, 1997.

⁶⁹ Wright, 1908.

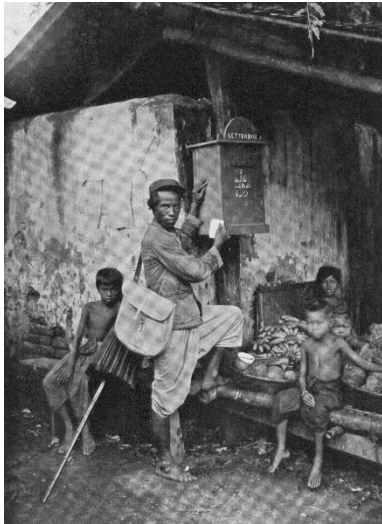


Figure 76: A suburban mailbox and a postman.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Wright, 1908.

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