doi: 10.14456/jms.2018.20

New Cities and the Penetration of Siamese Colonial Power into the Physical Space of Monthon Payap[1]

Pinyapan Potjanalwan

Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai 50200, Thailand
Email: pinyapanpot@gmail.com

Received: March 5, 2018
Accepted: July 11, 2018

Abstract

This article describes the late 19th and early 20th century transformations that occurred in the physical environment of Monthon Payap and their effects on the cities of the region by using the historical approach. The findings consist of two factors that resulted in the production of colonial spaces by the Siamese government. The first was Siam's security fears, which led to establishment of military zones in response to internal revolts, particularly the 1902 Shan rebellion, and the presence of Western powers in nearby regions. The second factor was the influence of western-style city planning, a way of thinking which gained strength from the efforts of the Siamese government itself and from missionaries, as can be seen in the many changes witnessed in cities in Monthon Payap during this period. City planning became attractive to the Siamese government because of the advantages it offered in controlling labor and easing governance. In cities that were clean and equipped with public sanitation facilities, the outbreak of illness in the workforce was easier to prevent. Moreover, such cities could be entered easily, which in turn made governing, patrolling, and the spread of religion simpler. The pleasant and shady city scapes resulting from these urban transformations were favored by the resident foreigners, who were thereby provided with spaces for rest and relaxation, and so these new forms of urban space gradually displaced traditional ones.

Keywords: Monthon Payap, Siamese colonial power, cities

[1] This article is a part of the Ph.D. dissertation, 'Becoming Payap Circle: A History of Siam's Power-Knowledge and Production of Space (1873-1932),' Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University.

บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้ต้องการนำเสนอความเปลี่ยนแปลงเชิงพื้นที่ทางกายภาพที่ส่งผลต่อเมืองในช่วงปลายศตวรรษที่ 19 ถึงต้นศตวรรษที่ 20 ในมณฑลพายัพ อันเป็นผลมาจากการผลิตพื้นที่แบบอาณานิคมโดยรัฐบาลสยามด้วยแนวพินิจทางประวัติศาสตร์ ข้อค้นพบของงานชิ้นนี้คือ ความเปลี่ยนแปลงพื้นที่ทางกายภาพในพายัพถูกขับเคลื่อนโดย 2 ปัจจัยหลัก ปัจจัยแรกคือความกังวลด้านความมั่นคงของสยาม ซึ่งส่งผลต่อการจัดวางพื้นที่ในเชิงการทหาร ทั้งต่อกบฏในหัวเมือง นั่นคือ กบฏเงี้ยวที่เกิดขึ้นในปี 1902 และต่ออำนาจของชาวตะวันตกในพื้นที่ใกล้เคียง และอีกปัจจัยคืออุดมคติของการจัดวางผังเมืองแบบตะวันตก ทั้งผ่านความพยายามของสยามเองและผ่านมิชชันนารี อันสะท้อนให้เห็นถึงตัวแทนความเปลี่ยนแปลงที่หลากหลาย บทความนี้เสนอว่า แรงขับดันที่มีส่วนทำให้เกิดวางผังเมืองเช่นนี้ก็เพื่ออรรถประโยชน์ในด้านการควบคุมแรงงานและการปกครอง เมืองที่สะอาดและมีสุขอนามัยจะทำให้แรงงานไม่เจ็บไข้ได้ป่วย รวมไปถึงการเข้าถึงชุมชนต่างๆ ได้สะดวกขึ้น เป็นประโยชน์ต่อการปกครอง การตรวจตรา รวมไปถึงการเผยแพร่ศาสนา ทิวทัศน์เมืองที่ร่มรื่นนั้นก็ทำให้เกิดการผ่อนคลายและทำให้ชาวต่างชาติมีที่ทางพักผ่อน ปัจจัยเหล่านี้ได้ทำให้พื้นที่ทางกายภาพแบบใหม่ค่อยๆ เข้ามาแทนที่พื้นที่ทางกายภาพแบบจารีตไปในที่สุด

คำสำคัญ: มณฑลพายัพ อำนาจอาณานิคมสยาม เมือง

Introduction

Historical research on the built environment in Monthon Payap has been limited. Easum (2012) defined it through the process of urbanization, with his in-depth research into urbanization in Chiang Mai and the process of micro-colonization. While his work sheds light on developments moving between the 'traditional' and the colonial era, it is restricted to the study of Chiang Mai. The present article aims to more generally expose the processes by which the Siamese government produced colonial spaces in central areas of Siamese power and governance and extended these to a number of zones in Monthon Payap.

Easum's work focuses on Siamese colonial power in the urbanization process. Thus, Chiang Mai as the object of the study is the

proper choice for his assumption. But it could not describe the change throughout colonial space in Monthon Payap with its intermediate cities marked by diverse economic and political activities. The present article also argues that the colonial space in Monthon Payap could be analyzed on the level of everyday life. Another work which raises the issue of Siamese colonial power is that of Loos (2006), which maintains that the Siamese government was simultaneously both the target of western colonial power and the imperialist. The study, based in the predominantly Malay Muslim region, in the south, focuses on family law and gender (Loos, 2006: 18-21). The work of Khrouthongkhieo (2010) is the most similar to the present article in terms of the time period and the aspect of Siam colonialization. However, it focuses on the policy of the elites, not on everyday life, while the present article emphasizes practices in terms of physical space.

The process of constructing colonial spaces transformed Monthon Payap into an area where the population could be controlled, the labor force administered, and the benefits of raising taxation could be reaped. Tax from trade and manufacturing was collected with an efficiency that prompted Prince Damrong Rajanubhab to comment that governance at that time also differed from that of earlier periods as money was now the measure of success. The prince observed that the government required financing so that land which was left neglected and uncultivated was of no use to anyone, but once it was cultivated, it could be taxed. Money could also be gained from the export tax and from taxing laborers (Sattayanurak, 2003: 50).

Over this period, fortress cities that were in decline and disrepair were transformed into a new type of modern municipality with the result that the importance of city walls and moats was reduced. At the same time, the freedom to administer the cities previously under the authority of local rulers was replaced with administration by Siamese governors and civil servants, who collected the surplus from the exploitation of local resources.

This policy, which was in effect during the reign of Rama V, was emphasized in King Chulalongkorn's remarks that cities should

support themselves and that 'parent' cities should not be forced to raise 'child' cities (Prayoonsatian, 1980: 94), a reference to taxation and expenditure. As regards taxation in the protectorate cities, the King said that wherever wealth originates, it should be used to pay for the administration and maintenance of that area and that there was no royal desire to collect taxes from protectorates for spending in Bangkok or other areas which are not part of that city (Prayoonsatian, 1980: 94).

Muang Ratchakan: New Cities to Support Siamese Power

This section describes the networks of Siamese power through which localities were physically administered and how this created the fabric from which Monthon Payap was woven. It will better reveal the process by which Monthon Payap became a Siamese colony, amounting to a concrete victory for Siam over the influence of a subsidiary political power. The organization of the administration of Monthon Payap began in earnest with the change in the area's name from Monthon Lao Chiang to Monthon Tawantok Chiang Nuea (North-Western Administrative Circle) in an 1898 announcement (Announcement of renaming the circle, 1889, June 11: 140) and then through the order for the administration of Monthon Payap in 1899 (Regulations for Northwest Territories, 1890, July 22: 177-194). This change was followed by the division of the locality into administrative districts, which at first emphasized four areas – Chiang Mai, Nakhon Lampang, Mueang Phrae and Mueang Thoen – by establishing an office for the district governor in these areas within the city, or inside the city walls. The exception was Chiang Mai, where the office was outside the city walls, on Tha Phae Road (Ministry of Interior announcement, 1890, July 22: 196-197).

In Chiang Mai, the presence of military units was not considered important, at first, especially in the absence of major civil disturbances, although the 1889 Phaya Phab revolt in Chiang Mai caused Siam to increase the attention which it paid to the city. In 1893, troops were stationed near Wat Sri Phum north-east of the city and outside of the walls. However, this deployment consisted of only a company of soldiers

(33rd Military Circle, Kawila Camp, n.d.) which, when compared to the size of the area and its population, was very small. Instead, it was civilian administrators who played the major role in asserting Siamese power over the local area. In the 1870s, tensions between the local population and Siamese administrators became evident in Chiang Mai in assaults and disturbances in front of the governor's official residence and within the market (Khrouthongkhieo, 2010: 290), tensions that were in fact related to the location of these two groups. Phraya Srisahatap travelled to Monthon Payap on official business in the early 1900s and reported on strong opposition in the area. He stated that there existed a division of the territory between the Thai and the Lao (local people, who later came to be called *khonmuang*, including princes). The Lao were considered by the Siamese to be social inferiors and consequently, civil servants and royal families decided to divide the area with the result that civil servants lived by the river and a clan of local princes lived within the city. At night, it was widely known that trespassing by one group in the area of the other was prohibited and could result in bloodshed. This policy clearly had negative consequences for the administration of the area, especially when the civil service was itself divided between Thai and Lao civil servants, who as a result only communicated with each other through exchanging letters. This division made it even more difficult for civil servants to get to know each other (Khrouthongkhieo, 2010: 290).

This division of territories, together with differences in culture and the problems which had occurred between the two sides, led to public clashes when members of one side entered the territory of the other. However, because of the area's central position relative to the Chao Phraya River in the upper north of the region, governing Chiang Mai was an important step in the establishment of the local administration and thus conflict between the expanding Siamese power and local princes was unavoidable.

In other provinces, the situation was somewhat different as Siamese administrative power was physically located inside the city walls and this power generally overlapped with that of the earlier centers

from which local princes exercised their power. The existence of this palimpsest of power can be seen in the Siamese civil service offices listed in the records of the Shan rebellion including, for example, the provincial police building, the telegraph office, the governor's residence, the city hall, and the court and the judges' residences in Phrae (Ampoonan, 1984: 83). In Lampang, these included the police station, the treasury, the prison and the governor's residence (Jensen, 2000: 63). In these provinces, the fact that Siamese official buildings were interposed inside the city walls helped to obscure tensions between local princes, the area's residents and Siamese officials.

Areas for westerners, including those for the activities of missionaries and the lumber trade, along with mansions belonging to timber traders were all located outside city walls in Chiang Mai and in other provinces. In the case of Lampang, a large number of Shan and Burmese temples were constructed to the south of the city walls (Jaturawong, 2007) and homes belonging to wood traders could be found on one side of the river, while on the other was the residence of the prince of Lampang (Jensen, 2000: 63). In Phrae, timber companies, such as The Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation, were located near the Wat Chetawan wharf, south of the walled city (Wattananikorn, 2018: 128-130). This division clearly shows the efforts made to prevent westerners and their associates from settling or operating in areas which were centers of Siamese administration but at the same time, these groups were not excluded from commercial areas or from relationships with princes or official sites of the Siamese government.

Because of Siam's efforts to make clear the power and the control it exercised over Chiang Mai, Easum has suggested that Chiang Mai fell into a state of micro-colonization (Easum, 2012: 195). This control of Chiang Mai by Siam commenced at the end of the nineteenth century and the process of colonization began in the urban space and on a local scale. The extension of power over the area was twofold and occurred relative to both the new Chiang Mai and the old and sacred Chiang Mai (Easum, 2012: 239). Easum shows that the micro-colonization took place both through the agency of the Siamese government and

other power-holders, including American missionaries, English traders and Chinese residents, all of whom had substantial economic power. In the face of these changes, the power which Chiang Mai princes had previously wielded gradually waned.

If the loss of land, in particular of the Shan region and the area to the east of the Mekong, forced Siam to acknowledge the threat to and importance of the borders, it was the 1902 Shan rebellion which likewise caused the Siamese government to see the danger that the region posed and how this situation was different from that which had gone before. The rebellion did not involve attacks on major power centers such as Chiang Mai but in secondary areas such as Long, Phrae, Lampang and Phayao, where it was a major event. However, the violence which erupted in the rebellion became a significant excuse for the return of violence by Siamese forces, as they established the physical presence of their power in the area.

The State of Monthon Payap in Light of Evidence from the Shan Rebellion

The upper reaches of Monthon Payap extend into the border regions, where state power was weak. Thus it was possible to travel across the border into the neighboring regions of British Burma or French Laos with ease and this generated greater friction between Siam and the western powers when the region became a hideout for Shan forces after their suppression and dispersal by the state (Walker, 2014: 559).

The 1902 Shan rebellion was a response to Siamese power, which had impacts on both the participants in the rebellion and the targets of their rebellion, as has been well established by previous research. Here, however, the focus is on the state of Monthon Payap and what happened spatially when the Shan attacked the most important and most manifest symbols of the Siamese government, that is those government offices which were responsible for control and administration, or which might perhaps better be considered to be clear indicators of the status of the area as a colony. Therefore, it is not

surprising that two days after the Shan rebels counterattacked the troops sent from Lampang at Ban Bo Kaew in Long District on July 23, 1902 (Ampoonan, 1984: 72), the Shan forces headed directly to Phrae to seize government buildings and attack offices responsible for control of the local area, communications, Siamese governors, administration, as well as the justice system (Ampoonan, 1984: 83).

A report by Dr. Thomas, an American missionary who witnessed these events, states that the Shan rebels entered the local prison and freed all the inmates, dressing them in civil servants' clothes (Ampoonan, 1984: 89) and ordering the prisoners to follow them down the road (Ampoonan, 1984: 94). This act inverted the normal hierarchy of prisoners and Siamese state power and was effectively a public announcement of the rebels' new power. The rebels also destroyed official documents and seized money from state depositories (Ampoonan, 1984: 89). By identifying their enemies so clearly, it is not surprising then that the houses of westerners and of local inhabitants generally were not at first their main targets. In fact, the closeness of the Shan rebels and the local westerners is seen in the attempts by the Shan to justify their actions as a reaction to Siamese oppression to the British consul, under whose protection they considered themselves to be (Ampoonan, 1984: 96).

However, if Phrae was not ready to defend against these attacks, the same could not be said for Lampang, where the Siamese forces had prepared well. Defensive positions and barricades were established, guards were sent out on patrol and as much of the constabulary as possible was called in from remote areas to assemble in the city. As a result, 132 policemen and 82 soldiers were available to defend it. The general air of uncertainty caused the local prince, who feared for his safety, to leave at midnight on August 4, while money and valuables belonging to the prince, the safe and official documents from the police station, and city finances were moved to the safer location of Mr. Louis T. Leonowens's house, on the river opposite the local prince's residence. The Leonowens house thus became both a safe house for the storage of valuables and a rallying point for forces under the control of

the prince before they left for Amphoe Hang Sat. Mr. Leonowens and Mr. Jensen rode out to support the prince's convoy to Hang Sat, returning to Lampang on August 6 to discover that local residents had looted the city. Consequently, patrols were re-established and road-blocks set up; the police, after being somewhat shaken by the situation, returned to their stations. The following day, the prince turned his convoy around, returned to Lampang and a lively procession was arranged (Jensen, 2000: 63), a sign that a calmer atmosphere now prevailed.

Events in Phayao were also significant and the record of events kept by Phrakru Sriwirachawachirapanya helps to illuminate the physical changes made to the city during the rebellion. After the attacks in Phrae, the governor of Lampang dispatched a letter to the governor of Phayao warning him to defend the area as the worry was that the Shan rebels might enter Song and Ngao and that they should retreat to Lampang if they were unable to fight the rebels. The fear of the Shan also prompted a number of religious rites to be undertaken as a further line of defense, including making offerings for the protection of the city *(suebchatamuang)* and praying for good fortune. Following the recapture of Phrae by Siamese forces, the Shan fell back to Song, from where it was possible to sack Ngao, causing Siamese officials attached to the provincial court in the city to flee. The August attack on Lampang was followed on October 4 by the entry of Shan rebels into Phayao. One monk in the city recorded that he had to flee the Shan under the threat of sword strokes to the nape of his neck. The monk escaped from his temple to hide at Ban Mae Ka Kham at dawn (Dhammawimolmolee and Chaidarun, 2010: 181-186), though it appears that this particular monk may have had a connection with Siam and so may have been singled out for attention by the Shan. In the end, he sought safety in Lampang until Siamese forces wrested back control of Phayao towards the end of October (Dhammawimolmolee and Chaidarun, 2010: 187-191). Having done this, the Siamese troops took up positions in Wat Mae Tam Klang and it became clear that although they controlled Phayao, the Shan rebels remained intent on continuing their attacks. The defense of the city was made more difficult by the serious deterioration of the walls, which now

offered little in the way of defensive capabilities. All that remained was a ditch, which did little to deter attacks, and thus a decision was made to rapidly repair the walls. Because time was limited, the local citizenry was conscripted and put to work dismantling temples which had been constructed from brick and stone, with the materials being used to rebuild the city walls, though in the event that valuable or sacred objects were uncovered, these were to be reburied. The demolition of the temples was undertaken with vigor (Dhammawimolmolee and Chaidarun, 2010: 194-201); by the end of January, construction of the wall was completed and it was possible for the prince to order the holding of ceremonies in the heart of the walled city and at each of the four city gates to exorcise bad spirits, as well as to say prayers and incantations for the longevity and preservation of the city (Dhammawimolmolee and Chaidarun, 2010: 201). This episode illustrates well the danger posed to the state, the consequences for the built environment, and how the preservation of temples ranked second in importance to state security and public safety. The building of the Phayao city walls might be thought to be an important point marking the move from more traditional forms of warfare to modern arrangements for defense, based on the establishment of military bases. Attacks were also made by the Shan on official buildings in Mae On district on the periphery of Chiang Mai. Eleven Shan rebels looted a distillery in Ban Pa Phai, Tambon Chae Chang and burned the local governor's house to the ground (Ongsakul, 2009: 458). The Shan rebellion against Siam was widespread and it had consequences for the local population, their domiciles, and the physical structure of a major city.

As has been shown, the opposition of the Shan to Siam was made clear in the attacks on official buildings, which stood as representatives of the Siamese government, while markets, private homes, private property, and businesses belonging to westerners were largely ignored. Some structures had an ambivalent status and might or might not reasonably be considered sites of Siamese power. Some temples, for example, were targeted by the Shan and some were used by Siamese forces to house troops.

Trends in Sanitation and Hygiene in Monthon Payap

Following from the concerns over security described above, the issue of hygiene and cleanliness became another important aspect of modernity that affected the area. In Phayao, there was a proposal to build a new city center at Ban Mae Tam, south of the then-current city because locals reported a lack of water, complaining that during the dry season they needed to leave the city to collect water. There were only two or three wells and sometimes only one had water and they had to fight to fill up their buckets. It was, they complained, a terrible situation. Even Phraya Surasri agreed that it would be a good idea to move the government offices, soldiers, and people (Dhammawimolmolee and Chaidarun, 2010: 311). What is interesting is the description of the old temple, which at that time was abandoned. This temple was in an advanced state of disrepair and had only a few resident monks (Dhammawimolmolee and Chaidarun, 2010: 309-311) because it had earlier been dismantled to provide materials for the reconstruction of the city walls as protection against the Shan rebels. When one compares Phayao and Chiang Rai, it is clear that the two differ in status. Phayao was only a mid-sized city in an inner region and was relatively unimportant on a national scale in terms of history and of political geography, unlike Chiang Rai, which was much more significant.

Unlike Phayao, Chiang Rai and Chiang Saen were strategically important areas because of their geographical location wedged between British Burma and French Laos. Chiang Saen had also been an important fortress city for many years, while what most distinguished Chiang Rai from other important cities in the north was the trade in lumber, or rather the lack of it, since there was a notable absence of investment from western companies. This may have been due to unpredictable security risks, a situation which was mirrored in Nan, where the Siamese government had worried about the possibility of international problems following the extension of French influence in the 1890s. However, after the Shan rebellion, major changes were seen in the physical space of Chiang Rai.

That said, the management of the cityscape of Chiang Rai predated the Shan rebellion, as is evident from evidence relating to the activities of the governor-general who in 1889 inspected government works including road building and the installation of telegraph poles from Chiang Saen to Chiang Mai. The governor-general reported on the return of (the wealthy) Mr. Denman to the United States, who was replaced by the very knowledgeable Dr. Briggs from Lampang, who stayed in Mr. Denman's house (Muangkram, 2012: 65). Chiang Rai was home to a significant number of American Presbyterian missionaries and the buildings which they erected. However, in addition to building for their own needs, these missionaries also played a direct role in developing the area. They did so at the invitation of the Siamese government because Siam lacked expertise, experience and manpower and so needed to turn to outside help, one example of which is the proposal of the Chiang Saen governor that Dr. McGilvary should become the owner of a temple and various pieces of land (McGilvary, 2011: 276-277). Siam relied to a certain extent on these westerners to improve living arrangements in areas that were far from the centers of power. American missionaries also played a role in becoming important political allies of Siam and had extensive relationships with leading members of the Siamese state (Aurpibul, 2012).

A difference between missionaries in Chiang Rai and those in the other Monthon Payap province slay in the location of their buildings, which in the case of Chiang Rai were built inside the city walls. For example, Overbrook Hospital and Chiang Rai Witthayakhom School are located inside the old city walls of Chiang Rai, whereas Van Santvoord Hospital, Lakhon Girls School (Vitchanaree) and Lakhon Boys School (Kenneth MacKenzie) were established outside the Lampang walls, to the west of the city and near the bank of the Wang river (Intima, 2010: 31, 39). In Chiang Mai, McCormick Hospital and Prince Royal's College were sited on the left bank of the Ping, east of the city (Easum, 2012: 220).

The management of the urban areas described above can be considered a manifestation of the western-style urban planning that was

beginning to appear in other parts of Monthon Payap. For example, the 'Laos News,' a missionary publication, reported in 1905 that Dr. Briggs of Chiang Rai received a request from the government to oversee road construction and water distribution projects in areas that had previously been a source of malaria and home to tigers (Muangkram, 2012: 62).

Ideas about these western-style ways of managing the city entered circulation at the same time as did knowledge of western production methods and thoughts on how to manage public hygiene and health (Muangkram, 2012: 66-67, Chitrabongs, 2010) but these new trends in urban management were not simply a matter of maintenance and upkeep. Rather, they were a new form of urban planning, as in the plan to construct four main roads through the city of Chiang Rai. Dr. Briggs likened his work there to that of George Washington, who converted Washington from a 'forest city' to a 'road city' (Muangkram, 2012: 67). The new roads were planned were on a grid system and work on them coincided with filling in the city moat and pulling down the city wall. These latter actions were justified on the public health grounds that the moat was a source of infection and the city wall obstructed ventilation to the interior areas. In any case, with the advent of modern warfare, neither the moat nor the walls were likely to be needed for military purposes (Muangkram, 2012: 66). It was also suggested that the Kok river be diverted to flow through the north of the moat to help clean the city and expel sources of infection by ringworm and scabies and to remove mosquito breeding sites (Muangkram, 2012: 65).

Work on pulling down the city walls thus began and the bricks from the wall were used to fill in the moat and to convert it to a road. This work was undertaken by conscripted labor. A group of workers who were not paid their four baht remittances were engaged to take the remaining bricks and mud from the city wall and to use this to fill in swamp pieces of land that could then be used for more productive purposes. These areas included Wat Kham Nong Du, Muang Luang swamp and Si Jaeng swamp (Muangkram, 2012: 67). Reverend H.T. Vincent also built a small bridge across the Kok river in 1904 (Muangkram, 2012: 69) but progress on this work was not entirely

smooth and plans to construct a modern city came into conflict with the beliefs of part of the local population. Those who held to traditional beliefs saw the transformation of the area as an inauspicious and ill-fated attack on the body of the city and an assault on their traditions and customs which would bode ill for the future. As a result, they held rites to curse Dr. Briggs, including burying a mannequin representing him, which they hoped would bring about the failure of the project (Muangkram, 2012: 65). This opposition reflects the gulf which separated the two visions of how the area should be managed and is in some ways similar to the power which missionaries had in promulgating their religion, despite its being antagonistic towards the local population's beliefs in spirits. This is a clear example of the conflict between traditional and western outlooks with regard to the locality.

New forms of spatial arrangement also included the shops and markets of Chinese, Shan and Burmese traders, examples of which included the markets on the banks of the Wang in Lampang and the Ping in Chiang Mai, and the Chinese area in eastern Phrae. The new roads which were being constructed clearly also made travel more convenient and these traders were one beneficiary of this, though the new roads also made patrolling and moving troops in and out of areas much easier.

This development of new forms of urban planning led to a situation where cities spread out to occupy areas which were not controlled by the army and not served by government offices. In addition, during this period, many of the inhabitants of Monthon Payap also saw changes in their lives, one dimension of which was with regard to refuse. When areas within the city were sites for investment, development, labor activities and trade that, boasted a high population density and a lot of activity, they naturally generated a large amount of waste. In Chiang Mai, accumulating problems with waste alongside rising interest in public sanitation prompted increasing concern over hygiene and cleanliness. It was thought that the establishment of some kind of public sanitation organization could provide municipal services by using tax collected from shops and factories and in the case of Monthon Payap,

a sanitation department was indeed set up in 1913, again through the action of missionaries, who were sounded out to set up a sanitation committee. Faith in the ability, knowledge and experience of the missionaries can be seen in the invitation extended by Prince Bovoradej to William Harris to chair the committee.

Prince Bovoradej, Harris latter recollected, insisted on Harris's drafting a budget for the municipal sanitation department, even though Harris had no knowledge of the subject. Harris, however, researched the topic in the Princeton University library and drew up a twelve-year budget, suggesting that funds be raised from charges at the municipal slaughter house, a tax on wheeled vehicles (including bicycles) and an increase in property taxes. The estimated income would amount to 50,000 baht per annum, a five-fold increase on the previous income. The sanitation committee approved the budget before sending it to the Bangkok government for consideration. Harris expected the proposals to be shelved, and was both shocked and delighted that in fact, they were accepted. In addition, the tax rate was not restricted but instead the committee was instructed to collect finances as proposed in all regards. Before Harris resigned from the committee in the wake of the 1932 revolution, the income to the sanitation committee had increased to around 100,000 baht per year, making it possible to improve Chiang Mai, which had become considerably cleaner. However, on one issue, Harris had made no headway and this was on the establishment of a public park, despite 1,000 baht per annum being assigned to this. Prince Bovoradej also reported that on one occasion, the minister complained of the failure of public sanitation and that only in Chiang Mai had this been a success due to Harris himself. Harris offered the opinion that the two royal orders which he had received were more likely for his work in public sanitation than for his efforts in education but that if that were so, his success had been over-valued (Aurpibul, 2012: 293-294).

At first, Chiang Mai's system of public sanitation covered the new commercial area and the administrative district on the bank of the river Ping; after two years it expanded to many more areas. The Bangkok government was principally concerned that sufficient revenue be

collected but also worried about the tax base, which relied on contributions from shops and factories, since exemptions had been granted to sites of religious observance, hospitals, consulates, and government buildings. Chiang Mai had to wait until 1931 for the extension of sanitation services to the old city (Easum, 2012: 229) and this reflects the importance of public health services in commercial areas as well as the diverse ways of life of the population. Nevertheless, the provision of sanitation services in Monthon Payap began specifically with Chiang Mai and public health measures like this were provided elsewhere only sporadically. For example, in Lampang, donations by Prince Bunyawat Wongmanit, the governor, the district-chief officer, civil servants, traders, and the local people were collected in 1914 (Donation for lights at Lampang market, 1914, March 21: 2898) to pay for the collection of waste and refuse in order to improve health and trade and also to provide for lighting in the market.

In addition, donations of money and property were made to cover the construction of public amenities such as bridges and roads in city areas. In Phrae in 1901, Luang Wijitjamnongwanit paid 1,200 baht of his own money for the building of two bridges across a canal, citing the public benefit as the impetus (National Archive of Thailand, R.5 Public Work 9/65). In the name of the Kim Seng Li company and at a cost of 1,216 baht and 48 satang, at same time, individuals also paid for the wood, metal, paint and labor required for the construction of two more bridges (National Archive of Thailand, R.5 Public Work 9/65). In 1915, Prince Suriyaphong Pharitdat, the governor of Nan, together with administrators and the inhabitants of Nan, donated 10,200 baht 62 satang to pay for work on the construction of four bridges which in their words, would provide a permanent increase in public utility (National Archive of Thailand, R.6 Interior 15.1/11). Mr. Kim Chien, a trader in Lampang, paid 350 baht for the building of a bridge at the newly built road to the Nok Kot city gate, which was completed on March 16, 1911 (National Archive of Thailand, R.6 Interior 15.1/11). Finally, also in Lampang, following the completion of the city's rail connection, a reinforced concrete bridge was built across the Wang river. The Ratsadaphisek

bridge, completed in 1917 replaced the previous structure, which had collapsed (Hengsadeekul, 2009: 93). Collectively, these projects changed the physical space in the city that made connectivity for state and merchants possible and helped to initiate changes in daily life in Monthon Payap.

Cities, Cityscapes and a New Understanding of Trees

Another change in urban environments seen in this period was the increasing importance given to cityscapes and the change in emphasis on the cultivation of trees and other plants in city, which previously had been selected on the basis of being auspicious and of bringing good fortune. Banyan trees, a member of the fig family, appear in local historical evidence back to the 16th century and were considered the sacred symbol of Chiang Mai. In fact, these trees played such an important symbolic role in the city that one Burmese monk planned to destroy them as a means of damaging Chiang Mai's power and authority (Editing committee of the Chiang Mai Chronicle, 1995: 75-77). However, new ideas about city management placed more importance on providing shade and creating a pleasant and attractive environment at the street level. Prominent roads bearing witness to this include the road linking Chiang Mai and Lamphun. Towering garjans (or *ton yang na* in Thai, scientific name, Dipterocarpus alatus Roxb) flank the road for many kilometers and have stood over it for a long period of time. Pensupa Sukkata has observed that garjans have been mentioned many times, from the appearance of Wat 'Yang Num' (young garjan) in the *Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai* (collection of poetic tales) 500 years ago, through the era of Prince Kawila over 200 years ago. Garjans became sacred trees in the locale, replacing banyan trees as bringers of good fortune, and this change is assumed to be an effect of the influence either of Chiang Tung or of the planting of garjans alongside the road in order to create a modern environment. Sukkhata still values this history, even if some stories regarding the garjans come from oral sources (Sukkhata, 2014a; Sukkhata, 2014b), since what is most interesting is the fact that the road and trees are over a hundred years old.

A report by Mom Udomphong Phensawat, the high commissioner of Chiang Mai, in 1900 gives the first evidence of the planting of the garjan trees on the Chiang Mai-Lamphun road. The report states that the prince, the governor of Chiang Mai and a large number of local royalty inspected the road on May 7, 1900 and that it had been finished successfully. It was reported that the road was of good quality, wide, useable, and, most importantly, that local royalty had ordered that alongside the road, garjan trees should be planted and that more would be planted in the future (Sukkhata, 2014a).

By 1905, however, the condition of the road had deteriorated and its width had become irregular because it was not up to modern highway standards, and thus it had to be repaired. In addition to the application of these modern standards, Mr. Roberti, an Italian engineer was employed as an adviser for the road renovations. Local labor was conscripted to repair and rebuild the road, which when finished was six meters wide and 26.6 kilometers long (Sukkhata, 2014a). However, interest in the road was not restricted to simple renovation; it was also subject to a new type of regulation which prohibited animals from being on the road or in an official office. Moreover, if a garjan had been planted in front of a house, the owner of that house was made responsible for its care. Residents of the house were thus required to build a fence around the tree to prevent it from being trampled by cows or buffaloes, to water it, to weed the area, and to fertilize it. Garjans that were not near a particular house were assigned to the care of the nearest village and villagers were brought to work on the trees by the village head. In the event that a domestic animal trampled a tree, its owner could incur a fine of up to 20 baht or one month in prison (Sukkhata, 2014a). Issues around this road were therefore not merely matters of creating a pleasant environment but also involved the extension of state power over the area. This concept of space management differed from the previous one that used to be the collective space of the common people because the state lacked sufficient ability to control it and the state power in previous era relied on labor and people rather than space. For example, the Lanna traditional law known as *Mangrai Sart*e elaborating the penal

code regarding labor, merchants and vehicles that crashed on the road (Buanucha, 1992: 165-167) tended to regulate relations among the people not the road. The road was thus less a public space, and more an area belonging to and under the control of the state, which excluded the local population from its ownership. Moreover, the latter group was also under obligation regarding construction and maintenance, while their day-to-day activities and livelihoods were prohibited by law from encroaching on state space. Anthony King, a researcher on colonial cities in India, notes that in cities which were divided between Europeans and the local population, one important feature which distinguished the two zones were trees. In European areas, roads were often lined with trees, which draw the eye toward the Europeans' large residencies, such as bungalows, where both large trees and smaller shrubs were usually planted (King, 1976: 125). In addition, at the end of the 19th century, it was thought that trees not only provided shade but also helped to protect against malaria, since it was believed that the oxygen which trees produced created ozone and that this played a role in preventing infection with the illness. Most importantly, however, trees made the urban environment much more attractive, although despite this, it was felt that they should not be allowed to overhang the roofs of houses (King, 1976: 135). In this way, then, trees helped to create a more visually appealing cityscape, at least in western assumptions, and could protect against disease; moreover, they were also a manifestation of the power which the colonial state had over the colonized population.

It was not only garjans that served this function. Other species of trees also helped to create a colonial cityscape, especially rain trees, which branch widely and thereby provide capacious shade. These were planted in a large number of areas, including zones around the homes and activities of American missionaries, such as Prince Royal's College in Chiang Mai and Overbrook Hospital in Chiang Rai, and sites established by other westerners, including the Chiang Mai Gymkhana Club and lumber companies in Wieng Nuea sub-district in Lampang, Phrae, etc., all of which reflect the existence in the region of colonial-style areas.

It is also notable that the attempts by the missionary William Harris to have a public park built in Chiang Mai were rejected by the authorities (Aurpibul, 2012: 293-294). Although the reasons for the rejection are unknown, it is possible that it was for budgetary reasons and because officials failed to see the need for a park. While green spaces had been opened up in the city, they were associations operated by westerners and were only accessible to members. These associations provided a way for their members to relax and to escape from the stress of work, whether through playing a sport or socializing with other westerners. The Chiang Mai Gymkhana Club, one such association, was opened in 1898 in the area of Mae Kai, not far from lumber businesses on the Ping river. In addition to being a place for relaxation, it was also a place for the local elites to meet (Aurpibul, 2012: 227-231). The situation in Lampang was similar, with the Lakhon Sports Club providing a place for westerners, most of whom were in the timber business, to relax from 1906, the club hosted sports competitions (Wattananikorn, 2015: 88-90). These new types of city environments gradually transformed the provinces of Monthon Payap from their traditional living arrangements of local princes, temples, community markets, bustle and variety into something new, with daily life differing increasingly markedly from that of earlier periods. The situation could be compared to Bangkok in terms of the pattern of modern city planning. Bangkok was the settlement of the mass of Chinese labor while Monthon Payap had another aspect of settlement related to the European teak industry which brought British subjects to this area. These new people accumulated their wealth and built temples on behalf of their ethnic communities.

Conclusion

It can be said without exaggeration that following the Shan rebellion, the physical rearrangement of the cities within Monthon Payap was completed. This achievement helped Siam exert its influence over political rivals and encourage local princes to cooperate in establishing

a new built environment through the donation of land. As security concerns abated, other physical changes affected the urban areas of Monthon Payap and these in turn helped to systematically facilitate control and monitor the development of the area's provinces through state power, whether it was carried out under the guise of security or public health and sanitation. In addition, increased importance was placed on a new concern with the physical appearance of urban regions and these together comprised the process by which colonial spaces were produced in Monthon Payap.

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