

REVIEWS

Further India: Being The Story of Exploration from Earliest Times in Burma, Malaya, Siam and Indo-China.

HUGH CLIFFORD. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1990, 370 pp., ill.

Hugh Clifford's *Further India* begins by showing—as the accompanying maps clearly illustrate—the geography of Southeast Asia as it took shape in European minds. Soon after the time of Christ, the Greek geographer Pomponius Mela described "Chryse the Golden," as it was known, as a small protrusion between India and Seres ("The Land of Silk"). For many centuries Southeast Asia was considered merely an extension of India—*India Extra Gangem* or "Further India"—but with the islands of Indonesia and the Philippines gradually emerging on the maps, Clifford shows the true shape of Southeast Asia taking proper form over the course of nearly two millennia. Until the nineteenth century, however, vast areas of the forbidding interior remain a blank.

Before reaching *Further India*'s principal focus—late nineteenth century forays into the interior and the completion of this notional map—Clifford is first waylaid by the drama of earlier explorations. Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* states that the mines of *Aurea Chersonesus* furnished the gold for the Temple of Jerusalem, and ever since then, Sir Hugh disapprovingly notes, exploratory journeys were motivated largely by the prospect of conquest and gain rather than a spirit of adventure, progress and scientific enquiry. Religious motivation provides a few representatives, such as the good Franciscan Friar Odoric, who voyaged from Madras to Sumatra and Java in the 1320s. The celebrated Moroccan wanderer, Ibn

Batuta, who at about the same time began his extensive travels through much of Asia (including Champa, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra) is described, on the other hand, as a "professional holy man" of the sort "with a curious taste in wives and a rapacious appetite for 'rich presents.'"

Stern moral judgments such as this are typical of Sir Hugh, who spent part of his career as a colonial officer in British Malaya, finally becoming governor of the Straits Settlements and high commissioner of Malaya in 1927. He surveys the moral topography of the explorers as well as the landscape they traverse. The author also of *Bushwhacking* and *Tales of Brown Humanity*, Clifford clearly had Kiplingesque notions about the role of white men in Asia and thus about the qualities these men should possess. An imperialist of the progressive mold given his time (*Further India* was written in 1904), Clifford is in search of heroes, of men with the "largeness of view and quenchless enthusiasm" to carry out some manifest imperial destiny.

Clifford illustrates how the Portuguese, although few in number, managed to gain footholds throughout Asia by sheer audacity. (During the siege of Malacca, one Portuguese captain accompanied his warning to the Sultan with a freshly killed Malay couple, their skulls each shot through with an arrow.) In their cruelty though not their zeal, the Portuguese were the antithesis of Clifford's enlightened imperialists, and they "speedily became an object of intense detestation," causing themselves to "stink in the nose of Asians." Yet the man who completed the Portuguese conquest of Malacca attracts Sir Hugh's admiration: Alfonso Dalboquerque, who "added the wisdom of the statesman to the reckless daring of the filibuster." Dalboquerque's career (he died in

1515) coincidentally marks a watershed in Southeast Asian history, the beginning of European colonization. From this time, with Siam being the notable exception, "the men of the brown and yellow races were to watch their birthrights pass into the keeping of strangers."

A few decades after Dalboquerque's death, various European trading companies began to supplant the Portuguese. The British East India Company's initial brief success and ultimate failure in Siam is recounted, along with the curious tale of one of history's most intrepid adventurers and brashest con artists, Constantine Phaulkon. In Siam as elsewhere, the trading companies enjoyed success at the expense of the Portuguese, who were hated for their brutality and disliked for their missionary zeal.

This part of *Further India* thus consists of a series of object lessons about the importance of first encounters and the circumstances under which they occur. The arrival of missionaries abetted the unification of Vietnam under the hegemony of Annam, and initially missionaries did quite well there. In Burma, the British got off on the wrong foot because they came into conflict with the aggressive monarchy of Ava as it was expanding and incorporating the rival kingdoms of Pegu and Arakan.

Having hastened through the history of Southeast Asia's exploration, Clifford settles down to his true interest, the nineteenth century exploration of the region's river valleys. Now we understand that Clifford has been preparing us morally as well as factually. As geographical enquiry extended from the coasts into the interior—where small expeditions had to travel through rugged terrain outnumbered, and often outgunned, by local armies and brigands—how much more important became the qualities of tact and diplo-

macy, as well as bravery and strong leadership.

In the person of Francis Garnier, the second-in-command of the 1866-68 Lagrée-Garnier expedition, Clifford finds his ideal explorer. Sir Hugh's treatment of Garnier typifies the contradictions of his approach, here gently tolerant and there deeply prejudiced, twisting and turning between the personal and the objective, the romantic and the prosaic. It is a roundabout narrative, for we have plodded through five prefatory chapters before we sense, in "Francis Garnier, the Man," what Clifford is really looking for in his *beau idéal*; he finds Garnier's core qualities in "...the strong constructive imagination of the man, in his ability to plan and to organize, in his tireless energy, mental and physical, in a certain largeness of view and quenchless enthusiasm, and withal in an inspiring nobility of spirit."

Francis Garnier was an anglophobe, and Sir Hugh was most certainly no francophile, but with English tolerance, he manages to find virtue even in a tirade Garnier wrote condemning perfidious Albion:

...for all its insensate hatred of England, for all its boyishness, all its folly, gives token of more estimable qualities. There is here the enthusiasm, the tremendous self-confidence, the generous ambition which are bred of youth and inexperience, and above all we see Garnier in the character that made him great, as the dreamer of dreams who is yet a man of action.

Anyway, at heart Garnier could not suppress grudging respect for the English: the account of his early years concludes with the lament, "What a misfortune that I was not born an Englishman!"

Garnier's travels serve as the central thread of Clifford's narrative, though he stops to digress on other explorers who reached the same point whenever Garnier reaches a crossroads. Garnier departed Toulon on January 9, 1860. On his voyage to the Far East he courageously saved a drowning sailor. After gaining a reputation in Vietnam,

he was nominated to join the expedition up the Mekong led by Doudart de Lagrée, the French "political officer" at Phnom Penh. The Mekong itself, as the most important river in Southeast Asia, vies with Garnier as *Further India's* central focus:

The "Captain of All Rivers"... stands revealed to us as the third or fourth longest river in Asia and the seventh or eighth longest river in the world, flowing from the mountains of Tibet, gathering to itself the highland torrents of that country and of Yun-nan, running through the Shan States and Laos, receiving at each step the waters of great streams, and finding the sea at last through the mazes of its extensive delta. The length of the river may be roughly computed at 2,800 miles...

The Mekong—the tenth longest river in the world, to be precise, with a length of 2400 miles—retains much of its mystique to this very day, probably because the river and its tributaries pass through so many varied and isolated regions.

It is up one such tributary, the Tonle Sap, that the author first detours. Following Garnier, he ventures upriver to the northern shores of this bizarre body of water, half river and half lake, in order to visit the ruins of Angkor. Sir Hugh gets mired in the chronological puzzles of the monuments. He views Angkor Wat, with superior construction and craftsmanship, as the last big Khmer temple, refusing to recognize Jayavarman VII's gigantic capital, Angkor Thom, as the final effort of the ancient Cambodian civilization. Moreover, as a subject of the British Empire in its halcyon years, he finds it unfathomable that a realm as vast as that of the Khmers "not only declined and perished, but passed into oblivion all within the space of less than 280 years"—"less" for Sir Hugh because this calculation, quite correctly as it turns out, starts with a date on a stele from Angkor Thom. Clifford is able to discern, however, that Angkor Thom was the city described in the accounts of the Chinese envoy to Chin-Lá, or

Cambodia, in 1296-1297* and that the Khmer empire already contained the seeds of its decline when that traveller visited this huge moated city in its heyday.

Angkor intrigues Clifford as the shining example of the qualities of "energy and vision" that he is so reluctant to concede to living Southeast Asians but which he readily attributes to a mysterious "vanished race." After quoting Francis Garnier's own elegant tribute to the ruins, Clifford follows Garnier back up the Mekong to the territories of the "Laotines," who "compared to the Kambodians...were doubtless less utterly past hope." (The Siamese are given credit as the most dynamic Southeast Asian people, but Sir Hugh sees little chance that they will keep their independence.)

The Lagrée-Garnier party passed the ruins of Vientiane, to reach the newly established town of Nong Khai, and then proceeded to Luang Prabang. En route they heard rumors of an expedition led by Captain Macleod, who, with Dr. D. Richardson, started out from Burma and continued through Chiang Mai and Chiang Khong to reach as far as up the Mekong as Chiang Rung (Jing Hong). As is his wont, Clifford digresses about other European explorers who had reached Laos, including Henri Mouhot, who in 1861 became ill and died in Luang Prabang. With Gallic eloquence, the final entry of Mouhot's diary implores: "ayez pitié de moi, O mon Dieu!"

Frequent deaths lend poignancy to *Further India*, which for all of its scholarly virtues is fundamentally a compilation of adventures. The most touching death is of a young English explorer, Augustus Margary, who after writing his fiancée about his "splendid mission" then single-handedly "plunged into the dark for six months," setting out from Shanghai on his way to Burma. Passing through Yunnan-fu and Dali, Margary finally arrived in Bhamo, where his ar-

* See *The Customs of Cambodia* by Chou Ta-kuan; Paul Pelliot and J. Gilman d'Arcy Paul, tr. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1987.

rival caused a great sensation. Ironically, a few weeks later he was killed, at the tender age of 29.

Both Garnier and Lagrée eventually came to a sad end. The Garnier-Lagrée party, forced to leave the river at Chiang Rung, reached no farther up the Mekong than did Captain Macleod. After Chiang Rung it became difficult to get permission to travel onward because of the turmoil of a Muslim rebellion in Yunnan. Nonetheless the explorers did reach Yunnan-fu (Kunming), from where they proceeded to Dali, in hopes of rejoining the Mekong:

Their hope was not to be realized. On the way to Dali, before the steepest pass, Lagrée took ill and died, giving Garnier the opportunity to assume the expedition's leadership. Given a frosty reception by the Muslim rebels at Dali, Garnier was forced to retreat southward. (In any case, the French dream of establishing a major trade route up the Mekong was doomed to founder not only on physical obstructions, such as the Khon Falls in southern Laos, but also on politics.) Garnier himself died in 1873, when leading his troops against a large Annamese army at Hanoi; he lost only because the enemy were reinforced by Black Flag troops from Yunnan.

Political disturbances in Yunnan are recounted in much of their complexity. At Kunming, Lagrée and Garnier paid visits to Lao Papa, a holy man briefly proclaimed "emperor" of the Muslim rebels, and to Mohammedan strongman Ma Ta Jen, who professed loyalty to Peking but took power for himself. Ma Ta Jen advanced the expedition 5000 francs, saying that repayment was quite unnecessary but that if the Frenchman was really concerned about such details, he might send him the equivalent of rifles when he reached the coast. Ma Ta Jen needed weapons to fight another warlord in southern Yunnan and to continue to battle with the remnants of the Islamic rebels, who had retreated westward to Dali.

The troubles in Yunnan later spilled over into Southeast Asia, as the Chinese Haw raided Vietnam and Laos.

At the time that Auguste Pavie and his colleagues were first scientifically map-

ping much of the Mekong region (1885-1891), both the French and the Siamese had much difficulty subduing the Haw, who were strong enough to sack Luang Prabang as late as 1886.

Garnier's arrival in Yunnan, as before in Luang Prabang, provides Clifford an opportunity to dally and discuss other explorers, including many Britons such as the ill-fated Margary, the famous Dr. Richardson, and the path-breaking Captain Hannay, all of whom set out from Burma either up north toward Yunnan or else across to Chiang Mai and onwards to the Mekong. From the east, the French attempted to establish viable trade links with Yunnan. At the time the Yunnanese warlord Ma Ta Jen proposed the rifle deal, Garnier, who knew first-hand the difficulties of traveling the Mekong, conceived the idea of reaching Yunnan via the Song Kor river in northern Vietnam. Garnier suggested this route to M.J. Dupuis, who tried to sell salt to Yunnan, a business traditionally monopolized by Vietnamese mandarins. This attempt failed with the Garnier's death and the French defeat at Hanoi, which resulted in Dupuis's ships and cargo being sequestered.

One possible criticism of Clifford's account is that it unfairly stresses the activities in the territories of the foreign protagonists. As Virginia Di Crocco's introduction points out, the exploration of Siam, the territory that lay "between the Tiger and the Crocodile," is given a decided third billing. Sir Hugh may have preferred to tell the tale of explorers who were colonialists cast in his own mold, rather than to research and recount the tales of travellers in independent Siam. But to be more charitable, Sir Hugh's greatest fascination was clearly with the remote headwaters of Southeast Asia's great rivers and the Menam river system no longer offered a challenge.

For Clifford, it was the ultimate sources of Southeast Asia's great rivers—the Mekong, the Salween and the Irrawaddy, all in impenetrable Tibet—that posed the last great question marks in Southeast Asian geography. With some disappointment, he concludes that:

Chryse the Golden stands revealed to us, robbed of its magic and its mystery, just a common fragment of the earth upon which we also tread. It has still a few, a very few, secrets left for discovery by the adventuresome—the actual sources of the Salwin and the Irawadi among the number—but for the rest it has been traversed again and again by alien explorers, and a man must go far afield indeed if to-day he would break new ground. The geographer had done his work, and has done the most of it in less than a century of time; and it remains for the scientist and the ethnologist—above all the ethnologist—to complete the task.

Sir Hugh rightly foresees that the inheritors of the audacious men he portrays must be men who sift with a finer sieve: archaeologists, biologists, historians and—Sir Hugh was justified in singling out their importance—ethnologists. But he would never have predicted that among the most astute modern day "explorers" would be many of the Southeast Asians themselves. Yet if few modern writers would admit to sharing Sir Hugh's prejudices—especially his racism—nevertheless no writer today could sally over such a broad field in such an entertaining, personal yet ambitious and informative way. Sir Hugh is judgmental and his narrative is subject to odd shifts of focus, but he is above all *selective*. By sifting through countless unedited travel diaries—mostly the sort that tell you how many sacks of rice were carried and the altitude of every pass crossed—*Further India* avoids boring the reader, relating only the most exciting incidents and weaving them into a stimulating, if idiosyncratic, narrative.

NICHOLAS PALEVSKY

c/o The Siam Society

*South-East Asian Linguistics:
Essays in Honor of Eugénie
J.A. Henderson.*

J.H.C.S. DAVIDSON

ed. University of London,
School of Oriental and African
Studies.

Southampton: Hobbs the Printers,
1989, 235 pp.

This second¹ collection of papers dedicated to Eugénie Henderson exemplifies the profound influence which her intellect, personality and characteristic good will have had on linguists and linguistics of Southeast Asia. The volume is carefully edited with papers appropriately arranged according to the linguistic family with which they are concerned: Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Tai, and Tibeto-Burman. As may be seen from the biographical sketch in the introduction, Eugénie Henderson has made substantial contributions to the study of languages in each of these families, not to mention many more in other areas of the world.

The first article, by Davidson, "*mát cá*: from 'fishes' eyes' to 'ankle-bones: a Vietnamese calque?," provides a possible explanation for the Vietnamese expression for anklebone as first a borrowing and then a re-etymologization, from a southeastern Chinese dialect, such as Amoy *kha-bák* 'ankle' (leg + eye), to Vietnamese 'eye + fish' because of the phonetic similarity of Chinese **mak* 'eye' to Vietnamese *mát* 'eye' and Chinese **khá* to Vietnamese *cá* 'fish.' Although Davidson ventures the possibility of a "pre-sinitic origin" for the Chinese term he does not speculate on what that might have been. Perhaps it

would be useful to note a relevant Tai form here, namely, PT **khaa* 'leg' with some northern branch reflexes showing an unaspirated /k-/ initial, closer phonologically to the Vietnamese form. The Saek cognate, /*kwaa*/, looks suspiciously similar to the GSR 351j form cited by Davidson, becoming *hoa* or *khoa* in Sino-Vietnamese.

Judith Jacob's paper, entitled "Some features of modern Khmer literary style," concerns the stylistic classification of pre-1975 Khmer prose. Four types emerge, including styles that indicate imitation of Thai, French, and traditional Khmer literary (that is, poetic) genres. An interesting data-oriented piece by Rabel-Heyman on the kinship terminology of the Khasi language of Assam completes the Austroasiatic contributions to the volume.

The sole Austronesian offering is by Milner, "On prosodic relations between Fijian bases and verbal suffixes," a well-researched and carefully presented study of a grammatical problem where interaction between synchronic and diachronic approaches is essential to the analysis.

Tai papers, more numerous than the rest, include the translation of an 18th century Siamese letter to the Danish governor of Tranquebar by Søren Egerod; a short note on the ordering of oppositions in Thai by Mary Haas; and three papers on comparative Tai topics by Gedney, Haudricourt and the late Fang Kuei Li.

William Gedney's paper on "Tai names for the ox" is a historical (zoo-) linguistic analysis of the distribution of taxa for the 'ox' in the Tai languages. He concludes that the Southwestern form **ηua/vua/hua* is so irregular that it cannot be a native word and must be recently borrowed. The Central and Northern branches likewise have non-related forms, **moo* and **sia* respectively, which although internally consistent, probably were not part of the Proto-Tai lexicon. Saek has yet another word, probably borrowed, which may imply that it broke away from the Northern branch mainstream prior to the introduction of the ox.

In comparing the tonal systems of Li dialects, in particular the Ha dia-

lect of Bǎoding and the Gei dialect of Tongza as recorded by Ouyáng and Zhèng, André Haudricourt in "La tonologie du Li de Hainan," demonstrates that the three tone system, corresponding to the ABC tone classes, was older and that the six tone systems developed later as a result of tonal splitting like the tone systems of languages spoken on the mainland.

In his "Proto-Tai *kh- and *x-" Li posits the existence of a voiced aspiration feature in Proto-Tai to explain sets of correspondences with tonal alterations where the Northern branch initials appear to derive from voiced rather than voiceless velar consonants. He notes that this same phonetic feature is found among the Wu dialects of Chinese, an interesting fact since these are spoken in the lower Yangtze valley, an area which has been suggested as a possible Proto-Tai-Kam-Sui homeland based on other types of linguistic evidence. The idea for seeking a solution to this problem through proposing an additional type of voiced consonant is not new but was suggested by Gedney in 1979. Gedney, however, did not attempt to specify its exact phonetic nature.

The Tibeto-Burman realm is well-represented by four substantial contributions: David Bradley's highly engaging anthropological-linguistic study "Uncles and aunts: Burmese kinship and gender;" James Matisoff's characteristically entertaining yet keen and ever organically whole analysis of Lahu syllabicity entitled "The bulging monosyllable, or the mora the merrier: echo-vowel adverbialization in Lahu;" Okell's study of "The Yaw dialect of Burmese" (wherein he commits the unpardonable sin of leaving the reader up in the air by not finishing the tale of the Tiger and the Elephant, the sad and irritating result of what some have referred to as anti-aesthetic bias in Western education leading linguists to the conclusion that the content doesn't matter); and finally Sprigg's treatise on Lepcha vocalism, "Oral vowels and nasalized vowels in Lepcha (Rong): as the key to a puzzling variation in spelling."

Taken as a whole, this collection of fine papers by highly competent

¹The first collection to be published was: *Studies in Tai and Mon-Khmer Phonetics and Phonology in Honor of Eugénie J.A. Henderson*. ed. by THERAPHAN THONGKUM et. al., Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1979.

scholars represents a valuable contribution to Southeast Asian linguistics and will remain a fitting tribute to Eugénie Henderson and her contributions to this field of endeavor.

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c/o The Siam Society

BOOK RESUMÉ

In Perspective :
Trends in Rural Development
Policy and Programs in Thailand
1947-1987

Resumé of Payap University
Research Center Report No. 41

by
LAURENCE C. JUDD
Published June 1989

Books and papers about third-world development in general have flooded the market in recent years. Most deal with developing countries as a whole or with large regions such as Southeast Asia. Concerning Thailand in particular there have been many publications relating to specific sectors or aspects of development in general and of rural development per se as is partially indicated in the extensive bibliography in this book. The Compendium of the Development Assistance Group

for Thailand (DAG/T & UNDP) gives elaborate detail of certain categories of assistance given to Thailand by foreign donors in various calendar years.

However, only in magazines and newspapers does one find Thai rural development discussed as a whole and then usually very briefly and concerned toward specialization in academic life and in the civil service which makes possible a depth of knowledge and analysis concerning specific aspects of life. Nevertheless, alongside such specialization, a more comprehensive statement is needed to put Thai rural life into holistic perspective for the many persons today who do not really understand how the particular work they are doing relates to the national or total rural situation. Such an effort will probably not satisfy those specialists whose fields of interest are inadequately covered but should prove useful to specialists and citizens alike in helping them gain an overview of the rationale and methods of rural development used in Thailand.

The intention of this book is to focus on the full spectrum of policies and programs of rural development used in Thailand during the years of 1947 to 1987 (Buddhist Era 2490-2530), from the end of the Second World War until the present. Obviously, rural change began in Thailand before 1947 and will continue. This period, however, has been one of major effort at planned change, by both Thai and foreigners, and is long enough to serve as a base for general analysis. This study

starts with an overview of rural development policy changes worldwide during these decades, includes a brief history of rural development efforts in Thailand, its sources of funding, its objectives as proclaimed and as practiced, a brief description of the programs undertaken by the government ministries most involved by private (secular and religious) non-government organizations (NGDOs), and by business firms, a general analysis of successes achieved and of common problems, and a statement of the author's views of what an adequate process of rural development appropriate for Thailand would entail. Copious endnotes and thirty-one pages of appendices give detail for the serious reader.

Many general conclusions and specific recommendations are made by the author. It is apparent that rural Thai are no longer isolated from urban and world problems such as economic justice, overpopulation and environmental degradation; that rural development, even as it becomes increasingly complex, must involve the people most directly concerned from the planning stage onwards; and that much more thought must be given to defining what is "development" as distinct from mere "modernization".

This 358 page book is available in Thailand for ฿360 in the larger English language bookstores in Bangkok and Chiang Mai, or direct from the Payap University Archives, L.P.O. 101 Chiang Mai, Chiang Mai 50000.