

EXIBITION OF BOOKS FROM THE COLLECTION OF M.L. MANICH JUMSAI

The Siam Society organized two exhibitions of the book collection belonging to M.L. Manich Jumsai in 2001. The first exhibit, held on 4 October, featured books from the Ayutthayan period while the second, held on 13 October, featured books from the early-Bangkok period. To provide a better understanding of the books on display, the context in which they were published, as well as on the collector, M.L. Manich, himself, lectures by Michael Smithies and Sumet Jumsai, were provided at the start of each exhibit. Michael Smithies discussed the authors and their times in both his lectures while Sumet Jumsai discussed life with an avid book collector and scholarly father while also providing insights into some aspects of the books themselves.

Both sets of lectures are reproduced here in order to reach a wider audience. Following the transcripts of the four lectures are bibliographies of the books in the M.L. Manich Jumsai collection.





On M.L. Manich Jumsai

Address by Dr. Sumet Jumsai, 4 October 2001

My father is a bookworm. He would read and write for hours every day and well into the early hours. As an educator, he quite immersed himself in books and dictionaries of all sorts.

In 1950 the family prepared to go to Paris for my father's work for UNESCO. I was then 11 and remembered vividly his new interest in Thai history based on old accounts such as books and records going back to the time of Louise XIV.

During the weekends, we used to follow him to the *bookinists* (book stalls) along the Seine and various bookshops on the Left Bank and the City. This would take hours, to the chagrin of my mother, who could not keep up with the pace at which my father walked.

Many of the *bookinists* knew my father well. On seeing him from afar would greet him and say, "I have a book on Siam for you today". So that is how the rare books collecting started.

We lived, I think, quite frugally in Paris because of the money spent by my father on rare books. Actually in those days they were quite cheap... that is to say before the present day collectors were born.

I was fairly influenced by then by my father book collecting. When I went up to Cambridge, I bought a copy of a book called *Seven Palms*. It is called the *Jesuit Unmasked*. If I may read just the frontispiece:

The Jesuit Unmasked was a dialogue between the most holy father, Father Rachette, Confessor of his most Christian Majesty, the most chaste Father Peter, confessor of the king of England and the most pious father, Father Pashar, Ambassador of the French King to His Majesty of Siam, wherein the principle measures these reverent fathers pretend to take for the conversion of the English heretics and the idolaters of Siam...

And so it goes on... I merely show you this

reprint of the book I am very proud of because I only bought it for only seven pounds. I suppose now it would fetch well beyond 3000 pounds.

My father was not a collector as such. For him books were simply research materials. He also forayed into archives, especially at Rue de Bac where the archives of the Mission Étrangère containing many books and manuscripts on this part of the world and especially on Siam. After he retired from UNESCO, he delved into archives elsewhere Europe. He had to forego Lisbon, Amsterdam and Leiden because of the language problem. But he also collected microfilms from all over Europe. There were boxes and boxes of microfilms in our house. The other day we opened them and half of them have been destroyed by the elements; they have become moldy. The rest we tried to salvage. We have recently presented to the Society what remains of these rare microfilms and they are a treasure trove for researchers.

I suppose that my father's influence on me was very great because since my childhood I also became a sort of a bookworm with an interest in Siamese history. And I immersed myself in records of the early history of Siam. By that I mean 17th century records of Siam. For example, the records on the Siamese embassy in 1684 to King Charles II of England. And I have discovered as a result of that research a list of gifts to the King of England which were impounded by the British customs.

Also I came across, or rather I was told of another unique document written by one of the students sent to Europe in the 17th century. I refer to an essay written by a Siamese student in the 1680s at the University of Paris. It was written of course in Latin. I wish that all these manuscripts and records will eventually be published. Of course, some of them will have to be translated from Latin into either English or Thai.

On Books from the Ayutthayan Era

Address by Michael Smithies, 4 October 2001

In *Macbeth*, Act I, scene 3, the three witches are on a heath waiting for Macbeth and Banquo to pass. The first witch says to her colleagues:

A sailor's wife had chestnuts in her lap—
And munch'd, and munch'd, and munch'd
‘Give me’ quoth I;
Aroint thee,巫婆! the rump-fed ronyon cries.
Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the
Tiger;
But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
And, like a rat without a tail,
I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do.

The other two witches offer to blow wind, and the first witch promises to drain him dry, with no sleep, diminishing strength, and a tempest-tossed journey.

What, you may well ask, does that have to do with a collection of 17th and 18th century books on Siam? The ‘master of the Tiger’ was none other than **Ralph Fitch**, who went well beyond Aleppo (notwithstanding the witches) to Goa, where he was saved from the Portuguese Inquisition by Van Linschoten, who persuaded him to abjure Protestantism. Fitch left Goa in 1584 for Burma, where he followed the army (the Burmese king Nandabayin was preparing to invade the Siam of Thammaracha) and visited Chiang Mai and the Shan States in 1586–1587. In Burma he must have picked up his example of a penis bell which is in the British Museum collection. He kept no notes of his travels for fear of being arrested as a spy, and his later account drew on extant works. It was first published in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1599).

Fitch (#24)¹ is the earliest author to appear in this remarkable collection of books, where he is represented by a Dutch translation of his travels published in Leiden in 1706. But he was

by no means the earliest traveller to leave an account of a visit to Siam. That honour, as far as this collection is concerned, goes to **Fernão Mendes Pinto**, who travelled for 21 years throughout the east, during which he was shipwrecked and imprisoned countless times, before returning to Portugal in 1558, dying there in 1583. His huge *Peregrinação* was published posthumously in 1614. He wrote it from memory while living in an honourable retirement. He devoted nine chapters to ‘The Empire of Sornau, which the people of the country call Siam’ where he lived in the 1540s. His book was long considered to be somewhat fabulous, but recent research has shown that he was quite accurate as far as Siam is concerned. Mendes Pinto’s work suffered from poor translations and abridgement, and only recently has a viable English version appeared.² No early versions of his work appear in the M.L. Mameh collection, but there are several examples dating from the 19th century.

The earliest book in this collection, Maffée’s general history of the Indies (#1) published in 1665, belongs to a genre where all that is known about a relatively remote area is gathered together between two covers. This genre was to become singularly fashionable in the 18th century, under the influence of the French Encyclopaedists and Diderot in particular, as the works represented in this collection by Salmon (#37), Lambert (#38), de La Harpe (#39), Rollin (#40–1), and Delaporte (#42) show.

Travelling writing per se is represented by Struys (#4), Tavernier (#5), and Mandelslo (#28), and there is even an example of a desk study, De l’Isle (#7), whose 1684 volume gathered together what little was then known about Siam, without his ever having visited the country. But the first really important book to deal with Siam, though not exclusively, is that of **Jacques de**

Bourges (#2), published in 1666, with the indecently long title *Relation du voyage de Monseigneur l'Évêque de Béryte. Vicaire Apostolique du Royaume de la Cochinchine, par la Turquie, la Perse, les Indes, etc. jusqu'au Royaume de Siam et autres lieux, par M. de Bourges, prêtre, missionnaire apostolique*. De Bourges preceded by two decades the massive outpouring of the French, and his book appeared before most of the Dutch texts were published, with the exception of Joost Schouten, whose work on Siam first appeared in 1638 (the author of #25 is another Schouten).

De Bourges was born in Paris about 1630, ordained about 1655, and joined the newly founded Société des Missions Étrangères. He was chosen to accompany, on his long overland journey to South-East Asia, Mgr Lambert de la Motte, appointed by Pope Alexander VI as bishop to the lapsed see of Béryte (Beirut), who was given the additional title of apostolic vicar. De Bourges was in Siam for a year and a half, from April 1662 (but his party did not reach the capital until August) to October 1663. He has four chapters on Siam, covering its geography and economy, fruits, (all the visitors have a section on Siamese fruits!) the manners and customs of the Siamese, and religion. While he praises Siam for its religious tolerance, it never seemed to occur to him that his own country was much in arrears on this score. He gives practical tips on where best to change one's money and how to travel quickly to Europe (on English vessels, it seems). De Bourges returned to Siam briefly in 1669 while on his way to do missionary work in Tonkin. He returned again to Ayutthaya to be consecrated titular Bishop of Auren and apostolic vicar of west Tonkin by the Bishop of Metellopolis, Mgr Laneau, in 1682. He remained in Tonkin until 1713, when he and his seminarians were expelled. He came once more to Ayutthaya, where he died in 1714, aged about 84. He was buried in the cemetery attached to St Joseph's church there.

We then come to the first French embassy to Siam, which produced a deluge of books relating first-hand experiences. Quickest off the mark on returning to France was the intrepid Jesuit **Guy Tachard** (#8, 9, 13–14, 17–18), whose account of his first journey to Siam in 1685 was first published in the year of his return, 1686.

As this had the mark of novelty, it ran to numerous editions, both sanctioned (in France) and pirated (in the Netherlands, particularly Amsterdam).

Tachard was born near Angoulême, probably in 1648, and joined the Company of Jesus in 1668. About 1680 he went to the Antilles but was back in Paris in 1684, when he was named as one of six Jesuit mathematicians, the leader of whom was Fr de Fontaney, destined to go China, and who accompanied the Chaumont-Choisy embassy of 1685 sent by Louis XIV. Tachard managed to establish a close liaison with Phaulkon, the wily Levantine adventurer who filled the post of *Phra Khlang* without taking the title. Tachard returned to Europe instead of going to China (which he was never to reach in all his journeys to the East) to supply 12 (later 14) mathematical Jesuits to satisfy the whims of King Narai. He returned with the La Loubère-Céberet embassy in 1687 armed with secret instructions which he assumed placed him above the official envoys, whose position he made as difficult as possible. He returned with La Loubère as Narai's envoy to Pope Innocent XI and to Louis XIV. It was not until November 1689 that France learned about the coup d'état in Lopburi of 1688 and the death of Phaulkon, and Narai. This did not stop Tachard from embarking on a third journey to Siam in 1690 (incidentally recorded by Robert Challe, no fan of his), and from Pondichéry he attempted to gain admission to the country, writing to the new *Phra Khlang*, Kosa Pan, who had no love of him either. While he bided his time in Pondichéry he apparently engaged in a clandestine trade in diamonds concealed in the heels of his (and others') shoes. He was seized when the Dutch attacked Pondichéry in 1693 and off-loaded in Dunkirk. He left again on his fourth journey to Siam in 1695, finally reaching Ayutthaya in 1699 via Mergui, bearing a letter from Louis XIV originally destined for King Narai and a letter from Pope Innocent XI who had died nine years previously. His reception was coldly formal. He returned to France in 1700 and set off for his fifth journey to the Indies. He was in Pondichéry from 1702 to 1710, when he came into conflict with the new governor, and left for Chanderdagar in Bengal, where he died in 1712.

Tachard is not a sympathetic character. He was a paranoid schemer who infiltrated himself everywhere and was in large measure responsible for the ultimate fiasco of the French adventure in Siam. The only person with whom he appears to have established a rapport was Phaulkon, who used him as his secretary and for conveying orders to his cook.

Tachard wrote prolifically (his later journeys have still not been published). His first journey to Siam sold well, with 30 imaginative engravings (mostly, in fact, of fauna met at the Cape), and was translated into English, Dutch, and Italian. His account of his second journey was far less successful, running to only two official editions and one pirated one; it is stuffed with extracts and accounts from other people, and tries to show Tachard in the best possible light. It concludes with his appearance at Rome in December 1688 (unaware that King Narai, whom he represented, was dead and Phaulkon, his patron, assassinated), where he lied to the pope, assuring him that King Narai was building churches all over the country and was taking instructions in Catholicism. The trip to Rome is also represented here by the Prague (second) edition of the account of the papal audience (#30), which contains the Böcklin engraving after the original by Westerhout.

The Abbé François-Timoléon de Choisy comes next (#10–11, 26). He was one of the most colourful characters of the period. He was in turn a transvestite abbé with a passion for seducing young girls (whom he dressed as men), a gambler who lost fortunes at the gaming tables in Venice, a secretary to Cardinal de Bouillon at the election of Pope Innocent XI, co-adjutant ambassador to the King of Siam, 1685–1686, and a member of the French Academy from 1687, ending up its déan. Thanks to his mother, who is reputed to have seduced the young Louis XIV, he knew everyone at court, from the king's younger brother (with whom he was raised) down. He could not stop writing. On completion of an eleven volume *Histoire de l'Eglise* he is said to have remarked he would have to learn something about it. His charming *Journal du Voyage de Siam fait en 1685 et 1686* is written with verve and a fine eye for detail. This is written in the form of a diary of daily events to his friend and future fellow-academician the

Abbé Dagneau. The journey was undertaken in part to escape his debtors and in part because of a desire to reform, which he had decided to do after recovering from a serious illness in 1683; he finally took holy orders in Lopburi in December 1685. He had hoped to be nominated ambassador to Siam, but was beaten to the post by the Chevalier de Chaumont; it was agreed in Versailles that Choisy would stay on in Siam to instruct the king if there were any hopes for his conversion. After arriving in Siam he was soon disabused on this notion by the Bishop of Metellopolis, Louis Laneau, and the Abbé de Lionne, and returned with the embassy in 1686.

Choisy must have been a delightful travelling companion: he has none of the ponderousness of Chaumont or the sniffy sanctity of Tachard. He is amusing and light-hearted, and nothing seemed to worry him. He acted as a bridge between the Jesuits and the French Missionaries, being able to keep on good terms with both sides. Being an ordained priest did not stop him placing bets, using porcelain pieces given by King Narai as wagers, during stops on the return journey.

No greater contrast could be found between Choisy and the Chevalier Alexandre de Chaumont (#12), who was imbued with a great sense of his own importance as ambassador of Louis XIV to King Narai. Chaumont was stiff, unbending, and thoroughly boring. Born about 1640 (he died in 1710, with no further positions of importance after Siam), he came from a distinguished Huguenot family, converted to Catholicism, and served in the navy and the army. He was pious to a degree, and because of this, and his conversion, was thought suitable to lead a mission to convert a pagan monarch. His narrative of his mission is somewhat disordered but tries to include as much factual material as would impress the Marquis de Seignelay, the Secretary of State for the Navy and in charge of the Siamese venture in Versailles, as to the importance of Siam. Like all visitors, he gives an account of the capturing of wild elephants, and the exotic fruits of the country.

As a counterweight to the outpourings of the friendless Tachard, one should mention the work of Nicholas Gervaise, a French missionary of the Missions Étrangères resident in Siam from 1682 to 1686, who published in 1688 his *Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de*

Siam in 1688 (#15–16). This gave a balanced description of the kingdom, second only in objectivity and thoroughness to La Loubère's volume of 1691. Gervaise was born in Paris about 1662 and was ordained a priest before he was 20. He was sent to Siam with the energetic missionary, Mgr Pallu. After returning to France, he became a curé in Brittany, and then moved to Tours, where he wrote his book on Siam and another on the Kingdom of Makassar (it is not known if he ever went there, but he brought back to France the two sons of the Makassar prince who was defeated after revolting in Ayutthaya in 1688). He went to Rome in 1724, was made titular Bishop of Horren, and then left for what is now Venezuela, where he was killed by Carib Indians in 1729.

The published accounts of the activities of the French missionaries, appearing under the rubric of the *Relation des Missions et des Voyages des Evesques Vicaires Apostoliques* – from 1672 to 1677, as well as Bishop Pallu's volume with the same title (Paris, Beechot, 1668) and Nouguette's account of their activities for 1681–1683 (Chartres, Massot, 1683), some of which are represented here (#3, 6), are also informative about Siam, though none sought to give the overview Gervaise managed to achieve.

With Gervaise's book one reaches the cataclysmic year 1688, though no one in France was aware of the events in Siam from May to November that year until the following November. The rare English account (#20) with the arresting title *A full and true relation of the great and wonderful Revolution that happened lately in the Kingdom of Siam in the East-Indies, giving a particular account of the seizing and Death of the Late King, and of the Setting up of a New One* appeared in London with Randal Taylor in 1690. It was published anonymously, and the source is not given or known for certain. It could have a Dutch origin (the Dutch were important in England after the overthrow of James II in 1688 by William of Orange), or it could be an insider like the "English Catholic" whose unpublished memoirs have been cited in extenso in Dirk Van der Cruysse's book *Louis XIV et le Siam* (Anglise: *Siam and the West 1500–1700*, currently in press).

The collection boasts two copies of the extremely rare *Histoire de la Révolution de Siam*

arrivée en l'année 1688 by Jean Vollant des Verquains (#21), published in Lille in 1691. Vollant was an engineer, who in his account referred to himself in the third person as "ingénieur en chef". From Céberet's account of his mission, only published in 1992, we know that Vollant was a prickly character, quick to take offence; he was scornful of the engineering efforts of the gifted amateur La Mare, who had been left behind in 1685 to build city walls throughout the country. Vollant was captured in 1689 when the Dutch seized the *Coché* and the *Normande* at the Cape, and spent some time, like the Jesuit Le Blanc, to whom we shall briefly return, in the prisons of Middelburg in Holland. There he was able to reflect on the covetousness and duplicity practiced by the French factor Véret and General Desforges in the events of 1688, and his book gives a full account of the tribulations and ignominious treatment of Madame Phaulkon at the hands of French general.

The turgid hagiography of Phaulkon, *Histoire de M. Constance, premier ministre du Roy de Siam, et de la dernière Révolution de cet État*, published in 1690 by Fr Pierre-Joseph d'Orléans (#19) was written by someone who never went to Asia and never met his subject. Deslandes-Bureau said his little book was "a complete fiction . . . wishing to pass off the 'chief minister of Siam' as a martyr and even a saint. He was neither." D'Orléans, in Van der Cruysse's words, "contented himself with repeating the inventions of his colleague Guy Tachard" and even speaks of Phaulkon's visions. D'Orléans account of the "revolution" which fills more than half his book seems to be derived largely from La Blanc. The Jesuits put so much faith in the power and influence of Phaulkon that they needed to justify the collapse in 1688 of the pack of cards created by their (and French) ambitions. That tradition was maintained with the publication in 1992 of Raphaël Vongsuravatana's *Un Jésuite à la Cour de Siam*.

Simon de La Loubère (#22–23, 27) was chief envoy extraordinary to King Narai in 1687 who, with his colleague Céberet, was made to suffer innumerable indignities at the hands of Tachard during his mission to Siam. He avenged himself by writing a magisterial account of the country,

Du Royaume de Siam, published in French in 1691 and in English two years later. In this account, Tachard is only mentioned once, in relation to his position at the first formal audience; he was consigned to oblivion. La Loubère (1642–1729) was born and educated in Toulouse. He lived in Paris where he participated in salon and literary life, and through his connections became secretary to the French ambassador to Switzerland in 1676. After holding other posts he was nominated to lead the mission to Siam, which was accompanied by many troops and had secret orders to seize Bangkok and Mergui if they were not handed over voluntarily. Phaulkon was placed in an extremely difficult position and used Tachard to disrupt French intentions as much as possible. La Loubère gained entry into the French Academy in 1693 with his book on Siam and after an equally unsuccessful mission to Spain occupied himself with literary life, later retiring to Toulouse. His mission to Siam may have been a failure, but he left the most comprehensive account of the kingdom in the 1680s, and it remains an unrivalled source of information.

The eighteenth century is thin on accounts dealing specifically with Siam; indeed there is only one of any note, and that was a second-hand affair. The first, by Engelbert Kaempfer, forms part of larger work dealing with Japan, and was first published in English in London in 1727. Kaempfer was born in 1651 in Westphalia, studied medicine in Hamelin, Hamburg and Lübeck, languages in Cracow, and then in Prussia. He joined the service of Charles XI of Sweden, and went on an embassy to Persia in 1683. In Isfahan he decided to join the Dutch East Indies Company as chief surgeon of the fleet. He was in Batavia in 1689, and the following year left on a journey to Japan passing through Siam. He left Japan in 1692, was in Leiden in 1694 and then returned to Germany, dying in 1716. His notes and papers were bought by a great collector, Sir Hans Sloane, secretary of the Royal Academy in London, who engaged a Swiss scholar, John Scheuchzer, to translate Kaempfer's work into English. The volume we have in this collection #35 is a French translation. Kaempfer was the first German to leave records of Siam, and was in Ayutthaya only two years after the departure of the French; Phetracha was king, and Kosa Pan was his *Phra Khlang*

(Kaempfer found his palace full of French prints and cobwebs). He left a fairly accurate account of the events of 1688 and describes the chief sights of the capital Ayutthaya. He noted that the fort built by the French in Bangkok had been razed,

Chevalier (later Count) Claude de Forbin was not in Siam during the events of 1688. He had gone there as aide-de-camp to the Chevalier de Chaumont in 1685 when he was only 29 and had already seen service under arms in various parts of the world. Phaulkon engineered King Narai's request that he stay on in Siam after Chaumont's embassy returned, nominally to train his troops and navy, but probably in order to keep him from telling Louis XIV of the real worth of the country's trade. He accused Phaulkon of trying to kill him, first by poison and then with near-impossible missions. He eventually found his situation intolerable and left Siam without permission at the end of 1686, going to Pondichéry and then, curiously, trying to return incognito to Siam, possibly to continue his private trading. On his return to France in 1688 he saw the three most important figures in the Siamese venture: Louis XIV, the Marquis de Seignelay, and the king's confessor, the Jesuit Fr de La Chaize, and gave his unflattering opinions of what was to be gained from involvement in the country.

Forbin was born in Provence in 1656 of a large and well-connected family, and eventually became a squadron commander in the navy. He retired at the age of 59 after taking part in the Wars of the Spanish Succession and after his failure to land the Jacobite Pretender in Britain (he is also thought to have lined his own pockets rather too generously). He then wrote his memoirs (#33–4), which first appeared in 1729. He died at the family chateau near Marseilles in 1733. He describes the events of his stay in Siam with verve, but his memoirs have to be treated with caution, because by the time he published them, everyone in a position to contradict him was dead.

The third account of the 18th century of importance, but one which also has to be treated with considerable caution, is that of François-Henri Turpin (#43–4), with his *Histoire Civile et Naturelle du Royaume de Siam, et des Révoltes qui ont bouleversé cet Empire*

jusqu'en 1770. Turpin (1709–1799) never came to Siam, and in fact never seems to have moved outside the narrow perimeter of Caen, where he taught history at the university, and Paris, where he tried unsuccessfully to live by his pen and where he died in penury. He obtained his information about Siam from the French missionary bishop Mgr Brigot, who was in the country from 1741 to the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767. The bishop left Pondichéry in 1769 to return to France; there he wrote some notes and gave his manuscript and other missionaries' notes and journals to the hack writer Turpin, who, in the words of one critic, allowed "his imagination to guide him, without bothering too much about exactitude." Brigot and the director of the Foreign Missions in Paris were most displeased when Turpin's work was published, finding "reprehensible things" in it. Turpin then undertook to correct or replace the passages which they found particularly objectionable. However, this was virtually the only work dealing exclusively with Siam to appear in the century, and gives a first-hand account of the fall of Ayutthaya, which even the Dutch (who had abandoned the capital before its fall to the Burmese) could not furnish.

That covers perhaps the most important authors and their works on Siam to appear in this collection. As with every collection, there are gaps, some of which may be impossible to rectify. Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* (Lisbon, 1614), for example, is unobtainable. Jacques de Coutre, who lost almost as many fortunes, was captured and sold almost as many times as Mendes Pinto, was a Fleming who spent some months in the Ayutthaya of King Naresuan in 1595; he dictated his memoirs, his "Vida", to his son Estibau, who published them in Spanish in Madrid in 1640. Their importance has only recently been realized, but again copies are rarer than gold on the streets of Bangkok. The pages of the *Mercure Galant*, edited by Donneau de Vizé, are a rich source of information for the period from 1680 to 1690 but difficult to obtain, though M.L. Manich produced in 1985 a reset version of the years 1686–1687 concerning the Siamese embassy to France led by Kosa Pan. The Siam Society has among its rare books a copy of the *Harangues faites à Sa Majesté . . .* by Kosa Pan in 1686–7 which the Manich collection apparently lacks, and which

the Siam Society published in facsimile and in translation a few years ago.

The Lopburi coup of May 1688 gave rise to a number of publications; mention has already been made of Pi d'Orléans work based on other sources, as well as that of Vollant des Verquains. One of the most interesting is General Desfarges' self-justification, *Relation des Révoltes arrivées à Siam dans l'année 1688* (Amsterdam, P. Brunet, 1691); that it is largely a pack of lies does not detract from its importance. Marcel Le Blanc's two-volume account, with almost the same title, *Histoire de la Révolution du Royaume de Siam arrivée en 1688 et de l'état présent des Indes* (Lyon, Molin, 1692) is another Jesuit record of this turbulent period. Robert Challe's *Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes orientales* [1690–1691], said to be published in Rouen in 1721, but in fact appearing in The Hague, contains a great deal of information about the 'revolution', and a good deal of dirt about Tachard; this volume too is virtually impossible to find in the original, though it has been reprinted twice. The Abbé de Choisy's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Louis XIV* was published posthumously (nominally in Utrecht by the suspiciously-named Van de Water), and this contains his reflections on the futility of his mission of 1685 and subsequent events in Siam. André-François Deslandes-Bureau, drawing on his father's memory, published in Amsterdam in 1756 a *Historie de M. Constance, premier ministre du roi de Siam*, which attacked the pious hagiography of Père d'Orléans mentioned above. Even Alexander Hamilton, who visited Siam in 1718, says something about the coup of 1688, and a good deal about the fair application of Siamese justice (he was involved in a dispute which could have cost him his life) in Chapter 47 of his two-volume *New Account of the East Indies* (Edinburgh, 1727). Most of these titles have appeared or are about to appear in reprint, in articles, or in compendia, with the exception of Le Blanc; his Jesuit colleague de Bézé's account was only published in 1947 and so does not figure here.

Then, as always, there are the major Dutch texts which should be included in any comprehensive collection of books about Siam. Important here are Van Linschoten's *Reys-*

gheschrift vande navigatiën der Portugaloyers in Orienlen" (Amsterdam 1595), and Van Vliet's 'Beschryving van het Koninggryk Siam' (Leiden, 1692), published by Haaring. In the same year, Haaring also produced the anonymous Dutch account of the French expulsion from Siam, 'Aamerklijken Naaukeurig Verhaal der Staatsomkeringen nu laatst in 't Jaar 1688 in Siam voorgevallen . . .' as well as an anonymous life of Phaulkon, 'Het Leven en Daden van d'Heer Constantyn Phaulkon . . .'

But what we have in this collection are certainly the most important publications of the

period, which in the years 1685-1688 was particularly agitated, and which led a vast fall-out in the publishers' lists of the period. The characters who contributed to these works sometimes seem larger than life, and acted with an insouciance which is occasionally astonishing. For the ordinary collector, many of these titles are way beyond reach. Fortunately many if not most are available in reprint and often in translation. But work still remains to be done in publishing key manuscripts of the period as well as historical reprints. An historian's task is never done.

Notes

¹ Numbers refer to the list of exhibited books, which follows this article.

¹ Rebecca Catz, ed., *The Travels of Meniles Pinto*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Ayutthaya Era Books

- 1 *L'Histoire des Indes Orientales et Occidentales du R.P. Jean Pierre Maffée, de la Compagnie de Jesus . . .* Père J. P. Maffée, Paris, 1665.
- 2 *Relation du Voyage de Monseigneur L'evêque de Beryte Vicaire Apostolique Du Royaume de la Cochinchine . . .* De Bourges, Paris, 1666.
- 3 *Relation des Missions des Evesques François Aux Royaumes de Siam, de la Cochinchine, de Camboye, & du Tonkin . . .* Anon. Paris, 1674.
- 4 *Joh. Jansz Strauszens Sehr Schwere Wiederwertige Denckwürdige Reysen Durch Italien . . . Japan Jan Janszoen Struys.* Amsterdam, 1678.
- 5 *Recueil de Plusieurs Relations et Traitez singuliers & curieux de J.B. Tavernier, Chevalier, Baron D' d'Aubonne. . .* J.B. Tavernier, Paris, 1681.
- 6 *Relation des Missions et des Voyages des Evesques Vicaires Apostoliques. . . Es Années 1676 & 1677.* Anon. Paris, 1682.
- 7 *Relation Historique du Royaume de Siam par Le Sieur de L'Isle, Géographe. Claude de L'Isle.* Paris, 1684.
- 8 *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites Envoyez par Le Roy, Aux Indes & à la Chine, Avec leurs Observations. . .* Père Guy Tachard, Paris, 1686.
- 9 *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites Envoyez par Le Roy, Aux Indes & à la Chine, Avec leurs Observations. . .* Père Guy Tachard, Amsterdam, 1687.
- 10 *Journal ou Suite du Voyage de Siam en forme des lettres familières fait en 1685 & 1686 par Mr. L. D. C. L'Abbé de Choisy.* Amsterdam, 1687.
- 11 *Journal du Voyage de Siam fait en 1685 & 1686 par M. L'Abbé de Choisy, L'Abbé de Choisy.* Paris, 1687.
- 12 *Relation de L'Ambassade de M. Le Chevalier de Chaumont à la Cour du Roi de Siam . . .* Chevalier de Chaumont. Paris, 1687.
- 13 *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites Envoyez par Le Roy, Aux Indes & à la Chine. Avec leurs Observations. . .* Père Guy Tachard. Amsterdam, 1688.
- 14 *Relation of the Voyage to Siam Performed by Six Jesuits Sent by the French King, to the Indies and China, in 1685.* A. Père Guy Tachard. London, 1688.
- 15 *Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam.* Nicholas Gervaise. Paris, 1688.
- 16 *Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam.* Nicholas Gervaise. Paris, 1689.
- 17 *Second Voyage du Père Tachard et des Jésuites Envoyez par Le Roy au Royaume de Siam.* Père Guy Tachard. Paris, 1689.
- 18 *Audienz Seiner Heiligkeit Innocentii XI. So Der Tachard, Jesuiten, Und Andern-Gesandten Des Konigs In Siam . . .* 1688, Père Guy Tachard. Prag, 1689.
- 19 *Histoire de M. Constance, Premier Ministre du Roy de Siam, et de la Dernière Révolution de cet État.* Pierre-Joseph d'Orléans, Paris, 1690.
- 20 *A Full and True Relation of the Great and Wonderful Revolution That Happened Lately in the Kingdom of Siam . . .* A. London, 1690.
- 21 *Histoire de la Révolution de Siam Arrivée en L'année 1688.* Vollant des Verquains. Lille, 1691.
- 22 *Royaume de Siam par M. de la Loubère, Envoyé Extraordinaire du Roy auprès du Roy de Siam en 1687 & 1688.* Du. Simon de la Loubère. Paris, 1691.
- 23 *New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam by M. de la Loubère, Envoy Extraordinary from the French King . . .* A. Simon de la Loubère. London, 1693.

- 24 *Aanmerklyke Reys Van Ralph Fitch. Koopman Te Landen, Gedaan Van Anno 1583 Tot 1591, Na Ormus, Goa, Cambuy, ... Ralph Fitch.* Leyden, 1706.
- 25 *Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales, Commencé L'an 1638 & Fini L'an 1665, Traduit du Hollandais ... Schouten.* Amsterdam, 1707.
- 26 *Journal du Voyage de Siam, Fait par M. L'Abbé de Choisy.* Nouvelle Edition. L'Abbé de Choisy. Trevoux, 1712.
- 27 *Description du Royaume de Siam, par Mons. de la Loubère, Envoyé Extraordinaire du Roy Auprès du Roy de Siam.* Simon de la Loubère, Amsterdam, 1713.
- 28 *Voyages du Sieur Albert de Mandelslo, Les. De Mandelslo.* Leide, 1719.
- 29 *Histoire Naturelle, Civile, et Ecclesiastique de L'Empire du Japon.* Engelbert Kaempfer. La Haye, 1729.
- 30 *Mémoires du Comte de Forbin, Chef D'escadre, Chevalier de L'Ordre Militaire de Saint Louis. Tome 1.* Le Comte de Forbin. Amsterdam, 1730.
- 31 *Mémoires du Comte de Forbin, Chef D'escadre, Chevalier de L'Ordre Militaire de Saint Louis. Tome 2.* Le Comte de Forbin. Amsterdam, 1730.
- 32 *Hedendaagsche Historie, Of Tegenwoordige Staat Vaan Alle Volkoren: In Opzigt Heinner Landsgelegenheid, ... Th. Salmon.* Amsterdam, 1730.
- 33 *Memoirs of the Count de Forbin, Commodore in the Navy of France: and Knight of the Order of St. Lewis. . . , Vol. 1.* Le Comte de Forbin. London, 1731.
- 34 *Memoirs of the Count de Forbin, Commodore in the Navy of France: and Knight of the Order of St. Lewis. . . , Vol. 2.* Le Comte de Forbin. London, 1731.
- 35 *Histoire Naturelle, Civile, et Ecclesiastique de L'Empire du Japon, Tome Premier.* Engelbert Kaempfer. Amsterdam, 1732.
- 36 *Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen, 1685-1686.* A. Samuel Baron. London, 1732.
- 37 *Stato Presente Di Tutti I Paesi E Popoli Del Mondo Naturale, Político, E Morale. . . Di Siam, Lo. Th. Salmon.* Venezia, 1738.
- 38 *Histoire Générale, Civile, Naturelle, Politique et Religieuse de Tous les Peuples du Monde.* L'Abbé Lambert. Paris, 1750.
- 39 *Abrégé de L'Histoire Générale des Voyages, Contenant ce qu'il y a de plus Remarquable, de plus Utile, . . . De la Harpe.* Paris, 1753.
- 40 *Histoire Moderne des Chinois, des Japponnais, des Indiens, des Persans, des Turcs, des Russiens, &c Rollin.* Paris, 1756.
- 41 *Histoire Moderne des Chinois, des Japponnais, des Indiens, des Persans, des Turcs, des Russiens, &c Rollin.* Paris, 1765.
- 42 *Voyageur François ou La Connoissance de L'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde, Tome III.* Le. L'Abbé Delaporte. Paris, 1769.
- 43 *Histoire Civile et Naturelle du Royaume de Siam, et des Révolutions Qui ont Bouleversé cet Empire. Jusqu'en 1770.* Turpin. Paris, 1771.
- 44 *Histoire Civile et Naturelle du Royaume de Siam, et des Révolutions Qui ont Bouleversé cet Empire. Jusqu'en 1770.* Turpin. Paris, 1771.
- 45 *Voyageur François ou la Connoissance de L'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde, Tome IV.* Le. L'Abbé Delaporte. Paris, 1772.
- 46 *Anecdotes Chinoises, Japonaises, Siamoises, Tonquinaises, &c* Jean Castillon. Paris, 1774.

More on M.L. Manich Jumsai

Address by Sumet Jumsai, 11 October 2001

I will have time only to tell you a few stories about two or three books in this exhibition.

The first concerns what must be the most exciting exhibit, especially for us Thais: *Kham Son Christang Phúc ton*, by Mgr. Garnault and printed at Santa Cruz Church, in Thonburi 1796, during the reign of King Rama I. Back in the 1970s, my father knew about this work from a reference which he found in *Documents Historiques* by Descouvrères, and started a decade-long enquiry. First he went to the Missions Étrangères in Rue de Bac, Paris, but the archivist there told him that due to the French Revolution—the time coinciding with the book's publication—the Missions were ordered closed and were occupied by the revolutionary soldiers. Since all correspondence with Siam had ceased, it was impossible for books to have arrived at the premises, or if they did they would have been lost.

It was fortunate that Mgr. Garnault who printed the book kept a copy, it has his signature on the cover. That copy was in his house at Chanthaburi which was an important propagation centre of the Catholic Church. When he died in 1811 his belongings, including the book, were sent to his relatives in France. For a decade my father roamed the streets of Paris visiting his friends who owned antiquarian bookshops, to make enquiries. Finally one of them succeeded in tracking down the book, and my father promptly bought it. I remember his elation. It was an historic moment for him. In the introduction to the reprinted edition which he published in 1984, he proudly wrote: "I brought the book back to Bangkok on the 24th November 1983". In the Thai part of the introduction, he says that he had to spend almost 100,000 baht for the purchase, undoubtedly a pretty sum in those days, and definitely an astronomical amount as far as he was concerned. He went on

to emphasize: "I regard (this book) as a national treasure beyond any value. Therefore I resolve to do the utmost to bring it back to Thailand. I resolve that no other nationals shall buy it. Whatever the cost, I will bring it back to the country".

So there began another period of frugality in the family. And it wasn't just this little volume that we are talking about, but numerous others!

To return to the said publication: it is in Thai but Romanized, the Thai font being unavailable at the time. My father explains further in the introduction that in 1674 the French Jesuits in Ayutthaya asked their headquarters in Paris to send them a printing machine, but to no avail. They wanted to compete with the Portuguese mission which was already equipped with a press. So far, no publications of that period have been found. If they exist they might be somewhere in Portugal or Spain. My father maintains that there was no printing press in Ayutthaya because when Kosa Pan went to France in 1686–1688, he visited the Royal Printing House, and was anxious to have a similar press set up in the Siamese capital.

My father quotes Duverdier in BEFEO, volume 68 to say that the first printing in Thai characters was accomplished in 1819 by John Leyden at Serampore, a town near Calcutta. It was a catechism originally written in Burmese by Judson, a missionary in Burma. His wife, who learnt Thai from prisoners brought from Ayutthaya to Burma in 1767, translated the work into Thai and asked the Baptists in Serampore to make the type face. My father does not have this particular work, but he has James Low's *A Grammar of the Thai or Siamese Language* printed in Calcutta in 1828. More missionary books in Thai appeared around 1833, but they were printed in Singapore. It was not until 1836 that printing with the Thai type face began in

Siam when Jones brought a press from America and the foundry of Thai and Chinese characters from Singapore. This brings us up to Dr. Bradley in the Third Reign who, according to school text books, was supposed to have first started printing in Siam in 1844.

As well as publicizing Garnault's work, I have also told the Ministry of Education that the text books have to acknowledge that printing started at least in the First Reign. So far nothing has happened.

To go back to *Kham Son Christung* ... 1796 is a very late date for book printing to have begun in Siam. Printing should have been known in Siam during the Ayutthaya period or even before that. This is because the technology was invented by the Chinese at least seven centuries before the Europeans, and the Chinese had always been a part of, indeed inseparable from, our society since the beginning of our history. The Chinese invented paper in the 2nd century—so essential to printing—block printing in the 8th or 9th century, and movable type by the 11th century. It is therefore odd that in our seven centuries of intercourse with China we had not seen any printed material, that is, until the 17th century with the arrival of the Europeans.

My second story is in reference to *Ambassade de Siam au XVII Siecle* ... by Etienne-Gallois, published in Paris in 1860. The book, of course, is mainly about the embassy of Kosa Pan to France in 1686–1688, and not really about certain events which I shall now be relating. Actually I should have made this exposé in the last exhibition since the exploits of the Siamese ambassador have appeared in numerous publications of the 17th century, many of which have been exhibited.

Kosa Pan's ancestors, Phya Kian and Phya Ram, were Mon. They were brothers and they sided with King Naresuan in his military campaigns in Burma. Thus when the King returned to Siam at the end of the 16th century the brothers naturally followed him and settled down in Ayutthaya (near Wat Khun Saen).

Kosa Pan became the first of the descendants to acquire prominence. His career as head of a large mission to France is well known. He appears on a Versailles medallion and in the Court's almanac of 1687. He attended the levee of Madame la Dauphine, a privilege reserved

exclusively for the Court's inner circle, and was probably the inspiration behind Molière's principal oriental character in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

Reports of Kosa Pan abound in *Le Mercure Galant*, the French newspaper of the day, which if I repeat I would be accused of embellishment. There is, however, one item on my list which is not embellished but which is equally incredible. And I am not in the wrong century since I am well within the reign of King Rama I which is the period covered by the present exhibition. It concerns the two big cannons covered in silver damask that the Siamese ambassador brought over as King Naru's gift to Louis XIV. What transpired in 1789 was that the Paris mob ransacked the Royal Furniture Repository and hauled out some 20 cannons which had been kept there, including the silver-lined ones. That was on the 13th of July when none of the pieces would work except for those from Siam. So on the 14th the two Siamese cannons were hauled to the Bastille to fire at the gates, which they did, thus ushering in the republican revolution in France.

The episode is covered in detail in a book called *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française A propos des canons siamois offerts à Louis XIV qui participèrent à la prise de la Bastille* by M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h (Paris, 1985). The author's synopsis contains the following passage: "Our research led us to discover that these cannons were ... stolen on July 13, 1789, and transported the next day to the gates of the fortress against which they were in fact used. Their fate thereafter is uncertain. One was recovered by the Repository, but stolen again in 1792 for the benefit of one of the gunners' battalions of the capital. It is probable that both of them continued to be used until they no doubt deteriorated or were rendered unrecognizable by the theft, however absurd, of their silver damascene inlay".

Because of my connection to Kosa Pan and because he unwittingly had a hand in the French Revolution, I found myself one day apologizing profusely to a good friend whose family's regiment—the de Salis—was wiped out in defending Louis XVI in front of the Louvre.

In France there are many traces left by Kosa Pan. In Brest, where the Siamese embassy landed, along the road leading to Paris which

the Siamese took, there is a place apparently called "le trou des Siamois". This was where they shed their clothes and jumped into a brook. I believe the weather was chilly; but come what may, the Siamese had to have their daily bath! This road, by the way, is called "rue de Siam".

Actually there are two more "rue de Siam" in France. One is in Saint Marcel, a small town near Marseilles. It leads to the castle of Oe Phra Sakdisongkhram who was Admiral of the Siamese Navy and Governor of Bangkok in 1687. In France the Oe Phra goes by the name of Comte de Forbin.

The other is in Paris, in the 16e arrondissement. When Prince Prisdang (a grandson of King Rama III) established his legation there in 1882 he insisted that the Paris Municipality name the street in front of the mission in honour of Siam. Prince Prisdang was ambassador to 12 countries in Europe and America from 1880-1886 and before moving to Paris had already established his first legation in London in 1880.

His principal achievements were the arduous renegotiations of certain aspects of the Bowring Treaty with all the 11 treaty powers in Europe, the setting up of the Siamese post and telegraph services at the international level, and hence the printing of the first proper stamps, and, most incredible of all, initiating the first Siamese Constitution in 1885. He was a relent-

less "travailleur" as attested by his publication of the *State Papers of the Kingdom of Siam 1664-1886*, published in London in 1886, which is on display in this exhibition, besides stacks of correspondence and reports to the King and Prince Devawongse. In a way he also had something to do with the Siam Society which is soon to celebrate its centenary, because in 1884 he hired a young Oxford postgraduate to come and replace Mr. Alabaster, who had just died, in order to work on the establishment of the National Museum. This Oxonian, by the name of Dr. Frankfurter, became the founding Honorary Secretary of the Siam Society.

The Wheel of the Law: Buddhism ... by Henry Alabaster (London, 1871), is another rare book on display. I wish H.E. Privy Counsellor Air Chief Marshal Sidhi Svetasila would come and see it since he is a direct descendant of Mr. Alabaster.

In highlighting the above episodes I hope I have demonstrated that old books are not "dead". If anything, they are very much "alive" and as such a source of endless discoveries and joy.

I should end by saying that my wife, Khun Suthini, who has been working very hard on these exhibitions, was faced with the most difficult task of deciding which books to leave out for lack of space, for what you see here is only a fraction of my father's library.

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Note

Some 20 men of the Salis Samaden Grison Regiment took position at the Bastille on 14 July 1789. Later on 10 August, six de Salis officers

commanding the Swiss Guards fought to the last man to defend the Tuilleries.

On Books from the Nineteenth Century

Address by Michael Smithies, 11 October 2001

At my last lecture, I began with a quote from Shakespeare concerning one of the earliest travellers to Siam represented in this collection, Ralph Fitch. This time I should like to start by considering the book trade and the reading public in the three centuries covered by the collection.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, books were beautifully printed on rag or linen paper and handsomely bound in leather. They were not cheap and the reading public was limited to those who were wealthy and educated. But this changed in the 19th century because of technology introduced between 1820 and 1840. By 1850 virtually all books were made with wood-based acidic paper, which was far cheaper and easier to produce. This paper gave books a limited shelf life (the pages tend to fall to bits in your hands after a time). Covers were board (or paper in France, where readers were expected to get their volumes bound; English-language publishers only began producing paperbacks in large numbers in the 1930s).

This meant that 19th century books could be made available to a far wider audience than previously (Dickens' first editions, following serial publication, could run into tens of thousands of copies). Educational reforms in the West led to greater literacy and the creation of a larger market for books, and the new techniques in book production provided the educated masses with books they could afford.

Another change which occurred in the 19th century was that books were no longer decorated with largely imaginary engravings on copper plates. From the middle of the century use was made of photographs, at first reproduced as engravings, and then increasingly, as the technology improved, as direct photographic illustrations.

Concerning the content of books dealing with Siam (and elsewhere for that matter), one

has to note a change in tone. Writers in the 17th and 18th centuries recorded facts by and large dispassionately (with the notable exception of religion). In the 19th century one can increasingly detect a tone of moral and material superiority: the West was sure of its technology, industry, wealth, power, and righteousness. This for the modern reader can lead to some uncomfortable moments.

While in the 18th century the followers of the *Encyclopédie* tradition of Diderot garnered information about distant lands they were unlikely to visit (a tradition which continued in the early part of the 19th century, as can be seen in #3-18, 23, 33), increasingly in the 19th century the curious came to see for themselves. Travellers with money in their pockets, time on their hands, and pens within reach took advantage of improvements in transportation: steamboats above all made short work of formerly long journeys by sailing vessels (in the 17th century it could, if winds were unfavourable, take a year or more to reach Siam from Europe). From the 1860s one therefore has an increasing number of books which are travelogues of personal journeys, not broad surveys of a little-known land.

Among other general trends one should note the appearance of dispassionate scholarly studies concerning Siam, written by persons who never visited the country, the first of these being by Etienne-Gallois (1862, #48) and then Lucien Lanier (1883, #69), who both dealt with the French involvement in Siam in the 17th century.

Towards the end of the century, as the Royal Siamese Government increasingly employed foreigners in its different newly formed ministries, particularly in education, one sees a growing tendency for former employees to write of their experiences: H. Warfington Smyth (notably with his *Five Years in Siam, from 1891-*

1896, 1898, #86, 94) and A. Cecil Carter (1904, #112) are foremost among these. The latter's compendium, *The Kingdom of Siam*, was an official publication produced for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904, and was reprinted by the Siam Society in 1988 on the occasion of its seventh cycle anniversary.

In my previous speech about the exhibition I referred mainly to the French and their 17th century publications. This time it will rather be the turn of English writers and publications, though not exclusively so.

The first author of consequence is George Finlayson (#20) whose report on a *Mission to Siam and Hué, the capital of Cochin China, in the years 1821-2* was published in 1826, two years before that of Crawfurd, the leader of his mission and a fellow-Scot. Finlayson, like Crawfurd, was a medical doctor who had seen service in India, but unlike him, had no experience of Southeast Asia, and because of this his account lacks depth. His book appeared posthumously with a glowing 'Memoir of the Author' by no less an authority than Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (no ardent supporter of Crawfurd, formerly his subordinate in Java), for already by 1823 Finlayson was in failing health. He was chiefly interested in natural history, but complained he had little time to study it during his stay in Siam. He refers at length to white elephants though, and gives the first published description of Wat Phra Kaeo.

Finlayson's chief of mission was John Crawfurd, born in 1783. He studied medicine in Edinburgh and in 1803 went to India as an assistant surgeon. He was transferred to Penang in 1808 where he spent three years, and became fluent in Malay. During the British occupation of Java from 1811-1816, he became British Resident at the court of the Sultan of Yogyakarta. From 1817 to 1821 he was in Britain, where he published in 1820 his three volume *History of the Indian Archipelago*, widely seen as an attempt to equal Raffles' *History of Java* (1817). He was appointed by the Marquis of Hastings to head a mission to Siam and Vietnam in 1821. His mission to Siam, described in the *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (#24, 1828) accomplished little (that to Hué accomplished even less) other than the incidental

acknowledgement of the British occupation of Penang, as the court was divided over the merits of trade with outsiders.

Crawfurd went on to become Resident (Governor) of Singapore in succession to Raffles, its founder, civil commissioner in Rangoon, and ambassador to Ava in 1827, an account of which mission he also published in 1828. He returned to Britain for the last time that year, and became an active fellow of the Royal Society, the Royal Literary Society, and the Royal Geographical Society, and a busy publisher. The acerbic Crawfurd had the outlook of an eighteenth century notable and he was somewhat lost in the nineteenth century world of commerce. He was not the perfect diplomat and did not inspire affection. Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, in the *Hikayat Abdullah*, said he was "by nature inclined to impatience and outbursts of temper. He did all his work slowly... He was tight-fisted and gave himself airs." For all his personal faults, Crawfurd's account of Siam in 1822 is detailed and valuable, and the first comprehensive description of the country since the end of the 17th century, though he and his party did not venture outside Bangkok.

No less self-opinionated was the Protestant missionary of German origin, Charles Gutzlaff, whose intolerance of other people's beliefs equalled that of the earliest Catholic missionaries. Sir John Bowring wrote of his stay in Siam that it was "characterized by that extraordinary and sanguine credulity, which no amount of disappointment, no experience of facts, no opportunities of knowledge, seemed in the slightest degree to influence or control." Gutzlaff was not a likeable person; he wrote that after three years in Siam he had "the high gratification of seeing the prejudices of the natives vanish, and perceived with delight that a large field amongst the different people who inhabit Siam was opening." He was guilty of self-deception. Though he dealt mostly with the Chinese (throwing unwanted tracts into their floating homes as he passed by), he also, on account of his medical knowledge, gained some entry into court circles. His *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, and 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo Choo Islands* (#30) appeared in London in 1834 and is an irritating rather than

an entertaining or informative book, but it does demonstrate the indequate approach of the more fervent missionaries at this period.

An altogether different personality was the French missionary bishop of Mallos, Mgr Jean-Baptiste Pallégoix (#34, 38-9), who travelled widely through the country and knew it well. He became a good friend of Prince Mongkut, and Pallégoix's death in 1862 was greatly mourned by the king, who recognized in him the qualities of a considerable scholar, proficient in Pali; the last years of Pallégoix's life were spent working on a Siamese-Latin-French-English dictionary. Pallégoix's labours were scarcely rewarded by converts, the total number of Catholics in Siam in the mid-1850s was estimated to be 7,050, including descendants of Portuguese and Vietnamese, and several hundred "dispersed in slavery". Pallégoix's two-volume *Description du Royaume Thail ou Siam* was published in Paris in 1854 but not translated into English, in part probably because Sir John Bowring's *The Kingdom and People of Siam* appeared so soon after, in 1857, and quoted extensively from it.

Frederick Arthur Neale's *Narrative of a residence at the capital of the Kingdom of Siam, with a description of the manners, customs and laws of the modern Siamese* (#36) was published in London in 1852. Neale had spent his youth in Penang, served in India, and in 1840 was invited to sail on a ship leaving Singapore for Bangkok. He spent much time with the hospitable Mr Hunter, the British trader long established in Siam (who was responsible for bringing the original Siamese twins to the West). Neale soon obtained a commission in the Siamese service as a naval and military officer, with a handsome salary. He writes a great deal about Prince Chuthamani, younger brother of the future King Mongkut, and who was appointed Second King on the death of Rama III. Neale clearly admired the prince, and became his aide-de-camp before returning to England in 1842. Neale never travelled in Siam, apart from a trip to Ayutthaya and around the shores of the Gulf. He has a marked attitude of Victorian superiority which is often irritating, but a freshness and vigour that many other accounts lack. After leaving Siam he moved to the Middle East, and wrote a book about his experiences, the book on Siam

followed this. He claimed he made notes during his stay and had "a pretty retentive memory". The Office of the National Illustrated Library, his publisher, maintained that the engravings found his book were "prepared from drawings made in the country" but their vaunted accuracy is as chimerical as the mountains which adorn the prints of scenes in and near Bangkok. Neale's presence and position, along with that of the English captains of the Siamese navy vessels, merchants, and the American and other missionaries he had little time for, gives the lie to the Siam of Rama III being closed to outsiders.

Sir John Bowring spent only a month in Bangkok, but in his book *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (#4-3), and with the aid of Pallégoix's work which appeared three years earlier, managed to accomplish for the 19th century what La Louberé did for the 17th. Bowring was a remarkable person. Born in 1792, he was educated privately, and became fluent in most Western and Eastern European languages, as well as Arabic and Chinese; by 1820 he had already published a volume of translations of Russian poetry. His liberal views were expounded in the influential *Westminster Review*, of which he became co-editor, and he produced a definitive edition of Bentham's works in 11 volumes in 1843. He was twice a Member of Parliament, a successful hymn writer, and introduced the first decimal coin in Britain. He was appointed consul in Canton in 1847 and in 1854 became minister plenipotentiary to China, Japan, Korea, Siam, and Cochinchina, also serving as governor and commander-in-chief of Hong Kong. He returned to Britain in 1859 (after he and his wife were nearly poisoned by bread laced with arsenic) and remained active in public life, dying in 1872. In his posthumous memoirs (1877) he considered his mission to Siam in 1855 as one of the most interesting times of his life. Bowring read carefully before his mission, and incorporated in his two-volume work accounts of all previous embassies to the country, as well as material supplied by King Mongkut himself. The result was the famous Bowring treaty, which was to be the model for other treaties with Western powers, and which established virtually free trade in Siam. He hinted at the use of force during his negotiations, but managed to establish a warm relationship with

King Mongkut, who was anxious to prepare his country for inevitable reform.

Few of the authors represented in the exhibit owe their publications to serial presentation, but the great explorer **Henri Mouhot** (#50, 67–68) is an exception. His work first appeared in French in nine consecutive instalments in 1863 in the periodical *Tour du Monde* with the title *Voyage dans les royaumes de Siam de Cambodge de Laos et d'autres parties de l'Indochine*, illustrated by engravings based on Mouhot's own sketches. The more extensive English edition of the following year, in two volumes, was published in London by Murray with the approval of the author's surviving family, based in Jersey; unfortunately its title was less accurate, making a mistake in the dates Mouhot was in the region: *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia and Laos, during the years 1858, 1859, and 1860* (he died of a fever on 10 November 1861 near Luang Prabang, and his last journal entry, "Have pity on me, oh my God!" is for 29 October). The French edition in book form came out in 1868 with Hachette, edited by Ferdinand de Lanoye, but without any illustrations. There are, though, considerable differences between the two editions, the English edition has more scientific information and less comment, the French edition includes as part of the text letters to his family and has much about the new French consul in Bangkok.

This great explorer and naturalist is famous for being credited with the discovery of the ruins of Angkor, something he never claimed, being well aware he did not discover them. He made several scientific discoveries and had a squirrel, a tortoise, a spider, and a beetle named after him. His sketches and photographs greatly contributed to the success of his works. Mouhot was born in Montbeliard, a Protestant stronghold in eastern France, in 1826, and went to Russia and Poland at the age of 18, teaching French in the military academy of St Petersburg. He became interested in the new science of photography and with his brother travelled through Europe selling daguerrotypes. Both brothers came to England, married relatives of the explorer Mungo Park, and settled in Jersey in 1856, possibly (like Victor Hugo) because of opposition to Napoleon III and his Second

Empire. Mouhot seems to have come across a copy of Bowring's book on Siam, published in 1857, and in April 1858 sailed from London for Singapore and Bangkok.

Mouhot travelled widely in Siam, Cambodia, and Laos. He visited the hills near Saraburi, went to Chanthaburi and thence travelled into Cambodia. He visited the hinterland of Petehaburi and then set off for Korat and Loei (with a setback at Chaiyaphum where a recalcitrant governor refused to supply him elephants, and he had to return to Bangkok to acquire more strongly worded travelling documents). He died at the age of thirty-five, attended only by his two faithful servants. Despite being a reserved and solitary person, he inspired confidence in others. In spite of his apparent disinterest in his family, his letters show him devoted to it.

Anna Leonowens (#54) claimed to have been born in Wales in 1834, the daughter of an Indian army captain and the widow of another officer, who was ruined by bank failures following the Indian Mutiny. Her real background was less refined. She was born in 1831 in a barracks in Ahmadnagar, India, of a cabinetmaker turned enlisted man married to one Ann Glasscock, who was possibly Eurasian. Her father died before she was born and her mother quickly remarried. She received an education in a barracks school, and at 14 attracted the attention of an assistant chaplain, the Rev. Badger, who took her with him on a tour of the Middle East. In 1849, she married a clerk in the Military Pay Office in Bombay, Thomas Leon Owens who sired three children (one died young), and travelled with him to Australia, England, and Malaya, where he died of apoplexy in Penang.

Anna arrived in Bangkok in March 1862 to be schoolmistress (she always called herself 'governess') to the children of King Mongkut. She was snubbed by the British consulate staff in Bangkok and their wives. She in turn snubbed the rough sea captains who sought her hand, and she appears only to have had friends among the wives of the American missionaries, whose views on polygamy and slavery she espoused. She seems to have had frequent tiffs with her employer (who also used her as a secretary), who found her "one great difficulty"; he

probably had not realized that bringing into the palace a foreign lady teacher full-time was bound to lead to problems. She claimed her health broke down and decided to leave; she said she received no increase in salary during her five and a half years in Bangkok, and had to support her daughter at school in London. She left in November 1867, put her son (who later founded a successful business in Bangkok) in boarding school in England, and sailed to New York. There, in need of money, she wrote, (with editorial assistance), of her Siamese experiences, adding a good dose of imagination and plagiarism, and published them in 1870 (when King Mongkut had already been dead for two years) under the title *The English governess at the Siamese court: being the recollections of six years in the Royal Palace at Bangkok*. It was decorated with "illustrations from photographs presented to the author by the King of Siam"; in fact several were purloined from the Scottish photographer John Thomson, whose first name she misspelled.

Her book brought her instant success, and she followed it with a sequel, *The Romance of the Harem*, in 1872, which was even farther from the truth. Anna became a favoured speaker on the American lecture circuit. Her daughter married a Scottish banker and she followed the couple to Halifax, settling down to small town life in Canada. She wrote two more books, travelled to Russia in 1881 with a commission to write articles about the country, and accompanied her grand-daughter to study music in Germany while Anna herself learnt Sanskrit in Leipzig. On her return to Canada she managed to obtain employment as a lecturer in Sanskrit at McGill University, Montreal. She gave her last lecture when she was 78. She died in Montreal in 1915.

Her assumed gentility in Bangkok is not surprising given the mores of the times; her subsequent career is a little astonishing. She is today probably better known through the film versions of her first book which are even farther from the truth than their source. She never went to Cambodia, in spite of claiming to have visited Angkor. However, she was the first woman to write about Siam, and the inner workings of the palace. It is a pity that her accounts did not adhere more closely to the truth.

No mention is made of Mrs Leonowens in the work by de Beauvoir (#58, 62, 76), the first part of whose *Voyage autour du Monde* (1872) appeared as *Java-Siam-Canton* in 1869. This omission is interesting because **Ludovic Hébert de Beauvoir** (frequently titled a count, but in fact a marquis) was twice invited into the palace by the king. He was even invited into the royal harem. The marquis de Beauvoir only spent one week in Bangkok in January 1867. Aged about 20 at the time of his visit, he was perhaps the first genuine tourist of modern times to visit Siam. He visited in the company of the Duke de Penthièvre, the son of the Prince de Joinville, and grandson of King Louis-Philippe, accompanied only by an aide-de-camp, Captain Fauvel. The party left London in April 1866, and returned there in September 1868.

De Beauvoir and his youthful companions took the steamer the Chao Phraya from Singapore to Bangkok. They did all the sights, and had a good time, even pinching some hairs from the tail of a white elephant in the royal stables. They were amused by all the incongruities of Bangkok and were less than reverent towards King Mongkut behind his back, though they clearly loved him for his eccentricities. The king was in some quandary as to how to receive them; he was on the worst of terms with the French consul Aubaret, the representative of Napoleon III, but the Orléanists, including de Penthièvre and de Beauvoir, lived in exile from the regime. Aubaret was not visited by the duke, though de Beauvoir and Fauvel did call on him; Aubaret wrote to the Quai d'Orsay that he had rendered "chancellery services" to them (not true) and that they stayed in a "nasty English hotel" (also not true; they stayed with the French missionaries).

De Beauvoir was born in 1846 in Brussels where his father was Louis-Philippe's *charge d'affaires*. He was taken to England by his father in 1848 on the overthrow of Louis-Philippe, but returned to France during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1873, but resigned in 1879 to work for the Duke d'Aumale, Louis-Philippe's fourth son, and then to head the guard of honour of the Count of Paris, Louis-Philippe's eldest son. He retired to Marseilles and died in 1929. His book has a youthful exuberance which

is thoroughly refreshing; the section covering his stay in Bangkok was published by the Siam Society in 1986 with the title *A Week in Siam, January 1867*.

With Frank Vincent's *The Land of the White Elephant: Sights and Scenes in South-Eastern Asia, a personal narrative of travel and adventure in Farther India, embracing the countries of Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Cochin-China (1871-2)*, published in New York in 1874 (#59, 61), we are again firmly within the realm of travel literature. Vincent did not come on an official mission, or make money, but, like de Beauvois, simply to see the place. He was born, in Brooklyn in 1848, the son of a well-off New Englander. He entered Yale in 1866 but because of poor health only completed two semesters. His book secured him an honorary M.A. from Yale in 1875, and his health seems to have thrived on travel, for he subsequently visited Scandinavia, South America, and Africa. He married a cousin when he was 60 and died in 1916 aged 68.

He was not an accurate observer as far as Siam is concerned, but is on fairly safe ground when he quotes Sir John Bowring, which he does extensively. He managed through the American consul to obtain audiences with the Second King and with the Regent, Chao Phraya Si Suriwongse; he did not meet King Chulalongkorn, who was then visiting India. He saw little outside the usual sights of Bangkok and a side trip to Petchaburi. He travelled overland to Cambodia with the American consul and the missionary and lexicographer McFarland; one of the servants in the party was Deng, the Chinese cook formerly in Mouhot's service. While in Angkor he acquired a piece of sculpture which he bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Dr Dan Beach Bradley was a formidable American missionary who lived in Siam for many years. He published tracts and his own newspaper, the *Bangkok Recorder*, on a printing press he imported. His newspaper often attacked the traditions and practices he considered wicked, notably concubinage and slavery. Several of his diatribes were personally answered by King Mongkut, who must have found Dr Bradley a considerable irritant. Even Anna Leonowens recognized that "newspaper

strictures (not always just) and suggestions (not always pertinent)" aimed at the king's administration or household were an intrusion. However, the king clearly recognized the value of Bradley's medical and education services to the country. Bradley first came to Siam in 1835. He travelled extensively in Siam, and kept diaries of his stay until his death in 1873, the year in which his *Dictionary of the Siamese Language* (#60) was published. His work on smallpox vaccination and cholera prevention was particularly important.

The Norwegian **Carl Alfred Bock** was born into a merchant family in Oslo (then Christiania) in 1849. He went to England in 1868 and took a post with the Swedish-Norwegian consul in the fishing port of Grimsby before moving to London, marrying the daughter of a ship's captain, and deciding to devote himself to a career in the natural sciences. He travelled through Lapland in 1877, and was commissioned by the Marquis of Tweedale to go to Sumatra to make a collection of specimens. He arrived at the height of the Aceh War, and sent two shipments to England before learning of the death of his patron. He managed to contact the Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, van Lansberge and persuaded him to support an expedition to south-east Borneo, which he visited in 1879-1880. The expedition devoted much time investigating reports about men with tails. His report was translated into Dutch, and the eye-catching English version, *The Head-Hunters of Borneo*, appeared in London in 1881.

Bock then made a journey through northern Siam, which he published with Sampson Low in London in 1884 as *Temples and Elephants: The Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through Upper Siam and Lao* (#71). It was dedicated to King Chulalongkorn, whom he met, and who assisted him in his travels. The book is an entertaining account of his travels; he covered not just the then little-known north but also the capital and nearby towns. After his visit to Siam, Bock became a career diplomat in the Swedish-Norwegian consular service, holding posts in Shanghai, Antwerp, and Lisbon. He retired to Brussels where he died in 1932. Much to his chagrin, he received no award from the Royal Geographical Society of London, though he

received other accolades and had a hawk-cuckoo he discovered in Borneo named after him.

Mary Lovina Cort appears in Bock's pages as one of two "evidently disappointed ladies of middle age" assisting an American missionary couple (whose name he appears to get wrong) "doing good Christian work in the way of teaching a few young Siamese" in Phetchaburi. Miss Cort wrote extensively about the town in her *Siam, or the Heart of Further India* (New York, 1886, #75). After leaving Phetchaburi, she worked "in the field" in Chiang Mai, whose inhabitants she seems to have appreciated more than those met in the south. She was a primary school teacher and this, alas, is clearly reflected in her writing style. Her erstwhile colleague in Phetchaburi and fellow disappointee, Sarah Coffman, contributed to *Siam and Laos as seen by our American Missionaries* (Philadelphia, 1884).

Two minor characters come next: **George B. Bacon** was another American who spent some time in Siam from 1857 in connection with the ratification of a treaty with Siam. His *Siam, the Land of the White Elephant, as it was and is* (#83), first published in 1892, is a compilation of extracts from the writings of more famous persons, nearly all taken from authors of the 19th century already cited here, though including some personal impressions of his own stay. **Maxwell Sommerville**, a professor in the recondite subject of glyptology (defined as the study of the art or process of carving or engraving, especially on gems) with the University of Pennsylvania, was another tourist who visited towards the end of the century. He stayed at the Oriental Hotel and took a boat trip to visit the ruins of Ayutthaya. He pads out his banal account in *Siam on the Meenam, from the Gulf to Ayuthia* (#93) with "three romances illustrative of Siamese life and customs".

To complete this selective guide, we shall finish with **E. Lunet de Lajonquière** (c.1850-1933), who lived in colonial French Indo-China from 1883, and had a chance meeting with Louis Finot, the first Director of the École Française d'Extrême Orient. Finot resolved to make use of Lajonquière's knowledge of the region, and bring him into the newly founded institution. The two published an inventory of Cham monuments in 1900, and Lajonquière subse-

quently produced until 1914 a great number of publications relating to the archaeology, geography, and history of the region, before retiring to Malaya. In *Siam et Les Siamois* (1906), he describes a journey taken at the end of 1904, the year in which he published his *Dictionnaire français-siannais* (#115), by river to Tak, across to Rangoon and back to Siam, taking in Sukhothai and the kilns of Si Satchanalai before returning to Bangkok. He was a rare example (Gerini is another) of a professional soldier turned scholar; one wishes there were more.

I should like to mention some titles that perhaps deserve to be added to this impressive collection, and which in some cases are found in the Siam Society's collection. In 1828, **James Low** published in Calcutta *The First Grammar of the Thai or Siamese language*, and followed this with an article "On Siamese literature" (1836); these firsts deserve our attention. Two American authors are not represented here; they are **Edmund Roberts**, *An Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam, and Muscat in the U.S. Sloop-of-War Peacock*, David Geisinger, Commander, during the years 1832-34 (1837) and **W.S.W Ruschenberger**, *Narrative of a Voyage round the World during the years 1835-36, and 37, including a narrative of an Embassy to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam* (1838); they are the first Americans to write about the country, and a volume is locally in press bringing these two accounts together. In 1875 **John Thomson** published his volume *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China* using his own photographs (some of which, as mentioned earlier, were appropriated by the unscrupulous Anna Leonowens for her book); he records an entertaining interview with King Mongkut. Two general travellers who recorded their journeys are **George Young-husband**, *1,800 miles on a Burmese Tot through Burmah, Siam ...* (1888) and **Florence Caddy**, *To Siam and Malaya in the Duke of Sutherland's yacht Sans Peur* (1889). Persons closely associated with the Siam Society in its very early days are **Oscar Frankfurter**, **G.E. Gerini** and **W.A. Graham**; they both contributed to A. Cecil Carter's book, *The Kingdom of Siam* (1904) mentioned earlier, and published separately a number of important works of their

own on Siam. P. A. Thompson, *Lotus land, the country and people of southern Siam* (1906) was another resident who produced a book on the country, and the choleric Sir Henry Norman M.P. published *The peoples and politics of the Far East* (1907), which is unlikely to have been well received at the court of King Chulalongkorn. *The Burney Papers*, dating from Henry Burney's 1826 mission, were assembled in 1910, but still await close attention. There are undoubtedly other volumes and authors that might be added to this list. Having said that, though, the present collection remains hugely impressive, and Siamese bibliophiles are undoubtedly mightily envious of it.

I dealt at the beginning of this talk with observable trends in the 19th century books dealing with Siam, and, in conclusion, should note here the first and in that century the only appearance of a novel based, very loosely indeed, on Phaulkon's life (there is little need, I am sure, to remind this audience that Phaulkon was an

adventurer from Cephalonia who arrived in Siam via the English East India Company and Bantam about 1679, rose to high office, over-reached himself, and was killed in the events surrounding the palace coup of 1688). William Dalton's travesty of exactitude, *Phaulcon the Adventurer* (#49), incidentally subtitled "A romantic biography" (1862), has been followed in recent years by the novels of Axel Aylwen (1988, 1991), Claire Keefe-Fox (1998), Monique Jambut (2000), John Shaw, and, perhaps the best of the lot, Morgan Sportès (whose *Pour la plus grande gloire de Dieu*, 1993, remains untranslated in English, though a Spanish edition has appeared). To my knowledge, two more are in the pipeline by other authors, one a respected economist of Thailand, and the source does not look like drying up too soon. Incidentally I strongly suspect the inspiration for Dalton's early effort was Appendix E in Bowring's vol II, "History of Constance Phaulcon" (also spelt, as with Dalton, with a "c" and not a "k"), published in 1857.

Bangkok Era Books

- 1 *Exposé Statistique du Tonkin, de la Cochinchine, du Cambodge, du Tsiampan, du Laos, du Lac Tho.* M. M. -N. London, 1811.
- 2 *Aventures les Plus Curieuses des Voyageurs. Extraites des Relations Anciennes et Modernes, ...* Rédigée Pierre Blanchard. Paris, 1817.
- 3 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome I. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 4 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome II. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 5 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome III. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 6 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome IV. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 7 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome V. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 8 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome VI. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 9 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome VII. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 10 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome VIII. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 11 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome IX. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 12 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome XI. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 13 *Précis de Tableau Historique, Présentant les Vicissitudes des Nations, ... jusqu'à la Fin du XVIII Siècle.* Tome XII. Anquetil. Paris, 1821.
- 14 *Abriége de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages.* Tome V. J.-F. Laharpe. Paris, 1825.
- 15 *Abriége de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages.* Tome VII. J.-F. Laharpe. Paris, 1825.
- 16 *Abriége de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages.* Tome VIII. J.-F. Laharpe. Paris, 1825.
- 17 *Abriége de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages.* Tome XXII. J.-F. Laharpe. Paris, 1825.
- 18 *Modern Traveller: a Popular Description of Birmah, Siam, and Annam.* Josiah Conder. London, 1826.
- 19 *Popular Description of Birmah, Siam, etc.* Illustrated by Maps and Plates. Josiah Conder. London, 1826.
- 20 *Mission to Siam and Hue, the Capital of Cochinchina, in the year 1821-1822.* George Finlayson. London, 1826.
- 21 *Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in the year 1795.* Vol. 1. Lt. Col. Michael Symes. Edinburgh, 1827.
- 22 *Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in the year 1795.* Vol. 2. Lt. Col. Michael Symes. Edinburgh, 1827.
- 23 *Bibliothèque Géographique de la Jeunesse, ou Recueil de Voyages Intéressants ...* Tome XII. M. Breton. Paris, 1827.
- 24 *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochinchina.* John Crawfurd. London, 1828.

- 25 *Voyages Advantureux de Fernand Mendez Pinto, Traduit du Portugais par B. Figuer.* Tome I. Fernand M. Pinto. Paris, 1830.
- 26 *Voyages Advantureux de Fernand Mendez Pinto, Traduit du Portugais par B. Figuer.* Tome II. Fernand M. Pinto. Paris, 1830.
- 27 *Voyages Advantureux de Fernand Mendez Pinto, Traduit du Portugais par B. Figuer.* Tome III. Fernand M. Pinto. Paris, 1830.
- 28 *Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in the year 1795, a new edition.* Vol. 1. Lt.-Col. Michael Symes. Edinburgh, 1831.
- 29 *Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in the year 1795, a new edition.* Vol. 2. Lt.-Col. Michael Symes. Edinburgh, 1831.
- 30 *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, & 1833, with the Notices of Siam, Corea, ...* Charles Gutzlaff. London, 1834.
- 31 *Brief Grammatical Notices of the Siamese Languages,* with an Appendix. J. Taylor Jones. Bangkok, 1842.
- 32 *Siam et les Missionnaires Français.* Adrien Launay. Tours, 1846.
- 33 *Japon, Indo-Chine, Empire Birman (ou Ava), Siam, Annam (ou Cochinchine), Péninsule Malaise, Etc. Ceylan.* M. Dubois de Jancigny. Paris, 1850.
- 34 *Dictionarium Latinumthāt, ad Usum Missionis Siamesis.* Mgr. Pallégoix. Bangkok, 1850.
- 35 *Mendez Pinto.* M.J. Candau. Tours, 1851.
- 36 *Narrative of a Residence in Siam.* Frederick A. Neale. London, 1852.
- 37 *Voyage du Comte de Forbin au Siam (1685-1688).* Comte de Forbin. Paris, 1853.
- 38 *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam.* Tome I. Mgr. Pallégoix. Paris, 1854.
- 39 *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam.* Tome II. Mgr. Pallégoix. Paris, 1854.
- 40 *Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Her Majesty and the King of Siam.* London, 1857.
- 41 *Kingdom and People of Siam with a Narrative of the Mission to That Country in 1855.* Sir John Bowring. London, 1857.
- 42 *Kingdom and People of Siam with a Narrative of the Mission to That Country in 1855.* Vol. I. Sir John Bowring. London, 1857.
- 43 *Kingdom and People of Siam with a Narrative of the Mission to That Country in 1855, Vol. 2.* Sir John Bowring. London, 1857.
- 44 *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine, Fait Par Ordre de Louis XVI depuis 1774 jusqu'en 1781.* Tome I. M. Sonnerat. Paris, 1860.
- 45 *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine, Fait Par Ordre de Louis XVI depuis 1774 jusqu'en 1781.* Tome II. M. Sonnerat. Paris, 1860.
- 46 *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine, Fait Par Ordre de Louis XVI depuis 1774 jusqu'en 1781.* Tome III. M. Sonnerat. Paris, 1860.
- 47 *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine, Fait Par Ordre de Louis XVI depuis 1774 jusqu'en 1781.* Tome IV. M. Sonnerat. Paris, 1860.
- 48 *Ambassade de Siam au XVII Siècle—le Royaume Thai ou de Siam Aujourd'hui.* M. Etienne-Gallons. Paris, 1862.
- 49 *Phaulcon the Adventurer; or, the Europeans in the East. A Romantic Biography.* William Dalton. London, 1862.
- 50 *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia, and Laos, during the years 1858, 1859, and 1860.* Henri Mouhot. London, 1864.
- 51 *English and Siamese Vocabulary.* Bangkok, 1865.
- 52 *Fernand Mendez Pinto's Abenteuerliche Reise durch China, die Tartarei, Siam, Pegu und andere Lander des Asiens.* Ph. H. Kulb. Jena, 1868.
- 53 *Royaume de Siam.* Le. M.A. Gréhan. Paris, 1869.
- 54 *English Governess at the Siamese Court: being Recollections of six years in the Royal Palace at Bangkok.* The Anna H. Leonowens. London, 1870.
- 55 *Wheel of the Law. Buddhism, Illustrated from Siamese Sources.* Henry Alabaster. London, 1871.
- 56 *Voyage en Indo-Chine et dans l'Empire Chinois.* Louis de Carné. Paris, 1872.
- 57 *Voyage dans les Royaumes de Siam, de Cambodge, de Luos.* Henri Mouhot. Paris, 1872.
- 58 *Java, Siam, Canton, Voyage autour du Monde.* Le Comte de Beauvoir. Paris, 1872.

- 59 *Land of the White Elephant... Embracing the Countries of Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin-China (1871-1872)*. Frank Vincent. London, 1873.
- 60 *Dictionary of the Siamese Language*. D. B. Bradley. Bangkok, 1873.
- 61 *Land of the White Elephant... Embracing the Countries of Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin-China (1871-1872)*. Frank Vincent. New York, 1874.
- 62 *Java, Siam, Canton. Voyage Autour du Monde*. Le Comte de Beauvoir. Paris, 1874.
- 63 *Excursions autour du Monde: les Indes, la Birmanie, la Malaisie, le Japon et les États-Unis*. J. de Rochechouart. Paris, 1879.
- 64 *History of Siam. Reign of H.M. Somdet Phra Narai, who Reigned During the Years 1657 & 1682 A.D.* Trans. Samuel Smith. Bangkok, 1880.
- 65 *Shan and English Dictionary*. A. J. N. Cushing. Rangoon, 1881.
- 66 *Chine, Japon, Siam (Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation)*. Ad. F. de Fontenay. Paris, 1882.
- 67 *Voyage dans les Royaumes de Siam, de Cambodge, de Laos*. Henri Mouhot. Paris, 1882.
- 68 *Voyage dans les Royaumes de Siam, de Cambodge, de Laos*. Henri Mouhot. Paris, 1883.
- 69 *Étude Historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam de 1662 à 1703*. Lucien Lanier. Versailles, 1883.
- 70 *Java, Siam, Canton. Voyage Autour du Monde*. Le Comte de Beauvoir. Paris, 1884.
- 71 *Temples and Elephants: the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration Through Upper Siam and Lao*. Carl Bock. London, 1884.
- 72 *Peuple Siamois ou Thai*. Le Léon de Rosny. Paris, 1885.
- 73 *Peuple Siamois ou Thai*. Le Léon de Rosny. Paris, 1885.
- 74 *Voyages d'exploration en Indo-Chine effectués par une Commission Française*. Francis Garnier. Paris, 1885.
- 75 *Siam or the Heart of Farther India*. Mary Lovina Cort. New York, 1886.
- 76 *Java, Siam, Canton. Voyage Autour du Monde*. Le Comte de Beauvoir. Paris, 1888.
- 77 *Siam et les Siamois*. L'Abbé S. Chevillard. Paris, 1889.
- 78 *Tonkin et la Mère-Patrie: Témoignages et Documents*. Jules Ferry. Paris, 1890.
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- 80 *Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, the Portuguese, The Tramp*. Henry Cogan. London, 1891.
- 81 *Siam, the Land of the White Elephant, as it was and is*. George B. Bacon. New York, 1892.
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- 83 *Siam, the Land of the White Elephant, as it was and is*. George B. Bacon. New York, 1893.
- 84 *Voyages en Asie et au Madagascar—Album Pittoresque*. Prince H. d'Orléans. Paris, 1894.
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