

# THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE FIRST WORLD WAR VOLUNTEERS MEMORIAL, BANGKOK

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## Abstract

The First World War Volunteers Memorial in Bangkok commemorates the nineteen (non-combat) casualties of the 1,300-man Siamese Expeditionary Force sent to France by King Rama VI in 1918. The inscriptions on the monument are translated from the Thai, and the dates and locations of death of the nineteen casualties are mapped and analysed.

Siam's contribution as an Allied power during the First World War is relatively well known amongst Thais today, but is little more than a footnote in Western literature on the war. This is partly because Siam's contribution, while very minor in terms of manpower sent to the front, and which included no combat casualties,<sup>1</sup> was for Siam itself a crucial step towards acceptance as an equal by other nations (e.g. see Somphala 1971 & Wimonphan 2004, ch.36) and therefore has more significance for Thai history than Western military history. Thus while there are numerous Thai works dealing specifically with the country's involvement,<sup>2</sup> the literature in English, apart from short articles by Hart (1982) and Whyte (2007), consists of subsections of more general works covering modern Thai history,<sup>3</sup> the reign of Rama VI,<sup>4</sup> and Thailand's military history and development,<sup>5</sup> or concentrates on peripheral issues, such as the politics of Siam's initial neutrality<sup>6</sup> or the post-war mutual abolitions of nineteenth century unequal treaties.<sup>7</sup> As a contribution towards a comprehensive English-language account of Siamese participation in the First World War, the inscriptions on the main memorial to the war are translated and analysed here for the first time.

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<sup>1</sup> Hart (1982, 135) incorrectly implies otherwise.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Anonymous 1917, Wichai 1966, Ophat 1968, Suphan 1973, Manit 1976, Manit & Phukphan 1977, Chali 1977, Manit 1979, Rot 1988, Khanakammakan Chamra Prawattisat Thai 1991, Sang n.d.).

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Office of the Prime Minister 1982, Rong 1993, Terwiel 2005.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Vella 1978, Greene 1999.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Young 1995, RTAF 2004.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Chalong 1973.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Oblas 1971, 1972, 1974.

Located on a traffic island at the northwestern corner of Sanam Luang in central Bangkok, a monument called the Volunteer Soldiers' Monument [อนุสาวรีย์ทหารอาสา / *Anusawari Thahan Asa*], commemorates the nineteen Siamese soldiers of the Siamese Expeditionary Force (SEF) who died during the First World War (Figure 1).<sup>8</sup> The monument is a four-sided chedi of polished white stone. According to the historical signboard nearby, it was designed by Somdet Phrachao Borommawong Thoe Chaofa Kromphraya Naritsara Nuwattiwong, while Mom Chao Prawit Chumsai oversaw construction. A short analysis of the memorial with respect to architecture and nationalism is given by Wong (2006, 50–53), who describes it as “a Srivijaya Buddhist stupa” and “an artistic paean to militarism” (2006, 52), but who does not translate the inscriptions.

The ashes of the nineteen dead were interred in the base of the monument by King Rama VI on 24 September 1919,<sup>9</sup> three days after the return of the SEF from France (Figure 2). The monument was publicly unveiled on 22 July 1921, the fourth anniversary of Siam's declaration of war (Wong 2006, 52), and the same month, several French pilots flew to Bangkok from Saigon to lay wreaths at the memorial (Young 1995, 23). The monument also featured on a set of six stamps issued on 15 January and 14 March 1944<sup>10</sup> to celebrate the completely unrelated Thai annexation of several Malay states during the Second World War (#313–318 in Sakserm 2000, 25–26).

The monument has an inscribed plaque on each of its four faces. The plaques on the northern and southern sides explain the history of Siam's involvement in the First World War, particularly with regard to the despatch to France of the 1,300-man SEF. The eastern and western plaques list the names of the 19 dead, together with their dates of birth and death and place of death. In contrast to most western memorials where dead from the two world wars are listed in surname order irrespective of rank, the Thai memorial lists the dead in descending order of rank, and within each rank by chronological order of death.

The dates on the monument are given in terms of the Buddhist Era (B.E.), counting years from the achievement of parinirvana by Gautama Buddha, traditionally taken by Thais to be 543 B.C. The use of the B.E. chronology, together with a New Year's Day of 1 April, was introduced only in 1912 by King Rama VI, replacing

<sup>8</sup> Besides this main monument, the dead of the First World War are also commemorated along with Thai casualties from other wars at the National Monument [อนุสรณ์สถานแห่งชาติ / *Anuson Sathan Haeng Chat*] at the intersection of Viphawadi Rangsit and Phahon Yothin roads north of Don Meuang airport. There is apparently also another small monument to the casualties of the war in front of the 4th Infantry Division HQ in Phitsanulok (*Bangkok Post* 2000).

<sup>9</sup> Wong (2006, 52) citing Vella (1978, 120) says the interment occurred on 23 September. The monument itself, however, reads 24 September.

<sup>10</sup> Sakserm (2000, 25) incorrectly converts 2487 B.E. to A.D. 1943, but the occasion of the issue and the dates of the preceding issues indicate that it is the A.D. year and not the B.E. which is incorrect.

a chronology counting from the foundation of Bangkok (A.D. 1782) introduced by King Rama V in 1888 and having New Year's Day at *Songkran* in mid-April. New Year's Day was finally aligned with the international calendar in 1941 by Prime Minister Phibun Songkhram's decree that 1 January be the start of the New Year. The year B.E. 2483 thus had only nine, not twelve months (April - December A.D. 1940), to allow B.E. 2484 and A.D. 1941 to both begin on 1 January. Therefore the subtraction of 543 from the B.E. year to get the A.D. year only works completely from A.D. 1941 onwards. For years between A.D. 1912 and 1940, B.E. dates from 1 April through 31 December of a given year should still have 543 subtracted from them, while dates from 1 January through 31 March of the same B.E. year should only have 542 subtracted. For dates between 1888 and 1912, the subtraction of 542 is extended from 1 January until mid-April, the exact date in April of the New Year altering slightly each year (Diller 2000, Eade 2007a, Finestone 1989, 20–21, Wikipedia 2007). These complications have been allowed for in the chronological conversions that follow.

With regard to the identification of European toponyms written in Thai (Table 1), the German place-names were more easily identifiable from their Thai versions than the French place-names, because German is much more a phonetic language than French, so that there are few if any spelling variations to consider for any given sound. French is less easily transcribed into Thai. The most difficult place-name to identify was Jubécourt, whose second syllable is written *-khru* [-ครุฑ์] on the monument, but is spelled *-khun* [-ครุฑ์] in another source (Ngan Phiphitthaphan Thahan n.d.), although in both the silenced final Thai letters mimic the silent 't' of the original French. Additionally, the size classifiers (*krung*, กรุง; *mueang*, เมือง; *tambon*, ตำบล) prefixing the actual Thai place-names were all appropriate in size except for the use of *mueang* for Avord and Jubécourt, both localities being better described as *tambon*.

Table 1: Places of death of SEF soldiers, backtranslated from Thai

<b>Thai</b>	<b>Thai romanisation</b>	<b>Latin alphabet</b>
กรุง ปารีส	Krung Parit	Paris
เมือง อวอร์ด	Mueang Awon	Avord
เมือง ชาลองส์	Mueang Chalongs	Châlons
เมือง ลันเดา	Mueang Landao	Landau
เมือง มาร์เซย์	Mueang Masey	Marseille(s)
เมือง นอยสตัดท์	Mueang Noisat	Neustadt
เมือง ยูเบครุฑ์	Mueang Yubekhru	Jubécourt
ตำบล ไกนัชยาม	Tambon Kainachayom	Geinsheim
ตำบล กอดรัมสทิน	Tambon Kodramsatin	Godramstein
ตำบล มอสบับซ	Tambon Motsabak	Mußbach/Mussbach

The four plaques on the monument are translated as follows:

## South Face

### 1.

On 22 July 2460<sup>11</sup> [1917] *Phrabatsomdet Phra Ramathibodhi Sisintaramaha Vajiravudh Phra Mongkut Klao Chaoyuhua*<sup>12</sup> ordered *Phra Surasi Hanat*<sup>13</sup> to declare war against Germany and Austria-Hungary, which two countries had, since 1 August 2547 [1914], been at war with the countries forming the Allied Powers, including England, France, Russia, Belgium and Serbia. Later Italy and countries in North America and elsewhere also joined the Allied Powers.

Because the king felt that Germany and Austria-Hungary were ignoring the norms of warfare and fighting in an immoral way, the king wanted to uphold respect for these norms and to keep them sacrosanct, and thus he opposed those who fought immorally.

So on 21 September 2460 [1917] the king ordered the Minister of War<sup>14</sup> to call for volunteers who wanted to join the king's [or 'royal'] war in Europe. There were many volunteers, both soldiers and civilians, so the officers selected only as many as they needed. After selection the volunteers were formed into an aviation unit,<sup>15</sup> a unit of automobile drivers and a medical unit, to be sent as the Thai<sup>16</sup> contribution to the Great War.<sup>17</sup>

On 19 June 2461 [1918] the soldiers left Bangkok by ship for Europe. They landed at Marseilles, France, on 30 July the same year. Then the groups were separated for further training in different towns.

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<sup>11</sup> All years are left as inscribed, in B.E. terms, and converted to A.D. terms in square brackets immediately following.

<sup>12</sup> King Rama VI. *Ramathibodhi* is the dynastic name introduced by Rama VI for himself and retrospectively for his forebears. In Western usage it is usually abbreviated to Rama, followed by the regnal number of the king in question, thus Rama VI, etc. *Vajiravudh* was the king's actual name, and the remainder of the inscribed title was his regnal name.

<sup>13</sup> Chao Phraya Surasi (Choei Kanlayanamit), Minister of the Interior, January 1916 - August 1922 (Greene 1999, 98 & 149).

<sup>14</sup> Chao Phraya Bodin (Mom Rachawong Arun Chatrakun), Minister of War from 1914 until his death in 1921 (Greene 1999, 98 & 150).

<sup>15</sup> The Thai word, used three times in this sentence, is *gong* [กอง].

<sup>16</sup> We translate คนไทย [*Khon Thai*] and ชาตินไทย [*Chatthai*] literally as 'Thai' and not the more grammatically and temporally correct English adjective/adjectival noun 'Siamese' in order to highlight the fact that on the monument, and in the Thai language generally, the country was called Siam [สยาม], but the people and their nationality were called 'Thai', and not 'Siamese' [ชาติสยาม / *Chatsayam*].

<sup>17</sup> Elsewhere in the inscription, referred to by what may be translated as the "king's" or "royal" war [พระราชสงคราม / *Phrarat Songkhram*], the war is here specifically designated "Great War" [มหายุทธสงคราม / *Mahayut Songkhram*], presumably because it refers to the war as a whole and not just Siam's part in it.

## North Face

2.

Then on 14 October 2461 [1918] the motor transport corps was sent to the front. From 26 to 31 October they supplied French troops in an area under [German] artillery bombardment. They did this with such courage that the French government awarded them an emblem for their flag. This emblem was called the *Croix de Guerre*.<sup>18</sup> When the enemy was defeated and signed the armistice on 11 November, the Allied Powers occupied the left bank of the Rhine in Germany. The motor transport corps was stationed with these Allied forces. They remained on enemy territory until the German government signed the Peace Treaty [at Versailles] on 24 June 2462 [1919]. But the aviation squadron did not see combat because they had not completed their training programme before the enemy was defeated.

The aviators came back to Siam and arrived in Bangkok on 1 May 2462 [1919]. The motor transport corps arrived in Bangkok on 21 September 2462 [1919], and the king presented them with the medal of the Order of Rama<sup>19</sup> to acknowledge their bravery.

The names of the soldiers on this monument were all volunteers who joined the king's [or 'royal'] war. Two of them died before leaving Bangkok, the rest died in Europe on active service. They gave their lives for the king, and for the prestige of Thai manhood and of Siam, and to uphold international morality. Therefore this monument was erected to contain their ashes, so that all Thais can remember them and follow their example in perpetuity.

Their ashes were interred here on 24 September 2462 [1919].

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<sup>18</sup> The *Croix de Guerre* was a French medal created in April 1915. Over two million were awarded during the First World War for acts of heroism involving combat with enemy forces and to those mentioned in French dispatches. It was awarded both to individual French and Allied soldiers and to entire military units, a streamer of red and green stripes matching the medal's ribbon then being displayed on the unit's flag (Champenois n.d., The Institute of Heraldry n.d.).

<sup>19</sup> The Order of Rama was created by King Rama VI in April 1918. The king awarded the decoration not only to the colours of the motor transport corps, but also to many individual soldiers of the SEF (Vella 1978, 115) and subsequently to the Allied commanders Marshals Foch and Pétain of France and Field Marshal Douglas Haig of Great Britain (Office of the Prime Minister 1982, 249). All members of the SEF also received the Siamese First World War Victory Medal. For photos of the Order of Rama and Victory medal, respectively, see Secretariat of the Cabinet (n.d.) and Yashnev (n.d.).

### West Face

Names of soldiers who died on active service during the king's [or 'royal'] war:

#### **Second Lieutenant Sanguan Thanduan**

Born 11 December B.E. 2437 [1894]

Died 11 February B.E. 2460 [1918]

At the Army Air Force Base, Don Muang, Siam.

#### **Senior Sergeant-Major<sup>20</sup> Yuean Sangayut**

Born 29 February B.E. 2439 [1897<sup>21</sup>]

Died 15 February B.E. 2461 [1919]

At the 57<sup>th</sup> American Hospital,<sup>22</sup> Paris, France.

#### **Sergeant-Major/Staff Sergeant (Acting) Mom Luang Un Isarasena-Nakrunghthep**

Born 31 October B.E. 2436 [1893]

Died 4 March B.E. 2461 [1919]

On the street in Neustadt,<sup>23</sup> Germany.

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<sup>20</sup> The monument gives Yuean Sangayut's rank as นายตบ [Naidap, Senior Sgt-Mjr], and thus places him in second place beneath นายร้อยตรี [Nairoitri, 2nd Lt] Sanguan Thanduan. However, Ngan Phitthaphan Thahan (n.d.) gives Yuean Sangayut's rank as น.ต. [Nawa Akat Tri, Squadron Leader] and thus lists him above Thanduan. The monument is assumed to be correct.

<sup>21</sup> Subtracting 542 from this February B.E. date yields A.D. 1897, which was obviously not a leap year [in fact, B.E. leap years between A.D. 1888 & 1940 are evenly numbered, which 2439 is not]. The error might be explicable in one of several ways: due to a mistake in the original records; by a misreading of the date (9 for 5 [๙ for ๕?]); or by a sloppy back-conversion of the year (perhaps the American hospital's [western-dated] records were used, and mistakenly added 543, instead of 542, to the leap year 1896 to get 2439). It seems least likely that there has been an error in recording the month, as in Thai, February [กุมภาพันธ์ / Kumphaphan] is not easily mistakable for any other month (Eade 2007b).

<sup>22</sup> Base Hospital No.57 was organized on 2 April 1918 at Camp Greenleaf, Georgia, USA. It arrived in France, via England, on 21 August, where at Juilly, Seine-et-Marne, it took over the hospital operated by Evacuation Hospital No.8, which had about 250 patients, mostly French battle casualties. On 16 September 1918 the unit was ordered to Paris to establish a 1,000-bed hospital. In Paris, Base Hospital No.57 took over a large school building and functioned there as a part of the Paris district, with a normal bed capacity of 1,800 in 75 wards, although during October 1918, as many as 2,000 sick and wounded were in the hospital. The hospital admitted a total of 8,585 surgical and medical cases, and a further 7,292 patients at its central dental infirmary. The unit left France on 13 August 1919, arrived in the United States on 22 August, and was demobilized shortly afterwards (Ford 1927, 681–2).

<sup>23</sup> Known until c.1937, and again from 1945–1950 as Neustadt-an-der-Haardt, but from c.1937–1945 and since 1950 as Neustadt-an-der-Weinstrasse. The current population is about 30,000 (57,000 including incorporated villages) (Polizei Rheinland-Pfalz n.d.).

**Sergeant-Major Charoen Phiro**

Born 4 April B.E. 2434 [1892]  
 Died 26 January B.E. 2461 [1919]  
 At Godramstein<sup>24</sup> village, Germany.

**Sergeant Pui Khwanyuen**

Born 8 April B.E. 2440 [1898]  
 Died 22 January B.E. 2461 [1919]  
 At Mussbach<sup>25</sup> village, Germany.

**Lance Corporal Nim Chakhrirat**

Born 21 November B.E. 2434 [1891]  
 Died 2 February B.E. 2461 [1919]  
 At the 57<sup>th</sup> American Hospital, Paris, France.

**Lance Corporal Chuen Naphakat**

Born 21 July B.E. 2441 [1898]  
 Died 6 April B.E. 2462 [1919]  
 At the Military Hospital in Marseilles,<sup>26</sup> France.

**Private Tu<sup>27</sup>**

Born 4 July B.E. 2441 [1898]  
 Died 1 March B.E. 2460 [1918]  
 At Chulalongkorn Hospital,<sup>28</sup> Siam.

<sup>24</sup> Today a village of 3,000 people, 3 km NW of the city of Landau-in-der-Pfalz, of which it forms a part (Stadt Landau-in-der-Pfalz 2007b&c).

<sup>25</sup> Today a village of 4,000 people, 3 km NE of the city of Neustadt-an-der-Weinstrasse, of which it forms a part (Polizei Rheinland-Pfalz n.d.).

<sup>26</sup> Marseille is spelt with a final 's' in English, but without this in French. The Marseilles military hospital opened in 1848 with 500 beds, and was soon overwhelmed by casualties evacuated from the Crimean War of 1853. It was renamed in October 1913 in honour of Michel Lévy (1809-72), the head of the army medical corps from 1841, who, along with Florence Nightingale, enormously improved military medical hygiene during that war. The hospital specialised in treating the most seriously wounded, along with tropical diseases, and during the First World War saw patients not only from the Western Front, but also Salonika and the Dardanelles, where malaria was rampant. An increased capacity of 1,100 beds was still insufficient, and an additional 2,400 beds were made available via auxiliary hospitals. Functionally replaced by the newly built Laveran Military Hospital in 1963, the Michel Lévy became a civilian hospital run by the *Assistance Publique* from 1965 to 1987, then was sold in 1988 and demolished in 1991 to make way for housing (Serratrice 1996).

<sup>27</sup> No family name is given, probably not unusual in that surnames were only mandatory after a decree by Rama VI in 1913, but this was not fully enforced until 1941 (Terwiel 2005, 239, esp. fn33).

<sup>28</sup> Opened in 1914, the hospital still exists, on Rama IV Road, Pathumwan, Bangkok.

**Private Chua Onueanwong**

Born 11 June B.E. 2437 [1894]  
 Died 21 October B.E. 2461 [1918]  
 At Février Hospital, Châlons,<sup>29</sup> France.

**East Face**

Names of soldiers who died on active service during the king's [or 'royal'] war:

**Private Phrom Taengtengwan**

Born 4 March B.E. 2437 [1895]  
 Died 14 November B.E. 2461 [1918]  
 At the garage of the 3rd Platoon, Jubécourt,<sup>30</sup> France.

**Private Suk Phuangphoemphan**

Born 17 May B.E. 2439 [1896]  
 Died 29 January B.E. 2461 [1919]  
 At the Medical Section of the Motor Transport Corps, Neustadt, Germany.

**Private Nueang Phinwanit**

Born 5 January B.E. 2440 [1898]  
 Died 3 February B.E. 2461 [1919]  
 At the Artillery Hospital, Avord,<sup>31</sup> France.

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<sup>29</sup> *Hôpital complémentaire n° 19 (caserne Février)*, specializing in the treatment of contagious diseases, operated from 1 January 1914 to 7 November 1918 in the city of Châlons-sur-Marne, initially with 750 beds, and later 1,015. The city itself was renamed Châlons-en-Champagne in 1998 and today has a population of about 50,000 (Ville de Chalons-en-Champagne n.d., Girod 2005, Gehin 2006).

<sup>30</sup> Jubécourt is a hamlet of a few score houses, 6 km east of the village of Clermont-en-Argonne, and into which commune (current population 1,800) it was absorbed in 1972. The hamlet is 20 km west of Verdun on the road to Châlons-en-Champagne (Quid.fr n.d.).

<sup>31</sup> A military camp was established at Avord after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. In 1912 a training school for pilots was established at the camp. By 1916/17 it was the most important flying school in the world, and in 1918 had over 1,000 aircraft and 6,000 personnel. Together with the flying schools at Istres and Pau, it trained the Siamese aviation squadrons of the SEF. Today Avord town has a population of about 2,500 people, while the camp has become French Air Force Base 702 (*Base Aérienne 702 «Capitaine Georges Madon» de l'Armée de l'Air*), employing 2,300 people (INSEE n.d., Ministère de la Défense n.d.).



**Private Nak Phuimiphon**

Born 8 July B.E. 2439 [1897]

Died 6 February B.E. 2461 [1919]

At the Medical Section of the Motor Transport Corps, Neustadt, Germany.

**Private Bun Phraiwan**

Born 9 June B.E. 2435 [1892]

Died 7 February B.E. 2461 [1919]

At the 57<sup>th</sup> American Hospital, Paris, France.

**Private Po Suksonphai**

Born 10 June B.E. 2438 [1895]

Died 7 February B.E. 2461 [1919]

At the 57<sup>th</sup> American Hospital, Paris, France.

**Private Chueam Premprungchai**

Born 10 October B.E. 2439 [1896]

Died 9 February B.E. 2461 [1919]

At the 57<sup>th</sup> American Hospital, Paris, France.

**Private Sila Noppukhiao**

Born 26 August B.E. 2437 [1894]

Died 2 March B.E. 2461 [1919]

At the Medical Section of the Motor Transport Corps, Neustadt, Germany.

**Private Phong Amatayakun**

Born 1 February B.E. 2436 [1894]

Died 29 April B.E. 2462 [1919]

At Geinsheim<sup>32</sup> village, Germany.

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<sup>32</sup> Today a village of about 2,000 people, 10 km ESE of Neustadt-an-der-Weinstrasse, of which it forms a part (Polizei Rheinland-Pfalz n.d.).

### Private Plian Numpricha

Born 19 March B.E. 2438 [1896]

Died 13 June B.E. 2462 [1919]

At Landau<sup>33</sup> Hospital, Germany.

### Analysis of the dates and places of death

The 19 casualties were aged from 19 years 8 months to 27 years 2 months, with an average age of 23 years 5 months.

Tabulating and mapping the locations of death (Table 2 and Figure 3) we find that two died in Bangkok during the pre-departure training of the SEF; nine died in France, all but one in hospitals; and eight died in Germany, half in hospitals. It seems likely that those who died outside of hospitals died of accidents, while those in hospitals died of either accident or disease.

Table 2: Deaths by location

Location	hospital	elsewhere	Total
Bangkok	1	1	2
<b>Thailand (total)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
Jubécourt	-	1	1
Châlons	1	-	1
Paris	5	-	5
Avord	1	-	1
Marseilles	1	-	1
<b>France (total)</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>
Neustadt	3	1	4
Mussbach	-	1	1
Geinsheim	-	1	1
Landau	1	-	1
Godramstein	-	1	1
<b>Germany (total)</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>

<sup>33</sup> Landau-in-der-Pfalz had the largest French garrison during the post-War occupation of the Rhineland. Today it has a population of 27,000 people (43,000 including incorporated villages) (Stadt Landau-in-der-Pfalz 2007a-c).

Tabulation and graphing (Table 3 and Figure 4) of dates of death reveals that all deaths occurred between February 1918 and June 1919. The two deaths in Thailand, presumably during training accidents, occurred in early 1918. There were no deaths on either the voyage to France or the return voyages. Of the deaths in Europe, only one occurred before the armistice, but as this soldier died well behind the front lines in a hospital specializing in contagious diseases, he seems very unlikely to have been a combat casualty. The other 16 deaths occurred during the post-war occupation of Germany. Interestingly, over half of the deaths occurred in the 25 days from 22 January to 15 February 1919, including all five deaths in the American Hospital in Paris. This was late winter, and the first and only winter the troops spent in Europe, so these deaths are likely to have been due to climate or climatically-induced disease.

**Table 3: Deaths by month**

	1917	1918	1919
<b>Jan</b> :	-	0	3
<b>Feb</b> :	-	1	7
<b>Mar</b> :	-	1	2
<b>Apr</b> :	-	0	2
<b>May</b> :	-	0	0
<b>Jun</b> :	-	0	1
<b>Jul</b> :	0	0	0
<b>Aug</b> :	0	0	0
<b>Sep</b> :	0	0	0
<b>Oct</b> :	0	1	-
<b>Nov</b> :	0	1	-
<b>Dec</b> :	0	0	-
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>15</b>

Note: a hyphen (-) signifies months before Siam declared war and after the troops returned home.

It is presumed that the Thai Ministry of Defence holds the personnel files for the 1,300 members of the SEF. With the last veteran, mechanic Yod Sangrungruang, having died in 2003, and the centenary of the war approaching, it is hoped historians will compile a full history of Thailand's involvement in the war, including a list of all those who served, the actual causes of death of the 19 soldiers named on the monument, and the correct date of birth for Senior Sergeant-Major Yuean Sangayut. This will provide posterity with a more complete and human record of Thailand's participation in the Great War.

### References

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Figure 1: Volunteer Soldiers' Monument, Sanam Luang, Bangkok, January 2007 (authors' photo)

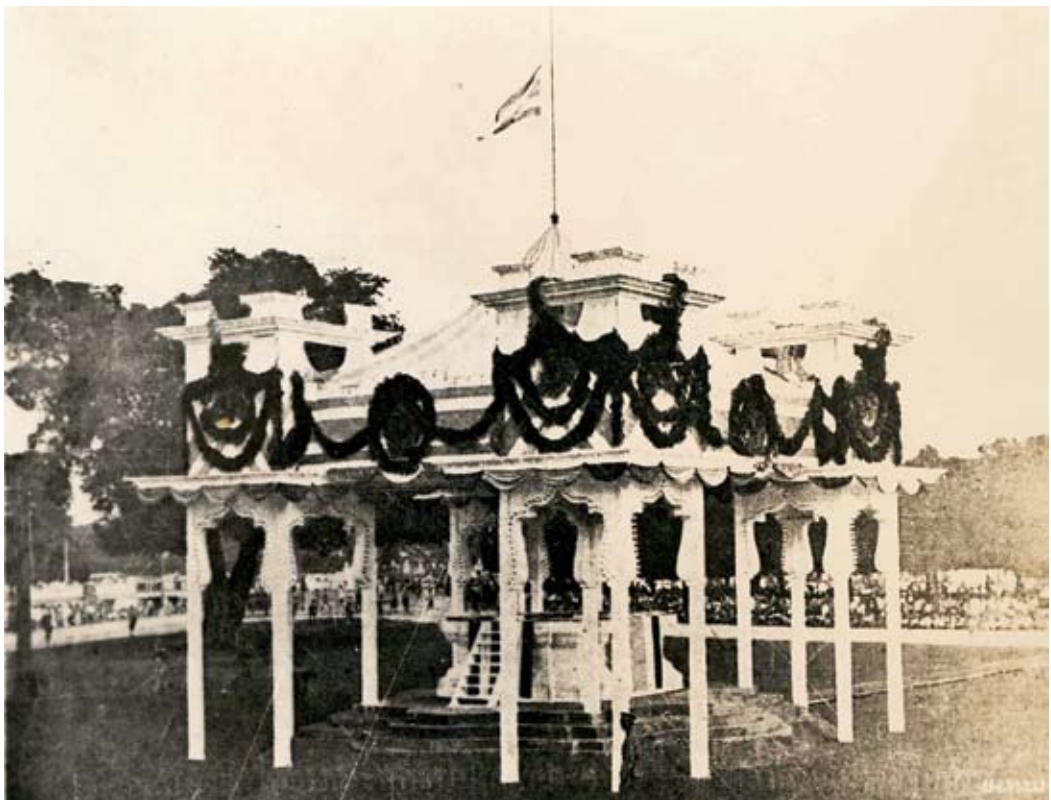


Figure 2: The monument base on the day the soldiers' ashes were interred, 24 September 1919 (photo courtesy of Royal Thai Army Museum, Bangkok)





Figure 3: Map of locations mentioned in the text

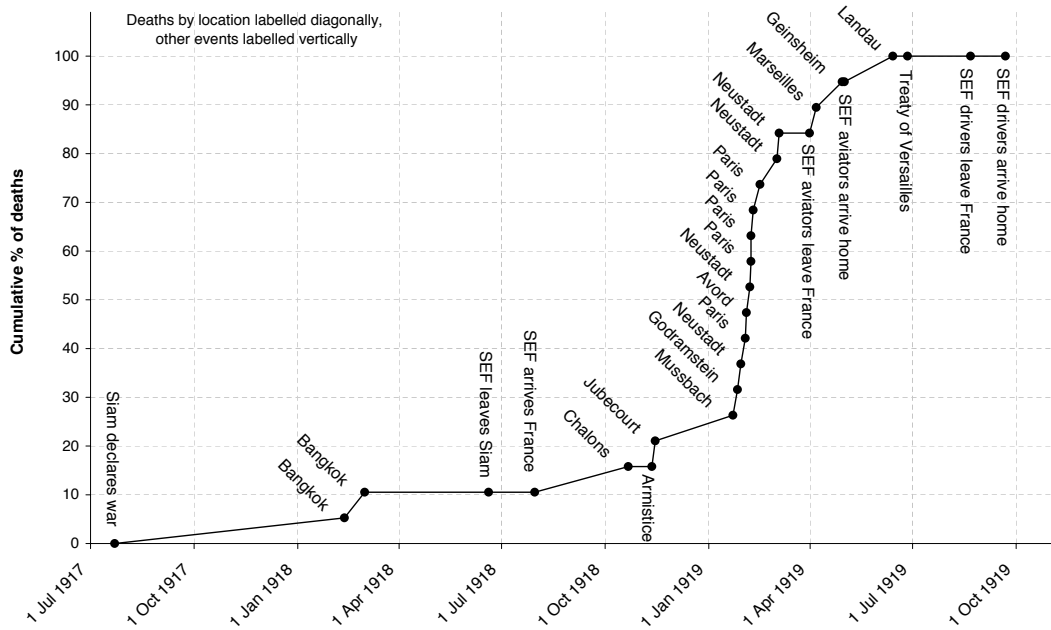


Figure 4: Siam Expeditionary Force Timeline, July 1917 – September 1919