

CHINESE SOCIETY IN THAILAND:

An Analytical History

BY G. WILLIAM SKINNER

Research Associate, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University; formerly Director, Cornell Research Center in Bangkok



CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

Ithaca, New York

© 1957 by Cornell University

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

First published 1957

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE VAIL-BALLOU PRESS, INC., BINGHAMTON, N.Y.

CHINESE SOCIETY IN THAILAND: An Analytical History

Publication of this book has been made possible by a grant from the Hull Memorial Publication Fund of Cornell University.



Thailand, showing regions and major towns

Preface

WITH the demise of Western colonialism in Southeast Asia, the overseas Chinese have assumed greater importance for the future of that region. China's recent emergence as a major Communist power, too, has added a new dimension to their potential influence. Centuries before these developments, however, overseas Chinese were already playing an important role in the economic development and social evolution of the major Southeast Asian countries. It is no exaggeration to say that the central current of Thai history in recent centuries cannot be properly understood or analyzed apart from the changing position of the overseas Chinese. Yet Western and Thai historians alike have paid them scant attention. It is hoped that the present volume will help rectify the comparative disregard of the overseas Chinese characteristic in historical works on Thailand and provide background necessary for an understanding of the Chinese role at the present time.

In fact, it was the need for historical depth in analyzing field data on contemporary Chinese society in Thailand that prompted me to undertake a diachronic inquiry. What began as an investigation into the genesis of the "Chinese problem" in Thailand developed into a more extensive study as I became increasingly interested in the subject matter and more convinced of its importance. The major emphasis of the present work, however, reflects the initial interest in societal development. As a history, therefore, it is somewhat untraditional, both in organization and in treatment of the subject matter. The approach is analytical rather than narrative, and it is oriented more to the objectives of the social sciences than to those of the humanities. It

[Preface]

should also be noted that the later chapters are based as much on material collected by methods traditional to anthropological field work as on that found in bibliographical records. Finally, because no adequate survey of the current position of the Chinese in Thailand is available in the published literature, the final chapter includes a general description of contemporary Chinese society in Thailand.

The Transcription of Chinese and Thai

Chinese names and other terms have been transcribed according to the simplified Wade-Giles system used in C. H. Fenn's Five Thousand Dictionary, except for the omission of tone numerals. Items for which character identification appeared to be useful are indicated in the text by a number preceded by C in parentheses, e.g., (C 107). These C numbers refer to the character list beginning on page 439. Chinese characters for place names in south China are not included in the character list but instead are shown on Maps 2, 3, and 4. The names of Chinese provinces and of the better known cities are spelled in the usual form established in the Postal Atlas of China, e.g., Kwangtung, Fukien, Swatow, Canton, Amoy.

For Thai names and terms, I have used a phonetic system of romanization based on that recommended by the Royal Institute of Thailand in 1939 and outlined in the Journal of the Thailand Research Society of March 1941. Since several changes have been made in order to eliminate special letters and diacritical marks, the orthography followed will be briefly described here. The voiced stops, occurring only in initial position, are written b and d; the voiceless, unaspirated stops are written p, t, j (palatal stop), and k; while the voiceless aspirated stops are written ph, th, ch, and kh. The glottal stop is not transcribed. The voiceless spirants are written f, s, and h, and the voiced nasals, m, n, and ng. The nine vowels are written as follows: front unrounded, i, e, ae; central unrounded, ue, oe, a; back rounded, u, o, o [5]. Homophonous vowel clusters (long vowels) are not distinguished from unlengthened or short vowels, but the three heterophonous vowel clusters which occur are, of course, indicated: ia, uea, ua. In initial position, the voiced semivowels are written y and w. In final position, the former is written i and the latter o when following a or ae, but w when following i.

The use of a phonetic romanization for Thai, while increasingly preferred by scholars and laymen alike, is by no means universal. Many writers on Thailand employ with more or less consistency systems based on a transliteration of the Thai spelling, whereby, for instance, "Phahon" becomes "Bahol" or "Suratthani" becomes "Surashtra Dhani"—forms which are of little assistance in approximating the Thai pronunciation of the names in question. The most common variant transcriptions of Thai proper names will be found in the index.

Chinese and Thai Territorial Units

During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties in China, the fu or prefecture was a large and important administrative area embracing one or more dependent chou or departments. There were also independent chou under the direct jurisdiction of the provincial governments. A chou, in turn, embraced several hsien or counties. Shortly after the Chinese revolution, both chou and fu were abolished as administrative units, but the former groupings of hsien under their old chou and fu names are still current in the popular mind. The word hsiang, when used to refer to an administrative unit, signifies a rural township, usually containing at least one market town and several villages. There are ordinarily several tens of hsiang in a hsien. The unitalicized forms, fu, chou, fu, fu,

Between 1894 and 1932, Thailand was divided into between ten and eighteen monthon or circles, each made up of several jangwat or provinces. In 1932, monthon administrations were abolished. (In 1952, the various jangwat were regrouped under nine phak or regions, but these groupings are not referred to in this volume.) Each jangwat, of which there are seventy-one at present, is subdivided into amphoe or districts, each in turn made up of several tambon or communes. In rural areas the tambon ordinarily comprises several villages. The unitalicized forms, monthon, jangwat, amphoe, and tambon, are used in the text to mean the Thai circles, provinces, districts, and communes, respectively.

A word should also be said about the name of the country itself. For centuries the Thai have called their kingdom Mueang Thai, i.e., Thailand. Westerners, however, have until recently referred to the country as Siam. In modern times, the official name was Siam up to 1939 and again between 1945 and 1948. The present official name, Thailand, is now generally used by serious scholars, British writers aside, when referring to contemporary affairs. In discussing the recent period I have ordinarily used Thailand, but for the rest both names have been employed indiscriminately for the sake of variety.

Regions of Thailand

For the purposes of this study, Thailand has been divided into seven regions: North Siam, Middle Siam, Northeast Siam, Southeast Siam, Lower Siam, Southwest Siam, and South Siam. The regional boundaries used were chosen to coincide with administrative boundaries which have not been appreciably changed during the present century. In other words, certain boundaries of the former monthons which coincide with present-day jangwat boundaries have been taken to define the seven regions used. This procedure allows historical comparison of Thai statistics for the various administrative areas when these are grouped according to the seven regions here defined. The disadvantage inherent in this definition of regions is that in many cases the precise placement of the boundaries is arbitrary in terms of "natural" geography.

The seventy-one jangwats are given below in the orthography used here, alphabetically arranged under their respective regions. This list is meant to serve both as a reference and to define the seven regions used in the present study (see also the frontispiece map).

Surin

North Siam
Chiangmai
Chiangrai
Lampang
Lamphun
Maehongson
Nan
Phrae

Phrae
Northeast Siam
Buriram
Chaiyaphum
Kanlasin
Khonkaen
Loei
Mahasarakham
Nakhonphanom
Nakhonratchasim
Nongkhai
Roi-et
Sakonnakhon
Sisaket

Ubonratchathani
Udonthani
Middle Siam
Chainat
Kamphaengphet
Nakhonsawan
Phijit
Phitsanulok
Phetchabun
Sukhothai
Tak
Uthaithani
Uttaradit
Lower Siam
Angthong
Ayutthaya
Lopburi
Nakhonpathom
Nonthaburi
Phranakhon

Prathumthani
Saraburi
Singburi
Samutprakan
Samutsakhon
Suphanburi
Thonburi

Southeast Siam

Chachoengsao
Chonburi
Janthaburi
Nakhonnayok
Prajinburi
Rayong
Trat

Southwest Siam
Kanjanaburi
Prajuapkhirikhan
Phetchaburi
Ratchaburi
Samutsongkhram

[Preface]

1275?-1317?

South Siam	Pattani	Satun
Chumphon	Phangnga	Songkhla
Krabi	Phatthalung	Suratthani
Nakhonsithammarat	Phuket	Trang
Narathiwat	Ranong	Yala

Reign Periods of Thai Kings

The reign periods of the Chinese emperors mentioned in the text are available in numerous standard reference works, but those for Thai kings are not equally accessible or well known. Accordingly, a reference list of the early Thai kings mentioned in the text and of all kings since 1767 is given below:

SUKHOTHAI PERIOD (Incomplete)

Ramkamhaeno

Namkammaei	18							0.00		1	210:-1011:	
AY	UTI	THAY	AN	PI	ERI	OD	(I	nco	mp	lete	e)	
Baromarat 1	II										1424-1448	
Ekathotsarot					1.0						1605-1620	
Sisaowaphak												
Songtham											1620-1628	
Prasat Thon	g										1629–1656	
Narai .								,		(*)	1657–1688	
Thaisa .												
Baromakot				,							1733–1758	
		TH	ON	BU	RI	PE	RIC	DD				
Taksin .									7		1767-1782	
		KOK										
Rama I		tfa .										
Rama II		etla										
Rama III		ngkla										
Rama IV		ongkı									1851-1868	
Rama V		lalong									1868-1910	
Rama VI		achira										
Rama VII		achat										
Rama VIII											1935-1946	
Rama IX	Ph	umip	hon	Ad	lunl	ade	t.				1946-	
		1										

With regard to the reign dates of the early seventeenth-century kings, attention should be called to corrections of the usual chronology which were suggested by Giles (1938, 167) and have been accepted here.

Thai Dates

The Buddhist era (B.E.), as used in Thailand, starts 543 years earlier than the Christian era. Prior to 1940, the Thai year officially began on April 1 rather than January 1. By royal decree, the year B.E. 2483 (1940) was only nine months long (April 1 to December 31), thus making the Thai year coincide with our own. In order to avoid confusion, all Thai dates in this book have been converted into Christian era dates by subtracting 543 years. It is customary in the case of dates prior to 1940 to indicate B.E. years with the use of a slash. Thus B.E. 2480 would be written 1937/38, by which is meant the Buddhist year which began April 1, 1937, and ended March 31, 1938.

Certain Thai statistics around the turn of the century were compiled according to the Western year beginning January 1, presumably because of the influence of foreign advisors. Annual statistics in these series were changed to accord with the Thai year in 1906. In tables and charts, the precise period covered by "annual" statistics is indicated.

Thai Currency

The unit of Thai currency is the *baht*, often called *tical* by Westerners. The conventional English spelling of the Thai word, *baht*, is used here rather than either the romanization according to the orthography otherwise adhered to in this study, *bat*, or the word *tical*. The baht is divided into 100 *satang*. Prior to World War II, the exchange rate of the baht was fairly steady at about 2.0 to 2.5 to the U.S. dollar, but wartime inflation drastically altered the rate. Since 1949, free market rates have fluctuated betwen 17 and 23 baht to the U.S. dollar, with an average of about 20.

References and Bibliography

In order to minimize the space devoted to notes, references are given in brief form according to a standardized system. Reference notes are of three types: (1) Works by known authors are cited by the last name of the author and the date of completion or publication of the book or article. Different authors of the same surname are distinguished by the initial(s) of their given names. (2) Unsigned articles are cited by the title of the article in quotation marks and the date of publication. (3) Serials (newspapers, journals, yearbooks, annual reports, and so on) and all other works are cited by italicized title, often abbreviated,

[x]

and the date. In the case of annual reports and yearbooks, the date given is that of the year to which the report of the book pertains, even when it differs from the date of publication. The Reference Bibliography gives the full bibliographical citation of all publications mentioned in the text and notes. Entries in the Bibliography for Chinese-language works include C numbers, which refer to the list of Chinese characters mentioned above.

Acknowledgments

It is not possible to name or express adequate gratitude to the many individuals in Thailand whose assistance facilitated the collection of material used in this study. I should like to acknowledge co-operation from officials in the following agencies of the Thai government: the National Library, the Central Statistical Office, the Alien Division of the Police Department, the Private Schools Division of the Ministry of Education, and the Krungthep and Thonburi Municipal Offices. The United States Information Service, the British Information Service, and E.C.A.F.E. were also of considerable assistance, as were the officers and staff members of the major Chinese associations in Bangkok. Most of the persons associated with the Cornell Research Center contributed in one way or another to the present study, in particular Robert B. Textor, Loebongs Sarabhayavanija, Lerchiew Wong, Er Siak Hong, Dalton T. Djang, Liang Mang Soon, and Vichitr Saengmani. I should like to pay special tribute to the intelligence, scholarship, and diligence of my research associate, James T. Peng, whose assistance was substantial and always invaluable. Appreciation is expressed both to Mr. Peng and to Phraya Anuman Rajathon of the Royal Institute of Thailand for reading a preliminary draft of this study and for making helpful suggestions.

I am also grateful to Hsin-min Wu (Mrs. John F. Brohm) for her expert assistance in translating Chinese materials and for writing the character reference list; to Mrs. Cynthia Wellenkamp for her gracious co-operation and help with the preliminary draft of this study; and to Mrs. Warren E. Harrison for typing the final manuscript. Above all, I want to thank my wife, Carol, for her manifold and indispensable contributions at every stage of this study, and in particular for drawing the maps and charts included in the present volume.

My indebtedness to Professor Lauriston Sharp and Professor Knight Biggerstaff of Cornell University is for much more than their invaluable

[Preface]

advice and guidance relative to the present study. This acknowledgment cannot convey my appreciation of their friendship and counselorship through the years. Warm gratitude is also expressed to Professor Charles F. Hockett of Cornell University for his encouragement and suggestions.

Finally, I gratefully acknowledge a travel grant from the Social Science Research Council and the long-term financial support from the Cornell Southeast Asia Program which made the present study possible.

G. WILLIAM SKINNER

Djakarta, Indonesia November 1956

Contents

	Preface	V
1. A. B. C. D.	THE EARLY CENTURIES: The Chinese in Old Siam Sino-Thai Relations up to the Seventeenth Century Seventeenth-Century Chinese Society	
2.	OPEN DOORS AND OPEN SPACES: Chinese Migra-	
	tion and Population Growth to 1917	28
Α.	The Background of Immigration	
В.	Speech Groups, Shipping, and Migration Patterns	
C.	Immigration Practice and Procedure	
D.	The Magnitude of Chinese Immigration	
E.	Factors Affecting Migration Rates	62
F.	The Growth of the Chinese Population in Siam	68
G.	The Expansion of Chinese Settlement	80
3.	LIVELIHOOD IN A NEW LAND: The Chinese Posi-	
	tion in the Thai Economy through the Fifth Reign	
Α.	Antecedents of an Ethnic Division of Labor	91
В.	Chinese Entrepreneurship	
C.	Labor and Artisans	
D.		118
4.	THE PATTERN OF INSTABILITY: Chinese Society in	
	Siam from the Third through the Fifth Reign	
Α.	Intermarriage and Assimilation	
	0	

[Contents]

B. C.	12
5.	INTO A NEW ERA: Transition to Nationalism and Co-
A	nesion
A.	The ruse of Chinese Nationalism
В.	The Chinese Problem
C.	The Chinese Problem
6.	
A.	The Climax and End of Mass Immigration
В.	The Growth of the Chinese Population in Thailand
C.	Age and Sex Distribution
D.	Geographical Distribution
7.	
6 .	CONFLICTING INTERESTS: Chinese Life in Thai
Α.	Society to 1938
В.	Offices and the That Economy
C.	Chinese Education Chinese Press and Politics 227
D.	Chinese Press and Politics
E.	Thai Policy toward the Chinese
8.	CRISIS, WAR, AND RESPITE: The Second World War
	and Ito Attours all
A.	The Phibun Era, First Round
В.	The Japanese Occupation
C.	Sino-Thai Relations, 1945–1948
D.	Chinese Community Organization, 1945–1948 278
9.	REPRESSION AND RECONSIDERATION: Chinese
	under the Second Philipp Administration 1049 1070 200
A.	Chinese Social Structure
В.	The Chinese Response to the Shifting Political Climate 322
C.	New Forces in the Thai Economy
D.	The Delities of Chilles Education
E.	The Changing Order of Sino-Thai Relations
	Notes
	Reference Bibliography
	Chinese Character Reference List
	Index
	[xiv]

Tables

1.	Direct departures from Swatow and Hai-k'ou for Bangkok,	
	as recorded by Chinese Customs, by periods, 1882-1917.	50
2.	Estimated total arrivals and departures of ethnic Chinese, all	
	Thailand, annually and by periods, 1882-1917	61
3.	Selected estimates of the Chinese and total populations of	
	Thailand prior to 1917	68
4.	Population of Chinese in Thailand, by monthon, 1904	74
	A probable model of the growth of the Chinese population	
	in Thailand, 1825–1917	79
6.	Estimated total arrivals and departures of ethnic Chinese,	
	all Thailand, annually and by periods, 1918-1955	173
7.	Direct Chinese migration between Bangkok and Swatow and	
	Hai-k'ou, by periods, 1918–1939	179
8.	A probable model of the growth of the Chinese population	
	in Thailand, 1917–1955	183
9.	Thai census totals, 1919-1947, compared with other estimates	186
	Chinese migration by sex, Thailand, 1921-1941, 1945-1949.	191
11.	Chinese alien arrivals, Port of Bangkok, by age and sex, 1928-	
	1931, 1933–1941	192
12.	Marital status by sex of Chinese alien arrivals aged 15 and	
	over, Port of Bangkok, 1928–1931, 1933–1940	
13.	Chinese population by sex according to the Thai censuses,	
	1919–1947	194
14.	Distribution by age and sex of 10,000 Chinese nationals, Thai-	
	land, 1947	195

[Tables]

15.	Distribution by region of Chinese nationals, according to the	
	Thai censuses, 1919–1947	199
16.	Model estimates of the population of China-born Chinese by	200
	region, according to the distribution of Chinese nationals	
	in the Thai censuses, 1919–1947	201
17.	The registered population of Bangkok (the combined munici-	
	palities of Krungthep and Thonburi) by nationality, Au-	
	gust 1954	206
18.	Growth in the number of rice mills, all Thailand exclusive	
	of metropolitan Bangkok, 1919–1929	214
19.	Representative wages of Chinese skilled laborers 1930–1937	218
20.	Estimates of remittances via Swatow, 1926–1935	226
21.	Occupational stratification, Krungthep, Thai and Chinese	
	ethnic groups only, 1952	301
22.	Etimic occupational specialization by major categories, Krung-	
	thep, 1952	303
23.	Occupational classes, Krungthep, arranged according to	
	ethnic-group dominance	304
24.	Number of ordinary households, Krungthen, by size and	
05	mother tongue of household head, 1954	312
20.	Occupational specialization by Chinese speech group, Bangkok	317