

Early Protestant Missionaries and the Development of Thailand's Hierarchy of Multilingualism

William A. Smalley

Hamden, Connecticut, U.S.A.

Vichin Panupong, to whom this volume is dedicated, grew up speaking Paktay (Southern Thai) and Standard Thai. She was educated first in Standard Thai, and then did at least her doctoral work in English (Panupong, 1970). Like many of her peers, therefore, she exemplifies use of the upper and middle levels of Thailand's hierarchy of multilingualism.

Thailand's language hierarchy, as I have discussed it elsewhere (Smalley, 1988, 1994, pp. 67–70, 342–349), is created by widespread non-reciprocal adult language learning preferences and practices.¹ Thus, many speakers of Paktay learn Standard Thai, or would like to know it, but proportionately fewer speakers of Standard Thai learn Paktay or would like to know it; likewise, many speakers of any Thailand language learn English, or would like to know it, but few native speakers of English learn Standard Thai, much less such lower² languages as Paktay or Lao (Northeastern Thai) or Kammüang (Northern Thai).

But Thailand's hierarchy of languages is just one branch of a world hierarchy, which is summarized in Table 1. Not all of the levels shown there are present in all countries, and additional levels are often to be found in various local situations, as well. For example, Thailand has a level of marginal regional languages like Northern Khmer (spoken in the southern provinces of Northeast Thailand) and Pattani Malay (spoken in the southern provinces of the panhandle). However, it has no level of multinational language, because none of the languages spoken on both sides of Thailand's borders are national or official languages in Thailand.

A single language, furthermore, may function simultaneously on more than one level of the hierarchy. For example, English is the world language in all countries, an international language in South Asia, East and South Africa, and North America (among others), a multinational language in North America, a national language in the U.S.A., Canada, and Great Britain, and a regional language (English vs. French) in Canada. Nyah Kur (Chaobon), at the other extreme, is an enclave language found only in Thailand.

Clearly, the present world hierarchy is modern, although it is successor to earlier, more limited hierarchies with smaller geographic domains. At various times such ancient languages as Egyptian, Assyrian, Phoenician, Syriac, Greek, and Latin were the equivalents of modern international languages, but none of them were learned all over the world. English, in fact, is the first. The very idea of nation-states with fixed boundaries, assumed in Table 1, is in itself also relatively modern. However, the fact that earlier periods in history did not necessarily have countries with fixed boundaries

¹Many of the assumptions about Thailand and its hierarchy that underlie this paper are discussed more fully at various points in Smalley (1994).

²“Lower” only in the sense of the hierarchy of preference, of course. This has nothing to do necessarily with the intrinsic value of a language.

does not invalidate the concepts of language dominance and hierarchy for older times, even though the classificatory categories used here may not be appropriate for those times. In this paper I am forced to use circumlocutions like, "the area which is now Thailand" for the evolving nation-state.

Table 1. *World hierarchy of languages*

External languages

World language

English

Primary or secondary external language for all countries, learned by native speakers of lower languages

International languages

English, French, Mandarin, Spanish, Arabic, Russian

Primary external languages for respective major geographical blocks of countries, learned by native speakers of lower languages spoken within the blocks

Languages both internal and external

Multinational languages

All of the above languages, plus

(e.g.) Malay/Indonesian, Hindi/Urdu, Bengali, Swahili, German, Italian

National/official languages shared between (usually) neighboring countries, learned by native speakers of lower languages within the countries

Internal languages

National/official languages

All of the above languages, plus (e.g.) Thai, Lao (in Laos), Vietnamese, Burmese, Malay, Japanese, Filipino

Official or unofficial "languages of the country" learned by native speakers of lower languages within the country

Regional languages

(e.g.) Thai-klang (Central Thai), Kammüang (Northern Thai), Lao (Northeastern Thai), Paktay (Southern Thai), Javanese, Cebuano, Marathi, Tamil, Hausa

Dominant languages in regions of a country or countries, learned by native speakers of lower languages within the region

Enclave languages

(e.g.) Lavüa' (Lawa [Thailand]), Nyah Kur (Chaobon [Thailand]), Navajo (U.S.A.), Welsh (U.K.), Basque (France), Ainu (Japan), Munda (India)

Languages enveloped by more dominant languages, not typically learned by speakers of other languages

Modern or ancient, language hierarchies raise questions about what creates language dominance and decline. When, where, and how did English spread and become the world language? How did the form of Thai (then known internationally as Siamese), spoken by the elite in Bangkok, become standardized and established all over Thailand as the national language? Historians and sociolinguists occasionally

study such questions, but rarely do they deal with one closer to the human reality: How do widespread learning patterns which create the language hierarchy emerge from *individual experiences and individual choices, when individual speakers of individual languages come into contact in sufficient numbers*?

In this paper I will look at one small cluster of people and events which contributed to the development of the Thailand hierarchy. The people are a few of Thailand's early Protestant Christian missionaries, often interacting with two of Thailand's kings. The missionaries contributed to the introduction and spread of English, the standardization of the Thai of the Bangkok court, and its establishment as a national language, doing so both independently of, and under the invitation and/or direction of, the kings or their officials.

The picture presented here is a limited one. I will not attempt to cover the wide-ranging other actions of the kings which did not involve the missionaries. Not included, also, are the parts played by Catholic missionaries and other Westerners in general. And I will look at the role of those missionaries who are included here primarily from their own perspective, as seen in some of their own accounts. Their perspective was no doubt different from that of the kings and of the other Thai people with whom they had contact.

THAILAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth-century Protestant Christian missionaries made the contributions discussed here because they happened to be in what is now Thailand at a time when some of their Western skills were needed. The critical period for the changes under discussion was 1851–1910, when King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn brought Thailand into the modern world and shaped the direction in which the country would develop. These two kings saved Thailand from the threat of military conquest by the British and/or the French, in part through their policies of assimilating enough of European ways to fend off complete European domination. They were the first rulers of Thailand to look beyond the Indian and Chinese culture spheres for political and cultural models, and to use modifications of European concepts and skills to strengthen their country and their power. They cast their nets widely for information and for individuals to help provide the knowledge or skills they needed. Some of the missionaries at hand therefore proved to be useful to them. The missionaries were mostly bit part players in all of these changes, but in a few cases their part was important.

The first Protestant missionaries came to Bangkok in 1828, just four years after Prince Mongkut began his long formative and creative period as a Buddhist monk. The existing language hierarchy in the area looked somewhat different from what the present one does. There was then no world language, but English and French were the two Western international languages flanking Thailand to the West and the East. Neither was yet an international language in Thailand, however, as neither was known by more than a handful of Thai individuals, if any.

I can only guess why Kings Mongkut and Chulalongkorn were more interested in English than in French, for they had to deal with both England and France. They did encourage some of their children to learn French and other European languages, but they obviously favored English. Before he became king, Prince Mongkut chose to learn Latin rather than French with the help of French Catholic Bishop Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, while he learned English with the help of American Protestant

missionaries (Chakrabongse, 1960, pp. 181–182). Then, when he became the first Thai king to know English, King Mongkut invited teachers of English into the country and into the palace. King Chulalongkorn, who learned English under his father's policy, sent sons and nephews out of the country to be educated in English more than in other languages, and eventually established a government school system for the country, a system which included English instruction, but not French.

Did the kings prefer English because they sensed that English was in its ascendancy as an international language, while French was in its decline? Did they see England as more powerful than France (Wyatt, 1982, p. 185)? Was it because King Mongkut saw France as a greater threat, and liked the quality of British diplomats, like Sir John Bowring (Lord, 1969, pp. 192–193)? Did the fact that England was a monarchy, but France was not, have a bearing? King Chulalongkorn's children who were sent to study in various countries of Europe were allowed to visit France, but not live there, because France was a republic (Chakrabongse, 1960, p. 231). But whatever the reasons, the kings did choose English, and in so doing they steered their country in the direction of participation in the modern world language hierarchy, with English as the world language. The Indochina countries, on the other hand, had to add English to French after World War II.

The area we now call Thailand had no national language either, when the missionaries began to arrive. Nor was it a modern state, such as is assumed in the present world hierarchy model depicted in Table 1. Its borders were fluid, gradually becoming more nearly fixed by international treaties during the period under discussion. Within the territory, furthermore, rulers of the various *müang* (local city-states) were still semi-independent, although they owed allegiance to, paid tribute to, and sent daughters as wives to the king in Bangkok. The present regional languages (Thaiklang, Kammüang, Lao, and Paktay) were the languages of the several *müang* in their respective areas, and of the monasteries in which any education took place in those areas. Kammüang and Lao were even written in a script different from that of Thaiklang. Paktay was not written at all.

The variety of Thaiklang spoken in and around the court in Bangkok, however, was often learned by elite in the outlying regions, and so was clearly dominant over other languages in the area of present Thailand, although it was then neither standardized³ nor national. It was the foundation on which the standard language would be built when it could be promoted by a school system with a central curriculum, grammar books, dictionaries, media, and other modern props.

King Mongkut's predecessor had sometimes temporarily restricted missionaries, suspicious of them as bearers of a foreign religion and culture. His Phra Klang (the second king, leader of the powerful Bunnag family and a power behind the throne) was steadily friendly and encouraging, however (Lord, 1969, pp. 106–108). King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn protected missionaries and encouraged them in those aspects of their work which contributed to the welfare of Thai people and to the modernization and development of the country. Occasionally the kings also sought missionary help.

³ For a discussion of the nature of standardization in Thai see Smalley (1994, pp. 26–40). Linguists and others often confuse Standard Thai with the Thaiklang of Bangkok (Smalley, 1994, pp. 14–15, 109–111).

THE MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTION

The missionaries discussed in this paper came to Thailand to stimulate the development of Christian churches (Christian communities) among the Thai, not to promote language. However, they and almost all of their colleagues studied Thai because they wanted to communicate with Thai people. Some learned it well, others poorly. When some of the missionaries, in turn, taught Thai literacy to Thai people they were hoping that the new readers would read Christian literature, such as the Bible that they had translated into Thai, as well as other books and pamphlets. Some of them also taught English as another way of communicating with those Thai people who would learn it. The early missionaries were intelligent, well educated, deeply committed to God and to their mission. They were not successful in converting many Thai to their faith, however, and that failure disturbed them deeply.

The missionaries were also human beings who learned to like Thai people as fellow human beings, and wanted to help them (as they saw it) in more ways than through religious conversion. They were the first to introduce Western medicine into the country, for example, and played a major role in its early development here. Sometimes the desire to help was chauvinistic, as when they saw Thai culture as less civilized than their own, and wanted to give the Thai what they considered to be a cultural boost through English. But usually the desire was also good-hearted, as when they wanted Thai people to enjoy what they considered to be the benefits of a Western education.

Missionaries had no concept of language hierarchy, no thought of changing the language system, no agenda for establishing a standard Thai among all the other forms of Tai in the country. They saw themselves as helping individuals, especially people whom they saw as disadvantaged—like the sick, the poor, the children, and the women. And when the prince, king, or any other official asked a favor, they were usually honored by the request, and happy to please. They were glad to be of use to the king, also, because they hoped that he would continue to look favorably on them and their work.

Teaching English

Least surprising of the missionary contributions to the development of the Thailand language hierarchy was their role in teaching English, both as individual tutors and in the schools they operated. A more unusual aspect of this contribution was the fact that their most illustrious pupil was a great prince, who became a great king.

During some of the years when Prince Mongkut served as a monk, he was unknowingly preparing the way for many revolutionary changes in his country, including the rise of English as the major international language, and to a lesser degree, the rise of Thai as a national language. The prince was keenly intelligent, a scholar of unusual ability, with extensive intellectual interests, including knowledge to be derived from the West. A small number of the other young men among the contemporary nobility shared some of these traits as well, also looking to the West with him to learn what they could from that tradition (Wyatt, 1982, p. 177).

Prince Mongkut gained much of his Western learning through reading, but he also made friends with various Westerners in Bangkok, including missionaries. Dan Beach Bradley was his closest missionary friend throughout his life. They discussed

theology, science, and world affairs, some of the discussion in English. As a monk, he would go to Bradley's clinic and watch him do operations or perform scientific experiments.

The missionary whom Prince Mongkut considered his "teacher" was Jesse Caswell, who regularly tutored the prince in English and science beginning in 1845. Caswell died in 1848, and Prince Mongkut attended his funeral. After the prince became king in 1851, he built a monument over the grave of his friend, and sent large monetary gifts to Caswell's wife, who had returned to the States.

The prince learned to speak and write English in a bookish, sometimes fractured, but forceful way (Lord, 1969, p. 174; Chakrabongse, 1960, pp. 181-182). When he became king he was the first Asian monarch to know English, and he did his own English correspondence, in his own hand, writing to rulers of Western countries and to foreign friends (Chakrabongse, 1960, p. 193). In fact, Bradley or some other missionary would sometimes be called to the palace late at night or early in the morning to help the king with problems in composing a letter or translating a government document (Lord, 1969, p. 163).

In the same year that King Mongkut ascended the throne, he invited three missionaries, Sarah Jones, Sarah Bradley, and Mary Mattoon, to teach English in the palace, which they did part time for three years (Wells, 1958, p. 24). Then in 1862, the king began importing tutors from Britain for the palace children. However, missionary John H. Chandler also tutored Prince Chulalongkorn from 1867 until King Mongkut's death in 1868 (Wyatt, 1969, p. 37). After that, dependence of the nobility on missionaries for English training lessened until 1879, when missionary Samuel G. McFarland created a government school with a strong English program, especially for sons of nobility. That story belongs to a later section of this paper.

But in the meantime, missionaries were teaching English more widely on their own through contacts with less exalted people, and especially in the mission schools they founded. These schools were not English medium schools, but English classes were part of the curriculum in most of them, usually taught by missionary native speakers. This helped spread some knowledge of English to individuals in most classes of Thai society, including women.

Missionary printing and publication, to be discussed later, also contributed to the use of English in the country. Bradley's and Samuel J. Smith's English-language newspapers and other serial publications, mentioned below, were especially important.

In other, more incidental ways, the very missionary presence itself fostered some use of English. Sometimes missionaries tutored individual Thai friends, or conversed with them in English to give them a chance to practice it. As a boy, for example, Prince Damrong, son of King Mongkut, occasionally visited missionaries in their homes so that he could talk English with them (Rajanubhab, 1928, p. 40). Samuel and Harriet House took two Thai boys to the States, where they gained excellent English, returning to render distinguished service to Thailand (Wyatt, 1970, pp. 3-4). In 1869 an English language library was founded in Bangkok, largely through the efforts of missionary Nielson Hays, who was its president for twenty-five years. It was given her name after her death (Wells, 1958, p. 39).

Standardizing and Nationalizing

When the missionaries began coming into what is now Thailand, the Thai spoken in the Bangkok court⁴ by the nobility and the commoners around them was the most prestigious variety of language in the area, standing at the top of the language hierarchy because elite in other parts of the country also learned it for dealing with Bangkok (Diller, 1976, p. 11). Court Thai was a variety of *Thaiklang*, the language of the central plains, but, from the standpoint of its speakers, the more widespread lower-class varieties of *Thaiklang* spoken by ordinary people in Bangkok and elsewhere were considered crude and ignorant, as were *Kammüang*, *Lao*, and *Paktay*.

Court language was not yet standardized. There were no dictionaries and grammar books to legislate what was "correct" usage, no education system to promote it on all levels of society. It was, however, somewhat normalized in that the most powerful people used it and expected it of those around them. However, during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, and after, this Court Thai gradually became Standard Thai, the national language of the consolidated country of Thailand. These processes were accomplished primarily through the government educational system by means of a common curriculum and language medium throughout the country. Mass publication also contributed. Of course, many teachers and writers were not native speakers of Court Thai/Standard Thai, having learned it themselves as adults through contact with speakers, or in school, so the depth of their knowledge varied. A bureaucracy monitored the standardization of their teaching and writing.

The king's primary goal in standardization was probably nationalization, to create a single country with a single language out of the wide diversity over which he was gaining control. A Bangkok-centered bureaucracy increasingly ruled the outlying areas, replacing the semi-autonomy of the *müang* rulers. In the national ideology, the multiple Tai languages spoken throughout the area were increasingly subsumed under "Thai" as substandard "dialects," whether mutually intelligible with Standard Thai or not. The country of Thailand was being created, with its national boundaries and centralized government, and standardization of Thai was part of that.

Missionaries did not contribute much directly to either standardization or nationalization of Thai, although they did teach Thai literacy in some *müang* where other languages were native. However, the missionary contributions did help indirectly to build the foundation for standardization and nationalization through enhancing translatability, beginning the dictionary-making and using process, introducing printing, publishing, and typing, and establishing schools. Ironically, even a press that missionaries established in Chiang Mai to print materials in *Kammüang* script helped in the dissemination of Bangkok-sponsored changes in the North because of the printing it did for the government (Swanson, 1984, pp. 52, 53).

⁴ *raachaasàp* 'royal language,' or "sacred range" as I call it for Standard Thai (Smalley, 1994, pp. 54–60), is not to be equated with the court variety, but the court variety is one part of it.

Interpreting, Translating and Making Dictionaries

In their desire to foster a Thai church, both translation and dictionary-making were natural and useful missionary tasks. Growing translatability and availability of dictionaries are also foundations for language standardization, although the bilingual dictionaries which the missionaries prepared are not usually as significant for standardization as monolingual ones.

Translatability refers to conventions of equivalence which people develop as they translate between languages, and to changes within languages which make the languages more alike because of the influence of and need for translation. In the mid-nineteenth century, new ideas, new technology, and new material goods were flooding into Thailand from the West. Not only did the Thai need vocabulary for them, but also needed suitable equivalents for Western language ways of expressing many things. Modification in Thai usage which resulted in part from translation included loanwords, for example, and on the grammatical level, increase in the use of various forms to serve as "passives" in Thai (Prasithrathsint, 1983, 1988).

As Protestant missionaries arrived in Thailand, they depended on interpreters for survival until they learned some Thai. However, few Thai people, if any, then spoke English (Chakrabongse, 1960, pp. 179-180). The Portuguese consulate mediated for some of the missionaries. A few knew a Chinese language, and communicated through Chinese people who knew Thai. In those early days, however, missionaries generally had to learn their Thai from tutors who knew no English.

Missionary translation and dictionary-making began with Carl Gutzlaff, who arrived in 1828, one of the first two Protestant missionaries ever to come to the country. He knew a Chinese language. Although he stayed only three years, he plunged into learning Thai with the aid of a Chinese man who did not know Thai very well, and began making his own English-Thai dictionary to help in the process. He also began translating the Bible by having his Chinese tutor read passages in Chinese and translate them orally in poor Thai to a Burmese man. The Burmese man, who knew Thai better than did the Chinese man, wrote down and edited what was read to him (B. McFarland, 1958, p. 286). Needless to say, neither Gutzlaff's dictionary nor the translation had any permanent value or impact, but the incident nevertheless illustrates how few communication links existed between speakers of European languages and speakers of Thai in those days, and illustrates how important the missionaries considered translation and dictionary-making to be.

But from such primitive beginnings, missionary interpretation, translation and dictionary-making gradually matured. The earliest missionary to live in Thailand for long enough (1833-1851) to learn the language well was John T. Jones. He was occasionally requested to interpret between government officials and Western envoys, and he began the tradition of serious translation of the Bible and other Christian materials into Thai, working with Thai assistants. Publication of his New Testament in 1843 helped to establish some Christian Thai vocabulary and usage, increasing translatability for Christian Thai, at least (Wells, 1958, p. 18; Nida, 1972, p. 427).

Over subsequent years, increased missionary use of Thai extended the translatability of some non-Christian language usage as well, because much of the secular printed material available in the country was published by missionaries, if not written by them. In 1855, also, missionaries Samuel R. House and Samuel Mattoon were invited by Thai officials to serve as interpreters in the Sir John Bowring treaty

negotiations with Britain, and helped to draft and translate treaty proposals (Wells 1958, pp. 29–30). Mattoon and John Chandler were then advisers and interpreters to both sides of treaty negotiations with the United States of America in 1856. Bradley and other missionaries often interpreted English documents for Thai officials and translated Thai documents into English (Lord, 1969, pp. 176–177, 189). Various missionaries also served as interpreters when foreigners had audiences with the kings (Rajanubhab, 1928, pp. 5, 8).

In 1892, missionary Samuel G. McFarland was moved from the government school he led (as described below) to work in the Thai Department of Education, writing textbooks in Thai on botany, geography, geology, and bookkeeping (B. McFarland, 1958, pp. 109–111). These books, with vocabulary and usage partially modeled after English, were used in the emerging Thai school system.

As for dictionary-making, in 1856 Bradley published English–Thai and Thai–English dictionaries which he had compiled in the process of learning Thai. These were used primarily by missionaries. More important for the place of English and Thai in Thailand was Samuel McFarland's 1866 *English–Siamese Word Book*, the first in a series of ten editions, the later ones further edited by his son, George B. McFarland (e.g., S. McFarland, 1903). It was the first dictionary of any kind to be widely used in the country, consulted by every child who studied English in Thailand for four decades. In the last years of his life, George McFarland, with the help of his wife, Bertha Blount McFarland, also compiled a monumental scholarly *Thai–English Dictionary*, first published in 1941 (G. McFarland, 1941).

The younger McFarland was not primarily a lexicographer, however. He was born in Thailand in 1866, and was educated for several years in the Suan Anan School for sons of Thai nobility organized by his father. At the time, therefore, this member of a missionary family was doubtless the only person who was not only a native speaker of both Thai and English, but who also had something of a Thai education. Later, after George McFarland earned a medical degree in the United States in anticipation of returning to Thailand as a missionary, the king invited him to become superintendent of Siriraj Hospital and principal of its medical school, which later became the Royal Medical College of Chulalongkorn University. Although he did not actually start either institution, he began in 1892 to build them almost from the ground up, and they became for a time the major government institutions in Thailand where Western medicine was practiced and taught. King Chulalongkorn honored George McFarland several times for his services, especially by elevating him to Thai nobility as Phra Ach Vidyagama (B. McFarland, 1958, pp. 70–71, 182–183). Nevertheless, throughout his distinguished career as a Thai official, George McFarland remained an affiliate missionary.

During George McFarland's thirty-four years in the medical school and in a private dental practice on the side, he made major contributions to the increased translatability of Thai through development of modern Thai medical terminology and patterns of discourse in his lectures and in the textbooks which he wrote in Thai (B. McFarland, 1958, p. 142). His dictionary incorporated this vocabulary as well as other terms arising out of burgeoning contact with the West, and of course, more traditional Thai. The dictionary was actually published after the process of increasing translatability was well advanced in the country, but the textbooks and the years of teaching which preceded the dictionary were integral to the process.

Printing, Publishing, and Typing Thai

In modern times, a national or a standard language is unthinkable without means of multiple reproduction, especially printing and typing. Until missionaries introduced the printing press and typewriter to Thailand, all writing was done by hand, and all needed copies (as for royal edicts) were made individually by hand. Bradley brought the first small press to Thailand, together with a font of Thai type.⁵ The press was a primitive affair, but Bradley soon acquired more adequate ones (Wells, 1958, pp. 10, 14, 18).

The first publication ever produced in Thailand, one thousand copies of a Christian document, was printed on Bradley's original press in 1836. The first official government document ever printed in Thailand, with nine thousand copies, was printed on Bradley's better press in 1839. In 1844, Bradley started the first newspaper in Thailand, the *Bangkok Recorder*, in Thai and in English. That did not last long, but his *Bangkok Calendar*, a periodical with description and critique of life in Thailand, ran from 1858–1873.⁶ When Prince Damrong began to read and write Thai, his first school books were in manuscript, but later ones were printed on Bradley's press (Rajanubhab, 1928, p. 2). The first publication of some of Thailand's classical literature also resulted from Bradley's efforts. Bradley himself wrote a great deal on religious and secular subjects as well, both in English and in Thai (Lord, 1969, p. 93–102).

In 1836–1839 several other small printing presses were imported and operated by missionaries who were close colleagues of John Jones. Furthermore, when Jones first came to Thailand he brought with him an adopted Anglo-Indian boy named Samuel Jones Smith, who grew up speaking Thai, went to the United States for advanced education, and returned to Thailand in 1849 as a missionary. In 1868 Smith left his mission and became a commercial publisher, producing, among other things, the periodicals *sayāamsamay*, *The Siam Weekly Advertiser*, *The Siam Repository*, and *The Siam Directory* (Wells 1958, pp. 18, 20).

In 1866, the first edition of Samuel McFarland's small dictionary, mentioned earlier, was printed under McFarland's house in Phetchaburi, on a press he made himself. Other materials for the mission and for local officials were also occasionally printed there (Wells, 1958, p. 33).

In 1892 a mission press was set up in Chiang Mai so the missionaries could print in the Kammüang script of the area. However, the missionaries did not have time to write or translate much material into Kammüang, and the press needed to support itself through commercial and government printing, so the bulk of its business came from the Bangkok government (Swanson, 1984, p. 52; McKean, 1928, pp. 124–125).

About 1892, also, the first Thai keyboard for a typewriter was designed by Edwin McFarland, son of Samuel McFarland and older brother of George McFarland, also raised in Thailand. At that time typewriters did not yet have shift mechanisms, so each typebar had only one character on it. On a trip to the United States, Edwin McFarland found a brand of typewriter which had more typebars than the others,

⁵ Bradley is also famous for medical "firsts." He was the first doctor to introduce smallpox vaccine into the country, and performed the first surgical operation by the procedures of Western medicine.

⁶ William Bradley (1981) is made up largely of excerpts from the *Bangkok Calendar* and Dan Bradley's journals. Dan Bradley's papers are archived in Oberlin College.

allowing more characters, but it was still short of the number needed to accommodate all Thai characters. However, he took a chance, left off two little-used Thai characters, and had a prototype made. He brought it to Thailand and showed it to King Chulalongkorn, who tried it, was enthusiastic, and ordered seventeen machines (B. McFarland, 1958, pp. 75–76, 104–105). The Thai characters omitted from the typewriter have since gone out of use in Standard Thai, a process aided, in this case, by limitations in modern technology.

Edwin McFarland had an exclusive dealership for the Thai typewriter, which he turned over to his brother George when he returned to the States again for further training, and soon died. In his place, George McFarland opened the first typewriter store in Thailand in 1897, and by 1915 the typewriter was in use in all government offices. By 1925 George had persuaded a company to produce both portable and desk shift models for Thai. He worked out a touch system and started a typing school, giving three months of instruction for every typewriter bought. Thus, this doctor, dentist, hospital superintendent, medical school principal, lexicographer, textbook writer, government official raised to Thai nobility, entrepreneur, and missionary, established the Thai typewriter as an essential instrument for the developing Standard Thai in its role of national language (B. McFarland, 1958, pp. 191–195).

Education

When Protestant missionaries first came to Thailand, and until some years into the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the country had no modern-style education and no system of government education of any kind. In fact, education as such was not necessarily valued by people of the upper classes, to some of whom literacy seemed more suitable for clerks (Wyatt, 1975, pp. 126, 127). What did take place was an informal, unstructured education for males, carried on in the monasteries, and supplemented by tutoring or apprenticeship for people who needed to gain special skills. Most males who were not slaves gained at least the rudiments of literacy (which most soon forgot when they left the monastery). They also learned about Buddhism and traditional morality in the few months when they were in the monastery. Of course, a few men studied in a monastery for a long time and became scholars in various fields. Outstanding among them was Prince Mongkut. There was not even that little institutional education for women, however. High-class women were tutored in dance, cooking, artistic decoration of food, and other skills. The best opportunity for such training was in the palace harem (Lord, 1969, p. 180).

Soon, however, missionaries became concerned about education for children, especially poor children, and sometimes especially girls, so a few of them sought to provide education in various places, using educational theories and practice current in the United States. Mary Mattoon started a small Chinese-medium school in Bangkok in 1848. It led to a succession of small schools, and then in 1860 to a change from Chinese to Thai medium, ultimately becoming present-day Bangkok Christian College (Wells, 1928, pp. 211–214).

In the 1860s and 1870s Samuel and Jane McFarland began boys' and girls' schools in Phetchaburi. The girls' school was the first industrial school for females in the country, primarily teaching sewing and other skills. When the building for the girls' school was to be constructed, the mission could supply only half the cost of \$4,000, so King Chulalongkorn donated \$1,000 and other nobles contributed another

\$1,000 (B. McFarland, 1958, pp. 43–44; Eakin, 1928, pp. 98–99). These schools continued in different forms into the twentieth century, but did not become such influential institutions as the mission schools in Bangkok (Wells, 1958, pp. 33, 118). The Phetchaburi schools were important for the development of English and Thai instruction in the country in another way, however, because this experience with education is what caused King Chulalongkorn to call Samuel McFarland into his service and to have him set up a Western-style government school in 1879.

The king had made several attempts to establish schools in the palace, but they had failed because of lack of interest or resistance from conservative nobility. So when Samuel McFarland wrote to the king suggesting a school outside the palace, the king commissioned him to establish one to be run especially for sons of the nobility (Wyatt, 1965; 1969, pp. 76–78). This Suan Anan School (later Sunanthalai) was to give Thai and English instruction which would be of value to the country. Oversight of McFarland and of the school was to be maintained by a committee of some of the king's brothers, and others (Wyatt 1965, pp. 1–3; 1975, pp. 134–135). McFarland became a government official, but remained an adjunct to the mission.

Government scholarships were available only to nobility at Suan Anan School, but missionary McFarland, with his American egalitarian ideas, encouraged enrollment by anyone who could pay. Soon pupils from Chinese families outnumbered the nobility. Such education of Chinese young people strengthened their use of Thai and their assimilation to Thailand (Wyatt 1975, pp. 134–135, 140). This was the school, also, from which George McFarland graduated, and from which Samuel McFarland was shifted to writing textbooks in the Department of Education in 1892, as mentioned earlier. His contributions through the school he led and through the textbooks he wrote were among the roots which nurtured the early years of the official Thai educational system (B. McFarland, 1958, pp. 109–111).

In 1874, missionaries in Bangkok opened the Harriet M. House School for Girls, better known as the Wang Lang School, with only seven pupils. Like the boys' school, and as the first boarding school for girls in the country, this school had a precarious beginning, but in 1885 Edna S. Cole took charge, and from then on it prospered. By 1900 all the women teachers in thirteen government schools were graduates of Wang Lang. In 1903, when the Educational Department of the government established a standard annual examination for boys, Edna Cole obtained the same privilege for girls at Wang Lang School, who equaled the boys in their scores. In 1921 the Wang Lang School moved to its present site, where its name was changed to the Wattana Wittaya Academy (Wells, 1958, pp. 32, 36–40; Cole, 1928).

About 1875, missionary Sophia McGilvary began classes for girls on her porch in Chiang Mai. This was formalized into the Girls' School under Edna Cole in 1879, before she took over Wang Lang School in Bangkok. From the beginning of this school, which developed into Dara Academy in 1923, the Thai script of Bangkok was used, not the local Kammüang script. On the other hand, the corresponding mission Boys' School, which was started in Chiang Mai about 1886, and which developed into Prince Royal's College in 1906, used the Kammüang script until the 1920s, when it switched to Thai (Wells, 1928, pp. 214–215; Smalley, 1994, p. 81). The difference in language policy in the two schools reflected differences in ideas about mission strategy.

Eventually, boys' and girls' mission schools were scattered around the country in such places as Lampang (1890s), Phitsanulok (1898, 1913), Phrae (1900s), Nakhon Si Thammarat (1900s), Trang (1913), and Chiang Rai (1910s) (Wells, 1958, pp. 33,

93, 94, 101, 104, 105, 113, 114, 123, 126). Both in Central Thailand, where most varieties of the Thai language were considered substandard, and in the other areas of the country, where other languages were spoken, these schools in Thai medium contributed both to standardization and nationalization.

In 1887, King Chulalongkorn organized a new Ministry of Public Instruction, giving the task to Prince Damrong, who studied the work of the missionaries as the Western educational model close at hand (Rajanubhab, 1928, p. 6). Then, after the prince was given other responsibilities, in 1897 the king ordered that a greatly increased program of primary and secondary education be developed throughout the country (Wyatt 1975, pp. 142–143). The missionary-run schools, which had helped prepare the way, continued to graduate many of the country's leaders, but after a time they were no longer the major force for modern education in the country.

CONCLUSION

Unquestionably, what the missionaries contributed to the development of Thailand's present hierarchy of multilingualism would eventually have been experienced in the country without them. The kings, for example, were simultaneously drawing on other Western resources which became active in Bangkok soon after the missionaries began to arrive. But even though the modernization of Thailand would not have been long delayed without the missionaries, the details—perhaps the flavor—of this period in Thailand's history would have been somewhat different if they had not been here.

Of course, modernization would have doubtless eventually taken place in due course without these two particular kings, also. Britain and France might have forced their way in, for example. But King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn, with the aid of other members of the nobility like Prince Damrong and leaders of the Bunnag family, molded world forces to their purposes. These open-minded, outward-looking men sought to preserve the best of tradition and integrate the best the West had to offer. To do so, they drew on available resources, which included the missionaries, some of whom were friends, people of whom they were amazingly tolerant, even when missionaries attacked them in publications for their sins (Lord, 1969, pp. 179–181).

The missionaries who made their contributions to the developing language hierarchy were usually capable people whom the kings found to be congenial, helpful, and suitable for promoting the royal purposes. Or they initiated contributing changes on their own, stimulated by their own goals and their own world view. Their usefulness to Thailand was enhanced by the fact that they lived in the country far longer than most other Westerners. Most of them also spoke Thai better than most other Westerners, while a few of the second generation ones were native speakers.

The experience of the early Protestant missionaries working both independently and at the invitation of the kings, thus provides one small case study showing some of the processes by which individual actors on the scene help to cause languages to gain or lose dominance. Language hierarchies are formed or reformed, and language roles in society change because enough people do something, or the powerful people do, or the strategically placed people do. This Thailand experience illustrates the interplay between the power of world forces, the quality of national leadership, and the

fortuitous details of who happened to be in a position to do something at a particular time.

Missionaries also played language roles at various levels of significance in countries that suffered different fates from the one experienced in Thailand. Missionaries were present, for example, in many of those countries that became subject to Western colonial powers before and during this period when the Thai kings were precariously defending the country's independence and forging its unity. In such instances the missionaries sometimes became agents of the colonial power by running the school system in the colonial language. At other times they worked counter to colonial policy, strengthening the roles of local languages (Sanneh, 1989). But in any case, the interplay of forces and individuals was partially different from the ones in Thailand, and so were the hierarchies of languages which emerged.

REFERENCES

- Bradley, W. (1981). *Siam then: The foreign colony in Bangkok before and after Anna*. Pasadena: William Carey Library.
- Chakrabongse, C. (1960). *Lords of life: The paternal monarchy of Bangkok, 1782-1932*. New York: Taplinger.
- Cole, E. S. (1928). The narrative of the Harriet M. House School at Wang Lang. In G. B. McFarland (Ed.), *Historical sketch of Protestant missions in Siam, 1828-1928* (pp. 71-91). Bangkok.
- Diller, A. (1976). *Toward a model of Southern Thai diglossic speech variation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Cornell University, Ithaca.
- Eakin, J. A. (1928). The narrative of Petchaburi. In G. B. McFarland (Ed.), *Historical sketch of Protestant missions in Siam, 1828-1928* (pp. 92-112). Bangkok.
- Lord, D. C. (1969). *Mo Bradley and Thailand*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans.
- McFarland, B.B. (1958). *McFarland of Siam: The life of George Bradley McFarland, M.D., D.D.S., afterwards Phra Ach Vidyagama*. New York: Vantage Press.
- McFarland, G. B. (1941). *Thai-English dictionary*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- McFarland, S. G. (1903). *An English-Siamese dictionary containing 14,000 words and idiomatic expressions; originally prepared by S. G. McFarland...1865, revised and enlarged by Geo. B. McFarland, 4th ed.* Bangkok: American Presbyterian Mission Press.
- McKean, J. W. (1928). The narrative of Chiangmai. In G. B. McFarland (Ed.), *Historical sketch of Protestant missions in Siam, 1828-1928* (pp. 113-128). Bangkok: Privately published.
- Nida, E. A. (Ed.). (1972). *The book of a thousand tongues* (revised ed.). New York: United Bible Societies.
- Panupong, V. (1970). *Inter-sentence relations in modern conversational Thai*. Bangkok: Siam Society.
- Prasithrathint, A. (1983). The Thai equivalent of the English passive in formal writing: A sketch of the influence of translation on the target language. *Working Papers in Linguistics*, 15, 47-68. Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii.

- Prasithrathsint, A. (1988). Change in the passive constructions in Standard Thai from 1802-1982. *Language Sciences*, 10, 363-93.
- Rajanubhab, D. (1928). Introductory chapter. In G. B. McFarland (Ed.), *Historical sketch of Protestant missions in Siam, 1828-1928* (pp. 1-15). Bangkok.
- Sanneh, L. (1989). *Translating the message: The missionary impact on culture*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.
- Smalley, W. A. (1988). Thailand's hierarchy of multilingualism. *Language Sciences*, 10, 245-261.
- Smalley, W.A. (1994). *Linguistic diversity and national unity: Language ecology in Thailand*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Swanson, H. R. 1984. *Khrisnak muang nua: A study in northern Thai church history* [in English]. Bangkok: Chuan Printing Press.
- Wells, K. E. (1928). Educational work. In G. B. McFarland (Ed.), *Historical sketch of Protestant missions in Siam, 1828-1928* (pp. 209-219). Bangkok.
- Wells, K. E. (1958). *History of Protestant work in Thailand, 1828-1958*. Bangkok: Church of Christ in Thailand.
- Wyatt, D. K. (1965). Samuel McFarland and early educational modernization in Thailand, 1877-1895. In *Felicitations volumes of Southeast-Asian studies presented to His Highness Prince Dhaninivat* (vol. 1, pp. 1-16). Bangkok: Siam Society.
- Wyatt, D. K. (1969). *The politics of reform in Thailand: Education in the reign of Chulalongkorn*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Wyatt, D. K. (1970). Almost forgotten: Ban Phraya Nana School. In T. Bunnag & M. Smithies (Eds.), *In memoriam Phya Anuman Rajadon* (pp. 1-8). Bangkok: The Siam Society.
- Wyatt, D. K. (1975). Education and the modernization of Thai society. In W. Skinner & A. T. Kirsch (Eds.), *Change and persistence in Thai society* (pp. 125-149). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wyatt, D. K. (1982). *Thailand: A short history*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

