The Decline of Political and Economic Power of Northern Royalty: Lampang City

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北タイ領主の政治・経済権力の消滅
—ランパーンのケース—

カノクワン・チョングチャイアンインョン*

Abstract

This article examines the decline of political and economic power of northern royalty in Lampang City. It demonstrates that under the centralization efforts of the Chakkri dynasty in Bangkok through the administrative system known as the “thesaphiban” system resulted in the transformation of local leaders in the north into civil servants for the central government of Siam. Through the thesaphiban system the Lampang Chief lost power but gained the rank of nobility and were given a salary in exchange. The Siamese government began its administrative reforms of the Lanna area in 1884 and as a result of the roles of the Commissioners from the central state in Bangkok increased while the roles of various local leaders in Lanna decreased. In 1922 when “Chao (Prince) Boonyawatwongmanit,” the last Lampang Chief, passed away, the noble titles of all Northern Chiefs were abolished by Royal Decree. This article, therefore, has as its main objective the explanation of the decline of economic and political power of Local Chiefs in Lampang City.

This article describes the process by which northern royals lost economic and political power by looking at the case of Lampang City at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, and explains in detail the process of centralization initiated by Siam. Excluding the administrative reforms that changed the north from a system of dependent states to an administrative area in the Monthon Thesapbhiban system, the expansion of a capitalist economy was the most important external factor that led to the decline of Northern Royalty. The influx of capitalism, for example with, the export of teak and the import of consumer products, to Lanna had an impact on the chiefs, who could not adjust to new economic, monetary systems. The chiefs looked for new financial resources by taking loans from the royal treasury of Siam. Finally, they preferred to be loyal to Siam as clients until the final collapse of northern royalty.

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Introduction

The end of rule by local chiefs in Lanna, the name for the northern region, occurred following the initiation of administrative reforms that turned the administrative system there from one known as dependency (Huamuang Pratate Rach) to Monthon Thesaphiban (Administrative Area). The objective of the administrative reform was to unite the Siam into a single, harmonious kingdom and to address threats from foreign superpowers, namely: Britain and France. The administrative reforms that created Monthon Phayap (Phayap Circle) resulted in a decrease in the power and interests held by northern royals. Once the administrative reforms were adopted, two responses to Siamese state power were evident: resistance via rebellion or allegiance to Siam. In the case of Lampang City, the Chief preferred to be loyal to Siam and accepted a reduction in power and economic interests in exchange for a regular salary and the rank of nobility, Chief of City, give by central government in Bangkok, thus leading the eventual end of local power in the north.

To date, there has not been any in-depth study on the end of the Lampang Chief. There have only been the following broad level studies related to administrative reforms: Monthon Phayap Administrative Reform by Sarassawadee Prayoonsathira, The Provincial Administration of Siam, 1892-1915: The Ministry of the Interior under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab by Tej Bunnag, Dependency States of Siam during the Reign of His Majesty King Chulalongkorn by Chavaley Na Thalang, Thailand in the Nineteenth Century: Evolution of the Economy and Society by Hong Lysa, and Economic Development of Thailand 1850–1950 by Sompop Manarungsan. Sarassawadee Prayoonsathira, Tej Bunnag, and Chavaley Na Thalang studied the administrative reform of Monthon Phayap and Siam by focusing on political issues. They largely ignored, economic issues, which were critical to the success of administrative reforms. Hong Lysa and Sompop Manarungsan focused on the economic issues. Hong Lysa studied changes in the economy of Siam in the early Chakkri dynasty. Sompop Manarungsan focused on macro economics. His study found that foreign markets were an important factor that caused change in Siam’s economy. However no one has studied the relationship between economy, politics, the decline of the Chief, and the success of administrative reforms in Lampang City. Therefore, this article represents new research into the topic because no other work has been conducted with the fall of the local lords in the north as its primary topic of research. Therefore, this study goes a long way in providing in-depth data and valuable empirical insights into the history of Lampang province. More importantly, however, is introducing Siamese history to a wider academic world. Conceivably, this study is a pioneer work in the field and contributes to expanding the knowledge of real conditions in northern Siamese society.
Excluding introduction and conclusion, the contents of this article are divided into three main Sections: (1) Lampang City Administration Characteristics and Interest Management before the Monthon Thesaphiban system, (2) The Decline of Political Power of the Chief of Lampang City, and (3) The Decline of Economic Power of the Chief of Lampang City.

I. Lampang City Administration Characteristics and Interest Management prior to the Monthon Thesaphiban System (before 1899):

Lanna was a dependency of Siam from time to time since the Ayutthaya period. Administrative management by Siam within Lanna during such period could not be fully realized because it was the period during which Burmese influence was still very high. Lanna was a dependency of Siam during the Ratanakosin period as well. Siam was very careful with Lanna and gave the local chiefs the freedom to manage their own affairs in all aspects and expressed esteem to them when the occasion called for it. Such approaches resulted in the chiefs of Lanna to be satisfied with their status under the rule of Siam and fostered feeling of loyalty to Siam.\footnote{1
Sarassawadee Ongsakul. History of Lanna. Bangkok : Amarin, 2551, pp. 311-317.}

Since the beginning of Ratanakosin period, Lampang City continued to be a dependency of Siam. Following his accession to the throne in 1782, King Puthayodfa Chulaloke, the Great, (Rama I), of the Chakri Dynasty, assigned Phraya Kavila to be the Lampang Chief. He ruled Chiang Mai City in place of Phraya Charban, the Chiang Mai Chief who had passed away. Chao Phraya Kavila founded the Thipchakrathiwong Dynasty (Chao Jed Ton or \textit{The Seven Princes}) to rule the cities of Chiang Mai, Lamphun and Lampang. Phraya Kavila assigned Phrachao Khamsoam, his own brother, to rule the City of Lampang.\footnote{2
Pranee Sirithorn Na Pattalung. Petch Lanna Book2. Chiang Mai : Northern Printing, 2538, p. 44.}

The Lampang City administrative structure in its the early stages consisted of the noble titles of "Chao Khan Ha Bai" (\textit{the Five Bowl Princes}). The highest rank was \textit{Phraya Nakhon Lampang}. It’s holder had absolute power and right to self-administration. He had four administrative assistants. Their titles were \textit{Phraya Ouparach, Phraya Rachawong, Phraya Buriratana},\footnote{3
Formerly called Phraya Muang Kaew.} and \textit{Phraya Rachabutr}.\footnote{4
Rounded up Annals, Golden Anniversary of H.M. the King’s Reign Book 7, Annals of Lampang City, Lamphun City, p. 355.} All five noble titles were appointed and removed by Bangkok. On Thursday, in the 10th month of the Year of Big Snake Chulasakkarat 1218 (A.D. 1856), King Mongkut (Rama IV) changed the noble title from "Phraya" to "Chao" (\textit{prince}) and promoted Phraya Ouparach Muang Nakorn Lampang to Chao Worachanransri, Chief of Lampang, and promoted Phraya
Rachawong Mahaporm to Chao Opararach Muang Nakorn Lampang. Later, following various expansions of official organizations and the increasing in the number of royals and their descendants, the additional appointments of Chao were made several times together with several more noble titles. They were Chao Rachaphakhinai, Phraya Uttarakankosol, and Phraya Chaisongkhram. Subsequently, King Chulalongkorn appointed five additional noble titles. They were Chao Rachaphatikawong, Chao Rachasamphanthawong, Chao Suriyawong, Chao Taksinniket, and Chao Niwetudon. Even though the “Noble Title Procedure Act” had already been enacted in 1899, King Chulalongkorn appointed four additional noble titles for royalty and their descendants. They were Chao Praphanphong, Chao Vorayati, Chao Rachayati, and Chao Chaivorachet. More appointments on such noble titles were made to suit the increasingly expanding official organizations. In addition to the noble titles of Chao Khan Ha Bai and the Chief Assistants, the local Chief, in carrying out state administrative affairs, had an advisory committee called “Khao Sanamluang” (Royal Plaza Outline) which consisted of thirty-two high ranking royals, noblemen and high ranking officials performing duties as advisors on the state administrative affairs.6

In ruling Lampang City as a dependency, Bangkok used the same method it used with the other dependencies. It let the Lampang Chief have freedom in administration by stipulating two main duties that the Chief should uphold. First was to assist in protecting the Royal Kingdom’s boundaries. Second was sending the tribute to the King every three years. The tribute included golden and silver trees. During the dependency period, the central government in Bangkok did not get involved in the operation of the city’s economic concerns. Thus, various interests whether they be forestry concessions, tax and duty collections or various fee collections were all vested in the Lampang Chief. In most cases the Lampang Chief used the revenue collected from these interests for his personal business rather than for improving the country. All interests collected from trade of jungle products such as iron, bai miang (a kind of tree leaves), lipwax, chilli, tobacco, potassium nitrate, thitka, molasses, white onions (garlic) and charges on stubs from the jungle of Mae Ta and Muang Long were divided into four portions. The first portion was given to the Lampang Chief, the sec-

5 Rounded up Annals, Golden Anniversary of H.M. the King’s Reign Book 7, Yonok Annals, p. 699. The date cited above the first to the Siamese lunar month calendar known as Jantarakati. Unlike Southern Siam, the success of Siam centralization moved Northern Siam from Huamuang Pratated Rach to part of Siam that made King Mongkut (Rama IV) changed the noble title only in Lanna from “Phraya” to “Chao” (prince). However, the Chiefs of Southern Cities were still Phraya until the end of Monthon Tesabhiban.

ond to Chao Ouparach (City Crown Prince) and Chao Rachawong, the third to royals receiving the Royal Appointments and serving the Government and the last to local officials with the rank of Thao or and clerks. The fact that most of the interests of Lampang City were vested in the chief led to political rift between the very old Chao Phromma Phiphongthada (1872–1887), appointed by the Government of Siam to the title of “Changwang,” and Chao Norananchaichavalit (1887–1897), the new Lampang Chief, who was appointed by Royal Command in 1893 (B.E. 2435). However, H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanuphap, Interior Minister, was well aware of the rift and the interests which Chao Phromma Phiphongthada had received in the past. Damrong was thus not hesitant to seek the royal permission to grant a yearly allowance of 3,000–5,000 rupiah to Chao Phromma Phiphongthada throughout his lifetime in compensation for the interests which he had lost. Damrong also authorized him to live in Khoom Chaoluang (Residence of Northern Royalties) throughout his lifetime.

The policy of appeasement of local chiefs resulted in the government of Siam losing a tremendous amount of revenue which should have been received in each year in exchange for the trivial benefit of the royal tribute presented to the King every three years. This was very little compared to the interests received by local chief each year. However, it was necessary for the government to continue implementing the policy because it did not want to create any trouble with local chiefs. Thus, the Chief of Lampang was free to manage the economic interests in his territory.

Around the second half of the 19th century, following Britain's successful expansion of influence into Siam's economy through the Bowring Treaty of 1855 and after Britain saw the interest in the teakwood forestry business in Lanna, it began to increase its economic role there. The economic turmoil related to the forestry interest had persuaded Britain to pay more attention in the politics and administration in Lanna. By 1892, Britain had seized the territory of the five Ngiew (northern ethnic groups) cities: Muang Ta, Muang Juad, Muang Haang, Muang Taun, and Muang Saad as well as the eastern Karen cities, totaling thirteen. These cities were annexed and included as protectorates. There were three main reasons for Britain's actions. First, the territories' forests were rich in teakwood. Second, crime in the border cities

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7 Changwang is a high-ranking civil service official title bestowed by the king.
9 1 rupiah equals 0.758 baht.
10 National Archives, Ror.5Mor.58/177, King Rama V Document, Ministry of Interior, Subject: Lampang City Interest, (31 Jan R.E. 111–26 May R. E. 112).
caused Britain's revenues derived from the collection of wood taxes in Muang Malameng to decrease, which Britain considered to be a tremendous loss of interest. Last, Chiang Mai City could not control its dependent border cities on the Salawin River's east bank. Thus, Britain had to control the territory on both sides of the Salawin River to protect its interests while France was making efforts to seize the territory on Mekong River right bank in the area of Muang Nan. Such threats had prompted King Chulalongkorn to take action on regional administrative reform in 1894. He began, by consolidating three cities or more into groups of cities called Monthon Thesaphiban\textsuperscript{12} (Administrative Area), adopting for enforcement a command system called "Karn Thesaphiban" (Thesaphiban Administrative Affairs) and assigning central government officials called "Kong Khaluang Thesaphiban" (Administrative Commissioner Group) to rule each monthon. The aim of the establishment of the Monthon Thesaphiban system was to protect the Kingdom from threats from Britain and France. The rise of the Monthon Thesaphiban system, therefore, began with the border cities first. Initially, there were a total of six Monthons.\textsuperscript{13} Monthon Lao Chieng or Northeastern Mothon was one of the Monthons that was created during the period. The name of that monthon was changed to Monthon Phayap in 1901 by Royal Decree. Monthon Phayap consisted of six cities: Chiang Mai, Lampang, Lamphun, Nan, Phrae and Thern.\textsuperscript{14}

In summary, Lampang City was a dependency of Siam that was managed by the Chief of Lampang, who had a free hand in the administration of both the economy and politics in the area. He had to send the tributes to the King in Bangkok every three years. The tribute included golden and silver trees. In return, the central government did not get involved in the management of economic interests in the area. Thus, various interests, whether they be in forestry concessions, tax and duty collections or various fee collections were all vested in the Lampang Chief. In 1899, administrative reforms affecting Monthon Phayap were made that led to important changes in the economy and politics of Lampang. The next section examines these changes.

II. The Decline of Political Power of the Chief of Lampang City:

The administrative reform of Monthon Phayap resulted in the change of status of the Lampang City from being a dependency to part of Siam proper. Consequently, the administrative and economic power of the chief and his royal descendants declined.

\textsuperscript{12} River was used as a principle to separate boundaries of Monthon.
\textsuperscript{13} Monthon Lao Chieng or Monthon Phayap, Monthon Puan or Monthon Udon, Monthon Lao Kao or Monthon Isarn, Monthon Lao Klang or Monthon Nakhon Rachasima, Monthon Khamane or Monthon Burapha and last was Monthon Phuket.
\textsuperscript{14} Thern's status was subsequently dissolved and became a District coming under Lampang City in 1905.
The government of Siam centralized its power by dispatching a commissioner from the central government to rule Monthon Phayap. Thus, the selection of the commissioner was vital to the success or failure of administrative reforms. On 5th June 1899 (Ratanakosin Era 118), Phraya Narit Rachakit (Sai Chotikasathira) was appointed by Royal Decree. He served there from 1899 to 1902 as the High Commissioner of Monthon Phayap in place of Phraya Songsuradecha (An Bunnag), who had been in charge from 1895 to 1899 and who had failed to attain success. In addition, H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanuphap selected Phraya Sriisonthep (Seng Viriyasiri), Interior Ministry Permanent Secretary, to assume the duties of Special Commissioner to provide assistance in the administrative reforms related to the Thesaphiban system in Monthon Phayap from 2nd December 1899 (Ratanakosin Era 118).

Administrative management in Monthon Phayap bore special characteristics that were somewhat different from the other monthons in the kingdom. The differences were aimed to ease the transition from the old style of administration and to adjust the system to local customs and traditions. Most of the population in the area still held the northern royals in high esteem. Thus, change would have to be made gradually and tactfully. To implement administrative reform in Monthon Phayap the government issued a regulation called "Northwestern Area Administrative Regulation, Ratanakosin Era 119" for use in Monthon Phayap. Its aim was to divide the overall area into Khet (area) and Khwaeng (Sub-Area) for administrative management purposes and to order official functions by positions to prevent interference from different officials. The regulation divided the administration of the area into two levels: Monthon (Region) Level and Muang (City) Level.

1. Monthon Administrative Level:

In accordance with the "Northwestern Area Administrative Regulation, Ratanakosin Era 119", the Monthon Administrative Group was created and consisted of a High Commissioner, a Vice Commissioner and other secondary officials as appropriate.

The High Commissioner in command of the Northwestern Monthon was the offi-

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15 Phraya Songsuradecha, High Commissioner of Monthon Phayap, founded Monthon Lao Chieng such Monthon Thesaphiban. However Phraya Songsuradecha was so strict that made northern chiefs unsatisfied. Finally, King Rama V called Phraya Songsuradecha back to Bangkok.

16 Special Commissioners had the duties as assigned by the King to fully carry out, look after operations as well as managing official affairs within the territory of the dependency, thus, this title was considered as vital title in the light of the commencement on the management of administrative order in the dependency at that time. The first Special Commissioner dispatched by the Government of Siam to organize official system in the northern dependency was H.R.H. Prince Pichitpreekorn, H.M. King Chulalongkorn's Brother (1884-1885).

17 The Regulation, called Northwestern Area Administrative Regulation, Ratanakosin Era 119 was the same as an Administrative Regulation, Ratanakosin Era 116. However, the Regulations in Era 119 changed some name too easy to understand. Thesaphiban Commissioner was High Commissioner. Governor of City was Khao Sanamluang.
cical title appointed by the Royal Letter of Appointment. He had the duties to inspect and carry out the management of official functions in the monthon and also assumed the duties of a Special Commissioner in managing the Court of Justice in accordance with the Court of Justice Management Act in various cities. Therefore, it could be said that the title of the High Commissioner was the highest title of all in the administration of Monthon Phayap. Apart from the title of High Commissioner, there were five other Vice Commissioners holding secondary titles who were high ranking officials and advisors to the High Commissioner. They were Justice Commissioner, Revenue Commissioner, Treasury Commissioner, Civil Works Commissioner and Forestry Commissioner. Each Vice Commissioner had been assigned to carry out different duties. All these five Vice Commissioners were government service officials appointed by the Royal Letter of Appointment, whose term as and location of service was determined by central Siamese government. However, there was an exception with the Forestry Commissioner, a position that only applied to Monthon Phayap. This title was the first of its kind and was created to suit the conditions of the locality.

2. City Administrative Level:

Regarding the structure of administration at the City Administrative Level of Monthon Phayap, the “Northwestern Area Administrative Regulation, Ratanakosin Era 119”, stipulated that a city or township shall have three officials who together would be called the “Khao Sanamluang”\(^\text{18}\) (*Royal Plaza Outline*). These three officials were the Chief, the City or Township Commissioner, and the Commissioner's Assistant. The titles of the “Khao Sanamluang” were appointed by the King. They had the responsibility for general functions and to put out announcements in accordance with the Orders of the High Commissioner to inform local people of Royal Decrees, laws or City Regulations or matters related to the people in general. However, the powers and duties of each person within the “Khao Sanamluang” varied.

The Chief's duties included carrying out official functions in maintaining peace and order, preserving the Royal Decrees and laws as well as upholding his lineage, i.e. keeping watch on and looking after members of the royal family and their descendants to prevent them from committing any egregious acts and performing duties as assigned to repay His Majesty's Royal Kindness.

The City Commissioner's duties included carrying out and inspecting official

\(^{18}\) Khao Sanamluang system was discontinued by King Rama VII. In case of Lampang City, after Chao (Prince) Boonyawatwongmanit, the last Lampang Chief, passed away in 1922. Lampang City had no Chiefs, so Phraya Surethon Rajasena was the first Governor of Lampang in 1920. After Chao Kalnavarat and Chao Chakumkachonsak passed away in 1939 and 1943, Chiang Mai and Lamphun had no more Chiefs as well. However, after Siam revolution in 1932, Siam government discontinued Monthon Thesaphiban. Finally Monthon Phayap and chiefs of northern cities collapsed at that time.
functions on behalf of the High Commissioner in all aspects as well as duties related to handling international protocol and affairs, international correspondences as approved by High Commissioner, and assuming the duty of the Attorney-General issuing orders and permissions to the Public Prosecutor to enter cases in court and take actions as appropriate.

The Commissioner’s Assistant’s duties included acting in place of the City Commissioner or the Township Commissioner when the City Commissioner and the Township Commissioner could not perform their duties. Usually, the Commissioner’s Assistant had the duty to inspect official functions, make official trip inspections to countryside areas and prisons, and check matters in accordance with complaints.

In addition to the “Khao Sanamluang”, there were secondary level officials acting

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Diagram illustrating Authoritative Administration Level in Monthon Phayap (Northwestern Area) during the period of Monthon Thesaphiban Administrative Reforms

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as assistants carrying out official functions. These officials were called collectively the “Sena Hok Tammaeng” (six position councilors). They were the Interior Councilor, Justice Minister, Farm Councilor, Treasury Councilor, Military Councilor, and Royal Residence Councilor. All six position councilors were appointed by His Majesty the King.

From the management structure of Monthon Phayap at the city level, it can be seen that the highest official administrative group was the “Khao Sanamluang,” which consisted of the Chief, the City Commissioner and the Commissioner’s Assistant. The latter two positions were appointed by Siam’s central government. Therefore, the real power in carrying out official administrative duties rested with the City Commissioner. It may be said, then, that the power and duties in governing various cities of Monthon Phayap was really with the central government. That is the Chief was honored and extolled as having power but really had power in name only.

Related to the management of city level administration, Phraya Srisahathep, as the Special Commissioner, travelled to all cities to organize the administrative format all in the same way from Phrae, Nan, Lampang, Lamphun to Chiang Mai. In Ratanakosin Era 119, following the establishment of the Administration Division to be permanently assigned to Lampang City, various positions were created. They were:

1) The Khao Sanamluang positions were held by Chao Boonyawatwongmanit (Chief of Lampang), Phraya Sakseni (Lampang City Commissioner, Level 2 Second Class), and Mr. Chim, Royal Page (Lampang City Commissioner’s Assistant, Level 2 Third Class).

2) Chao Rachabutr was appointed Lampang City Interior Councilor, Level 2 Third Class.

3) Chao Rachasamphanthawong was appointed Lampang City Farm Councilor, Level 2 Third Class. Mr. Thien and Phraya Chamnarn were Lampang City Deputy Farm Councilors, Level 3 First Class.

4) Phraya Uttarakarnkosol was appointed Lampang City Royal Residence Councilor, Level 2 Third Class. Mr. Roikaew of Muang Puan was Lampang City Deputy Royal Residence Councilor, Level 3 Second Class.

5) Phraya Chaisongkhram was appointed Lampang City Treasury Councilor, Level 2 Third Class.

6) Chao Suriyawong was appointed Lampang City Justice Councilor, Level 2 Third Class and Nan-In-Thalaeng was Lampang City Deputy Justice Councilor, Level

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19 Government Gazette, Volume 17, dated 22 July R.E. 119, pp. 177-192.
20 Levels and classes mean ranks and titles that were appointed by the King. Level 1 first class is the highest.
7) Chao Rachphatikawong was appointed Lampang City Military Councilor, Level 2 Third Class and Second Lieutenant Jorn was Lampang City Deputy Military Councilor, Level 3 First Class\textsuperscript{21}.

In terms of political change, Britain had no intention of occupying Monthon Phayap as a colony because Britain wanted to avoid having her territorial boundary adjacent to that of France, which was advancing toward the eastern corridor of Monthon Phayap. Also Britain had in the time prior to reform implemented a policy that maintained Monthon Phayap as a buffer state between Britain and France territories under the "Anglo-French Declaration, 1896."\textsuperscript{22} Based on this policy, Britain made no move to seize the territory of Siam's Northern Dependent State but pledged a support to the government of Siam in its effort to take full control over the administration of Monthon Phayap. The Lampang Chief was well aware of the difficult situation that Britain had no intention of occupying Monthon Phayap and supported the Siamese government's efforts to take control over Monthon Phayap. Thus, Chao Boonyawatwongmanit adopted a softened and reconciliatory attitude toward the management of the city affairs of Phraya Songsuradet, High Commissioner, even though he was not satisfied with the way Phraya Songsuradet was handling matters.\textsuperscript{23}

Furthermore, during the period in which Phraya Srisahathep was carrying out administrative reform in Lampang City by abolishing the exemption on payments of farmland tax for the northern royals, a move that directly affected royal descendants, Chao Boonyawatwongmanit demonstrated his acceptance of Siam's reforms with the presentation of two ivory swords with gold-leaf sheaths engraved with "The City of Lampang is pleased and satisfied with the administrative reorganization of the City of Lampang by Phraya Srisahathep, R.E. 118." to Phraya Srisahathep.\textsuperscript{24} This showed that the Lampang Chief accepted the change even though they affected his own revenue and that of his royal descendants. He was well aware that he could not put up any resistance against the administrative power from the central government.

After 1902, when Phraya Suraseewisutthisak (in charge from 1902 to 1915) became the High Commissioner of Monthon Phayap, it was found that the administrative

\textsuperscript{21} Government Gazette, Volume 17, dated 22 July R.E. 119, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{22} Kraierk Nana, Siam Liberates Herself, A Way Out and Method of Solving the Country Problem arising out Royal Initiated Strategy of the King, Bangkok, Matichon Dailies, 2008, p. 254.
\textsuperscript{23} National Archives, Ror.5Mor.58/41, King Rama V Document, Ministry of Interior, Subject: Lao Prince of Monthon Phayap (Northwestern Area) charged Phraya Songkhaluang relating to the City Administrative Reorganizations (28 Jun R.E. 118).
\textsuperscript{24} National Archives, Ror.5Mor.58/33, King Rama V Document, Ministry of Interior, Subject: Phrayasrisahathep's official trip to reorganize official system in Northwestern Area (30 Jan R.E. 118-30 Jun R.E. 119).
reorganization of Lampang City was not quite difficult to manage because Chao Boonyawatwongmanit, the Lampang Chief cooperated with government officials. Chao Boonyawatwongmanit foresaw no success at all in putting up resistance against administration from the central government and because of this he fully supported the government reforms. In providing cooperation to the government, Chao Boonyawatwongmanit, Lampang Chief, provided both financial support by donating a substantial amount of money for the construction of official office buildings and his talent in providing very good assistance on the administrative reorganization in conjunction with the City Commissioner, Phraya Uthaimontri (Charoen Charuchinda). This enabled him to take part in the Thesaphiban meeting in R.E. 127 (1908) at the Ministry of Interior. It was the first time ever that a Dependency Chief took part in the meeting.25

The result of the administrative reforms that turned the dependency state into Monthon Phayap was a new political management system in, which the High Commissioner was the highest position. At the city administrative level, there were three officers called collectively the Khao Sanamluang, which consisted of the Chief of Lampang, the City Commissioner, and the Commissioner's Assistant. The results of administrative reforms decreased the power of the Chief of Lampang, but increased the power of the City Commissioner.

III. The Decline of Economic Power of the Chief of Lampang City:

As a result of the administrative reforms that created Monthon Phayap, the descendants of the northern royal family were appointed various important positions. This satisfied the royal descendants because they received salaries from the government that not only compensated for revenue lost as a result of the administrative reforms, but also because of the honor created for their families. In addition, the satisfaction of the northern royal descendants through such appointments to various important positions reflected the acceptance of the power of the royal family in Siam over that of the royal descendants of Lampang City.

The signing of the Bowring Treaty in 1855 under force tremendously affected the revenue of Siam because an important clause of the treaty stipulated that Siam could collect export and import duties not exceeding three percent, thus resulting in the government looking for the other sources of revenue. Following the administrative reform that created the Monthon Thesaphiban system, the government of Siam

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25 National Archives, Ror.5Mor.2.11/11, King Rama V Document, Ministry of Interior, Subject: Minutes of Tesabhiban Meeting, R.E. 127 (R.E. 123–127).
had to intervene in the economic activities of the northern royal descendants even more and reduce the special privileges they had previously received to acquire part of their revenue for use in the administrative affairs of Monthon Phayap. This resulted in Phraya Srishathep's cancelling of the farmland tax collection exemption enjoyed by the Northern Royals. Formerly, when Phraya Songsuradet was the High Commissioner, the farmland tax payment exemption was given on 1,000 rai of farmland controlled by the Lampang Chief, 500 rai of farmland controlled by Chao Ouparach (crown prince), 200 rai of farmland controlled by Chao Rachawong, Chao Buriratana, and Chao Rachabutr, 50 rai of farmland controlled by Chao Rachasamphanthawong, Chao Rachaphakinai, and Chao Rachaphatikawong, and 150 rai of farmland controlled by Chao Suriya, Chao Chaisongkhram, and Chao Uttarakarn. In addition, the northern royals were required to pay land or farmland taxes to the government just like other people. Following Phraya Srishathep's successful administrative reform on Lampang City in Ratanakosin Era 118 (A D. 1899), various important rules and regulations were issued, especially, the collection of farmland charges. In Ratanakosin Era 118, the collection charge on farmland was 32 atts per rai (approximately 1,600 square meters) or 8 atts per ngaan (4 ngaan = 1 rai). All northern royals as well as other ranking officials including those with ranks of Phraya, Thao, and Saen receiving salaries from the government were required to pay farmland charges in accordance with regulations with no exception as in the past. When the “Act on Land Duty Collection in Northwestern Area, Ratanakosin Era 119” was issued, a change in the rates of farmland tax in the Northwestern Area was made in accordance with an area's productivity. The farmland fees in the areas of Lampang City and the Township of Thern were not productive and were thus reduced. There duty payments were fixed at 16 atts per rai which was the lowest rate in Monthon Phayap. As a result of the act, the farmland duties and exemptions were made considering the benefit of the people rather than on the interests of northern royals and their descendants. Therefore, the people in Monthon Phayap were not troubled as a result of the promulgation of the act. Only the northern royals and their descendants were affected by the farmland tax payments which had been exempted for them for a long time.

27 1 baht equals 64 atts.
30 The tax system in Lanna had been compatible with its subsistence economy; tribute was collected according to levels of agricultural production. For example, for each sat (twenty liters) of rice seed planted, an equal measure of rice had to be sent to the royal granary after harvest. Other agricultural products, such as betel, coconuts, and chili, were taxed at the rate of 20 percent. There was also a household tax: five Rupiah.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Before Ratanakosin Era 118</th>
<th>Ratanakosin Era 118</th>
<th>Ratanakosin Era 119</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief of Lampang and</td>
<td>Except farmland tax</td>
<td>32 atts per rai</td>
<td>16 atts per rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>descendants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Paid farmland tax</td>
<td>32 atts per rai</td>
<td>16 atts per rai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The government of Siam, apart from depending on the “Act on Land Duty Collection in Northwestern Area, Ratanakosin Era 119” as an instrument in generating the revenue for use in carrying out official functions of Monthon Phayap, issued the “Act on Labor Charge Collection in lieu of Labor Conscription in Northwestern Area, Ratanakosin Era 119.” This act stipulated that four baht per head per year was required to be collected from able-bodied men in the Northwestern Area. Also tribute by the people was abolished, but they were required to pay the conscripted labor charge instead. Once people had paid such the conscripted labor charge, they would not subject to conscription to carry out the government’s work except for government service officials drawing royally granted salaries who were still required to be on duty, descendants of the chief, monks, novices, various recluses as well the poor and handicapped. The result of the promulgation of the Act on Labor Charge Collection in lieu of Labor Conscription affected both royals and their descendants as well as the people in Monthon Phayap because royals and their descendants got free labor for work. Therefore, after issuing the Labor Charge Collection in lieu of Labor Conscription the royals could not use free labor. Then, Siam’s government had to pay for sharing labor charges in lieu of conscripted labor. The people in Monthon Phayap were also affected by the promulgation of the act because the majority of the people living in remote areas far away from the city previously were conscripted to be laborers. After the regulation requiring them to pay labor charges in lieu of labor conscrit-

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31 The table indicates that after Ratanakosin Era 118 the more the Chief of Lampang and his descendants cover farmland, the more they had to pay in farmland tax.
32 Labor Charge Collection in lieu of Labor Conscription in Northwestern Area called Poll tax in Central Siam.
tion, people in remote areas were apparently ignited by dissatisfaction. People living in urban areas, in addition to the payments of labor charge in lieu of labor conscriptions, were still conscripted to work. After the return to Bangkok of Phraya Srisahathep, Special Commissioner, Phraya Narisorn Rachakit, Monthon Phayap High Commissioner strictly enforced this act to the extent that it caused a wide range of troubles for people. The dissatisfaction with the act led to the Ngiew Rebellion, a resistance movement against the administration of the government of Siam. The rebellion took place in Muang Phrae and was staged by Chao Phiriatheppong, Phrae Chief, in collaboration with Muang Phrae's Ngiew people. This was coupled with the fact that people living in Muang Phrae were not satisfied with Phraya Chaiyaboon, Muang Phrae Commissioner, who usually drove people to work, which subsequently led to the disclosure of his hiding place and his eventual assassination. However, there was no rebellion in Lampang City because Chao Boonyawatwongmanit, Lampang Chief at that time, was siding with Siam even though the Phrae Chief had conveyed a letter persuading him to take part in the rebellion. He ignored the request and kept silent instead. When the Chieftains of the Ngiew people, Phakakham, Sangkophochin and Salatunla, invitingly informed him to leave Lampang City so that the Ngiew people could harm the officials of Siam and rob the city Treasury Office as they did in Muang Phrae, the Lampang Chief responded by saying that he could not allow the Ngiew people to do such a thing and would fight against the Ngiew people with all his power and force.34 Although the Ngiew could not take Lampang, there were riots in the city. Nineteen prisoners were killed and one hundred and one prisoners escaped from the prison and destroyed many official documents as well.35 The strict enforcement of the Act on Land Duty Collection in Northwestern Area, Ratanakosin Era 119, by Phraya Narisorn Rachakit, which caused the unrest described above, prompted King Chulalongkorn to select Phraya Surasee Visithisak (Choey Kanlayanamitr) to be the High Commissioner in place of Phraya Narisorn Rachakit in 1902.

With regard to the management of the benefits of the chief and his descendants, Phraya Srisahathep divided a portion of the monthon's revenue, not exceeding half of the total, for the chief. This revenue could be classified into three categories. They were sharing from stub charges, royally granted salary, and sharing from labor charges in lieu of labor conscriptions. The sharing from stub charges was the most important issue because originally this money was vested as a benefit of the chief but

34 Rounded up Annals, Golden Anniversary of H.M. the King's Reign Book 8, Ngiew Suppression Operation Archive, pp. 99-201.
35 National Archives, Kor. Tor.40/114 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Subject: Lampang officers killed 5 French Subject in prison (B.E. 2445).
following the promulgation of the "Interior Ministry Regulation No. 4 of the Forestry Department Governing the Northwestern Area Stub Charge Sharing Rates," dated 8th March Ratanakosin Era 120 (A. D. 1902), the stub charge collected from the forest of Lampang City territory was divided into two halves. One was given to the government and another half was sub-divided into two portions with one portion going to the chief and another portion going to his descendants.\(^\text{36}\)

After Phraya Surasee Visithisak (in charge from 1902-1915) assumed duty as the High Commissioner, he adopted the easement method in collecting various duties as he thought reasonable. In 1913, in the local areas of Muang and Sopyao Districts of Lampang City, farming did not produce as expected by comparison with the total cultivated area because of a shortage of rain that resulted in planted rice to dry out and die. Phraya Suraseevisuthisak then sought royal permission to exempt the collection of farmland duty in that year.\(^\text{37}\) These eased the people in general and most were satisfied with the move. In addition, the method of tax and duty collection was improved. The collection of taxes and duties were thoroughly conducted in all areas and clarifications on outstanding accounts were made, resulting in an increase in the revenue of Monthon Phayap. Based on the accounts of money collected as state benefits from Lampang City, 148,972 baht was collected in 1903 and this amount increased to 318,139 baht in 1904 and 392,319 baht in 1905.\(^\text{38}\) Regarding the chief's income, Chao Boonyawatwongmanit had sought royal permission to be paid monthly salary of 15,000 baht per month or 180,000 baht per year in lieu of receiving a share of the stub charge, position salary and sharing on labor charges in lieu of conscripted labor.\(^\text{39}\) Chao Boonyawatwongmanit's move in seeking royal permission to receive a monthly salary was a very smart idea because money sharing from the stub charges and labor charges in lieu of conscripted labor fluctuated and the stub charge sharing gradually decreased each year.\(^\text{40}\)

From studying the characteristics of administration and management of the economic interests of the Lampang Chief before and after the Monthon Thesaphiban administrative reforms, one can see the decline of the Chief of Lampang. Not only was

\(^{36}\) National Archives, Nor.Ror.7, KorSor/6, King Rama VII Document, Interior Ministerial Regulation No. 4, Forestry Department Governing Northwestern Area Stub Charge Sharing Rates.


\(^{38}\) National Archives, Ror.5Mor.58/40, King Rama V Document, Interior Ministry, Subject: Implementation of Procedures on Official Money Collections and Interests of Northwestern Area (5 Aug R.E. 115-4 Jul R.E. 129).

\(^{39}\) National Archives, Ror.5Mor.281/4, King Rama V Document, Interior Ministry, Subject: Money for Dependency Chief (February R.E. 127).

\(^{40}\) Position salary that Chao Boonyawatwongmanit got from Siam was 30,000 rupiah/year (22,740 bath/year). Before 1866 stub charge sharing was 1 rupiah. However after Royal forest Department was founded stub charge sharing increased to 12 rupiah.
his power centralized by Siam, another important factor of his decline in power as economic. The Chief of Lampang borrowed from the King of Siam and this helped Siam control the dependency state. The management of the economic interests of Lampang City prior to the administrative reform mainly fell under the handling of the Lampang Chief. He was the only one keeping all the state money. The treasury was in disorder. The chief could spend state money at his own free will, as indicated in the reports of H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanupharb to H.M. the King, which described the condition of the treasury of Lampang City as follows:

".........In Lampang City, there are plenty of copper coins belonging to the City, too many that one room will be required to adequately house them. Even digging into the ground just one Keub (Thai measurement equivalent to one quarter of a meter), a copper coin can be found because all tax and duty payments are made in copper coins and that they are dumped into a pile without having been counted. There is no Receipt Account whatsoever, thus, the chance of the money being leaked out is likely, which is unnecessary for me, your humble servant to inform Your Majesty."\(^{41}\)

However, following the reforms, which the Lampang Chief's interests declined, leaving only the revenue generated from the stub charges, position salary and sharing from labor charges in lieu of conscripted labor. The amount received was not enough for the Chief to make a living and with the influx of finished and luxurious goods from Britain, whose consumers were mostly the chief's descendants, Chao Boonyawatwongmanit often had to request loans through the Ministry of Interior for personal spending. Twice that he sought loans. One was in 1911 when he sought 50,000 baht and the other time was in January 1916 for, 50,000 baht. The loan contract stipulated that should he be late repaying his debts by more than three months that he would have to pay an interest rate of six percent per year and that all his debts must be repaid within one year.

In 1920, the chief sought another loan in the amount of 150,000 baht from the government to pay the debt of Khoun Chamnongchinarak\(^{42}\) who owed the Lamsam Firm. He was responsible for the payment as the debt guarantor, which H.M. King Mongkutklao (Rama VI) had authorized him to borrow because he was under His Majesty's care as a chief provided that he repay his debt within two years. This resulted in the stipulation that his salary in the amount of 6,250 baht per month be de-

\(^{41}\) National Archives, Ror.5Mor.58/33, King Rama V Document, Interior Ministry, Subject: Phrayasrisahathip's official trip to reorganize official system in Northwestern Area and the issuance of land Duty Act, as well (30 Jan R.E. 1184 - 30 Jun R.E. 1190).

\(^{42}\) Khoun Chamnongchinarak, an adviser of Chief of Lampang, was adopted child of Chao Sou (rich man) Fong. Moreover, Khoun Chamnongchinarak was an heir heritage of Chao Sou Fong, which was Fonglee company. Chao Sou Fong had a good relationship with Chief of Lampang. Now the descendants of Chao Sou Fong used "Fong-R-Pa" surname, appointed by Chao Boonyawatwongmanit.
ducted as a repayment and his properties be used to secure the loan as collateral.⁴³ The financial assistance from the royal family in Siam reflected the royal grace of His Majesty the King of Siam on the Lampang Chief. Therefore, the Lampang Chief, as a debtor, could repay the royal favor with loyalty to the King of Siam. The following quote by, Chao Boonyawatwongmanit illustrates this:

"The Royals of Lampang City and I will ensure the safety of the province from any danger and shall continue performing official functions as your Your Majesty's humble servants. The Royals of Lampang City and I promise to act righteously so as not to incur additional debt as we have in the past and shall continue to assist one another in carrying out the official functions loyally, honestly, and to the best of our abilities in return for Your Majesty's loving kindness. We pledge to devote even our lives to repay your royal grace until our time has come."⁴⁴

Therefore, after the administrative reforms, the economic benefits enjoyed by the chiefs of Lampang fell dramatically because some had to be shared with the central government of Siam. After Phraya Surasee Visithisak took command of Monthon Phayap, many changes took place. The Lampang Chief was honored and glorified with power in the name only. After Chao Boonyawatwongmanit passed away on 5th October 1922, there were no more chiefs in Lampang. So, His Majesty the King appointed Phraya Sureonthon Rajasena to be the first Governor of Lampang, where he served from 1920 to 1927.

Conclusion

Before the administrative reforms of King Chulalongkorn, Lampang City was a dependency of Bangkok and the Chief of Lampang had a free hand to administer the local economy and manage politics. The chief had to send royal tribute to the King in Bangkok every three years. The main tribute items were golden and silver trees. In turn, the central government did not get involved in the economic and administrative affairs of the city. This included of the collection of forestry concessions, tax and duty collections, which were all vested in the Lampang Chief. In 1899, the administrative reforms the created Monthon Phayap resulted in important change in the economy and politics of Lampang.

This study has shown that the administrative reforms that turned from depend-

⁴⁴ National Archives, Ror.6Khor.123/6, King Rama VI Document, Ministry of Crown Property and Finance, Subject: Khoun Channongchinarak (Lansiang) seeking Royal Permission for a loan from Royal Treasury Department or Ministry of Crown Property and Finance, having Prince of Lampang as a guarantor, (11 Sep-9 Jan B.E. 2457).
ency into Monthon Phayap created a new political management system in which the High Commissioner was the highest ranking official. At the city administration level, there were three officers collectively called Khao Sanamluang. This group consisted of the Chief of Lampang, the City Commissioner, and the Commissioner’s Assistant. The result of the administrative reforms decreased the power of the Chief of Lampang, but increased the power of the City Commissioner. Finally, the administrative reforms caused a decline in political power of the Chief of Lampang. Moreover, this has shown that the decline in economic power of the chief was caused by an external factor, capitalism. The influx of capitalism to Lanna affected the chiefs, who could not adjust themselves to the new money driven economic system. The Chiefs looked for new financial resources by taking loans from the royal treasury of Siam. They preferred to be loyal to Siam as clients until the northern royalty collapsed.

In conclusion, in the case of Lampang City, the Chief preferred to be loyal to Siam and accepted the reduction of his power and interests in exchange for the rank of nobility, Chief of City, like other governors. Moreover, permanent salary, which was another way of decreasing the economic power of the Chief, and capitalism led to the collapse in the end.