

The German Community in Siam
between
1850 and 1917

A History
of
Transculturation and Integration

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I. Introduction

In the 1860s, Georg Friedrich Ulrich, who was born in the former Danish town Eiderstedt in North Friesland in 1835, set off for Siam to earn his living as a "master mariner", captaining a local merchant ship.¹ He obviously enjoyed working in South and Southeast Asian waters, because he decided to stay in Bangkok, where he married Henrietta Kongjak, a Chinese woman who had migrated to Siam from Amoy in Fujian. They had four children.

The architect Carl Sandreczki was born in Smyrna, modern Izmir, in the Ottoman Empire in 1841. He descended from a German family whose members increasingly lived abroad.² His father of the same name, Carl Sandreczki (1810-1892), a native of Munich, had studied law and theology. In 1834, he came to Greece with King Otto of Bavaria, where he worked as a judge until 1837. Afterwards he served as a missionary for the "Basel Mission" and the "Church Mission Society" and held leading positions for these religious organisations in various places in the Middle East, especially in Palestine. Bethlehem became one of his most important residences. Carl Sandreczki was also a researcher and assisted the survey team in identifying Arabic names for locations during the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem from 1864 until 1865.³ While he was abroad, twelve children were born, of whom only seven survived. These children later settled all over the world on different continents: Some stayed in the Middle East, some returned to Europe and others emigrated to the USA. Carl Sandreczki the Younger probably found his way to Siam

¹ The genealogical data on Georg Ulrich, Carl Sandreczki, Albert Wilfred Wendt, Luis Rochga, August Kruse, Hermann Meyer and Josef Falck were collected by Angelika Steiner-Wendt and Reinhard Wendt from ancestry.com and various church records. Reinhard Wendt, Fern-Universität in Hagen, also obtained data on the German internees in British India for this study from the files of the Political Archives of the Foreign Office Berlin (PAAA). The author is very grateful for this time-consuming and lengthy research. Reinhard Wendt accompanied this work on the German community with great interest from the beginning, gave helpful comments and remarks and edited the final version. The author would like to express his gratitude for his support. Last but not least, he is indebted to Mrs Ruth Chastel who generously provided the English version.

² For information on the German community in Smyrna, see e.g. Hans Rohde, *Deutschland in Vorderasien*, Berlin 1901 and Malte Fuhrmann, *Der Traum vom deutschen Orient. Zwei deutsche Kolonien im Osmanischen Reich, 1851-1918*, Frankfurt 2006.

³ See e.g. Carl Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan nach Urumia, unternommen im Auftrage der Church Missionary Society in London, 1850*, Stuttgart 1865.

from his native town Smyrna in the 1880s. In Bangkok, he worked as an architect for the government, which granted him long-term employment. One can assume that he was satisfied with this professional perspective for Bangkok became his centre of life. He married a Siamese woman named Wah, with whom he had eight children.

Albert Wilfred Wendt was born in Candy, Sri Lanka in 1880. He descended from a family of German origin that had already been at home on the island for three generations. His grandfather Georg Wendt, born in Pomerania in 1766, probably came to Colombo in the service of the VOC.

The youngest, Daniel August Wendt (1848-1887), was the father of Albert Wilfred. Daniel grew up in Colombo and married Agnes Eleanor Driberg, who came from Candy. In 1907, Albert Wilfred went to Siam to become an engine driver on the Siamese railway.

There he obviously earned well. His job was secure for the long term and he was probably able to integrate well into local society, as were Ulrich and Sandreczki. He settled in Siam and eventually acquired Siamese citizenship in 1913.

Leon Henry Rabichofsky was born as a member of the German-Jewish community in Istanbul in 1873. Although the idiom was probably not his mother tongue, he had a remarkably good command of written and spoken German. The same can be assumed for Albert Wilfred Wendt. Before settling in Siam, Rabichofsky had first gone to Argentina at the age of 25, where he ran a shop. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, Rabichofsky received an order to deliver food for the Russian troops to Vladivostok and Tientsin. He travelled to Shanghai and reported as a protégé to the French consulate, which was then looking after the interests of the Ottoman Empire in China. In 1915 he finally arrived in Siam, where he may have had family or business connections. There he registered with the German embassy, which was responsible for citizens of the Ottoman Empire and their interests in Siam at the time. In Bangkok, he opened a shop called "Bangkok Store"⁴.

⁴ Information from the curriculum vitae submitted by Rabichofsky to the Siamese authorities (National Archives Bangkok Thailand 6 T/ 31).

Ulrich, Sandreczki, Wendt, Rabichofsky - all four men were members of the German community in Siam between 1850 and 1917. Their diverse and global life stories show that nationality as a criterion is not sufficient to describe the character of the community. As will be demonstrated in the following, their biographies, professional and family environments are marked by transcultural and transnational developments that led to extensive integration into the local society. A process that is referred to here as „Siamization“. They are therefore, and the article will also make this clear, not exceptions in the German community, but can be considered exemplary for the majority of its members. They not only came from German-speaking countries and from the German Empire, but were also born far away from its borders. They usually belonged to the social middle class, but had different socio-cultural backgrounds and arrived in Siam at different times, which had a significant impact on the character of the community.

Although their individual biographies were not very spectacular or outstanding, overall they give a good insight into the role of the foreign community and its members. With their experiences and skills, they facilitated a cultural transfer that also changed their own lives, attitudes and traditions under the influence of the Siamese host society. Multi-layered transcultural processes of varying intensity emerged that transcended national borders and, as will be demonstrated below, affected both Siamese society and the Germans.

The explanations are based on a variety of different sources. On the one hand, they are drawn from various files, especially from the Thai National Archives in Bangkok (NA), but also from the Political Archives of the Foreign Office in Berlin (PAAA). Furthermore, church documents from Thailand and Germany were consulted and address directories were evaluated. The examination of gravestones in the Protestant and Catholic cemeteries for foreigners in Bangkok also provided important information. In this article, cementaries are considered as "remains" of important historical events and at the same time as material and non-material "lieux de mémoire" according to Pierre Nora.⁵ The Protestant cemetery is of particular

⁵ Pierre Nora, Maurice Agulhon and Philippe Boutry, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols., Paris 1984-1992; on the subject of memory and remembrance, see also, e.g.: Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, München 2012; ead.: *Geschichte im Gedächtnis: von der individuellen Erfahrung zur öffentlichen Inszenierung*, München 2007 and Jan Assmann, *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis: zehn Studien*, München ³2007.

importance. There, the historic graves are still almost completely preserved whereas its Catholic counterpart was razed in 2015. Finally, descendants still living in Thailand were to be interviewed to gain further insights. However, this proved to be difficult. The author was able to contact some of them. But for reasons that are difficult to fathom, they have so far not been willing to meet and talk in person, but have only agreed to written correspondence. Fortunately, the written exchange also proved to be informative. However, interviews were also conducted with British and Italian descendants to shed light on issues that might also have affected people with a German background.

These sources provide information on the origin, activities and family background of the German community members between 1850 and 1917. Various individual biographies could also be reconstructed. The material allows us to trace the development and social structure of the community beyond cultural and national borders. Until now, this part of history has never been studied in detail.⁶ Based on the facts thus obtained, an analysis of the professional, social and private living conditions of Siamese-Germans within the native society is carried out. Furthermore, the differences in self-perception and perception by others are examined as well. Finally, an attempt is made to work out how cultural transfer, transnational and transcultural developments and, eventually, „Siamization“ could proceed over several generations and whether regularities can be discerned in the process.

Conceptually, as has just become clear, this article draws on considerations of cultural transfer, transculturation, indigenisation and transnationality. These are stages

⁶ So far, only four studies on diplomatic relations between Germany and Siam have been published: First, the unpublished master's thesis by Ratri Wanitchalak, based on analyses of Thai sources: *Relations between Thailand and Germany, 1862–1917*, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok 1978. There are also three dissertations in German that examine contacts between the two countries based on German sources: Andreas Stoffers: *Im Lande des weißen Elefanten. Die Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Thailand von den Anfängen bis 1962.*, Bonn 1995; Niels P. Petersson, *Imperialismus und Modernisierung. Siam, China und die europäischen Mächte 1895-1914*, München 2000 and finally Catthiyakorn Sasitharamas, *Die deutsch-thailändischen Beziehungen in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, Hamburg 2012. Three studies are dedicated to the cultural dimension of relations: Krisana Daroonthanom, *Das architektonische Werk des deutschen Architekten Karl Döbring in Thailand*, Phil. Diss., University of Osnabrück, 1998; Suphot Manalapanacharoen, *Die Geschichte deutsch-thailändischer Musikbeziehungen*, Frankfurt a.M. 2000 and Pornsarn Watanangura, *Literatur und Sprache: Studien zum deutsch-thailändischen Kulturkontakt*, Moers 2015.

of a process that can follow one another and merge into one another, but not necessarily have to. Intercultural transfer deals with cross-border circulation of people, goods, information and ideas of all kinds.⁷

The actors who carried this process on both sides did not remain unaffected by it. Cultural transfer therefore often goes hand in hand with transculturation or leads to transculturation.⁸ This work is about the convergence of European-German and Siamese lifestyles. They interacted with each other, intermingled and eventually formed new hybrid manifestations. The Germans adopted other ways of life, attitudes and behaviour. This transculturation could result in „Siamization“ of varying intensity, which in some families with mixed couples led to almost complete integration into the native society, without, however, completely erasing memories of the German background. Cultural transfer and transculturation are processes that transcend national borders, that in a certain sense dissolve them. They are therefore transnational processes.⁹

⁷ The concept of cultural transfer research was developed by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner. With this approach, they wanted to shed light on the cultural relations and dependencies between France and Germany in the 18th and 19th centuries. See Michel Espagne and Michael Werner (eds.), *Transfers. Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand*, Paris 1988; Michel Espagne, *Der theoretische Stand der Kulturtransferforschung*, in: *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck 2003, pp. 63-75 as well as *Theorie und Konzept „Kulturtransfer, Chapter I“*, in: Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck 2003, pp. 41-61; for a concise overview see Achim Landwehr and Stephanie Stockhorst, *Einführung in die Europäische Kulturgeschichte*, Paderborn 2004, pp. 287-310.

⁸ The term "transculturation" is coined by the Cuban jurist and politician Fernando Ortíz, who used it in his book *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y del azúcar (advertencia de sus contrastes agrarios, económicos, históricos y sociales, su etnografía y su transculturación)*, La Habana 1940, which was later reprinted several times and also translated. The term describes the phenomenon of merging and converging cultures.

⁹ For an introduction, see Philipp Gassert, *Transnationale Geschichte*, in: *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, URL: https://docupedia.de/zg/Transnationale_Geschichte_Version_2.0_Philipp_Gassert as well as Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds.), *Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland und die Welt 1871-1914*, Göttingen 2004. For an overview see Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational*, in: Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, New York 2009, pp. 1047-1055.

Thus the developments described in this article are also part of a transnational history in which "interaction, exchange and circulation took place within an increasingly networked world".¹⁰

The members of the German community in Siam can no longer be clearly assigned to a particular nationality. Elements from different cultures were blended in their work, way of life and relationships.

The evaluation of the sources also showed numerous indications that the Bangkok community was in contact with other German communities in South, East and Southeast Asia in terms of business, profession, family and politics. Within the scope of this article, however, it was not possible to pursue these aspects more thoroughly. More detailed research, for example, on the communities in British India, Sri Lanka, Singapore and Malaysia¹¹, Penang¹², Burma, India¹³, the Philippines or China - for example in Qingdao¹⁴, Hong Kong¹⁵ or Shanghai¹⁶ - would be desirable. This contribution could serve as a take-off.

The formation and development of the German community in Siam between 1850 and 1917 was essentially determined by three macro- and micro-historical factors

¹⁰ Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation im Kaiserreich*, München 2006, p. 20.

¹¹ Arnold Wright (ed.), *Twentieth century impressions of British Malaya: its history, people, commerce, industries, and resources*, London 1908.

¹² Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants: A History of the German-speaking Community in Penang, 1800s-1940s*, Penang (Malaysia) 2006.

¹³ Marion Peters, *In steen geschreven. Leven en sterven van VOC-dienaren op de Kust van Coromandel in Indien*, Amsterdam 2002.

¹⁴ See e.g. Mechthild Leutner (ed.), *Musterkolonie Kiautschou. Die Expansion des deutschen Reiches in China: Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen, 1897-1914. Eine Quellensammlung*, Berlin 1997; Hermann J. Hiery and Hans-Martin Hinz (eds.), *Alltagsleben und Kulturaustausch. Deutsche und Chinesen in Tsingtau 1897-1915*, Berlin 1999; Klaus Mühlhahn, *Herrschaft und Widerstand in der "Musterkolonie" Kiautschou. Interaktionen zwischen China und Deutschland 1897-1914*, München 2000.

¹⁵ Carl T. Smith, *The German speaking Community in Hong Kong 1846-1918*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, vol. 34 (1994), pp. 1-55; Ricardo K.S. Mak, *The German community in 19th century Hong Kong*, in: *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 2 (2004), pp. 237-255; Bert Becker, *Das deutsche Hongkong. Imperialismus und partizipierender Kolonialismus vor 1914*, in: Markus Denzel (ed.), *Deutsche Eliten in Übersee. 16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert*, St. Katharinen 2006, pp. 362-376.

¹⁶ Arnold Wright and H. A. Cartwright (eds.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong and Shanghai and other Treaty Ports of China: History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*, London 1908 and Barbara Schmitt-Englert, *Deutsche in China 1920-1950: Alltagsleben und Veränderungen*, Gossenberg 2012.

that were intertwined and influenced each other: On the macro-historical global level, these were first the imperialist ambitions of Great Britain, which Siam had to face in 1850, followed by French aspirations, which became evident in 1880. On a micro-historical and local level, changes in European politics also had an impact as Siam responded to imperialist challenges, which in turn forced the Western nations to modify their strategies.

Thirdly, and with far-reaching global consequences, the establishment of the German Empire also played a crucial role for the community. It were these processes of "glocalisation", an interplay of various influencing factors, that affected the German expatriate community in Bangkok.¹⁷

Its history is presented here against the backdrop of imperial threats from Britain in two periods, from 1850 to 1880 and from 1880 to 1917. In response to the foreign policy crisis of the first phase, Siam pursued a targeted opening policy and to meet the challenges of the second phase, a comprehensive modernisation policy.¹⁸

II. Siam On the Eve of its Opening Policy 1850

The first Europeans, including Germans, arrived in Siam during the Ayudhaya period (1350-1767), long before the 19th century.¹⁹ The Europeans who set foot on Siamese soil at that time were often in the service of the VOC, the Dutch East In-

¹⁷ On the concept of glocalisation, see Roland Robertson, *Glokalisierung: Homogenität und Heterogenität in Raum und Zeit*, in: Ulrich Beck (ed.), *Perspektive der Weltgesellschaft*, Frankfurt a. M. 1998, pp. 192-220 and Barbara Seibert, *Glokalisierung: ein Begriff reflektiert gesellschaftliche Realitäten. Einstieg und Debattenbeiträge*, Berlin 2016.

¹⁸ The reformist, European and cultural policies of the Siamese government in these two periods are discussed in detail in Suphot Manalapanacharoen, *Selbstbehauptung und Modernisierung mit Zeremoniell und symbolischer Politik: Zur Rezeption europäischer Orden und zu Strategien der Ordensverleihung in Siam*, Konstanz 2017.

¹⁹ On Siam's external contacts, see for example Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era. Trade, Power, and Belief*, Ithaca 1993 as well as Bernhard Dahm, *Gewürze, Kanonen und neue Propheten: Transformationen im vorkolonialen Südostasien*, in: *Globalgeschichte 1450-1620. Anfänge und Perspektiven*, ed. by Friedrich Edelmayr, Peter Feldbauer and Marija Wakounig, Vienna 2002, pp. 225-248. For informations on relations between Europe and Southeast Asia, see Chapter II. *The City and Its Commerce*, in: Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, vol. II, New Haven 1993, pp. 62-131 as well as Chapter IV. *Die Nordwesteuropäische Phase oder die Zeit der „chartered Companies“ (1600-1858)*, in: Reinhard Wendt, *Vom Kolonialismus zur Globalisierung: Europa und die Welt seit 1500*, Paderborn 2016, pp. 111-184.

dia Company. This was also the case with Engelbert Kaempfer, the first German known by name to stay in Siam. In 1690, he visited the country for five weeks.²⁰ Western travelogues and records describe Ayudhaya as a multicultural city where foreigners lived in their own districts. Besides Arabs, Persians, Indians, Chinese and Japanese, they also included Europeans, Dutch, for example, and above all Portuguese. The Catholic Portuguese community still exists today. Since the beginning of the Bangkok period (from 1782), its members have acted as mediators between Siamese and other Europeans, as they had lived in the country for generations, had married local women and were therefore deeply rooted in local society.²¹ Many people from the West, including Germans, established both business and social contacts with the Portuguese community after their arrival in Siam, which also led to marriages. This, as will become clear in the following chapters of this article, played an important role in the development of the European communities in Bangkok. One of the most prominent Germans who came to the country during the Bangkok period and before Siam's opening policy was Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff. As a member of the "Netherland Missionary Society", he stayed in Bangkok between 1828 and 1831, with a brief interruption to establish a Protestant Chinese congregation. His wife Maria Newell died giving birth to twins during that time. Shortly afterwards, in June 1831, Gützlaff left Siam and went on to Hong Kong, where he later died and was buried²². His wife and twins were the first West-

²⁰ See also *Engelbert Kaempfer in Siam*, ed. by Barend J. Terwiel, München 2003. *About the Dutch in the Ayudhaya period*, George Vinal Smith, e.g., reports in *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Thailand*, Detroit 1977.

²¹ The Eurasian Pascal Ribeiro de Alvergeria, for example, was not only head of the Catholic community in Bangkok, but also a government advisor. John Crawford, head of the same-named mission, reported in 1824 that Alvergeria held a high rank in the government and spoke the four languages Siamese, Cambodian, Portuguese and Latin very well. (John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China*, vol. I., London 1830, p. 275). More detailed information about him can be found in the reports of "the Prussian East Asia Expedition": On the afternoon of 28 December 1862, Count Eulenburg "received a visit from an influential half-Siamese, the 74-year-old Pasquale Ribeiro de Alvergeria or Phya Wizet Soñ Kram. The son of a Portuguese descendant and a Siamese woman dressed European, held the rank of a Siamese general, and was treated by the king as the head of all the Catholic inhabitants of the country." (*Die Preussische Expedition nach Ost-Asien nach amtlichen Quellen*, vol. IV, Berlin 1873, pp. 258 and 271). On the history of the Portuguese and their descendants in Siam, see Sven Trakulhun, *Siam und Europa*. Hannover-Laatzten 2006.

²² Anthony Farrington (ed.), *Early Missionaries in Bangkok: The Journals of Tomlin, Gützlaff and Abeel 1828-1832*, Bangkok 2001, pp. 65-67.

ern foreigners to be buried in Bangkok. Their graves mark the beginning of the history of the Bangkok Protestant cemetery, which is the oldest and only cemetery for foreigners in the city and still exists today.²³

Apart from the Eurasian community of Portuguese descent rooted in the country, the Western community in Bangkok in the first half of the 19th century consisted of two fractions distinguished by their religious affiliation. The first was grouped around the French Catholic mission, which had been active in Siam since 1830, and the second around its Protestant counterparts, which were supported by US Americans.²⁴

The latter included merchants and above all seamen, i.e. captains as well as sailors. Most of them were British, American and Danish, but there were also a few Germans among them. The seamen probably came to the country together with the traders. They steered the merchant ships on which goods were imported to and exported from Bangkok. Some of them were employed by the Siamese government as "pilots", "master mariners" and "harbour masters" at the Marine Department, others were hired as crew members of local merchant ships serving different sectors of the economy.²⁵ Only some of them are known by name and origin. The directories of Western foreigners in Bangkok, death notices in newspapers and the register of the Protestant cemetery provide relevant information. As far as the Germans were concerned, they mostly came from Hanseatic cities like Hamburg, but also from places in Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony or Pomerania.

²³ The mother and two children were first buried in the grounds of the Portuguese Consulate and transferred to the present Protestant Cemetery in 1893. Geoffrey Walsh, the Chairman of the Cemetery Commission of the Bangkok Protestant Cemetery, informed the author that the descendants of Maria Newell in Hong Kong wanted to visit these resting places in 2001. Despite an intensive search, the graves could no longer be found. See the author's article: *The beginnings of foreign cemeteries in Siam*, which is in the making.

²⁴ There were three evangelical US missionary societies in Siam during this period: "The American Baptist Mission" (since 1833), "The American Presbyterian Mission" (since 1840) and "The American Missionary Association Mission" (since 1848).

²⁵ Count Fritz zu Eulenburg, Prussian Extraordinary Envoy, who was in Bangkok between December 1861 and February 1862 to conclude treaties with Siam, reported that a Siamese merchant ship belonging to a rich Chinese merchant from Bangkok had German captains and sailors on board. *East Asia 1860-1862 in Letters of Count Fritz zu Eulenburg*, ed. by Count Philip zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld, Berlin 1900, pp. 374-375.



Fig. 1: The gravestone of "Karl Frederick August Gutzlaff" (1803-1851) at the Protestant Cemetery in Hong Kong; memorial plates in German, Chinese and English are placed on three sides. (photo by the author)

III. Development of the German Community: Macro- and Micro-Historical Causes since 1850

The signing of the so-called "Unequal Treaties" between Siam and German states, namely with the three Hanseatic cities in 1858, Prussia and the countries of the Zollverein in 1862, was a first milestone for the establishment of the German community. The crucial factor was a provision in the 1862 treaty according to which Germans were allowed to settle "[...] in any place outside the ring walls [of the capital Bangkok]".²⁶ Immediately after the first contract came into force, two German companies started their activities in Bangkok: These were "Pickenpack, Thies & Co.", founded in 1858 by Paul Pickenpack, G.A.D. Finck and Theodor Thies from Hamburg, and "A. Markwald & Co.", established in the same year by Adolf Markwald, Paul Lessler and Alexis Redlich. Both companies expanded as years went by and existed until 1917. In 1863, C. Falck first founded the "Falck's Hotel" and in 1866 "Falck's Bowling Alleys". Falck expanded his business activities until 1908. He ran a company called "Falck & Beidek", which was known to the Siamese as "Hang Singtoh", which can be translated as "Lion's Department Store".²⁷ These companies were involved in cross-regional trade relations between Europe and South, Southeast and East Asia. A number of German firms operated in British colonies such as Singapore in the first half of the 19th century before opening businesses in Bangkok. Pickenpack, for example, was based in Penang before his move to Thailand.²⁸ These German merchants in Bangkok were not only

²⁶ *Die Preussische Expedition...*, p. 302.

²⁷ Arnold Wright und Oliver T. Breakspear (eds.), *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*, London 1908, pp. 263-265. For more information on the Falck & Beidek company building, see URL:

[https://www.facebook.com/HereSengStories/posts/466127014747728?_xts__\[0\]=68.ARDlQrVVaJh4WApobUvKAAzb0_xCYbl70ZsTiGXj1SalsXCtE7HSsa67TBQ1Babid5FQyxOOQzxmU_wFjhnX7re_F3z1n5_6BPHJlsS9sbWrbK8Nbq0DJBb7mIPyxgmKHStEnko1Ai5eXe7ArZf-yTwbD1AkP6RRF8zlxFsYXFodDO-clsqo7DWBRoXht6ovRtDtI6ptBWPvrhrl4PxJUd59wuHvJ_Mlb-JrzDm2D3F3XlqS3KIL_2ZLCnp0--J2TVt9oIJCQQQLqfrgrQLMY3MaLUSmea1ONU-ngShzTw0itBeLF11zqvY](https://www.facebook.com/HereSengStories/posts/466127014747728?_xts__[0]=68.ARDlQrVVaJh4WApobUvKAAzb0_xCYbl70ZsTiGXj1SalsXCtE7HSsa67TBQ1Babid5FQyxOOQzxmU_wFjhnX7re_F3z1n5_6BPHJlsS9sbWrbK8Nbq0DJBb7mIPyxgmKHStEnko1Ai5eXe7ArZf-yTwbD1AkP6RRF8zlxFsYXFodDO-clsqo7DWBRoXht6ovRtDtI6ptBWPvrhrl4PxJUd59wuHvJ_Mlb-JrzDm2D3F3XlqS3KIL_2ZLCnp0--J2TVt9oIJCQQQLqfrgrQLMY3MaLUSmea1ONU-ngShzTw0itBeLF11zqvY).

²⁸ Some traders, as e.g. Katz Brothers Ltd., Behn, Meyer & Co. in Singapur (Emil Helfferich, *Zur Geschichte der Firmen Behn, Meyer & Co. founded in Singapore on 1 November 1840 and Arnold Otto Meyer founded in Hamburg on 1 June 1857*, Hamburg 1957) or Carlowitz in Hongkong, registered as British companies from the get-go. The German owner of Katz even acquired British citi-

entrepreneurs, but also performed diplomatic tasks. Theodor Thies, for instance, was appointed Hanseatic consul in Bangkok in 1859. Paul Pickenpack replaced him in 1864. Paul Lessler was Prussian consul in Siam between 1864 and 1871 and as such also represented the interests of the North German Confederation since 1866. Adolf Markwald in the 1860s and then Paul Pickenpack from 1870 onwards acted as consular representatives for Norway and Sweden, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Alexis Redlich did the same for Austria-Hungary. After returning to Germany, Adolf Markwald and Paul Pickenpack became diplomatically involved with their former host country. Markwald was appointed consul in Berlin by the Siamese government in 1877, and Paul Pickenpack held the same position in Hamburg in 1881. Before the foundation of the Empire, the German community was „German“ in a linguistic-cultural sense, i.e. it had the character of a "German speaking community".²⁹ The national element was still missing. For this reason, there were initially two German groups in Siam, organised around the Hanseatic and Prussian consulates and the Zollverein (Customs Union).³⁰ The death records of the Protestant cemetery in Bangkok before 1871, for example, show that some of the deceased had German names and were referred to as Germans, but came from Alsace or Schleswig-Holstein³¹, i.e. from areas that belonged to other countries in those days. National criteria apparently did not play a major role back then. For example, quite a few Germans maintained close family and professional relations with other Europeans. It was not uncommon for Germans to marry women from

zenship [See Carl T. Smith, *The German speaking Community in Hong Kong 1846-1918*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, vol. 34 (1994), pp. 1-2. and Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants*, Penang (Malaysia) 2006.]

²⁹ See Dirk Hoerder, *The German-Language Diasporas. A Survey, Critique, and Interpretation*, in: *Diaspora*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2002), pp. 7-44.

³⁰ Max von Brandt, diplomat of the Eulenburg Mission in 1862, described the situation in Bangkok with following words: "We were very kindly received by our compatriots, but it was always regrettable to notice that the political disorder of the fatherland transferred itself to the personal relations of its sons even in the most remote areas". (Max von Brandt, *Dreißig Jahre in Ost-Asien. Erinnerungen eines deutschen Diplomaten*, Leipzig 1901, p. 289).

³¹ For example, deceased with German names who came from Schleswig-Holstein and were buried in the Protestant cemetery in Bangkok are now also regarded as Danes (cf. Flemming Winter Nielsen, Claus Gundersen and Gregers Møller, *Danish Graves in Thailand*, Bangkok 2013, in: URL: http://issuu.com/scandasia/docs/danish_graves).

British families, like the merchant Oswald Kurtzhalss or captain Jan Rudolph Vil, both of whom are referred to in more detail below.³²

In 1868, German and other European ship captains founded the "Concordia Club" in Bangkok. They were in the service of the Siamese government or commanded Siamese or Chinese merchant ships.³³ This club was the only professional organisation that existed in Siam before 1871. Newspaper advertisements and the plates on the club's memorial in the Protestant cemetery indicate that most of its members bore German names. Among them was Captain Georg Friedrich Ulrich, who will be discussed further below. Other members of the "Concordia" included Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, British and US-Americans. The Concordia Club is a good example of how German ways of life spread regionally to other communities in South, East and Southeast Asia and even beyond. In fact, there were comparable clubs in Jakarta, the capital of the Dutch Indies, where the "Harmonie Club" was founded in 1840³⁴, or in Singapore, where the "Teutonia Club" existed since 1855. In Sydney, such a club was founded in 1853³⁵, in Hong Kong in 1859³⁶, in Shanghai in 1865³⁷ and in Penang with the name "Deutsche Vereinigung" in 1898.³⁸ The Concordia Club Bangkok was located in the house of the American captain John Smith, who had died shortly before the club opened. It later moved to the German

³² As far as the marriage behaviour of Western foreigners in Siam is concerned, two practices could be worked out: The first was cultivated by most merchants. They went to Singapore - where there was probably a dating agency - to find a European wife. It was quite common and attractive for middle-class English women to enter into marriage with wealthy upper-class employees or officers in British India. To make this possible, a very lucrative matchmaking business emerged (see Anne De Courcy, *The Fishing Fleet: Husband-Hunting in the Raj*, London 2012). The German merchant Paul Lessler, for example, took an Englishwoman named Annie as his wife in Singapore in 1861. (*Bangkok Calendar*, 1861, p. 108). The majority of Bangkok-based ship captains preferred the second practice: they married local women, mostly from the Portuguese Catholic community. The foreigner communities became more consolidated when their children intermarried. It was not uncommon for a newcomer to marry a daughter from such a community, which further contributed to its growth.

³³ *Siam Repository*, 1872, p. 258; Information on the Executive Board and the members in *Bangkok Calendar*, 1873, pp. 14-15.

³⁴ URL: <http://www.indonesia-dutchcolonialheritage.nl/jakhistoricalsites/SocHarmoni.pdf>.

³⁵ *Rules of the German Club in Sydney*, Sydney 1853 and URL: <http://www.concordiaclub.org.au>.

³⁶ According to Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants*, pp. 44-45.

³⁷ URL: <https://www.moneypedia.de/index.php/China:ConcordiaClubinShanghai>.

³⁸ Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants*, p. 45. The Pickenpack brothers Johannes and Henry were among the founders, Henry was even president for some time.

"Falck's Hotel".³⁹ According to a newspaper report, the Concordia Club not only had an office and a library, but also a spacious reading room and lounge equipped with a pool table as well as a table for card games. In accordance with the association's statutes, the members elected a new commission and a new president in a general assembly that always took place on 1 March each year. This was followed by a banquet at which the president and important personalities of the Western foreigner communities, such as the various consuls, gave numerous toasts. A varied entertainment programme ensured an enjoyable evening: there was dancing, singing and music by a Siamese brass band provided by the government especially for the occasion. Members and guests of the club celebrated until dawn. The next day, a regatta took place, a spectacular event for all Bangkok residents.⁴⁰ In fact, the Concordia Club was a cultural centre in the life of the Western communities. The family relations between Germans and British as well as the character of the "Club Concordia" illustrate the transnationality within the Western communities before 1871. This gradually changed after the founding of the German Empire and especially with the expanding colonial ambitions of France from 1880 onwards. Now a lot of national clubs emerged to which only citizens of the respective country had access. The "Club Concordia" simply vanished into thin air and the "German Club" took its place⁴¹. Today, the "Concordia" is completely forgotten. Neither Thais nor "farangs" from the West know about it. What remains, however, although no longer very well preserved, is the monument in honour of the deceased club members at the Protestant cemetery in Bangkok. It can still be admired there today.

³⁹ *Siam Repository*, 1871, p. 281. Captain Smith met a tragic fate: he was murdered by his Siamese wife.

⁴⁰ *Bangkok Calendar*, 1873, pp. 14-15f.

⁴¹ The same development took place in Australia (see URL: <http://www.concordiaclub.org.au>).



Fig. 2: The "Club Concordia" memorial at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok. On all four sides, memorial plates commemorate the club members whose names are engraved (photo by the author).

III. 1. 1870-71: Macro-Historical Causes

The German community in Bangkok developed into a national community during the Franco-Prussian War. When news of the outbreak of war reached Bangkok at the end of 1870, the Germans living in the city enthusiastically followed the course of events. On 1 October 1870, the Prussian consul Paul Lessler called in the newspaper *Siam Repository* for donations *for the relief of wounded soldiers* and for the support of *distressed families of soldiers serving in the German army*.⁴²

3,361 dollars were collected and sent to Berlin. A total of 79 people had given money, more than half of them ship captains and sailors. Among them was Captain Hermann Meyer, who will be discussed in more detail below. Another key event in the nationalisation of the German community was the "German feast" hosted by Consul Lessler in Bangkok on 22 March 1871. It took place six months after the fundraising campaign and in the middle of the ongoing war in Europe. As can be read in the *Siam Repository*, the birthday of the "German Emperor Wilhelm I" was to be celebrated and the fallen soldiers commemorated. The venue was the Hotel Falck, located on the premises of the company of the same name and next to the Prussian consulate. The article said that the Germans, who formed the largest group of Western foreigners in Bangkok at that time, were in high spirits, eagerly anticipating the defeat of France and the unification of Germany.⁴³ The focus of the celebration was the Prussian King Wilhelm I, according to the report *a King of whom the Germans may well be proud*. The newspaper went on to say that *he has successfully effected the unification of Germany, re-established, it is to hope on a permanent basis, the long lost German Empire, completely subdued its enemies, and made possible the complete development and progress of the great and mighty German people*.⁴⁴

A banner with the slogan "Long live Wilhelm I, Emperor of Germany" was hung around the building of "Falck's Bowling Alleys". The names of the field battles won were lined up on a façade, with bouquets of flowers and wreaths in remembrance below. According to the *Siam Repository*, about 50 people were present at the festivity. They recited German patriotic ballads, poems and tales and sang traditional German songs. They praised "Wilhelm I, King of Prussia" and called him "German

⁴² *Siam Repository*, 1871, p. 22.

⁴³ *Siam Repository*, 1871, p. 257.

⁴⁴ *Siam Repository*, 1871, p. 252.

Emperor". The Crown Prince, Bismarck and von Moltke were also glorified, and the soldiers who died in the war were commemorated.⁴⁵ Before the participants gathered for the banquet, Consul Lessler gave a patriotic speech pointing out the institutions and persons to whom this milestone in German history was owed: *The Leaders of the Army and the German Army in general, Count Bismarck, the greatest Diplomat in the world, ..., Count von Moltke, ..., the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Prince Imperial of Germany and ... the fallen heroes*, to whom everyone had to bow with reverence and respect.⁴⁶ The report in the *Siam Repository* makes it clear that the Siamese society was also interested in events in Europe. The Germans felt motivated by the war of 1870/71 for unifying Germany. As far as the relationship with Siam was concerned, the treaties remained unchanged and also retained their unequal character. However, the Hanseatic cities were replaced by Prussia as contracting party. The Prussian consul became the German and thus the sole diplomatic representative of the new empire. Henceforth, he was also no longer an honorary consul appointed by German business circles in Bangkok. Instead, the new government in Berlin sent a paid diplomat. This enabled the empire to become more involved politically and economically in the region from then on, which also resulted in a growing presence of Germans in a wide variety of functions. The Emperor's birthday was celebrated every year, first at the German Consulate and later at the German Club, which became the cultural centre of the German expatriate community in Bangkok.⁴⁷

III. 2. Modernization of Siam: Micro-Historical Causes and Impacts on the Community since 1880

From the 1880s onwards, the German colony in Siam grew considerably. This was primarily related to micro-historical factors, especially Siam's reform policy. It was a reaction to the second threat from outside, namely the French policy of expansion since 1880. For the domestic modernisation that now began, the Siamese government recruited a large number of Western advisors and experts from a wide range

⁴⁵ *Siam Repository*, 1871, p. 252.

⁴⁶ *Siam Repository*, 1871, p. 257. An overview of this festivity is given by Fritz Schellack, *Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste*, in: Dieter Düding, Peter Friedmann, and Paul Münch (ed.), *Öffentliche Festkultur. Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, Reinbek 1988, pp. 278-297.

⁴⁷ *1891-1916 Deutscher Klub Bangkok*, Bangkok 1916.

of disciplines, who were employed by twelve newly established ministries. Modern machinery and equipment were needed to develop the infrastructure, and the military required the latest weapons technology.⁴⁸ Siam became an important labour and sales market for Europe. Germans were mainly involved in railway construction and in the postal and telegraph services. The number of people willing to work in Siam was considerable. Of course these people contributed to the multidimensional character of the German community in Bangkok, because they came from all parts of the German Empire, belonged to different denominations and brought with them a wide range of professional experiences. This development had to do with the fact that Siam was part of the "informal empire" of the Western colonial powers. To limit the influence of England and France, Siam offered the empire economic opportunities and a means to improve its geopolitical position. In no other country in Southeast Asia did Germany find similarly convenient conditions to pursue its own interests. But it also made the empire a growing competitor for Great Britain and France. For Siam, this intra-imperialist tension was both advantageous and desirable, as the country aligned its European policy with the motto "divide et impera" and "do ut des". For the foreign communities, this meant that their own national concerns came to the fore from the 1880s onwards, and contacts beyond the borders of the communities diminished. The once united Western community in Bangkok gradually fell apart and nationally defined communities emerged, into which newcomers integrated according to their origins. These micro-historical factors shaped the German expatriate community, which now isolated itself more and more from the other Western communities.

If necessary, each of these communities founded its own social, spiritual and cultural institutions such as hospitals, churches, schools and, last but not least, clubs and societies. For example, the British community established the Anglican Christchurch Bangkok and the „Bangkok Nursing Home Hospital“. The US Presbyterian Mission built its own churches as well as the „Bangkok Christian Hospital“ and the „Bangkok Christian School“.⁴⁹ The French community founded the Catholic Assumption Church, the „Assumption School“ and the „St. Louis Hospital“. All these

⁴⁸ For an overview, see: Direck Jayanam and Klaus Wenk, *Thailand: Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Frankfurt a.M. 1960.

⁴⁹ See George Bradley McFarland (ed.), *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam 1828-1928*, Bangkok 1928.

institutions still exist today. The first community club, the "United Club" was established by the US-American community around 1880. It was followed by the "Deutsche Klub" in 1891, a local subsidiary of the "Deutscher Flottenverein" in 1897⁵⁰ and "The British Club" in 1903.⁵¹

That the German community did not establish more than two institutions distinguished it from other communities. This "modesty" may have had to do with the fact that the other nations had already created enough religious, educational and medical institutions that were also open to the Germans. Thus, the empire did not consider it necessary to present itself in the same demonstrative manner. Despite the increasing alienation, Germans attended either the Protestant or Catholic church of the other communities, depending on their denominations. There they had their children baptised and sent them to the mission schools, and in their cemeteries they buried their relatives. However, it also happened, especially Germans, especially those of higher social standing, had their children baptised by clergymen who had just arrived in Bangkok on ships of the Reichsmarine (German navy), or later sent them home for education. It has already been mentioned above that a transnational professional association of ship captains like the "Club Concordia" no longer fitted into that time. It was closed down. This was partly due to the fact that German participation in tramp shipping along the coasts of Southeast and East Asia increased. For example, North German Lloyd offered routes from Bangkok to Singapore, Hong Kong and other Chinese port cities.⁵²

⁵⁰ For further information concerning the political role of the Fleet Association (Flottenverein), see Stefan Manz, *Nationalismus Gone Global. The Hauptverein Deutscher Flottenvereine im Auslande, 1898-1918*, in: *German History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2012), pp. 199-221.

⁵¹ *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908, pp. 252-253.

⁵² See Andreas Hamann, *Die ostasiatische Küstenschifffahrt des Norddeutschen Lloyd und der Hamburg-Amerika Linie von 1900 bis 1914*, in: *Deutsches Schifffahrtsarchiv*, vol. 29, pp. 159-180: URL: <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ss0ar-55833-2>

III. 3. World War I and Internment: Macro- and Micro-Historical Causes and Impacts on the Community

As the German expatriate community in Siam expanded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it became increasingly diverse. It was far from being a stable, national, self-contained community. For a variety of reasons, there were even internal conflicts. These included the unrest that the railway boss Luis Weiler brought into the community and which will be discussed in detail later. Economic competition also caused problems. Due to the foundation of the big company B. Grimm from Hamburg in 1877, small entrepreneurs came under pressure and made life difficult for each other. The doctor Friedrich Schaefer observed such ill-feeling⁵³ and recorded in his diary how the German ambassador von Prollius, during his farewell speech in the German Club on 26 June 1910, emphatically but also in vain called out to all members: „*Be united, united, united! That will now remain a pious wish*".⁵⁴

Just as 34 years earlier the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/1871 had contributed decisively to the unification of the Germans in Bangkok, the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 once again strengthened national cohesion. Luis Weiler noted in his diary how news of the outbreak of war arrived in Bangkok on the night of 3 August 1914:

*"At half past eleven at night, I was awakened from my sleep. On behalf of the German legation, Mr Adolfo André brought the news of the mobilisation order. At the embassy I was informed of the names of the conscripts who are employed by the railways, to whom I will pass on the information by telegraph as far as they are stationed in the country. In the evening, there was a meeting at the club to bid farewell to those who had been conscripted. There were about a hundred members present, thirty to forty of whom had been drafted. One attendee, Captain Meyer, had fought in 1870. Dr Remy gave a speech. After the hurrah for our and the Austrian Emperor, both national anthems were sung. The mood was uplifted, but not loud. The main topic was the difficulty of the draftees to reach their destination."*⁵⁵

⁵³ Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch: Ein deutscher Arzt in Bangkok 1909-1912*, ed. by W. Schaefer-Kehnert, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 244.

⁵⁴ Friedrich Schaefer, p. 209.

⁵⁵ Clemens Weiler (ed.), *Anfang der Eisenbahn in Thailand von Luis Weiler*, Bangkok 1979, p. 261.

After this meeting, not only the "uplifted" mood in the congregation sank, but also the number of members. Many who had been conscripted for military service left either for Germany or China. Adolf Böhmer, a doctor working for the Siamese navy, made his way to Berlin in 1915 and was later killed in a battle in Russia. Husbands sent their wives and children to the empire. On the other hand, some Germans from British colonies, such as Singapore or Hong Kong, came to Siam because the government in Bangkok stuck to its policy of neutrality until 1917. Among them was Doctor von Wesel, who had to leave Hong Kong, but was still able to live untroubled in Bangkok for the time being.⁵⁶ Soon afterwards, however, the Germans living in Siam were also interned.

III. 4. Global Trade and Labour Networks

As from the 1880s, there were global trade and labour networks that served the economic interests of citizens of the various European countries and were promoted by the respective governments.⁵⁷ A remarkable number of professionals and workers came from British India, Sri Lanka, Singapore and Macau to Siam, where some of them served as leased officials. Most of these people were Eurasians, and the majority had Portuguese roots. But there were also those with German backgrounds, such as the previously mentioned Albert Wendt or Josef Falk, whose biography will be referred to below. Among these networks that facilitated the development of communities abroad, a German one can also be identified⁵⁸, e.g. by means of newspapers and periodicals that served as communication media and were read from Cairo to Singapore and from Batavia to Yokohama and Tokyo.⁵⁹ These included the *Umschau*⁶⁰ published in Bangkok, the *Deutsche Wacht*⁶¹ published

⁵⁶ NA 6 T/ 31.

⁵⁷ For more information on the German issue, see the following studies by Stefan Manz, *Protestantism, nation and diaspora in Imperial Germany*, in: *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 18, no. 4 (2012), pp. 744-764 and *Constructing a German Diaspora: The „Great German Empire“, 1871-1914*, New York 2014.

⁵⁸ See chapter 3 *Politics, Navy and Auslandsdeutschum*, in: Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora*, New York 2014, pp. 251-253.

⁵⁹ *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai and other Treaty Ports of China*, London 1908, p. 361.

⁶⁰ *Umschau*, ed. Otto Schäfer, Bangkok Vols. 1914-1916. The "Umschau" had been founded by Theodor Rabus, who previously worked as a railway engineer in Singapore and was last em-

in Batavia, the *Ostasiatischer Lloyd*⁶² published in Shanghai, *Die Flotte*⁶³ from Berlin, which informed, for example, about the arrival of warships in ports all over the world, and the publications of the German Colonial Society.⁶⁴

Besides articles and obituaries also advertisements were published in these media, providing essential information about available networks. Two networks in particular stand out. One that is primarily concerned with trade matters and a second that focuses on labour aspects.

a.) Global Trade Network

The first trade connection between Hamburg and Siam was established as early as 1858. It was further expanded over the course of time. In 1858, the companies Pickenpack and Markwald were established, in the 1870s Daniel Windsor started his business under his own name⁶⁵ and the Link family founded their company „B. Grimm“ in 1877⁶⁶. The company B. Grimm still exists, as does the jewellery shop F. Grählert & Co. which was founded in 1890.⁶⁷ Both had close ties to the Siamese royal family, so they could advertise that they were "under royal patronage". They had gained a solid ground in Bangkok. The same can be said of the Pickenpacks. The extent to which they were anchored in their host society is well indicated by the fact that the Siamese government appointed members of this family consuls and consuls general in Hamburg over three generations until 1917.

ployed in Bandung, Dutch India. When WW 1 broke out, he went to Bangkok and worked for the Royal Siamese state railway.

⁶¹ *Deutsche Wacht. Niederländisch-indische Halbmonatsschrift für Handels- und Kolonialpolitik und Völkerrecht*, ed. on behalf of the German Confederation in the Netherlands Indies, Batavia, Vols. 1915-1940.

⁶² *Der Ostasiatische Lloyd. Unabhängige Tageszeitung zur Förderung des Deutschtums im Fernen Osten*, Shanghai, Vols. Oct 1886-17. Aug. 1917 and 1. Jan 1936-31. Mai 1941.

⁶³ *Die Flotte. Monatsblatt des Deutschen Flotten-Vereins und des Hauptverbandes Deutscher Flottenvereine im Auslande*, Berlin 1899-1919.

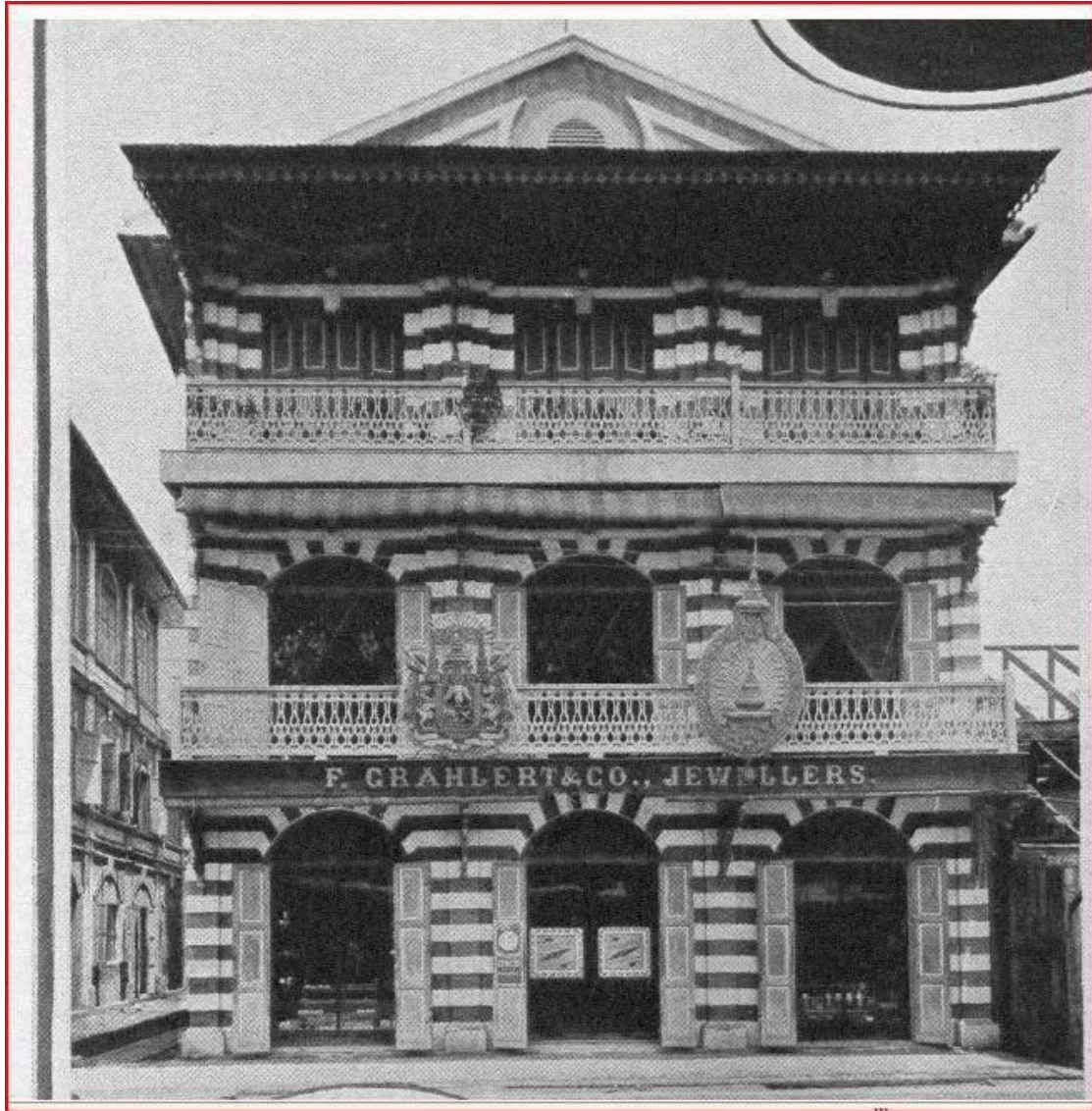
⁶⁴ *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. Organ der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft*, München i.a. 1884-1943 and *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft*, Berlin 1889-1929.

⁶⁵ See Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear, *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908, p. 143.

⁶⁶ *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908, pp. 267-268. and Yuwadee Tonsakulrungrueang, *Fagvainaipaendin: In the Kingdom B. Grimm & Co. Since 1878*, Bangkok 2018.

⁶⁷ *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908, p. 275.

From Bangkok, this trade network branched out regionally to neighbouring countries, such as Penang, Singapore and Hong Kong, but also to the ports of the Dutch Indies. Bangkok became the most important "German outpost" in South-east Asia.⁶⁸ The Pickenpack family is a good example. They had both business and family roots in Hamburg, Penang and Bangkok.



Figs. 3 Building facade of the F. Grählert & Co. store in Bangkok (image source: Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear, *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908)

⁶⁸ Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants*, p. 47.

F. Grählert & Co.

Court Jewellers

To His Majesty and H. R. H.
the Crown Prince




**Fancy and Artistic
JEWELLERIES**
executed in best
workmanship.
Jewellery made from
old coins of Siam.
Siamese Curiosities.



The Most Unique
stock of —
Jewellery
in Native Designs,
to be found in Asia.
Inspection Invited.



Fuang Nakon Road

Bangkok, Siam

Fig. 4: The interior of the F. Grählert & Co. store in Bangkok (image source: Arnold Wright and Oliver T. Breakspear, *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908)



Fig. 5: The gravestone of Eduard Franz Gottlob Grählerlert (1866-1916) at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok (photo by the author)

The photographer Robert Lenz, to give another example, had first established a studio in Burma. In 1894, he opened a branch in Bangkok and later another in Singapore.⁶⁹ It can also be assumed from the already mentioned Leon Henry Rabichowsky that he was part of a German-speaking Jewish network.⁷⁰

b.) Labour Network

The government in Berlin promoted economic interests of the German Empire abroad, and it also contributed significantly to establishing a German transnational labour network. For example, the German professionals who worked for the Siamese railways or in the post and telegraph offices were loaned officials who came to Siam on the basis of a contract between Bangkok and Berlin. The engineers Ernst Altmann and Luis Weiler, who were involved in the construction of the Baghdad Railway before working in Bangkok, can be listed as further examples. A.W. Wendt and Josef Falk, who will be referred to below, probably also found their way to Siam via such networks.

IV. General Data and Facts About the German Community

The macro- and micro-historical facts described in the last chapter played an important role in the gradual formation and expansion of the German expatriate community in Siam. As will be explained in detail below, the community consisted of two socially different groups. One high class with contacts exclusively to the Siamese upper class and which adapted only slightly to the residential society, and a second class, whose members were recruited from the middle class and on which this article will focus. Since census data is lacking, it is impossible to say exactly how many Germans were living in Siam at that time. By the way, this also applies to

⁶⁹ *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908, p. 275 and Joachim K. Bautze, *Emil Grootte, Court Photographer to Three Kings of Siam*, in: *Journal of Siam Society*, vol. 103 (2015), pp. 143-160.

⁷⁰ There are several Jewish graves with German names in the Protestant cemetery in Bangkok. They could refer to such networks in Southeast Asia. A Jewish community not only exists in Bangkok to this day, it has also expanded. In 2015, it was able to build its own cemetery next to the Protestant one (on the German Jewish community in Penang, see Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants*, p. 33).

other Western foreigners. However, numerous sources show that by 1900 the German community had not only firmly established itself, but was also one of the large foreign communities, if not the largest at all.⁷¹ Year by year, the number of members increased. At the same time, the community became more diverse in terms of the origin, religion, social status, occupation and the length of stay of its members. The exact number of German community members was first documented on 22.07.1917. On this day, Siam entered the First World War on the side of the Allies. All Germans living in Bangkok were interned. According to files of the Siamese Foreign Ministry, there were 193 Germans in Siam at that time, 139 men and 54 women. Eight men were older than 60 years.⁷² 50 women were married to German men and had a total of 44 children with them. It can be assumed that they primarily took care of the household and family. 72 men lived with a native woman. Of these, 4 were officially married and had a total of 8 children. The remaining relationships can be described as more uxorio.

A total of 104 children were born from such relationships.⁷³ There were also nine mixed marriages between Siamese men and German women.⁷⁴ These data show that the German expatriate community in Siam was male-dominated, though not by bachelors. Rather, it was families with children that determined the character of the community. Some families consisted of three generations with an age range between 1 and 67 years.⁷⁵ As will be shown below, the men came from different re-

⁷¹ The list of German employees in the annual reports of the individual ministries, the information on foreigners in the register of persons in the *Siam Directory*, the lists of deceased persons in the Protestant cemetery and, last but not least, the database on Germans in Siam compiled by the author himself provide clues regarding the population of the German community. Cf. also Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants*, p. 33.

⁷² NA 6 T/ 31.

⁷³ Such relationships were common, as Friedrich Schaefer also noted in his diary: "Like almost all European bachelors, he had a 'Mia' (เมีย), i.e. a Siamese wife". (Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 80).

⁷⁴ According to some files of the Foreign Ministry in Bangkok, there were several Siamese students who had love affairs with German women in Germany, which resulted in illegitimate children. When they returned home after their studies, they left their partners and children behind in Germany and only supported them financially from time to time.

⁷⁵ NA 6 T/ 31. Following 8 persons are mentioned by name in the files: Captain Julius Meyer (67), Carl Roebelen (62), Carl Gosewisch, (61), Th. Gaethke (61), Eberhard Brande (60), Dr. Oskar Frankfurter (61), Anton Tobias (66), Arthur Steffen (64). The architect Carl Sandreczki was 66 years old, too.

gions of Germany, belonged to different denominations, exercised a wide range of professions and practised different lifestyles.

a.) Profession

Professionally, members of the German community in Siam can be divided into three occupational groups: Business owners, employees and government officials. Regarding the first group, it should first be noted that German economic activities in the period around 1850 were limited to the import of European goods and the export of rice. Thirty years later, however, German enterprises in Bangkok were active in many different business sectors in Bangkok. There were numerous small and medium-sized pharmacology and chemical companies. Others worked as goldsmiths or even photographers. The group of business owners included not only freelancers such as Carl Roebelen, an orchid collector, but also international corporations from the insurance and banking industries or shipping companies that transported freight as well as passengers. One of the most important German shipping companies of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the "Norddeutscher Lloyd" (North German Lloyd). Other companies specialised in importing modern technological products for telecommunications or setting up an efficient infrastructure. Of considerable importance for Siam was the military technology supplied by Krupp in Essen, for example. Alfred Krupp and King Chulalongkorn were close friends. The second group of employees included staff employed by German companies. They pursued a wide range of professions. In this category you will find pharmacists, doctors, veterinarians, chemists and botanists, bankers, financial advisors and accountants, commercial employees, lawyers and translators, engineers and architects, ship captains, jewellers and photographers. The government officials were consultants, heads of department at the railway service, post and telegraph departments, and middle-grade civil service employees.

b.) Religion

Data from the death records of the two foreign cemeteries in Bangkok show that the majority of Germans in Siam were Protestants. After 1880, however, the number of Catholics increased. This is mainly due to members of the second generation of the community, who had German fathers and native Catholic mothers. At the beginning of the 20th century, more and more Protestant missionaries, Catholic priests and deaconesses also settled in the community.

c.) Origin

Not all members of the German community in Bangkok were necessarily born within the borders of the German Empire. In fact, quite a few inhabitants were born in other countries. They did not even have German passports. Some members acquired another nationality through marriage in Bangkok. We also find quite a few who had themselves naturalised in Siam, such as Johannes Fritz Schnerr, who was born in Kassel, Georg Wehler, who came from Hanover, the Siamese-German Adolf Ulrich or Albert Wilfred Wendt who had family roots in Sri Lanka. The members of the community who were born within the empire came not only from the Hanseatic cities or from regions on the Baltic and North Seas, but also from provinces far from the coast. Some birthplaces outside the empire can be documented by sources. These include Istanbul and Izmir in the Ottoman Empire, Warora in British India, Kandy in Sri Lanka, Surabaya in the Dutch Indies and of course Bangkok, as the community's second generation was born there. Where no place of birth can be verified, at least a regional origin from South, Southeast and East Asia can be traced.

d.) Duration of Stay

Due to the lack of precise data, no exact information can be given on the question of duration of stay. There were no legal restrictions and Germans, like all other Western foreigners, could stay in Siam as long as they wanted and enter and leave the country at any time. Everything was left to their own decision. Captain August Kruse, for example, returned to Greifswald in 1901 to receive medical treatment and died there after an operation. In general, it can be said that those who had put down roots in Siam settled there. However, there were two reasons that made or even forced members of the German community to leave Siam. When the First

World War broke out, those who continued to work in Siam sent their wives and children back to the German Empire for safety reasons. This was the case with Luis Weiler and Johannes Fritz Schnerr. Others, for instance Adolph Böhmer, a German doctor in the Siamese navy, went to Germany to join the army in the war. When Siam finally sided with the Allies on 22 July 1917, all Germans were interned.

e.) Gender, Family Life and Social Structure

Around 1900, the German community still consisted of a majority of men, but the number of women and children had increased considerably. As explained above, the general population growth of the community was related to the intensified colonial competition in Siam since 1880. The male community members either married German partners or looked for local women. Mostly, they found their brides while they were on home leave. Good examples are Oskar Frankfurter, who worked for the Siamese Foreign Ministry from 1884, and the architect Karl Döhring.⁷⁶ Unlike in the years before 1871, marriages with women of other Western nations no longer took place during this period, as far as can be said according to the current state of research. This may have to do with the fact that the criterion of nationality gained in importance. In this respect, the German community in Siam differed from those in British colonies such as Penang or Singapore. Until 1914, not only business but also family contacts with other Europeans, especially with the British, were maintained there.⁷⁷ The wide occupational spectrum of the members shows how diverse the German community had become. In social terms, however, there were basically two groups, an upper social class minority and a middle class majority. The first group can be described in six characteristics: First of all, it was mostly composed of entrepreneurs, tradesmen, business owners and government advisers, as well as heads of departments in the railway, postal and telegraphic services. The king's personal physician also belonged to the upper class.⁷⁸ They repre-

⁷⁶ Clemens Weiler (Hrsg.), *Anfang der Eisenbahn in Thailand von Luis Weiler*, Bangkok 1979, pp. 213-214.

⁷⁷ See Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants*, Penang 2006.

⁷⁸ Dorothea von Staden was the stepdaughter of the German merchant Adolf Möller in Bangkok, where she spent her childhood until the age of 15. When she was elderly, she wrote down her memories of her experiences in the Far East. See URL: <http://kaspar-sickermann.thaistik-gesellschaft.de/2-theaHGT/dth001.php>. These memoirs give a good insight into the German community at that time. For general information on the upper classes of the German expatriate communities, see Markus Denzel (ed.), *Deutsche Eliten in Übersee. 16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert*, St. Katharinen 2006.

sented the higher ranks of the German Empire's class society and, and this is the second characteristic that must be referred to here, predominantly socialised with each other. Their social life in Bangkok was limited to attending the German club, and within the society of their host country they maintained contacts exclusively with the Siamese upper class. Thirdly, the majority of them came from the German Empire and fourthly, they had German spouses. Furthermore and to mention as the fifth criterion, it is typical for the upper class that they registered their children born in Bangkok at the German consulate and later sent them to Germany for education. This was the case, for example, with the Link and Kurtzhals families, as will be shown below⁷⁹. Sixth and finally, they were almost never buried in one of the two foreign cemeteries in Bangkok. Thus, there are no family graves of them. Exceptions are some merchant families. If they had relatives buried there, they were babies or mothers who had died in childbirth with their newborns. The elite of the German community essentially formed a self-contained group. However, since they also had - though limited - contacts with the residential society, they were also exposed to processes of transculturation and „Siamization“.

However, these had a more modest effect than was the case with the community's middle class. Therefore, this group will not be considered further in the following.

The second group was large in number and formed the main part of the community. Its members belonged to the middle class. Compared to the members of the first group, their biographies, lifestyle and everyday life were more open, colourful, diverse and multi-faceted. Therefore, the reflections on transculturation and Siamese formation, which will be presented in the following, will focus on them. This group can also be characterised by six criteria. The first thing to note is that they had a more diverse range of activities. Most of them were employees in either Siamese or German companies, mid-level government officials or freelancers. Secondly, they cultivated contacts not only with their compatriots in the "Deutscher Klub", but also with all Siamese social classes. Thirdly, it is noteworthy that they were not only German citizens, but came from different parts of the world. Fourthly, this corresponded to the fact that they lived in culturally mixed marriages. The fifth characteristic is that they did not necessarily register their children as Germans

⁷⁹ Yuwadee Tonsakulrungrueang, *Fagvainaipaendin: In the Kingdom B. Grimm & Co. since 1878*, Bangkok 2018.

at the consulate. Their sons and daughters usually went to school in Bangkok, became familiar with both cultures and spoke at least three languages: German, Thai and English. The sixth and last point to be emphasised is that the members of this group earned their bread in Siam, spent their entire lives there, had no contact with relatives in the German Empire and had often never been there. For at least two generations, they had their relatives buried in one of the two cemeteries for foreigners.

Finally, it is worth noting that there were a total of nine interracial marriages between German women and Siamese men, which was a novelty at the time. These relationships started in Germany, where a number of Siamese were studying. During their stay in the empire, they met and eventually married their future wives. They were mostly officers in the Siamese army or senior civil servants and belonged to the elite of Siamese society. Some were princes of the royal house, including Prince Rangsit, a son of King Chulalongkorn. These Siamese-German couples became part of the upper class of local society and had little contact with the German community. Even if the children were studying abroad, they remained in the cultural environment of Siam's upper class. Therefore, they are not considered further in this study. It is worth mentioning, however, that only five of the nine German women married to Siamese men are known by name. For further information about them, please see List 3 below. One of the women was Elisabeth Scharnberger (1892-1973), born in Wiesbaden and wife of Prince Rangsit Prayurasakdi (1885-1951), who had studied at Heidelberg University.⁸⁰ She was honoured by the Siamese as "Mom Elisabeth". "Mom" is the Siamese form of address for the wife of a prince and corresponds to the English term "Lady".

⁸⁰ Elisabeth Scharnberger was born September 15, 1892 in Wiesbaden and later lived in Ladenburg near Heidelberg. She was the daughter of the engineer Heinrich Scharnberger and his wife Anna, a née Seelos. (*Ancestry.de: Hessen, Deutschland, ausgewählte Geburtsregister 1851-1901: Wiesbaden*) August 28, 1912, she married Prince Rangsit Prayurasakdi, a son of King Chulalongkorn, in London. (Source: *Ancestry.de: Michel Choueiri Family Tree*).

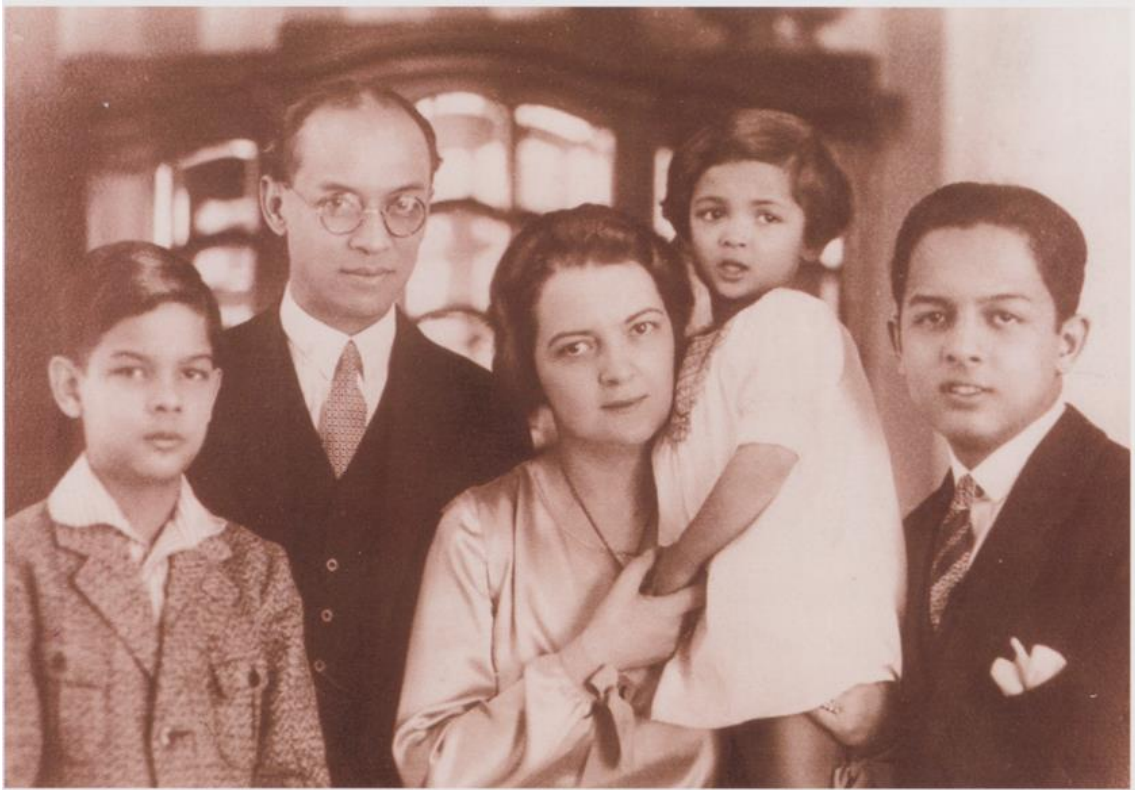


Fig. 6: A family photo of Prince Rangsit, from left to right: M.C. Snidprayurasakdi, Prince Rangsit Prayurasakdi, Mom Elisabeth Scharnberger, M.C. Charurak Galayani and M.C. Piyaangsit (private archive Ajarn Warunyupha Snidvongse na Ayudhya).

Only the surnames of the second and third wives, who were married to Siamese men, are documented: both were called Seelos. Their first names as well as the names of their husbands are unknown.⁸¹ The last two of the five women, however, gained a certain popularity, also within the German community. The first was Annelie Freye (1867-1913). The Hanoverian was married to Luang Uppathet Thuoyhan and was famous in the community as "Madame Uppathet". The second was Paula Schulz or "Madame Sakseni", named after her husband's official title, Phraya Sakseni. Her life dates are unknown so far. These women had to adapt strongly to local customs, as will be shown in their outlined life stories below.

⁸¹ The two Seelos ladies were relatives on Elisabeth Scharnberger's mother's side.

V. Cultural Transfer, Transculturation and „Siamization“

V.1. Cultural Transfer

As already mentioned at the beginning, the Kingdom of Siam was not isolated from the outside world during the Ayudhya period. Relations between Asians and Europeans date back to the 16th century. Of course, there were processes of cultural transfer, transculturation and „Siamization“ even then. In the Bangkok period, which began in 1782, these processes continued. Especially the descendants of the Portuguese Catholic community played an important role in this regard. Their networking throughout South, Southeast and East Asia led to cross-border movements of people, goods⁸² and information⁸³, of technical achievements⁸⁴ and, not least, of diseases⁸⁵. The German role in cultural transfer with Siam is particularly evident in the fields of music, architecture and technology. King Mongkut, who ruled Siam from 1851 to 1868, was already taken with Western-style music. In

⁸² See the detailed report on the Crawford mission to Bangkok in 1821 in chap. A.III. *Der Beginn diplomatischer Beziehungen zwischen dem Westen und Siam*, in Suphot Manalapanacharoen, *Selbstbehauptung und Modernisierung mit Zeremoniell und symbolischer Politik*, Konstanz 2017, pp. 33-34. It is also interesting to note what Count Fritz zu Eulenburg was told during his mission in 1862: "In the course of the conversation he (Count Eulenburg) asked the prince (Khroma-Luang Wongsā, chief negotiator in the talks on the treaty) whether the Siamese had European furniture and utensils only since they had come into closer contact with "Farang", whether the nobles also used them when dining; To which Prince Khroma-Luan replied that the divans had already been introduced by the Muslims, but chairs had been introduced by the Europeans: the two kings and he himself also sat on chairs at meals, the other people of rank, even the Kalahum (the prime minister and defense minister at the time), had not yet learned to do so." (*Die Preussische Expedition*, vol. IV, Berlin 1873, p. 261).

⁸³ At that time Siamese were already well informed about the French Revolution, the Code Napoléon and the Napoleonic Wars [see for example Mayoury Ngaosyathn und Pheuiphanh Ngaosyathn, *World Super Power and Regional Conflicts*, in: *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 76 (1988), pp. 121-133.

⁸⁴ The U.S. American Protestant missionaries had introduced printing presses and smallpox vaccination, and had popularized their ideas of political freedom and human rights in Siam (for more details, see *Abstracts of the Journal of Rev. Dan Beach Bradley, M.D.: Medical Missionary in Siam 1835-1873*, ed. by Rev. George Haws Feltus, A.M.B.D., New York 1930).

⁸⁵ Particular mention should be made here of the Spanish flu pandemic, which spread throughout the country between October 1918 and March 1919. According to official statistics, 2.3 of Siam's 9.2 million inhabitants fell ill, and 80,223 died. [*Rachakitchanubeksa (Siamese Government Gazette)* 27.07.1919]. According to the death records of the Protestant and Catholic cemeteries, quite a few Western foreigners died of "influenza" during this period. It was the first time that such a cause of death was mentioned in the registers.

1862, in the course of the treaty negotiations between Siam and Prussia, the king commissioned the military kapellmeister Fritz, who had taken part in the Eulenburg mission, to train the musicians of his music corps, which had been founded shortly before.⁸⁶

The further development of the Siamese Royal Military Band was taken over by Jacob Feit.⁸⁷ After he died in 1909, his son Peter was appointed his successor. He not only directed the royal music corps, but also the newly founded Royal Symphony Orchestra. In 1930, he was commissioned by the government to preserve the cultural heritage of Siamese folk music, which was in danger of being irretrievably lost due to Western influences.

Peter Feit, who was born and raised in Siam, was more familiar with Siamese music than the other foreign military music conductors of the first generation. Because he knew Siamese music as well as Western music and was therefore capable of fulfilling this task⁸⁸, he was charged to transcribe the traditional music, which had no notation and had only been passed down orally from generation to generation, into the European five-line system.⁸⁹

Oskar Frankfurter, a doctor of Indology and long-time employee of the Foreign Ministry in Bangkok, played an important role in establishing the National Library of Siam. At the beginning of the 20th century, he was invited by the Siamese government to participate in the foundation of the institution.⁹⁰ Frankfurter was also one of the founders of the Siam Society in 1904, as was Carl Sandreczki.⁹¹ This society, which still exists today, was founded by a group of Siamese and international historical and archaeological scholars. This is remarkable because neither political,

⁸⁶ See chapter II.3 *Die Rezeption der deutschen Militärkapelle in Siam durch Prinz Paribatra* in: Suphot Manalapanacharoen, *Die Geschichte deutsch-thailändischer Musikbeziehungen*, Frankfurt a.M. 2000, pp. 99-101.

⁸⁷ Further information on the biographies of Jacob and Peter Feit will be provided below.

⁸⁸ Phra Chenduriyang (Piti Waithayakorn), *Chiwaprawat kbong Khaphrachao [Memoires]*, Bangkok 1969, pp. 56-58.

⁸⁹ Suphot Manalapanacharoen, *Die Geschichte deutsch-thailändischer Musikbeziehungen*, Frankfurt a.M. 2000, pp. 109-111.

⁹⁰ *Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908, pp. 248-250.

⁹¹ See O. Frankfurter, *The Aim of the Society* and Williamson W.J.F., *The Foundation of the Society*, in: *Journal of Siam Society*, vol. 1.0 (1904), pp. 1-6 and 209-210.

economic nor national affinities played a role in the founding of the society, as was the case with the "Club Concordia" in the 1870s.

Karl Döhring brought the German Art Nouveau style to Siamese architecture.⁹² Adolf Böhmer, a German doctor in the Siamese Navy, had spoken for Döhring. He was eventually charged by Prince Paribatra with designing and overseeing the construction of the residence for King Chulalongkorn in Phetchaburi.⁹³ Paribatra was a son of King Chulalongkorn and had attended the Prussian Cadet School in Groß-Lichterfelde from 1897 to 1902. Later he became Commander of the Royal Thai Navy. After his first assignment, Döhring was able to build the palaces of Prince Paribatra and Prince Damrong. He also planned and supervised the construction of the Bangkok terminus station on the German model. Luis Weiler, head of the Siamese railways, had commissioned him to do so.⁹⁴

A significant transfer of knowledge also took place in the medical field. It went back to Friedrich Schaefer, who served as a Prussian medical officer in the Royal Siamese Army between 1907 and 1914.

Schaefer was the only Western surgeon in Siam at that time and had introduced the then most modern surgical procedure he had developed on the front lines of the Russo-Japanese War, the so-called "Intentional non-operative management for abdominal trauma", into the Siamese medical system.⁹⁵

⁹² See Krisana Daroonthanom, *Das architektonische Werk des deutschen Architekten Karl Döhring in Thailand*, Phil. Diss., Universität Osnabrück, 1998.

⁹³ Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, pp. 225-226.

⁹⁴ Clemens Weiler (ed.), *Anfang der Eisenbahn in Thailand von Luis Weiler*, Bangkok 1979, pp. 219-220.

⁹⁵ See the foreword by W. Schaefer-Kehnert in: Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 10.



Fig. 7: The grave of Friedrich Schaefer at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok (photo by the author).

Schaefer also wanted to establish a medical academy in the newly founded Chulalongkorn Hospital based on the German model, employing German deaconesses. Unfortunately Schaefer died of blood poisoning before he could realise this project. He was buried in Bangkok with military honors. Even today, the surgery professors of the Chulalongkorn Hospital visit his grave privately every year and lay wreaths in his honor.⁹⁶ Finally, it should be mentioned that women also contributed to the cultural transfer. Three German women married to Siamese men should be listed here as representatives. They are Annelie Freye, who appears on List 3 as no. 4, and the two ladies Seelos, who are listed as nos. 2 and 3. Annelie Freye taught German at the Siamese cadet school, the two Seelos worked as German and piano teachers at a Protestant mission school in Bangkok.

Processes of cultural transfer did not always run smoothly. Sometimes conflicts arose and profound changes could be observed on both sides involved. In the field of music, for example, traditional Siamese music was rewritten for the military band and its instruments. The different tone frequencies led to a new sound character. In the process, the strictly march-like character of Prussian military music was lost. When the Siamese musicians performed pieces, they did so in the manner to which they were accustomed. They paid no attention to pitch, rhythm or tempo, but played *ad libitum* or *rubato*, according to their way of life and world view. The Germans perceived the Siamese lifestyle differently. Father and son Jacob and Peter Feit as well as Luis Weiler, the manager of the Siamese railway, can be cited as opposing examples. Before describing in more detail how their world views changed in the course of cultural transfer, the life and family history of father and son Feit will be briefly outlined here. The biography of the German-American Jacob Feit (1844-1909) is still well known in Thailand. Even more present in the cultural memory of the country is his son Peter Feit. Immediately after the coup d'état in 1932, he composed the melody of Thailand's national anthem. Jacob Feit came from Trier. When he was 19, his whole family emigrated to the USA and he served in the American army in California during the Civil War in the 1860s. But he did not stay in the country. Driven by his youthful thirst for adventure, Veit migrated to Siam in 1867. In Bangkok, the American consul John Hassett Chandler got him a position as music instructor at the Front Palace of King Pinklao, the second king

⁹⁶ See URL: <https://www.facebook.com/rattaplee.pakart/posts/3118284758185488>.

of Siam during the Fourth Reign. Feit made a decisive contribution to forming the Royal Army Brass Band. With this activity, the Catholic Feit gained a foothold in Siam and married a Siamese woman from the Mon ethnic group. They had three sons: Paul, Leo and Peter.⁹⁷ All three grew up in Bangkok and attended the French Catholic mission school. Besides German, they spoke Thai, English and French. Although Jakob cut all ties with his relatives in Trier, never visited the German Empire again and also had no close contact with the German community in Bangkok, he nevertheless cultivated German culture within the family. Son Peter recalled in his memoirs the annual Christmas feast celebrated according to German customs and the house music of German bourgeois tradition. The children learned various instruments from their father, and he also taught them music theory and harmony. Peter played the cello and piano, his brothers the violin and viola. Every afternoon after school, with exception of Christmas and New Year, they practised their instruments. Besides German culture, Anglo-American and Siamese culture also had their place in family life. Together with other Western foreigners, father and sons Feit regularly played chamber music, either in Western clubs or in embassies in Bangkok.⁹⁸

Jakob Feit's life was marked by a profound cultural change. He had moved far away from his German roots, had gained a lot of experience from his stays abroad and had integrated well into the Siamese residential society. Nevertheless, he not only held on to some German traditions, but also found it difficult to accept some facets of the Asian lifestyle. In his opinion, the Siamese were lethargic and pleasure-seeking, lacking discipline and ambition. This is why Jakob - like his Siamese son - found it difficult to cope with what he considered the "lethargic routine" of his musicians and to establish the military band and later the symphony orchestra according to German-European standards. Even Peter, who was born in Siam, was very bitter and disappointed in his later years that he had not succeeded. Several times he lamented in his memoirs that his father was right in saying that Siamese life was all about having fun. Peter Feit already belonged to the second generation of German-Siamese who were involved in processes of cultural transfer. Like others of

⁹⁷ Phra Chenduriyang (Piti Waithayakorn), *Chiwaprawat khong Khaphrachao* [Memoires], Bangkok 1969, pp. 32-35.

⁹⁸ Phra Chenduriyang (Piti Waithayakorn), *Chiwaprawat khong Khaphrachao* [Memoires], Bangkok 1869, p. 34.

this generation, e.g. the Sandreczki, Ulrich, Pickepack and Rochga families, he had grown up in a transnational and transcultural environment and was in the best position to mediate between the German and Siamese sides. This made him and other Siamese with German backgrounds "cultural mediators", a role that will be discussed further below. Not all Germans, however, shared his negative attitude towards the Siamese way of life. Luis Weiler, for example, who had already had experience of the Asian mentality in other Asian countries such as Iraq or China, was able to see it with equanimity and to cope well with it. In his diary he recorded:

"In some ways, Siamese culture is more developed than ours. [...] The Siamese is a harmless, calm person. Crudeness is extremely rare. In our opinion, the Siamese have one great fault: they are very slow in their actions and it costs them some effort to become really active. As Mr. Bethge said, you have to get used to patience when working with them."⁹⁹

While Weiler had sympathy for the Siamese, he criticised the European behaviour:

"In the Far East, the majority of Europeans are distinguished by their arrogance. They look down on the Chinese and Siamese with unabashed disrespect. I have noticed that this is especially true for the most stupid and lazy Europeans. You can learn diligence from the Chinese and calmness in all situations from the Siamese. These haughty Europeans are hardly of any use as cultural pioneers. The European is not a higher being than the natural man who has not yet been stained by culture. The culture we owe to our ancestors cannot be a reason to despise our black and brown neighbours. Energy, justice and mildness must be the cultural factors, not arbitrariness and cruelty."¹⁰⁰

The cultural change that can be observed in Weiler even went so far as to defend austerity measures of the Siamese government, in whose service he also stood, against the interests of his compatriots. This made him unpopular in the German community. Friedrich Schaefer wrote about the dissonances in his diary:

"The Germans of Bangkok complain about him. The salaries of the railway officials have become smaller and smaller, as they say, at Weiler's instigation, who wanted to

⁹⁹ Clemens Weiler (ed.), *Anfang der Eisenbahn in Thailand von Luis Weiler*, Bangkok 1979, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ Clemens Weiler (ed.), *Anfang der Eisenbahn in Thailand von Luis Weiler*, Bangkok 1979, p. 78.

make a good impression and secure his position through economical budgeting. Dissatisfaction among his subordinates grew more and more and finally there was open mutiny. A large number of railway officials wrote a warning concerning Bangkok, in which the railway conditions in Bangkok were described in an unflattering manner for Weiler. This 'Cavete Bangkok, collegae!' was posted on the notice board of the technical college in Charlottenburg. At the same time, they placed an article in a construction magazine, which they put on Mr. Weiler's breakfast table as a morning greeting. Of course there was a big ruckus. But Mr Weiler has his connections, he is firmly in the saddle and remains the winner. All the civil servants who had signed were dismissed. Only about two or three were able to hold their ground. This is the situation in the railway administration, the stronghold of Germanism in Siam. [...]"¹⁰¹

Transcultural change can also be seen in a number of Germans who lived with a native woman. They got used to both the unfamiliar food and the tropical climate. They adapted to the local living conditions and integrated themselves into their resident society to such an extent that they wanted to continue living in Siam after the end of World War I. The Swiss consul in British India, who looked after the interests of the German internees from Siam, forwarded the following request to the British authorities: „The Siamese prisoners of war have also almost unanimously expressed their hope that they will be allowed to return to Siam, as most of them have neither friends nor relations in Germany, and are married to Siamese wives.”¹⁰²

The German dentist John Dietzal, who served in the Siamese navy, was even more precise in a letter to the Swiss consul: „Undersigned is 49 years of age and was for 12 years living in Siam without ever leaving that country. Few weeks after arriving in Yercaud, undersigned fell ill with a heavy attack of intermittent malaria which in Siam he never suffered from. Since that almost every time when temperature lowers and a cold wind blows or misty weather prevails, undersigned gets feverish again; within the last five months he got six attacks of intermittent malaria. Undersigned as Physician is convinced that the much colder climate of Germany would certainly be of a very deleterious effect on his health. Further undersigned is since

¹⁰¹ Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 52.

¹⁰² PAAA R 48259.

eight years accustomed to Siamese food, wherefore undersigned, since he left Siam, is suffering continuously from a very irregular digestion. Undersigned has no more relatives whomsoever in Germany, and is legally married to a Siamese lady whom, being an orphan, he cannot leave alone. Should, therefore, the German prisoners be repatriated, undersigned kindly begs the Consul for Switzerland to ask the British authorities permission to release undersigned whether to Siam or to Java to restore his health and to feed his wife.”¹⁰³

V. 2. Transculturation

The persons involved in processes of cultural transfer did not remain unaffected by them. They were subject to a variety of transcultural changes. Consciously or unconsciously, they had to deal with a wide variety of influences from the resident society. The familiar mixed with the foreign to varying degrees, hybrids developed, and new identities emerged, especially in German-Siamese families and particularly among their children. As mentioned above, this chapter therefore focuses on the relationships between German men, local women and their children, in particular on their family life on the one hand and everyday life in Siam on the other. In the following, the men will be looked at first, then the women and finally the children.

a.) Men

According to documents of the Siamese Foreign Ministry from 1917, the German community at that time consisted of 193 persons, among them 139 men and 54 women. 25 men were married to German women and had together 44 children. In addition, there were 72 relationships between German men and native women, four of which were legalised with a total of eight children.

The rest were "common-law marriages", resulting in 104 children. There were also nine mixed marriages between Siamese men and German women. It should be noted here that, as thorough research shows, the community must have been larger than the Foreign Ministry indicated. It can be assumed that the 193 persons were Germans and Siamese-Germans who had themselves registered at the German Embassy in Bangkok and were consequently interned. The local women and children from the "common-law marriages", for example, were obviously not taken

¹⁰³ John Dietzal to the Swiss consul in British-India (PAAA R 48259).

into account. In addition, not all family members of the Siamese Germans were interned, as was the case with the Ulrichs and Pickenpacks and with Henry Hinch, Professor Surapone Virulrak's father, as will become clear below. It is known that 72 German men had entered a relationship with a native woman. However, only about twenty of them are known by name. Those who were registered either with the German legation or in the Protestant or Catholic church are the ones most likely to be recorded. But even if more names and life stories were known, it would not be possible to look closely at the transculturation processes in each family. Therefore, this article focuses on those persons who are particularly well documented on the basis of the internment files. These are 44 members, of the eight families Kruse, Lampe, Rochga, Sandreczki, Russel, Schmidt, Ulrich and Vil. The imprisoned members of the Vil family comprised 3 generations.

List 1: Interned Siam Germans 1917¹⁰⁴

1. Kruse, Willy/ Willie (42 years old)
2. Lampe, Jacob, (37, 1880-1931, 51)
3. - 7. Lampe, Lai and four children not known by name
8. Lampe, Wilhelm Markus (34)
9. Lampe, Friedrich Louis (33)
10. Lampe, Johann, (27)
11. Lampe, Bernhard Louis/ Louis Bernhardt (30)
12. Rochga, Elimar, (8, 1912-1967, 55)
13. Rochga, Edith, (5)
14. Rochga, Gladys, (3)
15. Russel, John/ Jean Adrien (32)
16. Sandreczki, Anton (31, 1889-1928, 39)
17. Sandreczki, Gertrude, (29), née Hicks
18. Sandreczki, Otto (24)
19. Sandreczki, Betta (sic! Bertha) (22)

¹⁰⁴ This list is based on sources from the National Archives in Bangkok and the PAAA in Berlin. The life data added in brackets were obtained from records of Siamese authorities and church documents.

20. Sandreczki, Anna (20)
21. Sandreczki, Eleonora (17)
22. Sandreczki, Carola (15)
23. Sandreczki, Johanna (9)
24. Sandreczki, Gerhard M. (7)
25. Schmidt, Fritz Leo (40)¹⁰⁵
- 26.-29. Schmidt, Evelyn (34) and three children (Clement, 15, Robert 12 and Wilfred 10)
30. Ulrich, Adolf (32, 16.03.1887-1940, 53)
31. - 34. Ulrich, Marie Siuki (26, 1891-1921, 30) and three children (Dorothea, Ed-da and Ina)¹⁰⁶
35. Vil, Christiana Josephine (59, 1863-1936, 73), née Trail
36. Vil, William/Wilhelm Rudolf (34, 1885-?)
37. - 41. Vil, Maud Evelyn Winifred (29, 1891-1936, 45), née Nicholay, and four children (Adalbert, 8; Nancy, 6; Hans, 4; Wilhelm, 3)
42. Vil, Hermann, (27)
43. Vil, Friedrich, (26, 1891-1938, 47)
44. Vil, Josephine, (25)

Further research made it possible to add five more persons to the list: the ship captain Hermann Meyer, the orchid collector Carl Roebelen, the two railway engineers Ernst Altmann and Georg Wehler, and the German-American military brass instructor Jacob Feit. They were married to local women and had children with them, but they were not on record and therefore not interned. Jacob Feit, a native of Trier, first emigrated to the USA with his parents - as already mentioned above - and had US citizenship before coming to Siam. This would probably have saved him from internment, but he died in 1909 anyway. Therefore, this study focuses on the following 13 Germans and their families:

¹⁰⁵ According to Thai sources, Schmidt was interned alone without family members (NA 6 T/ 31). However, PAAA file R 48216 shows that his 34-year-old wife Evelyn and three children were with him in the internment camp in British India.

¹⁰⁶ According to the Thai files (NA 6 T/ 31) the Ulrich couple was interned with one child, but the PAAA file R 48216 lists three children.

List 2: 13 Germans with Local Women

1. Carl A.J. Sandreczki (09.05.1841 Smyrna-04.07.1929 Bangkok, 88)
2. Carl Roebelen (19.01.1855 Geislingen near Stuttgart-07.01.1927 Siam, 72)
3. Captain August Ludwig Bernhard Kruse (29.09.1842 Lassan-1901 Greifswald, 59)¹⁰⁷
4. Captain Georg Friedrich Ulrich (20.06.1835 Eiderstedt-23.06.1889 in Bangkok, 54)
5. Captain Hermann August Julius Meyer (1849 Wedehof near Stade-1926 Bangkok, 77)
6. Captain Jan Rudolph Vil (22.01.1846 Hamburg-14.03.1895 Bangkok, 49)
7. Captain Lampe
8. Captain Ludwig Rochga (23.10.1868 Teterow-17.12.1924 Teterow, 56)
9. Captain Schmidt
10. S. H. Russel
11. Georg Friedrich Wehler (28.09.1876 Hannover-1927 Bangkok, 51)
12. Ernst Altmann (? -1939 Argentinien)
13. Jacob Feit (1844 Trier-1909 Bangkok, 65)

To complete the picture of the family and social structure in the German community, List 3 also includes the five German women mentioned above who were married to Siamese men.

List 3: German Women Married to Siamese Men

1. Elisabeth Scharnberger (1892 in Heidelberg-1973 in Switzerland)
2. and 3. Two ladies named Seelos
4. Annelie Freye (27.01.1867 in Hannover-10.04.1913 in Bangkok)
5. Paula Schulz

¹⁰⁷ August Ludwig Bernhard Kruse had two sons, Willie (see List 1, no.1) and Karl (*Twentieth Century Impression of Siam*, London 1908, p. 278). Karl died on 26.11.1914 at the age of 38 and was buried in the Protestant cemetery. (Justin Corfield, *Bangkok: The Protestant Cemetery*, London 1997, pp. 186-187).

Concerning List 2, it should be noted that so far only little data could be collected regarding the lives, origins and family histories of Captain Lampe, Captain Schmidt and H.H. Russel. These persons are listed on List 2 as nos. 7, 9 and 10 and could possibly be the fathers of the children numbered 2 to 11, 15 and 26 to 29 on List 1. The names Lampe and Schmidt are found in various sources such as the Bangkok foreigners' directories, the membership lists of the "Club Concordia" as well as in the death registers of the two foreign cemeteries. However, with different abbreviations of the first names. Therefore the fathers of the children with the nos. 2 to 11 and 25 on List 1 cannot be clearly assigned. Only one engineer named S.H. Russel is listed under the name Russel in the register of Western foreigners.¹⁰⁸ Both Hermann August Julius Meyer and Carl Roebelen lived with Siamese partners and each had a son who was already an adult at the time of their internment. Captain Meyer's son, whose first name we do not know, attended the cadet school in Bangkok in 1917 and must therefore have been older than 20 at the time.¹⁰⁹ Carl Roebelen's son named "Sanoer Raksiem" worked as teacher in a state vocational school in Bangkok in 1917. He had the official title of middle ranking employees: "Amattrie Luang Sanoer Photjanapak". Sanoer must have been about 30 years old.¹¹⁰ Both sons had registered in Siam and were therefore not interned. Ernst Altmann also lived with a Siamese woman and had six children with her. Georg F. Wehler was officially married to a Siamese woman. The couple had three children. It has already been mentioned that Jacob Feit also had a Siamese wife and that three sons resulted from this relationship.

Eight persons on List 2 came from the German Empire, namely Roebelen, Kruse, Ulrich, Meyer, Vil, Rochga, Altmann and Wehler, i.e. numbers 2 to 6, 8 and 11 and 12. Veit, who is listed as no. 13, migrated to Siam via the USA, but was born in Trier and thus in the German Empire. Strictly speaking, Ulrich came from Denmark, but certainly belonged to the German minority there. Carl Sandreczki, no. 1, saw the light of day in the Ottoman Empire.

As far as the professions are concerned, the large number of ship captains is striking. There were seven in total, namely Kruse, Lampe, Meyer, Rochga, Schmidt, Ul-

¹⁰⁸ *Bangkok Calendar*, 1872, p. 73.

¹⁰⁹ NA 6 T/ 31.

¹¹⁰ NA 6 T/ 31.

rich and Vil. With Altmann and Wehler, two railway engineers belong to the group. Russel was also an engineer. In addition, there was the military bandmaster Feit, the architect Sandreczki and the botanist Roebelen. The sources indicate that Kruse, Lampe, Meyer¹¹¹, Russel, Schmidt and Ulrich were in Siam as early as the 1880s. However, they could possibly have arrived there earlier. At least the age of their children mentioned on List 1 hints at this. Sandreczki and Vil must have been living in Siam before 1887, because their children were older than 20 years in 1917. For five persons, the year in which they arrived in Siam is known: Feit arrived in 1867, Roebelen in 1886, Altmann in 1895, Wehler in 1897 and Rochga after 1900. Seven men stayed in Siam until the end of their lives. Ulrich died there in 1889, Vil in 1895, Feit in 1909, Meyer in 1926, Roebelen in 1927, Wehler in 1927 and Sandreczki in 1929. Ulrich, Vil, Meyer and Sandreczki were buried in the Protestant cemetery in Bangkok, Feit found his final resting place in the Catholic cemetery. Kruse returned to his home town Greifswald in 1901 and died there in the same year after an operation. Roebelen and Wehler were supposedly cremated by their surviving relatives according to Buddhist customs. On 22 July 1917, Altmann, Rochga, Roebelen and Wehler were interned in Bangkok, later transferred to a camp in British India and finally repatriated to Germany. Carl Sandreczki and Julius Meyer escaped this fate because they were ill. Sandreczki was kept under house arrest in Bangkok, Julius Meyer suffered from cancer and was in hospital.¹¹²

b.) Wives and Children

Although they were of different origins, came to Siam at different times and did not have the same profession, the 13 Germans had one thing in common: they had started a family with a local woman and settled in Siam. It is striking that in these relationships not only the men but also the women grew up in transnational and transcultural environments. In cultural-religious terms, they had a Catholic, Protestant or Buddhist background:

¹¹¹ According to the Thai records of 1917, Captain Meyer was the oldest German resident in Siam at that time. He had lived there for more than 44 years, so he must have come to Siam during the 1870s (NA 6 T/ 31). Luis Weiler mentioned in his diary that Captain Meyer took part in the fundraising campaign in Bangkok in October 1870 during the Franco-German War, see Chapter III.1 above. (Clemens Weiler (ed.), *Anfang der Eisenbahn in Thailand von Luis Weiler*, Bangkok 1979, p. 261)

¹¹² NA 6 T/ 31.

1. Captain Lampe's wife was, according to church documents, a Catholic from the Siamese-Portuguese community, Jan Rudolph Vil's was a Catholic who had British-Siamese roots, and Georg Friedrich Ulrich had married a Catholic Chinese woman.
2. Carl Sandreczki married a Siamese Protestant.
3. Numerous indications point to the fact that the wives of Julius Meyer, Carl Roebelen, Ernst Altmann, Georg Wehler and Jacob Feit were Buddhist Siamese women.

Since there are no personal accounts or memories from the families so far, we have to rely on external sources to make their transculturation processes visible. These are church documents and the graves in the cemeteries, from which two insights were gained: the separate burial of the spouses and the Christian-European design of the gravestones.

Especially in groups 1 and 3, the partners found their final resting place in different cemeteries. This probably has to do with the religion of the women. They were either Catholic¹¹³ and then buried in the corresponding cemetery or they were Buddhists. Jacob Feit's grave is in the Catholic cemetery, and he is also buried there without his Buddhist wife. This post-mortem separation may have had something to do with the fact that the cemetery regulations did not provide for the burial of people of other denominations or faiths. In Germany, this would probably have been likewise problematic at the time. However, the fact that Protestants officially married Catholic women of Siamese origin or Buddhists is in itself a clear indication of transcultural change.

The phenomenon of being buried in separate cemeteries because of different faiths was also common for many mixed marriages between British Protestants and Catholic Siamese women. For example, the grave of Captain Francis George Hicks (Fig.12) can be found in the Protestant cemetery, while his wife and their children are buried in the Catholic graveyard. In order to be reunited in death, some Protestants converted to Catholicism on their deathbed, received the last rites and

¹¹³ Since the historic Catholic cemetery in Bangkok was razed in 2015, an examination of the graves can no longer take place. However, even when the cemetery still existed, the author could not find these graves during a visit, because they were only leased for 30 years and then reassigned.

then found their final resting place in the Catholic cemetery alongside their wives. Only a few mixed couples of different faiths could be buried together without one of the spouses having to convert first. However, these were rather exceptions. Such was the case with the person anonymised as "SW" with whom an interview could be conducted and who will be talked about in more detail below. Captain Lampe, no. 7 on List 2, could also belong to this group. At least there are some graves in the Catholic cemetery that bear the name Lampe.

The second remarkable point is the design of the husbands' graves and gravestones. They strictly follow the rules of Christian-European sepulchral culture. No trans-cultural elements are to be found in their iconography, as figures 3 to 13 clearly show.¹¹⁴

Whether and to what extent transcultural exchange took place within the respective families cannot be said at the moment. This requires further research, especially conversations with the descendants, what the author has been trying to do for some time. Nevertheless, it can already be said that transcultural change took place. The interdenominational marriages have already been mentioned in this context and also that the men were integrated in family, culinary and climatic terms. Finally, the fact that they did not want to separate from their families and leave their adopted country when they were interned in 1917 points particularly clearly in this direction. Some tried desperately not to be pigeonholed as nationals, and many later managed to return to their families in Siam. This will be discussed in detail in chapters V.3 and V.4.

How a German-Siamese-Asian way of life developed within the families and how new hybrid identities emerged can be well observed in the children. They grew up with two cultures and were able to switch flexibly between their father's and their mother's. At home, they cultivated their parents' traditions. In public life they adapted to the mainstream Siamese-British culture.¹¹⁵ This transcultural living situa-

¹¹⁴ For further information on Christian-European sepulchral culture, see Albrecht Weiland, *Der Campo Santo Teutonico in Rom und seine Grabdenkmäler*, Freiburg 1986. The author would like to thank Prof. Heinfried Wischermann, Kunstgeschichtliche Institut Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, for pointing out this comprehensive research literature.

¹¹⁵ British customs were also cultivated in the German Club (see Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 164).

tion can be well understood by reading the following excerpt from a letter addressed to the Swiss consulate by the Siamese Germans Willie Kruse, the Lampe brothers, and Jean Adrien Russel, nos. 1, 2 up to 11, and 15 on List 1, who were interned in British India: „[...] We have been born, brought up and educated at Bangkok, all our relations and families are natives of Siam. We have no friends or relations living in Germany or in other foreign countries. Most of us have Siamese wives and children, who are staying at Bangkok. In case should the Repatriation Act comes [sic!] into force and we be repatriated, our desire is to be sent back to Siam. We, therefore, beg you to kindly arrange that all of us be repatriated to our maternal country. “¹¹⁶

It is noticeable that some mothers had a strong influence on their children in terms of religious affiliation. Thus the children adopted the religion of their mothers, the Catholic one, for example, in the Vil families, nos. 36 and 42 to 44, and Ulrich, no. 30 on List 1, or the Protestant one in the case of the Sandreczkis listed as nos. 16 and 18 to 24. Regarding the children of the third group, one can assume that they - like their mothers - were Buddhists. The children of Jacob Feit, however, were baptized Catholic, although their mother was Buddhist. The maternal sociocultural background may also have been decisive for their sons' choice of partners. This theory may be evidenced by the six women named on List 1 who were married to their sons. They were all Catholic and transcultural:

- Christiana Josephine Vil, née Trail (59) (no. 29)
- Maud Evelyn Winifred Vil, née Nicholay (45) (no. 31)
- Gertrude Sandreczki, née Hicks (27) (no. 17)
- Marie Siuki (26) (no. 28)
- Lai Lampe (no. 3)
- Evelyn Schmidt (no. 26)

Christiana Trail had married Captain Jan Rudolph Vil, Maud Evelyn Winifred Nicholay their son Wilhelm (no. 36 on List 1). Both women were Catholic Eurasians. Marie Siuki (no. 31 on List 1), the wife of Adolf Ulrich, was also a Catholic half-Chinese, as was her mother-in-law Henrietta Kongjak from Amoy. Church documents indicate that Lai Lampe (no. 3 on List 1) was also half-Chinese. She was

¹¹⁶ PAAA VF files, R 48259.

born in Bangkok and belonged to the Catholic community. There is no reliable information about Evelyn Schmidt so far, but the author continues his research concerning her person.

But there are also contrary examples: Bertha, the first wife of Peter Feit, came from a Catholic community, the second was a Siamese. And the Protestant Anton Sandreczki, son of Carl Sandreczki and no. 16 on List 1, married Gertrud Hicks, who follows him on this list as no 17. She was the daughter of Francis George Hicks, a Protestant British captain already mentioned above, and a Catholic from the Portuguese-Siamese community. Anton Sandreczki was buried in the Catholic cemetery near his wife's family graves. The register of the dead shows that he did not change his name. His parents and siblings were buried in the Protestant cemetery. Transculturalization processes can be observed in all families, but they do not follow any uniform pattern. It is obvious, however, that the religious background of the mothers influenced their children's choice of partners. These relationships also show that the Western community in Siam was intertwined across national boundaries. For example, the life stories of Christiana Josephine Vil, Maud Evelyn Winifred Vil, and Gertrude Sandreczki, all second-generation Siamese-British Eurasian women, attest to a British-German connection. Their biographies will be described in more detail below.

Christiana Trail was the wife of captain Jan Rudolph Vil. She was also mother, mother-in-law and grandmother of the children and grandchildren recorded as nos. 37 to 41 on List 1. Christiana was the daughter of William Trail, a Scottish captain who was highly respected in Siam, and a Baba Chinese woman named Marina Trail. It is noteworthy that three daughters of the Trail family had German husbands. Maud Evelyn Winifred Nicholay was the wife of William Vil, Captain Vil's son. She had a British father and a Siamese mother, so she was a Siamese-British Eurasian of the second generation. This group also included Gertrude Sandreczki, the wife of Anton Sandreczki, and - as already mentioned - daughter of the captain and member of the "Club Concordia" Francis George Hicks and a Siamese-Portuguese Catholic.

Another example of British-German intermarriage is the Kurtzhalss family. Oswald Kurtzhalss was a son of Arthur E. Kurtzhalss, a German businessman who lived in Bangkok for more than 20 years and served as Honorary Consul of Austria and

Hungary in Bangkok from 1886 to 1891.¹¹⁷ Arthur Kurtzhalss married a daughter of the British Admiral John Bush, who had a very good reputation in Siam.¹¹⁸ A son named Oswald was born to the couple in Bangkok on November 6, 1879.¹¹⁹ Oswald Kurtzhalss was educated in Germany and later served as a first lieutenant at sea in the German Imperial Navy. Unlike other Siamese-German children from the upper classes, who had studied in Germany and no longer maintained any contact with Siamese society, Oswald was in close contact with his maternal relatives in Bangkok.

¹¹⁷ Wilhelm Donko, *Auf den Spuren von Österreichs Marine in Siam (Thailand)*, Berlin ²2014, p. 41.

¹¹⁸ Admiral John Bush lived in Bangkok for many years, served as Harbour Master and was the predecessor of Jan Rudolph Vil in that position.

¹¹⁹ NA 6 T/ 31.



Fig. 8: The grave of Captain Jan Rudolph Vil at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok (photo by the author).



Fig. 9: The gravestone of Captain Julius Meyer at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok (photo by the author).



Fig. 10: The grave of the Ulrich couple¹²⁰ at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok (photo by the author).

¹²⁰ Church documents show that the couple was initially buried separately, the husband Ulrich in 1889 in the Protestant cemetery, the wife Henrietta in 1925 in the Catholic Cemetery. Later the children had their mother reinterred in their father's grave. Therefore, the gravestone reads, „ZUM LIEBEVOLLEN ANDENKEN AN UNSERE MUTTER ...“



Fig. 11: The graves of the Sandreczki couple at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok (photo by the author).



Fig. 12: The grave of Captain Francis George Hicks (1834-1897) at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok (photo by the author)

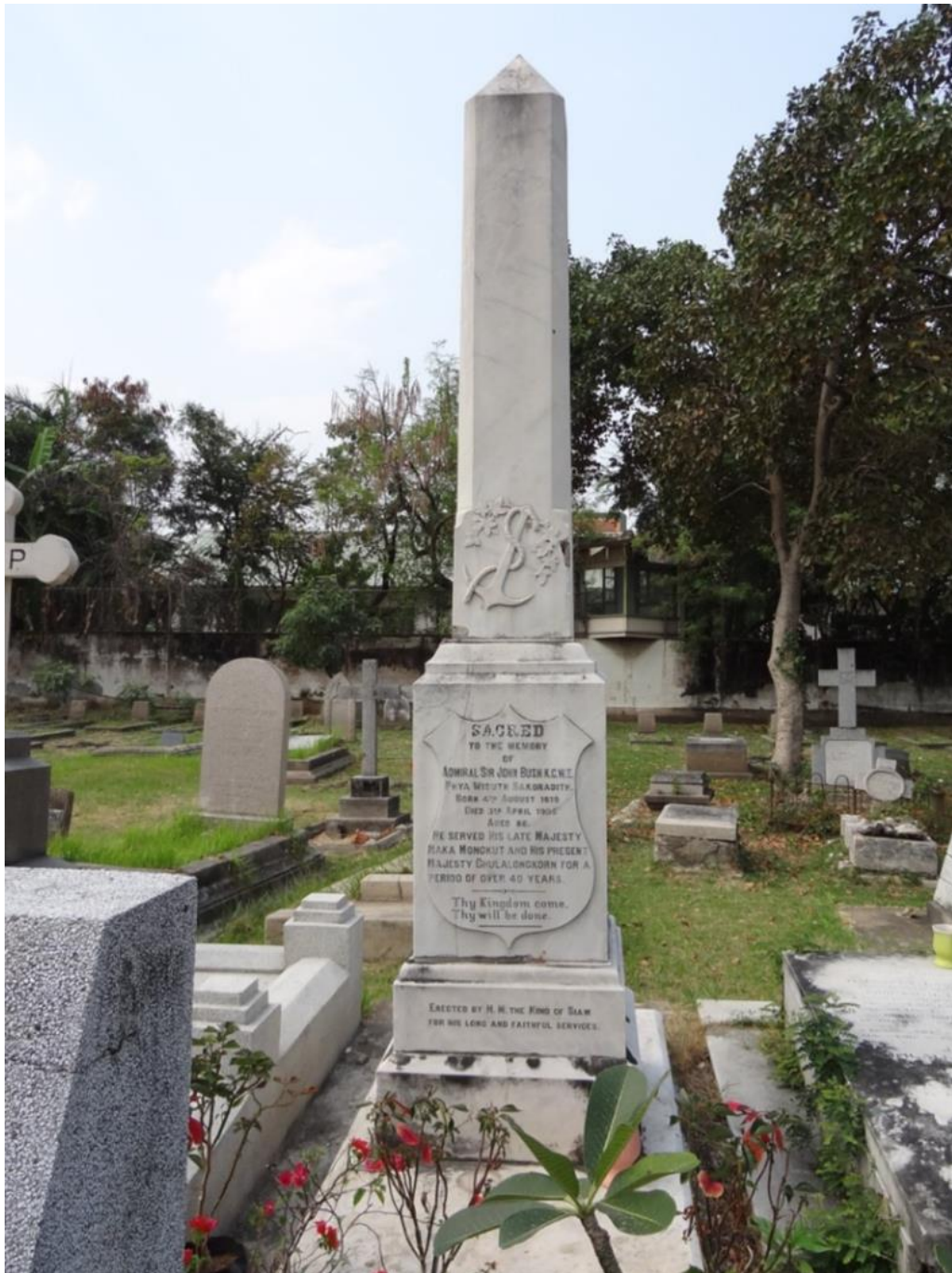


Fig. 13: The grave of Admiral John Bush at the Protestant Cemetery in Bangkok (photograph by the author).

The fact that Christian, especially Catholic, native mothers with Portuguese roots had a great influence on their children is due to the transcultural merging of Asian-Siamese matriarchal and European-Catholic traditions that began in the 17th century. Newcomers from Germany who married into this group were subject to the same customs and in turn underwent a corresponding transcultural transformation. The influence of Siamese matriarchal structures can also be observed in the children of Julius Meyer, Carl Roebelen and Georg Wehler. Their mothers were Siamese Buddhists. They raised their children in an appropriate local environment, and they are said to have become Buddhists like their mothers. Therefore, they also received Siamese citizenship. This enabled Julius Meyer's son to attend the Siamese cadet school, and Carl Roebelen's son was able to obtain Siamese civil servant status. Furthermore, it can be noted that these matriarchal structures influenced the German wives of Siamese men. Annelie Freye and Paula Schulz, nos. 4 and 5 on List 3, can serve as examples. Despite different personalities, both women adapted well to the Asian-Siamese way of life. They organized their families' households and took care of the children's education. On the one hand, these children grew up in two cultures, but on the other hand, their mothers also practiced the strict rules according to the German model. Annelie Freye (27.01.1867-10.04.1913) was known in the German community as "Madame Uppathet". This name derived from her husband's title back then, Luang Uppathet Thuoy-han.¹²¹ In the 1880s, Luang Uppathet came to Germany for military training and was a guest of the family of Professor Freye, a high school teacher in Hanover, where he received German lessons, among other things. In this house, he not only got acquainted with the language, but also with the energetic daughter of his teacher. "Fräulein Freye", reported Friedrich Schaefer, the Prussian staff physician in the Siamese army, was "a very learned bird" and "spoke various languages, had passed the final secondary school examinations and even studied medicine for two or three semesters."¹²² And she is "not only an erudite woman who talks about Tacitus, Pliny, and Aristotle like a book [...], but also a capable and highly resolute woman." After his studies in 1890, Luang Uppathet married Miss Freye and took her to Siam. The couple had six children. As befitted the role of a Siamese mother, Madame Uppathet took care of their upbringing. Schaefer further wrote: "Of the girls who are now grown up, the

¹²¹ He later became Major Phra Chamnankhuruvid (Yaem bhamornmontrie), see also Prayoon Phamornmontrie, *Cheewit bapaendin kbaphrachao* [The Man Under Five Reigns], Bangkok 1973].

¹²² Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 183.

fat one is coiffed as a German, the slim one as a Siamese. The boys are slender and pale, but neat, both cadets and pages to the king. They all speak German as fluently as Siamese." Later, Annelie Freye was commissioned by the Siamese army to teach German at the cadet school.

She didn't just take her energy out on her husband, of whom Schaefer reported that he is fully "under her thumb" and he has "nothing to say", but also on the Siamese upper society. Schaefer continues to write: "Over the years, however, the brave Madam Uppathet has become a real scarecrow, a dragon of evil calibre. Everything dodges and flees when she appears on the horizon. If she catches you, she talks you to death, and always in the sweetest flute tones. [...] Even [King] Chulalongkorn was not safe from her. She pushed the guards aside and threw herself pleadingly on the ground in front of the king when she wanted something." ¹²³

Unfortunately, Annelie Freye died in 1913 at the age of only 46. It would have been interesting to observe how much agitation, even unrest, she could have caused in her surroundings. The influence she had on her children will be described below. ¹²⁴

Unlike Madame Uppathet, Paula Schulz was a reserved person. In the German community she was called "Madame Sakseni", named after the civil servant title of her husband, Phraya Sakseni. ¹²⁵ He had come to Germany at the age of ten for educational reasons. Later he studied gunnery and worked as a trainee at Krupp in

¹²³ Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 243. The author can confirm this story, because he himself heard about it in his childhood.

¹²⁴ A somewhat different picture of Annelie Freye is drawn on the following Facebook page, which is based on Siamese sources:

URL: <https://www.facebook.com/430875947115157/posts/995831073952972/>. There, her life is outlined and a photograph is presented. In addition to biographical data and information about her marriage and her children, there is a characterisation of her person. She is described as an amiable lady of Siam's high society, an efficient housewife and a caring mother. It is striking that the information about her German surname, origin, place of birth as well as her parents is very vague. From this, one can conclude that her Thai descendants, who are fully integrated into the local society, know little about their ancestor's background, but still want to preserve the memory of her German roots.

¹²⁵ His official title was Phrya Decha nuchit sayammitphakdi, Samuha thesa phiban monthon Patani (พระยาเดชานุชิตสยามมิตรภักดี สมุหเทศาภิบาล มณฑลปัตตานี). For further information regarding his biography, see URL:

<https://www.facebook.com/108385647201741/photos/a.115139466526359/162986625074976/>.

Essen. It was not easy for Paula Schulz to live as his wife in her husband's elitist family. Her conservative father-in-law did not welcome his son's marriage. In particular, the fact that she could not have any children increased the psychological pressure on her considerably. Not only did she have to accept that her parents-in-law chose a second wife for her husband, but she also felt obliged to bring up the three children of this secondary wife strictly according to German educational standards. So these children did not only have official Siamese names, but also German ones: Nanny, Werner and Willy.¹²⁶

Although German fathers apparently played a minor role in these transculturation processes, their memories of Germany nevertheless contributed to the formation of a cultural remembrance within the families. Thus the children bore first names such as Adolf, Elimar, Friedrich, Gerhard, Gertrude, Hans, Hermann, Johann, Johanna, Otto as well as Wilhelm, Willie or Willy. As can be illustrated by List 1. Values considered typically German, such as diligence, order, cleanliness, punctuality and determination, were passed on to the next generation and were accepted and appreciated by them. In addition, the children received a good education. With these skills and characteristics, they stood out from Siamese society.

Because of their family background and Western education, these young German-Siamese also became acquainted with the ideas of the European Enlightenment. Two people with German roots were involved in the coup d'état of 1932, whose initiators wanted to further modernise Siam. They were Prayun Phamonmontri (1897-1982), a son of Annelie Freye, who even played a key role in it¹²⁷, and Peter Feit. He composed a national anthem for the new political system, imitating the Marseillaise, which is still played and sung today.¹²⁸

Finally, the importance of Siamese-Germans as cultural mediators between local society and the German community in Bangkok should be mentioned. They oper-

¹²⁶ Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 268.

¹²⁷ See Prayoon Phamornmontrie, *Cheewit hapaendin khaphrachao* [*The Man Under Five Reigns*], Bangkok 1973.

¹²⁸ Phra Chenduriyang (Piti Waithayakorn), *Chinaprawat khong Khaphrachao* [*Memoires*], Bangkok 1969, pp. 72-75.

ated as "cultural brokers"¹²⁹ and formed "ethnoscapes"¹³⁰. They included Peter Feit, the brothers Otto and Anton Sandreczki, who are mentioned as nos. 16 and 18 on List 1, Adolf Ulrich, who is listed as no. 30, F. Pickenpack and, last but not least, Elimar Rochga, listed as no. 12. The sons of Carl Sandreczki and Captain Ulrich worked as translators at the German and the Austro-Hungarian Legations in Bangkok. Wilhelm Vil, who is no. 36 on the list, was an assistant at the German Daniel Windsor company, and like him, many other Siamese-Germans found employment as commercial employees at German companies in Bangkok.

In the Thai residence society, Siamese-Germans served as civil servants in two ministries. F. Pickenpack was employed by the Post and Telegraph Department, Peter Feit worked for the railways before being appointed conductor of the Royal Symphony Orchestra, and Fritz Leo Schmidt, no. 25 on the list, held a position at the Customs Office. These positions came with titles. Thus, F. Pickenpack was called "Luang Wichanthorakit" (หลวงวิจิตรทอกรกิจ), which means „telegram decoder“, and Peter Feit was called "Khun Chenrotharat" (ขุนเจนรุทรัฐ), which roughly translates as „state railway expert“. Later King Rama VI appointed him director of the "Royal Western String Orchestra" and granted him the feudal title and name of "Phra Chenduriyang" (พระเจนดุริยางค์), i.e. „skilled with musical instruments“.

We have already referred to Peter Feit and his important contribution to musical cultural transfer. He was commissioned to lead a project to rescue traditional Siamese music. For this purpose, he developed a transcription method that was a compromise between the different tone frequencies of the Siamese and European scales. This made it possible to transcribe traditional Siamese music into the European five-line system without major problems. He also wrote numerous textbooks on European music theory and harmony for Thai music students.

Elimar Anuwat Rochga, the eldest son of Captain Louis Rochga, also contributed significantly to cultural understanding by writing the very first German-Thai dictionary. He was born and raised in two cultures, and therefore excellent at translat-

¹²⁹ Jürgen Osterhammel and Sebastian Conrad (eds.), *Kaiserreich transnational. Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1914*, Göttingen ²2006, pp. 11-13.

¹³⁰ Arjun Appadurai, *Globale ethnische Räume*: in: Ulrich Beck, *Perspektiven der Weltgesellschaft*, Frankfurt a.M. 1998, pp. 11-40 as well as Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis ³1997, pp. 3-5.

ing German words into the Thai language and way of thinking.¹³¹ The double name "Elimar Anuwat" refers to his bi-cultural background. Fifty years ago, this dictionary was very helpful for Thai pupils and students who wanted to learn the German language. The author was one of them.

V. 3. First World War Trauma: Transcultural Life and Integration in Siam

The First World War abruptly destroyed the transcultural lifestyle of the German-Siamese families and became a nightmare for them, shattering their previous existence overnight. Some families managed to reunite after internment and repatriation, others were permanently separated, as the fates of the botanist Carl Roebelen and the railway engineer Georg F. Wehler show. The dramas that took place are at the same time indications of the families' bonds with Siam and of their integration into the residential society, and illustrate how far the transnational and transcultural processes had progressed. Having returned to his old home in 1920, Wehler could no longer cope with the living conditions there. In addition, he found himself in a critical financial situation. In 1924, he wrote to the Siamese government in Bangkok and asked to be allowed to return to his family in Bangkok. He described his difficult living situation in the request: "[...] Due to the long war captivity in the unhealthy Indian climate, my health has suffered serious damage, so that I am often ill, and for this reason I have not been able to acquire a new living position [sic!] until now. The living conditions are currently very difficult in Germany, especially for a German living abroad. After my internment, my private property [sic!] was confiscated and sold by the government. I therefore came to Germany completely penniless."¹³²

Carl Roebelen, who was by now over 60, experienced a similar fate in Germany. In 1923, his son submitted a petition to the government in Bangkok, describing how difficult it was for his father to get re-accustomed to the life in the country of his birth after 40 years in Siam. He was also in a desperate financial situation, so that he had to rely on the occasional support of relatives¹³³, what in the long run proved to

¹³¹ Elimar Anuwat Rochga, *Deutsch-Thailändisches Wörterbuch*, Bangkok (11971) 21999. Unfortunately, he died shortly before publication. Thanks to the commitment of Prof. Klaus Wenk, the manuscript could be prepared for printing and published.

¹³² NA 6 T/ 31.

¹³³ NA 6 T/ 31.

be very disagreeable for both sides.¹³⁴ Wehler and Roebelen were finally allowed to return to Siam in 1924 and both died there in 1927. A different fate befell the family of six of Captain Louis Karl Heinrich Wilhelm Rochga, who was born in Teterow in 1868. His three children are listed as nos. 12 to 14 on List 1. Together with his Siamese wife Sombun, he had decided to go as a family to the internment camp in British India and later to live together in Teterow. Ludwig Rochga, as he called himself in Siam, had been "cargo-superintendent" for the German company *B. Grimm* in Bangkok. However, the family only had a normal life in Teterow for a few years, because Ludwig Rochga died in 1924 at the age of only 56.¹³⁵ Immediately afterwards, his wife decided to return to Siam with their now five children - one daughter was born in Germany. It was probably difficult for the family to gain a foothold in Teterow, and after Ludwig Rochga's death the situation may have become even worse. The fate of Ernst Altmann's family was similarly tragic.¹³⁶ Before coming to Siam in 1905, the railway engineer had worked with his superior Luis Weiler on the construction of the Baghdad Railway. When Weiler later took over the management of the Siamese State Railway, Altmann was appointed to his staff. Altmann lived in Bangkok with a Siamese wife with whom he had six children: Anna, Lina, Nama (Chitra), Lao, Hans, and Rosaline (Sudchai). The daughters reported in the 1960s that they had a happy family life that ended with the First World War. They could still clearly remember saying goodbye to their father at the landing stage in 1919. As an internee, he had to set out from there for a camp in British India. His wife and five of the children cried inconsolably, as if they had guessed that they were seeing each other for the last time. Rosaline, the smallest daughter, then only six months old, slept soundly in her mother's arms, who had tried in vain to wake her. She had been born when the authorities had already interned the father. Later, the mother told her children that when she was able to visit him in the camp, the father asked curiously if Rosaline's eyes were blue. Altmann never returned to Siam, but corresponded regularly with his family and occasionally supported them financially. The correspondence with his second daughter Lina was

¹³⁴ NA 6 T/ 31.

¹³⁵ Registry office Teterow, death entry no. 142. The author thanks Reinhard Wendt for his research at the municipality of Teterow.

¹³⁶ The author would like to thank Ajarn Warunyupha Snidvongse na Ayudhya for information on the life and family history and for the photo of Ernst Altman.

particularly intensive. Altmann did not stay in Germany, but went with his brother to Argentina, where they wanted to start business and where he died in 1939.¹³⁷



Fig. 14: Ernst Altmann (Private archive Ajarn Warunyupha Snidvongse na Ayudhya)

¹³⁷ The *Bangkok Time* of 20.09.1939 dedicated an obituary to him. This points out that Altmann still had contacts to Siam until then.



Fig. 15: The photo shows Altmann's wife and children: back row from left to right: Anna, the mother and Lina, front row from left to right: Nama (Chitra จิตรา), Rosaline (Sudchai สุดใจ), Hans and Lao (ล่อ) (private archive Ajarn Warunyupha Snidvongse na Ayudhya).

V. 4. Repatriation and Transnational Biographies

Persons with transnational biographies faced particular problems as a result of the First World War and internment. They had been born abroad and had spent most of their lives there. Therefore, the authorities - and perhaps they themselves - did not find it easy to assign their nationality. This affected Carl Sandreczki and his children, for example, or Josef Falck, who was born in British India, as well as the Siamese-Germans Kruse, Lampe, Rochga, Russel, Schmidt, Ulrich and Vil. Obviously they did not want to be pressed into national criteria again. Some of them did everything they could to avoid being repatriated to Germany.

A good example is the biography of Josef Falck, a man with a transnational and transcultural background who had already lived in several countries before coming to Siam. He knew what it meant to have a bicultural background, but was also able to handle it flexibly. Falck was a second-generation German-Eurasian. His father Charles came from Stolpmünde and became a British national in India. His mother descended from a family with Portuguese roots.¹³⁸ Born and raised in Warora, Josef Falck worked as a fireman and locomotive driver for the "Indian Midland Railway". After a short stay in Mombasa in Africa, he returned to British India. He then worked as a locomotive driver for the "Royal State Railway" in Burma and finally, for the "Royal Siamese Railway". In Siam, he had lived with a local woman for almost 15 years. It is conceivable that Falck came to Siam via the German or British labour networks. In Bangkok, he registered with the German consulate, which is why he was declared an enemy alien and interned on 22 July 1917. He protested against it to the authorities on the grounds that he was a Briton from British India, and contacted the British Legation in Bangkok. But his request was refused due to lack of evidence. Falck was interned and transferred to a camp in India.¹³⁹

After the war, Carl Sandreczki, Julius Meyer and the Siamese Germans on List 1 were allowed to remain in Siam. Their descendants - now in the fourth generation - still live in Thailand. There are no information on what happened to Josef Falck after the war. Nothing is known about the fate of his family in Bangkok either.

¹³⁸ NA 6 T/ 31.

¹³⁹ PAAA R48216.

It would be of great importance to find out how transculturation and Siamese reunification took place in the everyday life of the families after the war. The author is currently collecting data on this topic. In the cases in which the author succeeded, it turned out that they either hardly knew anything about their great-grandparents or that they were - for various reasons - not willing to be interviewed by the author. They explicitly asked several times not to be mentioned by name. To get more information on these issues, one has no choice but to be patient but persistent and to gradually build trust. Even in previous conversations and encounters, one noticed characteristics in which a heritage of the ancestors could be recognised. These include a love of classical music, a directness that is unusual in Thailand, and a German, if not "Prussian" thoroughness.

V. 5. Siamization

Often, the transculturation processes observed among many Siamese-Germans led to „Siamization“. Although these bicultural people were immersed in the residential society and became part of it, they did not completely abandon all traditions and behaviours of their German heritage. In general, one can say that they practically lived in two worlds: at home German traditions were dominant, in public life they behaved according to local customs. This was the only way they could take advantage of professional opportunities. Religious affiliation and nationality were of course two essential indicators of „Siamization“.

The pragmatic way in which Siamese-Germans handled their own religion should be considered first. Among Siamese with Portuguese roots, it was customary to publicly distance themselves from Catholicism to such an extent that professional and social career opportunities could be realised. The German doctor Friedrich Schaefer had discussed such a pragmatic attitude towards their religion with one of his co-workers, an officer in the Siamese army named "Wikanet", who belonged to the Portuguese Catholic community, and wrote in his diary:

"There are a lot of Christians among the Siamese. But even among those who have come close to European culture because of their education and travels, their relationship to Christianity remains only a rather superficial one. This is true even of Wikanet, who was brought up in the mission, who still goes to the mission every day, who has a very pious way of thinking, who starts his meals with a prayer, etc.

Nevertheless, his heart remains quite uninvolved in religious matters. He has a rather unemotional attitude towards Christianity. I have often spoken to him about these things. When the Siamese, he told me, rise to higher official positions and they are Christians, they usually return to Buddhism because that is what the king wants. The king is more important to them than their faith. Or they do not rejoin the Buddhist community, but withdraw from Christianity. They then no longer belong to any faith at all. Whikanet [sic!] made it clear that he would do it that way."

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This „Siamization“ of members of the Catholic-Portuguese community in Bangkok shocked Gützlaff, the Protestant missionary mentioned earlier. He despised such behaviour, which in his opinion was disadvantageous to the general perception of Europeans in Siam:

„The general idea hitherto entertained by the majority of the nation as to the European character was derived from a small number of Christians, so styled, who, born in the country and partly descended from Portuguese, crouch before their nobles as dogs and are employed in all menial services, and occasionally suffered to enlist as soldiers or surgeons. All reproaches heaped upon them are eventually realized, and their character as faithful children to the Romish church has been fairly exhibited by drunkenness and cockfighting. No industry, no genius, no honesty is found amongst them, with the exception of one individual who indeed has a right to claim the latter virtue as his own.“¹⁴¹

Among the members of the German community, such distancing from their faith and rapprochement with Buddhism cannot be ascertained. Since Buddhism does not have such sacraments as baptism, there are no corresponding documents that could be used to prove conversions. However, it cannot be entirely excluded that such conversions did take place. The second symptom of progressive „Siamization“ is naturalisation. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were a lot of foreigners who applied for Siamese citizenship at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among them were three Siamese-Germans of the second and first generation.

¹⁴⁰ Friedrich Schaefer, *Siamesisches Tagebuch: Ein deutscher Arzt in Bangkok 1909-1912*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1991, p. 166.

¹⁴¹ *Early Missionaries in Bangkok: The Journals of Tomlin, Gützlaff and Abeel 1828-1832*, ed. by Anthony Farrington, Bangkok 2001, p. 70.

Adolf Ulrich, the son of Captain Ulrich, had himself naturalised in 1913. Johannes Fritz Schnerr, a native of Kassel, and Georg Friedrich Wehler from Hanover, both civil servants employed by the Siamese state railway, had already taken this step in 1911. Schnerr had lived in Siam since 1896. He was married to Agnes Holzapfel, a German, and had six children with her. The railway engineer Georg F. Wehler arrived in Siam a year later, as he stated in his biography: "In 1897 I came to Siam. As I immediately got a job at the Siamese State Railway, I decided to stay there. For more than 20 years I was a Siamese railway official, last as Chief Permanent way Inspector (3rd Councillor) in Ban Dara. [Since I had become particularly fond of Siam and had learned to appreciate the country and its people and languages, I married a Siamese woman on the condition that I would be able to make a permanent living in Siam. In order to completely become a part of the country, I gave up my German citizenship and had myself naturalised as a Siamese".¹⁴² The couple had three children, Heini (1901-1922), Emilia (1903-1992) and Luisa (1907-1984).¹⁴³

¹⁴² NA 6 T/ 31.

¹⁴³ The only information about George Friedrich Wehler was compiled by his third or fourth generation descendants in a Wikipedia entry and illustrated with family photos. There, his first and last name is "Gersch Friedrich Veler". This can be explained by the fact that his name was passed down orally from generation to generation. Wehler's Siamese family name "เวลานนท์" (Velananda), which his three children bore, is correctly stated. However, in the entry they only have Thai first names: "อัน" (An), "สง่า" (Sa-nga) and "สะอาด" (Sa-aad). The German names their father had given them - Heini, Emilia and Luisa - are not mentioned. Presumably the children were not baptised, but were fully integrated into Thai society. After the father's death, the German names probably lost importance and were forgotten over time. Similar to the case of Annelie Freye, one can see that memories of the German roots still exist in the family. They are fragmentary, but not completely forgotten. (URL: <https://th.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%8A%E0%B8%9F%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B4%E0%B8%94%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B4%E0%B8%8A%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%A7%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%A5%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%A3%E0%B9%8C#:~:text=%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%9B%E0%B9%87%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%9E%E0%B8%B5%E0%B9%88%E0%B8%99%E0%B9%89%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%87%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%B1%E0%B8%99-%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%87%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%B3%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%95%E0%B8%A2%E0%B9%8C%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%81%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%8A%20%E0%B8%9F%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B4%E0%B8%94%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B4,2459%20%E0%B8%A7%E0%B9%88%E0%B8%B2%20%22%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%A5%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%97%E0%B9%8C%22%20>).

King Vajiravudh granted Georg Friedrich Wehler the Siamese surname "Velananda" (เวลานนท์).

Not only Germans who came from the German Empire, but also those born abroad acquired Siamese citizenship. One of them was Albert Wilfred Wendt, who was born in Candy, Sri Lanka, in 1880. He arrived in Siam in 1907 and worked as an engine driver for the Siamese Railway. In the "American Presbyterian Church Bangkok" he married a woman with a similar cultural background: Sybil Elaine Vos from Colombo (1881-1948). The couple had three children: Albert Leslie, born in 1910, was the eldest. Douglas Victor followed in 1912 and Henry Noel August in 1914. Wendt was naturalised in 1913. He lived in Siam until his death in 1960. Both he and his wife were buried in the Protestant cemetery.¹⁴⁴

The First World War presented Ulrich, Schnerr and Wehler with a dilemma. Before 1914, they led a transcultural life between and with German traditions and Siamese customs. National identity no longer played a major role for them. They even exchanged their German citizenship for a Siamese one without much difficulty. When the war broke out, national criteria suddenly gained weight again. The three felt loyal to the German Empire and also expressed this in public. Some sources report that they cheered German victories. The Siamese authorities - and certainly the Allied representatives in Bangkok in particular - ignored their transcultural ties to Siam. They were declared Germans again, expatriated in July 1917 and taken to camps in British India. Since the war called for national positioning, Ulrich, Schnerr and Wehler also felt compelled to take an unequivocal stance. While Ulrich, Schnerr and Wehler tended to take the German side of their bipolar transcultural lives, others preferred to head in the Siamese direction. For not all Siamese Germans were interned. Adolf Ulrich's siblings were spared this fate, as was F. Pickenpack. And Luis Weiler, as already mentioned, had strongly identified with the Siamese government and put its interests above those of his compatriots.

The flexible and pragmatic life in two worlds is also evident in the design of grave-stones. The eleven graves of the Pickenpack family are particularly meaningful in this respect. They beautifully illustrate cultural change, integration into local society and „Siamization“.

¹⁴⁴ Justin Corfield, *Bangkok: The Protestant Cemetery*, London 1997, pp. 35 and 226.

a.) The Pickenpack Family

The Pickenpack family, based in Siam, were descendants of either Paul or his brother Vincent. Immediately after the signing of the „Unequal Treaties“ in 1858, the two founded a company together in Bangkok. They had started their economic activities in Penang. Singapore became another business location, and until the First World War, the Pickenpack family was strongly connected to these three places, both in business and in private life.¹⁴⁵ Based on current knowledge, it is not possible to say to what extent F. Pickenpack, the first member of the second generation of the family in Siam, was exactly related to the branches in Hamburg and Penang. Further investigations are still in progress. Another evidence pointing to the Pickenpack family's extensive relations in Southeast Asia can be found in sources on the internment of Germans in Australia. A Mrs Pickenpack was imprisoned in the Bourke family camp there. The inmates had previously lived in Sri Lanka, Singapore, Hong Kong and other places in Asia before being taken to Australia. Given the rarity of the name Pickenpack, one can assume that the lady - and presumably the family interned with her - may have been members of a branch of the family that was based in Penang and Singapore.¹⁴⁶

The eleven graves of the Pickenpack family in Bangkok are graves of the second, third and fourth family generation. F. Pickenpack (1869-1919) was buried in the oldest, Chamni Piphatphan (1928-1929) in the latest. First of all, the names engraved on the gravestones are remarkable. In eight cases, first and family names were inscribed, the former in German and Latin, the latter in Siamese writing. F. Pickenpack had only a German and Chami Piphatpahn only a Siamese name. From the third generation onwards, the inscriptions became increasingly Siamese. This affected the first name as well as the surname, which had been indigenised as "Piphatphan" (พิพัทธ์พันธ์). The German names were added in Latin letters and in brackets.

Another indicator of advanced integration into Siamese society is the presentation of the life dates of the deceased. From 1920 onwards, they exclusively followed the Buddhist calendar. In addition, the gravestones were now decorated with Thai motifs. All these are signs of gradual „Siamization“.

¹⁴⁵ See Khoo Salma Nasution, *More than Merchants*, pp. 48-50.

¹⁴⁶ Martin Trojan, *Hinter Stein und Stacheldraht: Australische Schattenbilder*, Bremen 1922, p. 213.

The following pictures of the gravestones of F. Pickenpack and Alfred Pickenpack serve as examples:



Fig. 16 and 17: The gravestones of F. Pickenpack and Alfred Pickenpack at the Samray Presbyterian Church Cemetery in Bangkok (photographs by the author)

On F. Pickenpack's gravestone, his name can be read in the first line, written in Latin letters, but not in majuscules, as was quite common in European-Christian tradition at that time. Then follows, in Siamese characters, F. Pickenpack's official title "Luang Vichanthorakit", which can be translated as "Telegram Decoder". The third line shows his life data. Like the other Siamese Germans of the second generation, F. Pickenpack had German and not Siamese first and last names.

Alfred Pickenpack (1904-1974) was probably a son of F. Pickenpack and thus belonged to the third generation of the family. The inscriptions on the tombstone are mainly in Thai script. The Siamese first and family name "Roitri Chalerm Piphatphan" is dominant in the first place, while the German name is added in brackets in the line below, quasi as additional information. The dates of birth and death are engraved according to the Buddhist calendar: 16 November 2447 (1904) - 29 November 2517 (1974).¹⁴⁷ "Roitri" is the designation for a captain of the Siamese army in which Alfred apparently served. It can be assumed that "Chalerm Piphatphan" was already a normal and inconspicuous Siamese citizen. At home in his family, however, he was most likely called "Alfred" in commemoration of his German roots. Other Siamese-German families also underwent such processes of „Siamization“. They can be observed in Peter Feit, Elimar Rochga, Adolf Ulrich and Anton and Otto Sandreczki, to name but a few. As the example of Alfred Pickenpack

¹⁴⁷ A good example is the inscription with the life data of Roy Henry Hinch in Fig. 20.

showed, the members of the third generation had already integrated well into Siamese life. They had the Thai citizenship and bore Thai first and family names, most of which were derived from their original names to accommodate the different phonetic spelling of the Siamese language. For example, Pickenpack became "Pi-phatphan" (พิพัฑพันธุ์), Wehler became "Velananda" (เวลันนันท), Schneider became "Chanodom" (ชโนดม) or the first name Peter became "Piti" (ปีติ), to name just a few examples. Many from the third generation had also become Buddhists. This could be one reason why their gravestones are rarely found in the Protestant or Catholic cemetery from then on.

In order to get an idea of how „Siamization“ proceeded in the fourth generation, the author interviewed two people with Western roots who kindly agreed to do so. They are fourth-generation descendants of a British-Baba-Chinese and a Siamese-Italian family. Both interviewees come from families that had come to Siam in the second half of the 19th century, both were brought up as Christians, work as university professors and still remember their grandmothers and siblings well, i.e. second generation family members they had experienced as children.

The family with British roots strictly stuck to the traditions and lifestyles of their European ancestors up to the fourth generation. They cut themselves off from the residential society, had almost only contact with Western foreigner communities and married exclusively within this circle. The Siamese-Italian family, on the other hand, had already adapted to local everyday life in the second generation. Since similar statements from descendants of Siamese-German families are lacking so far, these two contrasting examples may serve as a model of how their further „Siamization“ could have taken place.

b.) Professor Dr. Surapone Virulrak

Prof. Dr. Surapone Virulrak (ศาสตราจารย์ ดร. สุรพล วิรุฬักษ์), 78 years old (in 2022), is one of the most respected personalities in Thailand. The university professor and president of the "Royal Institute Thailand" (ราชบัณฑิตยสภา) is a great-grandson of the Scottish Catholic ship captain William Trail (05.11.1828-31.03.1900) and his wife Marina, a Baba Chinese (11.02.1838-13.03.1924). As mentioned above, a number of

transnational and -cultural behaviours can be observed in the Trail family. For example, three of their daughters were married to Germans:

Christiana Josephine, as already mentioned, to Kapitän Jan Rudolph Vil,

Agnes to Peter Ernst Schmidt¹⁴⁸, and

Lucia, the youngest, to Henry Hinch¹⁴⁹



Fig. 18: The gravestones of Henry Hinch (05.05.1886-04.02.1966) and Lucy Hinch (née Trail) (05.02.1893-14.08.1977) in the new Catholic cemetery Satikham (photographs by the Virsulrak family)

Lucia and Henry Hinch were Prof. Surapone's grandparents. The couple had three children, their youngest son became Surapone's father. Since his father died in 1945 at the age of only 42, Surapone spent most of his time with his grandmother Lucy. In the conversation it became obvious how close Surapone was to his grandmother. "Grandmother Lucy" cherished both of her parents' cultures at home, the English and the Baba Chinese. The latter is a mixture of Chinese and Malay traditions

¹⁴⁸ Peter Ernst Schmidt died in 1917 at the age of 42 and was buried in the Catholic cemetery. He may have been a brother of Fritz Leo Schmidt, who is no. 25 on List 1 and was 40 years old in 1917.

¹⁴⁹ The name "Hinch" does not sound very German. It has probably been anglicised. The name "Hinch" does not show up in the author's database. Prof. Surapone mentioned that his father was half-German and was born in Siam. Thus, Surapone Virulrak is a fourth generation Siamese German on his father's side.

and lifestyles.¹⁵⁰ So his grandmother raised Virulrak transculturally, but he grew up in a parallel society in the midst of a Siamese environment. This could be due to the fact that Captain Trail was wealthy enough to maintain a European lifestyle and his wife, as a Baba Chinese, had no connection to Siamese society and culture. Prof. Surapone remembers very well that his grandmother's home was beautifully furnished with tasteful British Victorian furniture, most of which her father had imported from England. From her mother, Grandma Lucy adopted the typical Baba Chinese way of dressing.¹⁵¹ The three daily meals mixed both traditions: in the morning there was an English breakfast, but for lunch and dinner they used to have Malay-Chinese dishes, such as curries or "stew" of beef tongue with bread and sambal, the typical Malay-Indonesian spicy sauce.¹⁵² Surapone emphasised that curries, chilli sauce or Thai-style desserts were never on the menu. English tea was served in the afternoon. Moreover, Surapone added, at Grandma Lucy's you always sat on a chair and never on the floor, as was common in Thailand.

The grandmother attached great importance to a decent education for her grandchildren. Thus, the daily rhythm was well organised: Every morning after getting up, the bed had to be made first. He had to dress properly for the dinner table. Table manners were very strict and the grandson had to learn how to eat fish and meat properly with cutlery. During the meal, it was also forbidden to drink too much water and to talk with his mouth full. In the afternoon at four o'clock it was tea time. Before going out, clothes had to be put on properly: For example, it was forbidden to roll up sleeves, all buttons on the shirt had to remain buttoned at all times, the hem of the shirt had to be tucked into the trousers and one was never allowed to wear a vest and sandal. Shoes always had to be clean and polished. Not only the outer appearance had to be impeccable, but the clothes must be neatly

¹⁵⁰ See for instance Song Ong Siang, *One hundred Years History of the Chinese in Singapore*, Singapore 1923 and Png Poh-seng, *The Straits Chinese in Singapore: A Case of Local Identity and Socio-Cultural Accommodation*, in: *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Mar 1969), pp. 95-114.

¹⁵¹ It is a mixture of indigenous Malay and Chinese clothing. Baba Chinese women wore the traditional blouse "Kebaya" like the women in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. Instead of the "kain" sarong (wrap-around skirt) that belongs there, they preferred the long Chinese trousers (for the "kebaya" blouse, see URL: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kebaya>).

¹⁵² The seasoning sauce comes in many varieties. Surapone Virulrak did not mention which recipe Grandma Lucy used (about the different varieties of "sambal" see URL: <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sambal>).

sorted in the cupboard as well. Grandmother Lucy also made sure that the grandchildren had a good command of English and took care, for example, that they only watched films in the original language.



Fig. 19: Roy Henry Hinch (18.10.1917-18.03.1945) (photographs Family Virulrak)

The family was strictly Catholic. Every Sunday, "Grandma Lucy" attended mass with her grandson Prof. Surapone. Although he was not baptised, he is familiar with Christian liturgy, both Catholic and Protestant. It seems reasonable to assume that he was not baptised because his father was a Buddhist. This is quite remarkable

for a deeply Catholic family.¹⁵³ Grandmother Lucy had her son buried in the Catholic cemetery next to the family graves. This is perhaps the reason why the author found Surapone's father's grave in the cemetery, but no entry in the burial records.¹⁵⁴

Professor Surapone can still recite the Latin prayers of the Catholic Mass by heart. He attended the American Protestant Mission School in Bangkok and was a member of a Protestant choir that performed at church services. In daily life, however, Surapone Virulrak is in close contact with Thai Buddhist traditions. He emphasises that he and the other children in his social environment never had any problems with the two religions or with the cultural diversity of Thai society. The cultural diversity in his environment seems to be a matter of course for him. Nevertheless, at some point Surapone felt compelled to choose a denomination. He finally confessed to Buddhism. But he occasionally attends Catholic Mass and the cemetery to remember his grandmother, father and ancestors. When he was abroad, he always took the opportunity to visit Catholic churches and attend Masses. When he visited the Basilica of the Holy Trinity in Fatima, Portugal, he even entered the church on his knees like the other faithful. He wanted to dedicate this pious act, in keeping with Buddhist behaviour, to his "Grandmother Lucy" in the afterlife. The mixture of Buddhist and Christian ways of thinking and rituals represents a transcultural behaviour that moves pragmatically and fluidly between the two worlds of life in Thai society. This is not uncommon at all. For example, it can be observed time and again that descendants commemorate their ancestors in the Christian cemetery in a Buddhist way. The garland on the grave of Henry and Lucy Hinch (Fig. 18) is a good example.

c.) Professor Dr. Kittichai Lavangnananda (Lavagnino)

The author was able to conduct the second interview with Professor Dr. Kittichai Lavangnananda (รศ. ดร. กิตติชัย ล้วนยานนท์). He is a fourth generation descendant of the Lavagnino family. Not knowing much about the family history, he was grateful

¹⁵⁴ It was a small unremarkable urn grave next to the family graves. Surapone Virulrak informed the author that the burial did not comply with the cemetery statutes, but was tolerated by the church.

for any information the author could give him. Professor Kittichai's great-grandfather, Attilio Lavagnino, came from Turin and settled in Siam in the 1880s. The Lavagninos are a family whose members can be found in various parts of the world, especially in Argentina. Attilio opened a gunsmith's workshop in Bangkok and married a Catholic Siamese woman. Church documents show that the couple had four children. The professor knew of a fifth child, a daughter named Lisette. Only two of the children survived, Matteo (1890-1930) and Lisette (1900-1987). Like many other Siamese-European children, both grew up in Bangkok, spent their entire lives in Siam and never visited their father's native country. Matteo, Professor Kittichai's grandfather, became a government official, took Thai citizenship and was given the indigenised surname Lavangnananda (ลวันยานนท์) by the then King.

Professor Kittichai's childhood shows similarities to Professor Surapone's. His father also died young, so he and his siblings spent a lot of time with their great-aunt Lisette. He remembers her very well and especially the unique taste of her Italian-Thai cuisine. For example, "Grandma Lisette"¹⁵⁵ often cooked spaghetti bolognese. Instead of minced meat, however, she made beef tongue the main ingredient of the dish, which corresponded to the Thai taste. "Grandma Lisette" thus mixed recipes from both cultures and created "Spaghetti Bolognese alla Thailandese".

Although the Lavagninos' history is less colourful than that of the British-Baba Chinese Trail family, a similar cosmopolitan lifestyle can be observed. While "Grandma Lucy Hinch" stuck to British-Chinese eating habits, Lisette Lavagnino behaved in a much more transcultural way, and not only when it came to culinary matters. She also crossed borders concerning religious issues. As Professor Kittichai recounted, his great-aunt once fell seriously ill and was in a very critical state of health. Her husband, a respected doctor and devout Buddhist, advised his Catholic wife to recite Buddhist prayers. So she did, and it apparently helped her. After her recovery, she gradually converted to Buddhism. In any case, she had not visited the Catholic parish since her marriage and had hardly had the opportunity to attend mass. Finally, after her death, she had herself cremated according to the Siamese Buddhist rite. Therefore, Lisette Lavagnino was not buried in the Catholic cemetery, nor was she - just like „SW's“ father - listed in the burial records. Professor Kittichai told us that the majority of Attilio Lavagnino's descendants have become

¹⁵⁵ In Thailand, the great aunt is also called "grandma".

Buddhists, just like himself. Nevertheless, his siblings continue to visit and care for the graves of their ancestors in the Catholic cemetery. The examples of Lucia Trail and Lisette Lavagnino show that members of the second Siamese-European generation still behaved differently as far as religion was concerned. While Lisette Lavagnino had already converted from Catholicism to Buddhism, the British-Baba Chinese Trails did not do so until the fourth generation. The two professors-Surapone Virulrak and Kittichai lead a flexible hybrid existence in Thailand. Neither in language nor religion do they align themselves with the European side of their families. Other "heirlooms" of this tradition, which they considered important, they adopted and continued to cultivate within their own families. These include, in particular, the appreciation of discipline, morality and diligence, as well as the awareness of having to make a special effort as a minority in a once foreign country in order to assert oneself. This can be observed in Thailand not only among people with a European background, but also among those with Chinese roots.¹⁵⁶ The examples of the Trail and Lavagnino families suggest that Siamese-Germans such as the Lampes, Sandreczkis, Ulrichs, Vils or Meyers also lived in a similar way, regardless of their religion. In any case, many of them have prospered in Thailand and integrated well into the local society.

¹⁵⁶ For example, see Aihwa Ong, *On the Edge of Empires: Flexible Citizenship among Chinese in Diaspora*, in: *Positions*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1993), pp. 745-778, Jennifer Wayne Cushman and Wang Gungwu (Hrsg.), *Changing identities of the Southeast Asian Chinese since World War II*, Hong Kong (1988) 1990 and Ruji Auethavornpipat, *Flexible Identity: Unfolding the Identity of the Chinese-Thai Population in Contemporary Thailand*, in: *The Arbutus Review*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2011), pp. 32-48.



Fig. 20: Young Matteo Lavagnino (Lavangnananda family archive)



Fig. 21: Lisette Lavagnino (Khunying Phaetkosol, Lavangnananda Family Archive)

VI. Summary

This study of the German community in Siam between 1850 and 1917, based largely on Thai sources, presents a number of important findings. First, it could be shown that Siam's status as an "informal empire" as well as several macro- and micro-historical factors facilitated the formation of the community. In both quantitative and qualitative terms, the community developed in two phases. Its beginnings can be traced back to the opening policy that Siam pursued in 1850 in response to a first colonial expansionist push by the European powers in mainland Southeast Asia. The number of community members increased during the period when Siam was modernising according to Western standards to avert a second phase of imperialist activities by Britain and France from the 1880s onwards. At the same time, the founding of the German Empire also affected the character of the community. Thus, a German-speaking cultural community became a national German community.

Before 1871, members maintained good family and professional relationships with other Western foreigners, so that one can speak of a transnational community. German-British marriages and the founding of the Club Concordia by Western ship captains marked the heyday of this phase. The club was a kind of cultural meeting place for Western foreigners.

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71, the German community underwent a process of nationalisation. Apart from various macro-historical reasons that initiated this change, there were micro-historical factors resulting from Siam's policy of modernisation. The lives of Western foreigners changed and a transnational community was gradually replaced by isolated national communities. They founded their own churches, schools and cultural institutions, and only compatriots were allowed in their clubs.¹⁵⁷ Social contacts among the Western communities became rare. Also, there is no evidence of marriages between partners of different Western nationalities dating from this period. At the same time, the German community became more heterogeneous in terms of the number, gender, occupation, religion,

¹⁵⁷ See the historical pictures of the German Club Bangkok in: URL: <https://www.facebook.com/SiamRenaissancePublishing/photos/a.1750494838609019/2957376551254169>.

origin and lifestyle of its members. It became more diverse, and therefore various processes of cultural transfer and transculturation developed.

Furthermore, it could be shown that the Germans living in Siam contributed to cultural transfer in many ways, among others in the fields of military music, architecture and technology. On the one hand, they contributed to the success of Siamese reform policies. On the other hand, they changed their attitude towards the resident society, their way of life and behavior. They got used to new eating habits, learned to adapt to the tropical climate, and, if they had relationships with local women, came to terms with a transcultural everyday family life. The biographies of Carl Roebelen, Georg Wehler and John Dietzal, for example, bear witness to these processes.

However, it could also be shown that the progress and intensity of change varied from person to person. A regular pattern of cultural assimilation could not be observed. The view of Luis Weiler as well as of father and son Jacob and Peter Feit with their different perception of the Siamese way of life and culture made this exemplarily clear.

As mentioned earlier, the willingness to acculturate was most evident among Germans who lived with Siamese women. But here, too, no homogeneous picture can be drawn, since transcultural processes have not taken place to the same extent and over the same period in every family. This has to do primarily with the sociocultural and religious background of the respective spouses. And although the Siamese mothers often had a great influence on the religion and lifestyle of their offspring, some of the children, such as Anton Sandreczki or Peter Feit, did not follow the traditions of their mothers. Nevertheless, it can be argued that transculturation led to integration into the local society, to „Siamization“. This also took place in different ways, as has been shown. In the case of the Siamese-Italian Lavagnino family, "Siamization" was already well advanced in the second generation, while the German Pickenpacks only became more integrated in the third generation and the British-Baba-Chinese Trails even in the fourth generation.

One of the findings of this study is that the spouses of the first community generation were buried separately. The Protestant German husbands almost always found their final resting place in the Protestant cemetery, regardless of their wives' reli-

gion. The design of their graves followed European-Christian burial culture. No elements of transculturation can be found in the iconography of the gravestones. That it nevertheless took place is shown by the decision to choose a partner according to non-denominational or non-religious aspects. Only in the second generation did processes of transculturalisation and even „Siamization“ become more visible. A life in which German and Siamese customs and traditions are mixed is recognisable. In general, it can be said that the children of this generation were predominantly brought up as German Christians. They communicated with their fathers in German, but could no longer write the German language. They bore German first and last names and registered as Germans at the consulate. German festivals were celebrated with their families and other German traditions were cultivated. But the native mothers also had a formative influence on their way of life. Some children became Catholic like them and often chose their spouses from their parents' social circle. Since they earned their bread in Siam, they adapted to the mainstream British-Siamese culture. This flexibility of being at home in two cultures and alternately immersing themselves in them became a new characteristic of Siamese Germans.

In the third generation, transculturation increasingly resulted in „Siamization“. The grandchildren had both Siamese first names and Siamese surnames and were registered with the authorities as Siamese. They abandoned the Christian-German-Western traditions of their forefathers, which were highly valued by their parents. Even if they were still Christians and had a second German name, as was the case with Chalerm Phiphatphan, who was also called Alfred Pickenpack, this only served to remind them of their roots. The second, German name was unofficial. It was mentioned on the gravestone, but no longer on the identification card. Apart from that, the inscriptions on the gravestones were now in Thai script. One could conclude from this that the Pickenpacks, like other Siamese Germans of the generation, had largely integrated into local society. They had become Siamese, but without completely extinguishing the memory of their origins. As Friedrich Schaefer observed, some had even converted to Buddhism. This may often have been for professional reasons, but spiritual motives cannot be ruled out entirely. Their "Germanness" was no longer determined by religion, language or cultural traditions, but by a certain way of living. Thus they followed moral principles such as

diligence, hard work, discipline or determination, which were passed down from generation to generation and may explain their professional success.

Looking at the socio-cultural history of Thailand, it can be noticed that similar transcultural processes had already taken place long before the 19th century. Persians, Portuguese and Chinese contributed to cultural transfer during the Ayudhya period (1350-1767), especially in the 17th century. They gradually integrated into the local society and eventually became Siamese. Due to this traditional Siamese cultural policy, which is still followed today, a multicultural society developed that is characteristic of Thailand.¹⁵⁸

Without this openness to the outside world, the cultural transfer and subsequent transculturation processes on the Siamese side would not have been possible. A good example is the adoption of German Jugendstil in architecture. The facades of the buildings were designed in Art Nouveau style, but the interiors were furnished according to Siamese taste.¹⁵⁹ The same phenomenon occurs in the imitation of Western models for Siamese decorations and medals: The form was based on European models, while the design - i.e. the specifications - corresponded to Siam's social structure.¹⁶⁰ The integration process of the Siamese Germans also followed the same principle. In their public life, they adopted the customs of the host society, so that they were indistinguishable from the Siamese. Only in their diligence one could recognise the German heritage. At home with their families, however, they cultivated the traditions and cultural elements of their old home country, e.g. a preference for classical, European-German music.

These transcultural processes may have - at least in part - pragmatic and purposeful reasons. For example, the adaptation of German Art Nouveau and European medals was part of the Siamese modernisation programme, which aimed at integrating

¹⁵⁸ For example, the constitution did not specify that Buddhism should be the state religion, although the majority of Thais are Buddhists.

¹⁵⁹ For further information, see Krisana Daroonthanom, *Das architektonische Werk des deutschen Architekten Karl Döhring in Thailand*, Phil. Diss., Universität Osnabrück, 1998.

¹⁶⁰ For detailed information on this topic, see Suphot Manalapanacharoen, *Selbstbehauptung und Modernisierung mit Zeremoniell und symbolischer Politik: Zur Rezeption europäischer Orden und zu Strategien der Ordensverleihung in Siam*, Konstanz 2017. For further information on the adoption of Prussian-German military music, see Suphot Manalapanacharoen, *Die Geschichte deutsch-thailändischer Musikbeziehungen*, Frankfurt a.M. 2000.

the country into the Western world and tried to ward off colonial-expansive threats. In the case of the Siamese Germans, transculturation served, among other things, to integrate them into the resident society and to increase their chances of professional and social advancement. Nevertheless, German Jugendstil and European medals remained an important part of Thai culture, and the descendants of Siamese Germans are now full citizens of Thailand.

The outbreak of the First World War was, as this study was able to show, a significant turning point in the history of the German expatriate community in Bangkok. While the war led to a disruption of the processes of transfer and exchange, it also accelerated transculturalisation and "Siamization" to an unprecedented extent. In order to record and describe the cultural transfer, transculturalisation and „Siamization“ of the German community members more precisely, the individual biographies would have to be examined more closely. Especially those of the Buddhist wives and their children in the Altmann, Rochga or Wehler families, to name but a few. Comparative studies on the Germans and their contacts and family relations with other Western communities during the same period would also be an enrichment. Not only in Bangkok and Siam, but also in other regions of South, Southeast and East Asia¹⁶¹, and the Pacific.¹⁶² Furthermore, a transnational and transtemporal

¹⁶¹ See Antonio L. Rappa, *Surviving the Politics of Late Modernity: The Eurasian Fringe Community of Singapore*, in: *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2000), pp. 153-180 and David M. Pomfret, *Raising Eurasia: Race, Class, and Age in French and British Colonies*, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Apr. 2009) pp. 324-343.

¹⁶² For further information, see John A. Moses and Paul M. Kennedy (eds.), *Germany in the Pacific and Far East 1870-1914*, St. Lucia 1977 and the following three contributions by Reinhard Wendt, *Die Internierung des Gustav Kronfeld in Neuseeland. German Pacific Islanders, Transkulturalität und Kategorien des Nationalen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, in: Kuhn, Bärbel/Windus, Astrid (ed.), *Der erste Weltkrieg im Geschichtsunterricht. Grenzen - Grenzüberschreitungen - Medialisierung von Grenzen*, St. Ingbert 2014, S. 83-104, Reinhard Wendt, *Deutsche Gräber auf dem europäischen Friedhof in Neaifu, Vava'u, Tonga-Inseln. Ein Erinnerungsort zu Auswanderung und Transkulturation*, in: *Saeculum* 64 (2014), pp. 91-107, *Deutschsein in der Südsee. Berichte des Schweizerischen Konsuls in Neuseeland über Internierte aus Vava'u (Tonga-Inseln) während des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, in: *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte* (2013), in: URL: <http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2013/Article=609> and Reinhard Wendt, *German Pacific Islanders – Eine ferne Diaspora und ihre Erinnerung an Deutschland*, in: Werner Daum, Wolfgang Kruse, Eva Ochs, Arthur Schlegelmilch (eds.), *Politische Bewegung und symbolische Ordnung*, Bonn 2014, pp. 145-165. For information on Germans in Australia see Klaus J. Bade (eds.), *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, München 1992 and Sandra Kipp, *Migration, Language Use, and Identity: German in Melbourne, Aust-*

study would help to learn more about the diasporic living conditions in the German communities, for which only few indications could be given in the context of this study.

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Prof. Dr. Kittichai Lavangnananda (Lavagnino), School of Information Technology, The King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi (KMUTT)

Prof. Dr. Surapone Virulrak, President of the Royal Institute, Thailand

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