

## PRINCE MONGKUT AND JESSE CASWELL<sup>1</sup>

by

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When the Protestant missionaries set sail from America to Siam in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, they went with the hope and expectation of saving the poor darkened heathen from the eternal penalties of hell. There is no evidence that they expected to find an educated elite in Bangkok who were in some ways more knowledgeable about European culture than themselves, and who were versed in several of the European languages. The first of the Protestants to visit Siam was Charles Gutzlaff, who was as favorably impressed as one could expect from a man whose chief purpose was evangelism. "Chaw-fa-nooi," he wrote, "the younger brother of the late king and the rightful heir of the crown, is a youth, of about twenty-three, possessing some abilities, which are however swallowed up in childishness. He speaks English; can write a little; can imitate the works of European artisans; and is a decided friend of European sciences, and of Christianity. He courts the friendship of every European; holds conversation with him, and is anxious to learn whatever he can."<sup>2</sup>

A few years later when Dean and Bradley reached Bangkok they were pleasantly surprised by the appearance of the homes of some of the nobles; in particular that of Luang Nai Sit (later to become the Regent in King Chulalongkorn's reign), over the door of whose

- 1) I am indebted to Miss Mary Walker, Librarian of the Board of Overseas Ministries of the United Church of Christ (formerly the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) for permission to reproduce materials from the records which are preserved in the Houghton Memorial Library of Harvard University, and to Mr. Don J. Caswell of Madison, Wisconsin, for copies of letters from Prince Mongkut to Anna Caswell. Mr. Caswell is in possession of the *Journal, Daybook*, and miscellaneous letters of his great-grandfather. A notebook kept by Jesse Caswell during the time that he was Mongkut's teacher is now in the possession of Miss Clara May Hemenway, of Manchester, Vermont. She also possesses the Journals of Asa and Lucia Hemenway of Bangkok.
- 2) Gutzlaff, C., *The Journal of Two Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, and 1832*, N.Y., John P. Haven, 1833, pp. 22-3.

house was the inscription, "This is Luang Nai Sit's house—welcome friends."<sup>3</sup> These missionaries were soon to be engaged in teaching English to men who had already at least an elementary knowledge of the language, and who were well acquainted with European civilization. Thus it is erroneous to think that western civilization came to Thailand with the Protestant missionaries from America. It came with the opening of trade and diplomatic relations centuries before, especially during the reign of King Narai.

However, there is one respect in which the American missionaries made a significant and unique contribution to Siam, and it is for this that they are remembered today. It was they who introduced Western science and technology to a group of noblemen eager to adapt them to the usages of their Kingdom. Bradley, Chandler, House and Caswell in particular were avidly curious about the world around them, and the data they collected proved to be of value to those who followed. It happened that there were in Bangkok at that time young men with a similar interest in the sciences, and this led to a friendly interchange of information which was profitable to both sides.

Curiously enough, the missionaries mistook Siamese interest in scientific and philosophical thought for a sign that the country was ripe for evangelism, and so they predicted that within a short period of time the country would be Christian. Perhaps the Protestants were never able to reconcile themselves for failing to convert the Siamese (a failure for which they held themselves responsible) but they never renounced the bonds of friendship because of ideological differences.

Prince Mongkut, to whom the missionaries referred as Chao Fa Yai during the years they knew him as a priest, had perhaps the greatest intellectual curiosity of all the Thai nobility. The reforms which he undertook as King were begun in several ways during his service as a monk, when he made widespread changes in the study of Buddhism and began the reconciliation of the religion with scientific

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3) Bradley, D.B., 'Reminiscences,' *Bangkok Calendar*, 1870, p. 103. Although Bradley purports to be quoting from his *Journal* for Oct. 23, 1835, there is no mention of this inscription in the original entry.

discoveries, particularly in the field of astronomy. It seems that it was not by accident that Mongkut's interest centered on astronomy, for the influence of astrology on popular Buddhism was very strong, as it is even at present. Elements of magical prediction which run counter to the teachings of Lord Buddha constituted then, as now, serious intellectual threats to the anti-magical rationalism of pure Buddhist teaching.<sup>4</sup> In fact, it was the King's interest in astronomy, and his desire to convince the astrologers of the validity of scientific prediction, that led to his contracting that fever to which he succumbed in 1868.

Prince Mongkut shared Bradley's interest in printing, and together with J.H. Chandler they worked for many years on the development of a satisfactory Siamese script. Both Bradley and Chandler were favorably impressed with the quality of Mongkut's work, and on one occasion when Chandler needed help Mongkut lent him the services of one of his punch-cutters for a year.<sup>5</sup>

It was the Americans' interest and skill in science and technology which attracted them to Prince Mongkut, and in 1839 the latter requested Bradley to give him private lessons in English.

Choufah sent for me to visit his wat [reported Bradley in his *Journal*]. His desire was to engage me to become his teacher in the English language. The plan he proposed was that he would come down to a wat near my house where he would receive my lessons and instructions and would have one of his young men spend much of his time at my house in order that he might learn the English and be able in time to aid him as well as to fit the young man for a visit to England or America for information.<sup>6</sup> Although now pressed for business day and night I did not feel willing to refuse to accept of

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- 4) Mongkut's criticism of magic is similar to that of Sujib Punyanubhab's discussion of miracles in his recent work, *Some Prominent Characteristics of Buddhism*, Bangkok, 1965.
  - 5) References to Mongkut's activities as a printer are to be found in Bradley's *Journal*, July 6, 1842, and the *Baptist Magazine*, vol. 26, 1846, p. 54.
  - 6) Although Bradley may not have taught English to this particular young protege of Mongkut, he did teach Mom Kratai Rachoathai, a member of the Embassy to England in 1857. See Bradley's *Journal*, July 31, 1867.

the request coming as it did from one of very great influence in Siam. I told him that I would try to teach him on five evenings of each week and his favorite young man daily at my home.<sup>7</sup>

That some lessons were given, although perhaps not at this time, is indicated by Bradley's comments in his *Journal* at the time of Mongkut's death in 1868, "The King was my acquaintance for thirty-three years, often times virtually my pupil when he was a priest as also the pupil of my old colleague Rev. J. Caswell."<sup>8</sup> Whether Bradley actually taught the Prince according to this strict regimen is doubtful. There is no evidence that Mongkut's plan was put into effect until six years later when Caswell agreed to become his teacher.

Jesse Caswell was closest to Prince Mongkut of all the Americans. This might have surprised those who had known Caswell in his student days, for he was characterized by President Joshua Bates of Middlebury College as one "who has no peculiar talent for obtaining access to strangers, or acquiring a personal influence over companions: for these purposes, I should think him too reserved."<sup>9</sup> Apparently Caswell's scientific interests (he kept weather charts during his years in Bangkok) as well as his natural reserve and serious interest in Siamese culture attracted him to Mongkut. Whatever the reason for his being singled out, Caswell received a request from Prince Mongkut to become his teacher on a regular basis, and the pages which follow show how close a relation there was between them.

Jesse Caswell, Jr., was born in Middletown, Vermont on April 17, 1809. He graduated from Middlebury College in 1832, served as an Assistant Teacher at Potsdam Academy for two years, then enrolled in Andover Seminary to prepare for the ministry. At the end of the first year he moved to the newly founded Lane Seminary in Ohio in order to assist in its establishment, and was graduated in 1837. He married Anna Hemenway in 1839, and in 1840 the Caswells reached Bangkok, accompanied by Anna's brother and the latter's wife.

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7) Bradley, *Journal*, December 18, 1839.

8) *Ibid.*, October 2, 1868.

9) A.B.C.F.M., *Candidates File*, 1838-43, no. 188.

When Jesse Caswell died suddenly of erysipelas on September 24, 1848, a very promising career was brought abruptly to a close. Five months later the young widow returned to America with her children. When Mongkut became King he remembered his friend, first by erecting a monument in his honor, and subsequently by sending gifts of \$1000 and \$500 to Mrs. Caswell by Dr. House. The manner of delivery of the second gift was to cause a serious rift within the missionary community, when it became known several years after the occasion that Dr. House had received the money from King Mongkut in hard currency but paid Mrs. Caswell in Greenbacks which were worth less than half their face value.<sup>10</sup> Fortunately for King Mongkut this fact was not disclosed until several years after his death.

To the best of my knowledge nothing has been published about the relations between the Prince and the missionary as seen through Caswell's eyes, even though there is considerable material on the subject in the records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Houghton Memorial Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In addition to the letters which were sent by Caswell to the Board, there exists a small notebook in the effects of the Rev. Asa Hemenway which is clearly the work of Jesse Caswell during the period of his daily visits to Wat Bavoranives. The notebook, which is now in the possession of Miss Clara May Hemenway of Manchester, Vermont, consists of two parts. The first contains notes of conversations between Caswell and Mongkut. The second consists of "Historical Notes on Siam by Mr. Caswell," and is a digest of a work consisting of thirty books, apparently similar to that which Bradley printed twenty years later.

The facts which are stated by Caswell in the first part of his notebook do not shed new light on that period of Bangkok's history, save as they reveal the knowledge which Caswell was able to glean

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10) Facts dealing with this case are found in Chandler's letter to Bradley, August 31, 1868; House's letter to his wife, Aug. 24, 1871; General Partridge to the Department of State, Sept. 19, 1873. Chandler's letter is in the possession of Mrs. W. Harding Kneeder of Davidson, North Carolina. House's letter is in the records of the Missionary Library of the United Presbyterian Church in New York City. Consul Partridge's letter is in the National Archives in Washington.

through his conversations with the young nobility. The notes and letters corroborate from the American side what has been taken from Thai sources in recent years. For example, H.R.H. Chula Chakrabongse, Alexander Griswold and Abbot Low Moffat mention the fact that Prince Mongkut's reforms of Buddhist literature and life were done at the request of King Rama III and constituted official acts of the Monarchy.<sup>11</sup> This is a fact which was insufficiently understood by Western reporters from the time of Gutzlaff, who expounded the myth that Mongkut had simply taken refuge in the priesthood to avoid assassination by his jealous half-brother. Caswell's letters show some awareness of the official sanction given Mongkut to pursue his reforms, although there is an understandable tendency to attribute the changes to the arrival of the American missionaries in 1828-30. Caswell wrote to the American Board that "the commencement of liberal views, as marked by the liberal party themselves, took place very soon after the visits of the first missionaries,—Gutzlaff, Tomlin, and Abeel,—to Siam."<sup>12</sup> Caswell shows an ability to overcome his evangelical bias, however, when he reports that "the rise and progress of these views are to be traced directly to Chau Fa," and then gives credit to the King as well: "How far the hand of the king is in these reforms, it is impossible to say. That he knowingly tolerates them is, I think, quite certain."<sup>13</sup>

Following are the letters which Caswell wrote to the American Board during the time that he was teaching English at Wat Bavoranives. These letters reveal the kind of intellectual ferment which was apparent in the circle of nobility surrounding Mongkut a few years prior to his coronation, and also help us glimpse a bit of the personality of Jesse Caswell which set him apart from most of his colleagues in the Protestant missions.

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- 11) See especially H.R.H. Chula Chakrabongse, *Lords of Life*, London, Alvin Redman, 1960, pp. 151 ff.
  - 12) Caswell to Anderson, July 1, 1843; published in the *Missionary Herald*, 1844, p. 199.
  - 13) *Ibid.* It is noteworthy that Bradley's *Journal* nowhere exhibits that bias against King Rama III characteristic of Western writers until the time of Vella.

Caswell's Letters to the American Board<sup>14</sup>

July 4, 1845

On the 14th of last month I received an invitation from Chau Fā, the priest, to spend a little time in teaching English in his wat, to himself and several priests and others connected with him. As an inducement for me to comply with his invitation, he offered me the occupancy, rent free, of a neat convenient room adjoining the wat ground, to be used—as it was his own proposal—for preaching and distributing books. He offered also to fit up the room in any way I might choose. For a long time I had been desiring to find a room in a place less public than the tract house,<sup>15</sup> and yet public enough to secure a good number of calls, where I might preach the gospel. But I could find no place of the kind. When Chau Fa's invitation came, wholly unsolicited as it was, it seemed so already the finger of God that I could not hesitate respecting the path of duty. I commenced teaching the first of this month, and expect in a few days to begin to occupy my room for preaching. I have a class of 16 or 18 young men, partly priests and partly body servants of Chau Fa. I spend about three-fourths of an hour with the class and then give a few minutes to Chau Fa himself in explaining any difficulties he may have met with. I propose to go on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursday and Fridays, and spend the whole forenoon in teaching and receiving visits at my room. My hopes in respect to the results of this new attempt at teaching English are not at all sanguine and I should not feel at liberty to engage in it, except in consideration of the room allowed me for preaching.<sup>16</sup> The fact that this is the first station we have ever had inside the walls of the city is perhaps of some little interest and also that the place is granted by one so high in rank. It is a mile and a half from our mission compound, and some what more than that distance from the 'tract house', situated on one of the principal streets of the city.

July 26, 1845

I took possession of my room on the 14th inst. Thus far this place seems to me more favorable to the *quiet* preaching of the gospel than the tract house. Going and returning from my work furnishes me with three miles of walk which is very favorable to my health. My class in English has increased to about twenty five. It is not often however that more than half of them are present at the same time. Chau Fa himself is much

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- 14) Included in *Amoy, Siam, Borneo*, 178, ABC: 16.3.3, vol. 1, nos. 123, 125, 127. Portions of Caswell's letters dealing with matters other than relations with Siamese priests and nobles are omitted.
- 15) Interestingly enough, it was the very public situation of the Tract House that appealed to the missionaries when it was offered to them for lease by a Major General of the Army. See Bradley, *Journal*, August 2 and 14, 1838.
- 16) This suggests that had Caswell received that request made of Bradley in 1839, he would have rejected it.

more persevering than I expected him to be. Formerly his brother the prince commenced taking lessons in English, but gave a specimen of his natural fickleness in not taking the second lesson. The priest never misses a lesson and plies me with so many questions that I commonly have to tear myself away from him. I frequently have some of the lay members at my room to listen to my conversation. It is well understood by them that I do not intend to spend any of my time at my room in any other way than in preaching the gospel.<sup>17</sup> Soon after Chau Fa began his lessons in English, a Roman Catholic priest advised him not to study English, as it would spoil his pronunciation of latin. He says the R.C. priests praise his pronunciation of latin very much. He studied it many years since, and made, I should think, commendable progress. But he well understands, that if he would become acquainted with modern sciences, he must seek some other medium than that afforded by the latin language. Chau Fa has 48 Ceylonese residing in his wat, 32 of them priests. All but two of them came in a ship which the king sent to Ceylon last year, and which returned a few months since.

October 1, 1845

At the time of my last quarterly report I had just entered on the labor of teaching at the wat of Chau Fa the priest. My impressions respecting the place he gave me for a preaching stand were favorable from the first, but I had so often had my hopes of doing good by teaching English dashed, that my expectations in regard to that department of my labors were not at all sanguine. After the experiment of three months, I can now say that the place considered with reference to the great business of *preaching* is even more favorable than I had anticipated. I seldom have fewer than six hearers and very frequently from ten to fifteen, and most of these stay and listen quietly until I dismiss them. During the three months I have labored there I do not recall more than two persons who have been at all noisy or disputatious. Almost without a solitary exception, those who turn aside to hear me are perfectly respectful. This I believe to be an entirely new thing for Bangkok. There are several things which conspire to produce this result, but that which stands at the head is the fact that Chau Fa is my disciple in learning the English language and himself treats me with respect. This procures for me the respect of all the priests of his wat and of all the neighborhood. Excepting the one or two cases I mentioned above, I do not recollect of hearing one disrespectful word, or witnessing an act to disrespect towards me either in the wat, or in the vicinity for a great distance around. After trying to preach the gospel for four years in the midst of strife and contention, you may well suppose that I should feel some emotions of gratitude, when, unexpectedly

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17) This attitude was characteristic of the Protestant missionaries, who considered anything except preaching and the distribution of tracts as extraneous. Chandler thus complained to the Baptist Board, "You suggested that I might do something for the Princes in Mechanics etc. But as sure as they begin to call on me for my services there will be an end of mission work" (Chandler to S. Peck, American Baptist Missionary Society, Valley Forge, Pa., File 1843-49, Feb. 14, 1844).

and without the least planning of my own, I have been, by the hand of God as I must believe, set down in such a field.<sup>18</sup> I commonly have one or two members of my class in English to hear me at my preaching exercise . . .

With regard to my English class in the wat, I can say that I have been agreeably disappointed. About ten young men have persevered till the present time. Once or twice they were discouraged and it seemed to me that I should lose them; but by calling in the aid of Chau Fa I succeeded in rousing them to effort and I have now hope that they may be held to study till they shall have conquered the difficulties which arise early in the path of our studying the English, and till they have acquired a taste for the language. Chau Fa himself is indefatigable in his efforts to acquire the English. He has missed but one lesson during the whole three months that I have taught. I devote from 9 to 11 A.M. to teaching: the first hour to the young men, the last to Chau Fa. "But," you will ask, "suppose you succeed according to your mind in this effort to teach English, where is your hope of accomplishing the ends of missionary labor?" I answer first, negatively, it is not in the fact that a knowledge of English is imparted, nor that discipline of the mind is secured, nor is it in the amount of religious instruction which they (my scholars) get through the English language. That which first moved me to engage in this work was the fact that I thus secured a good preaching place. This fact, in present circumstances, I think is sufficient to justify my devoting two hours four times a week to *such* labor as this. But I gain, as you already see, more than a *good preaching place* - an influence over the minds of those who hear me that, so far as we can see, could not be secured in any other way. This I did not foresee when I accepted C. F.'s invitation. It is something which comes in to *confirm* the decision already made up on other grounds. Having such evidence of being on the path of duty it is often comforting and cheering to dwell on some other considerations which seem to be among the "all things working together for good." One of these is the influence I obtain in the four other wats which, either in whole or in part, sympathize with C. F. Another is the facilities I have for extending my acquaintance with the Siamese language. The hour that I spend with C. F. is often times much more profitable in this respect than the same time would be, spent with my teacher. But there is another consideration which I sometimes think, may, in the mind of God, weigh more than all those mentioned, both primary and secondary. The school of which the C. F. is the head - the liberal school - is probably destined to increase in numbers and influence.<sup>19</sup> It is just that in the priesthood that Chau Fa the prince, and Pra Nai Wai and those with them, are among the people. Chau Fa, the priest, is really a learned man and has great influence over those of his school. This class, in and out of the priesthood, embraces those who, so far as we can see, would be most

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- 18) An excellent illustration of the missionaries' inability to recognize the qualities of graciousness and altruism as normal constituents of any religion but Protestant Christianity.
- 19) H.R.H. Chula Chakrabongse (*op. cit.*, p. 185) indicates that such a change was inhibited in part by King Mongkut's care not to impose his will upon the priesthood.

likely to embrace christianity. At the same time, from the peculiar posture of their minds, they are more likely perhaps to run off into rank infidelity than the old school. How important then that we should have free and easy access to him who emphatically stands at the head of such a party. Chau Fa himself is full of scepticism, and yet it is not that *settled* scepticism which is found among a certain class in Christian communities. He seems to have a strong love of truth. (Of course, not the peculiar truths of revelation.) He loves to have solid ground pointed out to him on which he may stand. At least, so I think. We have frequent conversations on topics connected with the question of the divine origin of the christian Scriptures. These conversations are always introduced by himself, and have never yet, in one instance, run into dispute. At one time he alluded to the apparent inconsistency between the acknowledged fact that the earth is spherical and that part of the account of the temptation of Jesus in which he is represented as having all the kingdoms of the earth shown to him in a moment of time. At another time he could not see how the suffering such men as Gaudama and Mohammad to rise and delude so large a part of mankind, could be reconciled with the existence of an Almighty and Benevolent Creator. These are specimens of the difficulties which he proposes. You can easily judge the importance of clearing up these difficulties at the fountainhead.

I also enjoy special advantages for becoming acquainted with the true state of the Siamese mind and with the progress which is made. This is to be learned more from accidental remarks, than from anything direct. For instance, a few days since, C.F. related the substance of a conversation between him and several others at the Praklang's. One of them asked in a playful way, who of the company had joined the missionaries, (meaning by the question, who were believers in the spherical form of the earth.) Chau Fā says, "as for me, I joined them fifteen years ago, before they came here." Said Pra Nai Wai, "I joined them thirteen years ago." Pra Nai Si, a brother of Pra Nai Wai, said he became a disciple only *one* year ago, that he never believed till the missionaries published their Astronomy.<sup>20</sup> Upon this, Payā Sī Bīpat a brother of the Praklangs declared with impatience that he was no believer at all—he never had and never would. Chau Fa says that correct views in Astronomy already prevail extensively among the young . . .

*P.S.* I should have said a word . . . of the preference which C.F. manifests for the bible in his reading of English. I have put several books into his hands, and among them a neat bible. Hitherto he has confined his reading mostly to Mitchel's Geography, Parker's Grammar, and the Bible. He has a mind to be interested in grammar and he *is* so; but he chooses to spend most of his time in reading the bible.

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20. *The Almanac and Astronomy* was published by A.B.C.F.M. Press in January, 1843, and met with instant success among Siamese intellectuals. Caswell was the author, and Bradley the translator into Siamese. Bradley lists those who requested copies in his *Journal*, Jan. 26 and 27, 1843.

January 20, 1846

. . . At first I visited this preaching station but four times a week, but for several weeks I have practised going every day except sabbaths. . . I feel confident that the intercourse I have with C.F. and his head priests, with the other opportunities I have of becoming intimately acquainted with what is going on the wats, and especially of informing myself of the real state of feeling and views in the enlightened class of the priesthood, will here after be of incalculable value to me. Seldom is a day passed that I do not feel on my return that I have obtained important information which I could not have obtained from my teacher. My conversations with C.F. and his chief priests are without any restraint and invariably without any unpleasant feelings being excited.

From six months intimacy with the inmates of this wat I have been led to conclude that there is a strong tendency in the new school of priests to the rejection of every thing in religion which claims a supernatural origin, or that has any thing to do with other than the present state of existence. A Buddhist is ipso facto an atheist, as he does not acknowledge a Creator and Supreme Ruler. Still his religion is full of the supernatural—full of the past and of the future. Chau Fa and his followers, are strongly inclined, if I mistake not, to deny the existence of a heaven and a hell, and of any kind of a future state. And yet they do not openly declare this as their creed. They are obliged to preach the Buddhist religion. When they broach these infidel notions they speak of them as held by some third person. "There are those in Siam who hold so and so." They dare not say that they adopt them themselves. . . For the sake of giving you a clearer idea of the posture of mind of C.F. and his followers, I will give you an extract from my journal.

*Jan'y. 2, 1846.* I am getting a clearer insight into the character of the peculiar views of the new party in the priesthood. There is a strong tendency among them to the rankest atheism, but at the same time, there seems to be something that is praiseworthy lying at the foundation of this party. C.F. and his priests have several times of late inquired whether there are any enlightened scientific men in America who do not believe in the existence of a God, of angels or devils, or of a future state of rewards and punishments. When I have replied that there are some such, they say, 'there are such here,' yet in such a way as that none could accuse *them* of indulging such a belief. When informed that those who embrace such views in our country are usually of the vile sort, they reply that it is not so here. 'The great body of the priesthood,' they say, 'are constantly fleecing the people of the little they have by telling them that giving to the priests will merit heaven, while withholding exposes them to hell. But there is a class who pity the common people and despise this kind of teaching, and, seeing that heaven and hell are used in this despicable way, they are disposed to swing off to the opposite extreme and entirely abandon the use of these sanctions.' They slide over the whole subject by saying to the people, 'if there be a heaven, or hell, a God, devils, a future state etc. you will know it after death . . .'

About two months since all the priests belonging to my classes in English suddenly absented themselves except C.F. and his head priests. I

could not well account for this as they manifested much interest in studying English. A few days since I learned from C.F. that they had been frightened by a few words they heard the King had spoken respecting the study of English in Ceylon. There are nine or ten young men, laymen, pursuing the study besides C.F. and two of his head priests. I have hopes that C.F. and one of his priests may, ere long render important service to the mission by translating books for children, a considerable variety of which we need. They have both expressed a willingness to do this. To induce them to do this I have told them that their services should be rewarded by presents which, though not costly, would be valuable to them. A little money expended in purchasing a few articles of apparatus illustrative of scientific truth may probably obtain that for the cause of Christ which is greatly needed, and cannot be obtained from any other quarter, while at the same time it contributes to enlarge the minds of those who render the service and qualify them the better to operate on the minds of their fellow countrymen.

The lessons continued through 1846, but there are no further entries after that of January. This is probably because the death of Mrs. Bradley had restricted the activities of her widower to the care of his young children, and accordingly increased the heavy burdens of Jesse Caswell.

But there is another reason also. The ideological ardor of Caswell and Bradley was accepted with less kindness and patience by their fellow missionaries than by Mongkut and his associates. There developed a serious rift within the mission over a difference in doctrine, until at last the American Board, which was faced with financial problems at home, decided to close its mission to Siam. Most of the missionaries were reassigned to posts in China or Hawaii, but Bradley and Caswell, the two men closest to the Siamese but the most contentious with their brethren, were persuaded to resign completely from the A.B.C.F.M. Dr. Bradley was in America at the time, and arranged with the American Missionary Association to sponsor the two families in their work. The A.M.A. bought the property from its sister board and thereafter gave only moral support to the young mission. That is why Bradley turned to printing as a full time business and was led to publish Siamese works which otherwise might not have been put into print.

However, Caswell suddenly fell victim of disease and his work which gave much promise was brought to a close. As Anna Caswell

and her children prepared to return to the United States, Prince Mongkut sent presents to the family as a remembrance of their father's friendship with Mongkut. In a note to young Francis, he said, "I think of your father mostly as he was my teacher of English. I wish you to keep this my note with you for my remembrance. Your father's Pupil T.M. Chaufa Mongkut."<sup>21</sup>

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21) Prince Mongkut to Francis Caswell, Dec. 30, 1848,

