

February 3, 1968

Khru: Bunyū:n Nō:myan

Today we were visited by Khru: Bunyū:n Nō:myan (ครู บุญน้อม น้อมเมือง) who teaches at the B. Pō:η school and also ^{runs} ~~owns~~ a photography studio on the side. He is originally from Chiang Mai and his wife is from Chainā:t. He met his wife in Mae Hōng Sōn where he was teaching and his wife was living with her father who was provincial education officer. He has 3 children, all boys. One, the eldest, is studying in Chainā:t (living with Mother's parents) and the other two he will send to Bangkok to live with an uncle or aunt "because they can get a better education there." At the moment they are studying at the Tho:η sāvāt school. He has lived in Mae Sariang 9 years. He wrote the section on the Karen in a book by บุญไวย วรวิจิตร , ไวยเวทย์ ไวยเวทย์ , Bangkok Odean Store, 1963, and took pictures of the Karen for both this book and for the same 'writer's picture book on the Hill Tribes.

Local Thai Marriage Customs:

Khru: Bunyū:n told me a little about local marriage customs in rural Thai villages. Before the wedding ceremony, the ancestral spirits (ผีบ้าน ผีเรือน) are propitiated at the house of the bride but not of the groom. When this is done, the groom enters the house and a wrist-tying ceremony is held (including the giving of blessings and gifts by those who tie). There is a 'chairman' of the wedding who is usually an old respected man. When the wrist-tying is over, the guests are fed food and liquor.

February 4, 1968

Miscellaneous Notes:

I have found a few miscellaneous notes around which I will include here:

Khru: Yuang Kê:o

In Chiang Mai before we moved to Mae Sariang we studied N. Thai with a woman known as Khru: Yuang Kê:o. On the 3rd of August, 1967, I had noted that: Khru: Yuang Kê:o says her father was a Shan (เงี้ยว). I asked if she could speak Ngáio. She said no, although she knows some words. I asked if there were many Shans in Chiang Mai. She said that one can't tell because they no longer wear the traditional dress.

She herself teaches at the Chiang Mai Language Center (Church of Christ in Thailand), but adopted daughter attends Regina school (a Catholic school) and she says that she is a Buddhist although she goes to the wát only once a year.

Verse for Remembering Names of Thai Jewels:

เพชร น้ำดีมณีแดง
เหลืองใสสดบุษราคัม
สนมอกเมฆ นิลกาฬ
แดงลัด เพทาย

สีชมน้ำแสง มรกต
แดง แก้ว ไทเมฆ ๑๐๓
มุกดาหาร นมอก มัง
สังวาลีสีฟ้า หยก

- | | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1) เพชร | diamond | 6) นิล | Sapphire |
| 2) มณีแดง | ruby | 7) มุกดาหาร | pearl |
| 3) มรกต | emerald | 8) เพทาย | zircon |
| 4) บุษราคัม | topaz | 9) หยก | lapis lazuli (cat's eye) |
| 5) ไทเมฆ | ((dark red)) garnet | | |

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Street Names in Mae Hong Son (according to Sāmā:n):

- 1) ~~ขุนหลุม~~ ปะทวด ขุนหลุม ปะทวด
- 2) สันนาถ ป่าแดง
- 3) มดุง หม้อต๋อ
- 4) ปาง ล้อ นิคม
- 5) ฤๅม ไทนิเทศ
- 6) นิคม นิคม
- 7) ไทนิเทศ สัตถ์
- 8) ปะดิษฐ์ กองคำ
- 9) สิบจรรยา ที่กัณฑ์

Trip to Bangkok:

From the 6th - 13th I was in Bangkok or travelling between Mae Sariang and Bangkok. In Bangkok I had some interviews, while Jane and La'ḡ: in Mae Sariang gathered some information for me there. I will give the results of my interviews first and then give Jane's and La'ḡ:'s data.

February 13, 1968

Am. Bible Society Head:

While waiting for the plane this morning, I met a Korean chap who I had met before in Mae Sariang at the house of the Coats'. He is the head of the Am. Bible Society for Thailand and Laos. We discussed the use of Thai script in the literature for hill tribes. He says that the Society encourages the various mission groups to use Thai script, but they have no authority to enforce this idea. Bill Smalley also works for the Society as a linguist is also very much in favor of using Thai script. But some mission groups and even individual missionaries are in favor of other scripts. The Am. Baptist Mission uses Burmese-Karen script because of the amount of literature written in that script. One OMF missionary working with the Yao uses Roman script but other OMF missionaries working with the Yao use Thai script. He says part of the difficulty lies in the fact that these groups live in several different countries. The ABM wishes to keep the Karen together within one nationality and use Burmese-Karen script. Somewhat similarly, he feels that use of Thai script for Miao living in Laos might be a good idea. However, knowing Thai script, it wouldn't be difficult to learn Lao script.

James's Notes:

While I was in Bangkok, James took some notes:

February 6, 1968

Went with Pete to Wissitt Kinnu: Sukthom to see if she was still selling Mae Hong Son silver swords and jewelry. While at her house looking the latter over, I learned that her present husband (she has 3 children by a former husband) whom she only married a year or so ago was previously married to the daughter (now deceased) of the Čáo fá: of Mae Hong Son, by whom he had 3 children, all in Mae Hong Son -- youngest in Mubayom 88, middle one a nurse, eldest? Used to live in house of Čáo fá right opposite Kinnu: Somphe's

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that we took a photo of. Would probably be a good source of history, and would at least know something about when the Cao fa: last held power and/or title."

February 8 and 9, 1968

"Took photos of market. Miscellaneous information picked up enroute was that one of the 24 rice mills in Mae Sariang is owned by the shop-keeper of the shop opposite La:ã's which sells a lot to the Karens. Also on way home visited pot-maker's house."

February 9, 1968

"In course of waiting at shop opposite car and bicycle shop while Pete was having car fixed, learned (a) formerly Lua' couldn't speak Kammyan and therefore trading was very difficult. (b) lots of Lua' live near Wát Ê:m Ê:ñ behind Aã:n Don's. These speak kammyan and many trade at the self-same shop. Particularly came at mid-day. Usually buy nã:m 'ə:i: Karens like betel; lua' prefer mian. While there, one Karen man was "saddling up" for his journey back home. In the cardboard box he was carrying back were flashlight batteries, 2 coconuts and other things I couldn't see. Apparently coconuts are not grown in the hills as "tribals" move all the time hence not worth their while to plant trees. However, shop-owner said they grow them down in Tã:k, where the Karens are settled agriculturalists (?).

"Also, learned that the Hottell restaurant has not shut down, but merely closed while owners are in Bangkok holidaying over the period of Chinese New Year. Owners, although Chinese, are apparently not related to Sã:hãt.

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"This led to a discussion of their getting married. Both girls (now 29 and 30) say they want a "good" man, and would rather wait and marry an older man (eg. a widower) than a young one who would drink and have no heart for the family. Sanga says that both girls are hard-working, and like their jobs - also that they are both honest, which she deems very important. They also received a good education. Their father sent them to a French Convent, at considerable personal difficulty, since the fees were high (only B 100 a term per child for tuition, but considerably more for books, clothes, "festivals," and miscellaneous expenses). Both have gone through Mathayom 8 (Sanga says if you'd only reached M-6 it was hard to find a good job in Bangkok).

"She also mentioned that Chit was in his first year at Chula (in engineering or mechanics or something like that) when the Japanese arrived. Both he and Chit were commandeered to work for the Japanese (in what capacity she didn't say).

"Sanga said that when she gets too old to work, she'd like to make pin-money making and selling khanoms. However, she says that her younger daughter Ruan is "khi:-ai" and has a "hua-to:" and would rather die of shame than have her mother sell in the market. Sanga used to sell cookies to the students and children of doctors at Chula. Some of the students were occasionally rude and cheeky. If Ruan heard, it used to nearly kill her, and she would always tell her mother that she didn't have to demean herself so, they would support her. Sanga said in fact she enjoyed it."

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"Also, had visit from Lua' tribeswomen selling cloth. Said they came from B. Dong (?)."

February 10, 1968

"Today I learned more about Sanga's family. It seems that her husband died of cancer of the stomach at the age of 55. He had been ill for a couple of years, turning down his food and so forth, but refusing to go to a doctor until it was too late. He spent the last two months or more in Chula Hospital (free, as Sanga's daughter works there, although they had to pay for medicine, blood, food and transport on trips visiting him everyday). Sanga put it down to his being an addicted smoker. She said that he smoked 3 packs a day, but couldn't break the habit despite it costing the family 10 or more baht a day. (In fact he died of cancer of the stomach, not the lungs.) Sanga said at the end he was in such pain she and the 2 girls were frightened and got x-rays and blood tests taken to make sure they were all right, which they were.

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"Sanga said that the body was kept for a year before cremation. ^{Funeral?} Medical costs came to 2 - 3,000 baht. I was appalled by the amount and asked how it had come to so much. Sanga said they had to pay for hire of the wát, hire of the priests to say the right sùat, funerary casket, etc., plus feeding a great number of people not only at the ceremony itself but who would come to the house with condolences (and, sometimes, money). ^{Chit} helped them with B 2,000 towards expenses, much of it came out of her two daughters' savings, and the rest they are still paying off (the funeral was over 3 years ago). Sanga says that she couldn't have managed without her daughters, and that had they been married, they wouldn't have been able to help out.

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February 12, 1968

"Had a long talk with Mrs. Hudspeth. She was alone, except for little David, as the 2 older boys were back at school and while Mr. Hudspeth was driving Rachel Schlatter over to Chiang Mai on the motor bike after the promised taxi had failed to show up as Rachel had to catch the afternoon train for Bangkok. It seems that she has received a get-out-of-the-country-in-48-hours letter. Don Schlatter was up in the Chiang Mai area and had to be cabled when this happened. He was to come down, meet Rachel at the train and go to plead her case in Bangkok.

"We had a very interesting talk about language work. The Hudspeth's work with the Pwo Karens, when they first came out here the couple that preceded them had been trying to work with the Burmese script used for writing Karen. For a variety of reasons I understand they had a virtual breakdown, and left to go home. When the Hudspeths came, Bill Smalley had them find out (1) to what extent Pwo Karen as spoken in Burma differed from that spoken in their area near Hs-t, and (2) got Mr. Hudspeth to produce a Thai alphabet system for rendering Karen, since he felt that iff Karens were going to live in Thailand it was better that they should learn the Thai alphabet. As to

February 12, 1968

Asia Foundation and Thammačā:rik Program:

I talked with Bill Klausner this morning about what he knows about the Thammačā:rik program. He says that the idea originated with Mr. Prāsīt Disāwāt, the head of the tribal development division of the Department of Public Welfare. His wife died and he entered the monkhood at Wāt Benčà (to make merit for his wife). The idea came up how can the Sangha more effectively carry out its role.

Identification of tribal peoples with Christian missionaries may cause divisiveness [see article by Mi Mi Khaing and another about the question in Burma. Hill tribes are taught that they are better than lowlanders because they are Christians.] The missionaries give hill tribes a sense of identity separate from Thai - anti-lowlanders.

Program began at a modest level. Asia Foundation supported it for 2 years. It is a program between Wāt Benčà and the Department of Public Welfare. Aim to unite religion, development, and welfare.

Wanat, head of Tribal Research Center in Chiang Mai, has reservations about this program.

One of the criticisms of the program, according to Bill, is the over-identification of monks with the government - i.e. "tools of the government" [Sulak fears the same thing]. The political objective has been strengthened given the present situation in the North. Monks must be careful that they don't become tools for propagandizing specific government activities of tribal development and welfare center, defenders rather than expositors of general development programs.

There has been a change, since the initiation of the program, from emphasis on Bangkok monks to more on local monks.

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Bill says that there are Buddhist educational and development centers in the N.E. which are completely Sangha initiated and organized - by graduates of the Buddhist universities.

The Aphitham Foundation at Wát Mähã:thâ:t supports meditation centers.

Graham ?

Bill then arranged for me to read a letter from Gordon Lucas, former head of the Asia Foundation office in Bangkok to Khun Suwan Ruenyote, Director General of the Department of Public Welfare, on January 31, 1966 regarding Asia Foundation's support for the Thammaçá:rík program.

The Asia Foundation gave B 34,000 to be used for:

- 1) Expenses during one week training and orientation program for Buddhist monk participants.
 - a) travel expenses to and from Bangkok and local transportation within Bangkok.
 - b) printing of training materials.
- 2) Costs of printing reports of the individual monk teams and a final report of 1,000 copies summarizing and evaluating the entire program.
- 3) Expenses incurred in the field for supervision and evaluation of the program.

The Public Welfare Department was to provide B 67,500 for all other expenses.

The monks are to be sent to Tâ:k, Chiang Mai, Mae Hông Søn, Chianra:i and Phétcha:bu:n. Fifty monks in 10 teams.

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"Our objective is to assist the Department of Public Welfare in its program to efficiently integrate the tribal groups into the Thai national fabric. At the same time, we wish to assist the Sangha in fulfilling their social and community service role in contributing to national development goals."...

"It is our understanding that the monks involved in this program will be selected by a Sangha committee and approximately 80 percent will be monks resident in the northern provinces. A seven-day orientation program for the selected monks will be held at Wát Benchamabòpít during February, 1966. The Sangha teams will implement their field programs in the remote tribal areas for a three-month period March - May, 1966."

The letter was countersigned by Khun Suwan on February 17, 1966 and the money was provided on February 23rd.

Interview with Abbot of Wát Benchámabòpít:

This afternoon Sulak took me to meet the abbot of Wát Benchámabòpít, Phrá³ Thammákittisò:phon (พระธรรมกิตติโสภณ) who is the 'Cáo Kháná'⁷ Phá:k for Region 6 (Chian Ra:i, Lampa:n, Na:n, Phrè:) and Chairman of the Thammáča:rik program. Sulak says that the abbot is a native of Chian Ra:i. I came to interview him about the thammáča:rik program.

I asked him whether the monks who came from Bangkok were native northerners living in Bangkok. He said no, they were students at the Buddhist universities.

The program began in 2508.

There are currently 4 Meo and 1 Hb:: as novices in Wát Benchá. One of the Meo, from Phétča:buc:n, has been in since 2509. He had studied at a government school before coming into the wát. These 5 are from the following places:

B. Phaya:o, C. Chian Ra:i, Phétča:buc:n and Tà:k.

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The idea of the program was that of the Head of the Tribal Welfare Director, Department of Public Welfare, Mr. Pradit Ditsawat. He was ordained in 2507 in Wat Bercà when the idea was begun. [At this point I started recording the interview - see transcript for next of interview.]

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1) Mr. Hudspeth found that there was a 33 percent difference in vocabulary between Burma and Hò:t plus consistent linguistic [differences]. As to (2) he developed a script which Bill Smalley had him describe at a subsequent conference, and it is they have been working with ever since. I said what a sound idea it seemed to me, and asked why the Baptists have not adopted it. I got the impression that it was primarily because the Baptists had long interests in Burma and would be loathe to switch. Mr. Hudspeth also asked the Karens in surrounding villages, many of whom had or still were doing work at the mines, whether in general they felt the mines had been a help or hindrance to them. They all said a hindrance.

"Talking about when they first came here, Mrs. Hudspeth said how much things have changed since the coming of the roads. When they first came (date ?) many of the villages they went to had not seen a white person, and very few or no Thais. She also ascribed the traditional Karen method of justice, whereby the malefactor receives 3 blows from a sword (?). She said her husband had twice treated people for these damages.

"Also received visit from Burmese woman selling cloth who said how bad conditions are in Burma now. She also implied that Karens are the carriers of the illegal trade between Burma and Thailand around here, and described how many will carry over silk phasins from Burma inside their blanket-pack. She also said they have a network here to alert one another in case of suspected police raids."

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Also, while I was in Bangkok I had one of my assistants, Miss Lu^a, keep records in the fresh market on the types of things that (identifiable) Karens and Lu^a purchased there. The following are her observations:

Date	Karens	Lu ^a
8 Feb. 1968	Coconuts Dried fish Soybean seeds (^๒ ^๒ ^๒)	No observation
9 Feb. 1968	Tobacco Comb ข้าวเหนียวหวาน (a type of sweet made of rice) ปลากระโทง (common mackerel) ส้มเขียวหวาน (type of orange)	วนพอง (like a donut) ไม้ขี้ขาว วนพอง (eaten on the spot) Lettuce Stretch shirt (^๕ ^๕)
10 Feb. 1968	Meat (variety unspecified) Fresh vegetables (variety unspecified) ปลากระโทง Dried fish Ready-to-eat foods such as ^๒ and sausage.	^๕ Meat (variety unspecified) Sugar (^๕) Tobacco

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Date	Markets	Items
12 Feb. 1968	Lettuce Cabbage Meat (variety unspecified)	ผัก Tobacco Lettuce
13 Feb. 1968	Coconut ผัก Dried fish Fresh vegetables (variety unspecified) Tobacco Ready-to-eat foods - noodles (ขนมเส้น ๆ ข้าวแกง)	ผัก Fresh vegetables (variety unspecified) Tobacco Ready-to-eat foods = noodles, ขนมเส้น ๆ, ข้าวแกง Meat (variety unspecified)

Ceremony at Wát Sittimongkhon:

Today was a ceremony at Wát Sittimongkhon which Jane and Sanga attended. The following is the translation of the invitation to that ceremony.

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Invitation For All Buddhists

Although Wát Sítthímongkhon which is situated within the sanitary district is one of the oldest wáts of Mae Sariang district, there are still structures within the wát that are not yet in good condition such as the monk's seat-bed (พระที่นั่ง) and the wall. This is especially true of the wall which was built long ago and has long since fallen into decay. The abbot and all the supporters [of the wát] have a plan to develop and improve the wát in line with the policy of the government and the Department of Religious Affairs to give stability to the Noble Buddhism which has continued since long ago. But this development has to depend upon the strong faith of all generous (ศรัทธา) Buddhists. Thus, a wát improvement festival has been arranged. The supporters of Wát Sítthímongkhon have scheduled the merit-making festival of "The Great Life Sermon" (ตำนาน): The income arising from the worshipping of this tham will be taken by the [wát] committee to be used in continuing the building of the wát wall. The schedule [of the festival] is as follows:

Tuesday, 13 February 2511, 15th day of the waning of the moon, 5th lunar month, northern reckoning and full moon of Ma:kha:bu:cha: is the day of the Great Life Sermon merit-making which will begin at 7:00 hours. The faithful of the wát will make merit by filling the alms bowls at 8:30 hours. The sermon will begin with the Tha:saprom section and end with the Nakho:n section.

Thus, you are invited, if you have faithful intentions, to be the sponsor of the Kuam section which will be delivered by a monk from Wát Sítthímongkhon at 14:00 hours.

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Therefore will all Buddhists who desire to receive merit please gather together to listen to the Great Dharma Sermon at Wát Sítthimongkhon. (Wát Khayuanai) according to the day and time which has been spoken of here.

(Signed) Abbot Sítthon Thā:wārákhūn:	Chairman
Police Captain Sām Wāich:	Committee Member
Sgt. Čo: Ngā:mčam	Committee Member
Mr. Buntha: Rā:mčēt	Committee Member
Kannan Sūthát Sūksōmčit	Comm. Member and Secretary

(Approval by the CKA indicated by his stamp in left-hand corner of circular.)

Jane and Sanga went at the time specified. The sermon was in the Northern Thai style.

Talk with Čao Khāná' Ampho:

This afternoon I paid a wissitt to the CKA to borrow his slide projector. In talking with him I asked about the Karen monk from Wát Pā: Hāw whom Jane had heard had gone to one of the mines. The CKA said that indeed he had gone (to which mine I didn't gather) at the invitation of the mine owner. He said the reason he was invited was because there are so many Karen (mainly from Burma) at the mine.

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"Today I learned more about Sanga's family. It seems that her husband died of cancer of the stomach at the age of 55. He had been ill for a couple of years, turning down his food and so forth, but refusing to go to a doctor until it was too late. He spent the last two months or more in Chula Hospital (free, as Sanga's daughter works there, although they had to pay for medicine, blood, food and transport on trips visiting him everyday). Sanga put it down to his being an addicted smoker. She said that he smoked 3 packs a day, but couldn't break the habit despite it costing the family 10 or more baht a day. (In fact he died of cancer of the stomach, not the lungs.) Sanga said at the end he was in such pain she and the 2 girls were frightened and got x-rays and blood tests taken to make sure they were all right, which they were.

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"Sanga said that the body was kept for a year before cremation. ^{Funeral?} Medical costs came to 2 - 3,000 baht. I was appalled by the amount and asked how it had come to so much. Sanga said they had to pay for hire of the wát, hire of the priests to say the right sùat, funerary casket, etc., plus feeding a great number of people not only at the ceremony itself but who would come to the house with condolences (and, sometimes, money). ^{Chit} helped them with B 2,000 towards expenses, much of it came out of her two daughters' savings, and the rest they are still paying off (the funeral was over 3 years ago). Sanga says that she couldn't have managed without her daughters, and that had they been married, they wouldn't have been able to help out.

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Therefore will all Buddhists who desire to receive merit please gather together to listen to the Great Dharma Sermon at Wát Sítthimongkhon. (Wát Khayuanai) according to the day and time which has been spoken of here.

(Signed) Abbot Sítthon Thā:wārákhūn:	Chairman
Police Captain Sām Wāich:	Committee Member
Sgt. Čo: Ngā:mčam	Committee Member
Mr. Buntha: Rā:mčēt	Committee Member
Kannan Sūthát Sūksōmčit	Comm. Member and Secretary

(Approval by the CKA indicated by his stamp in left-hand corner of circular.)

Jane and Sanga went at the time specified. The sermon was in the Northern Thai style.

Talk with Čao Khāná' Ampho:

This afternoon I paid a wissitt to the CKA to borrow his slide projector. In talking with him I asked about the Karen monk from Wát Pā: Hāo whom Jane had heard had gone to one of the mines. The CKA said that indeed he had gone (to which mine I didn't gather) at the invitation of the mine owner. He said the reason he was invited was because there are so many Karen (mainly from Burma) at the mine.

February 17, 1968

Trip to Mâ: Tîa:

Today we went up to Mâ: Tîa: because James had heard that there were still elephants dragging logs there. At Mâ: Tîa:, Iá'': who was with us arranged for a girl to go along with us. This girl is attending P. 7 in Mae Sariang and lives at the Baptist hostel. She was wearing a Thai phasin rather than Karen dress.

She led us East of the road along the trail that leads towards the mountains. After walking about 30 minutes, we heard the elephants coming. There were three of them, each of them dragging a log apiece. We followed them back towards the road. About 10 minutes away from the road they stopped at a closing where the logs were left off. Here, they will be picked up by a truck and taken to Mae Sariang.

The elephants are all from B. Húi Phún and have been contracted for by the Sâhâmít sawmill in Mae Sariang.

The headmaster of the school (himself a Karen from Mâ: Tîa) took us through the village to the Yuan River where some more elephants were supposed to be working. However, they weren't working today.

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Lumbering:

Today Cit took us down to an area where we could see part of the lumbering cycle. We took the lumbering road which goes south from town towards B. Phă: Phă:.. However, before we reached B. Phă: Phă:, we turned off on another road which leads through the Phanasiit Tobacco station, across the river, and then turns south again. We followed this road until we were near the lowland Karen village of Bă:n Húi Mē: Kō:n Pē: (บ้านห้วยเม็ก). Here we observed elephants, with their Karen mahouts, stacking logs which will later be picked up by the Phanasiit trucks. There were at least 20 elephants working. They are all owned and operated by Karen. Two to three were from B. Húi Mē: Kō:n Pē:, and the others were from many different Karen villages.

After watching these proceedings for awhile, we turned back and travelled up the road 1 = 1 1/2 kilometers to a place where men were loading (with use of mechanized cranes) trucks with the logs.

Cit says that the men who cut the trees; and the men who work the elephants are all Karen. Their supervisors are also Karen who speak Northern Thai. The men who work in loading the trucks are N. Thai from Lampa:n (Cit says people from Mae Saming and Chiang Mai don't like to do this work). The elephants work on a contract basis which Cit doesn't quite understand. They only work during the cool season because in the hot season, the work is too much for the elephants.

Lowland Karen Villages:

Bă:n Húi Mē: Kō:n Pē: is a lowland Karen village of about 40 households. It has a school and according to an ex-student it has 25 students. The village is near B. Húi Mē: Pō: (บ้านห้วยเม็ก), another lowland Karen village.

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Tattooing Among Karens:

Today Pete came down from the Kareem village where he has been for 10 days or so. He told us about meeting a Kareem man who is involved in tattooing Karens as a method of ending the feeding of ancestral spirits. This tattooing is called čakasi: (? sp.) in Kareem, sāpnja: (സ്പന്യാ) in N. Thai (~~it~~ either as "tattooing" or "vaccination") and sānya: (സാന്യാ) in E. Thai. According to Pete this man is originally from Mē:tiā and was formerly a Christian. He worked in Burma where he became disenchanted with Christianity and learned about Western medicines (he worked 2 years in a government hospital in Burma as a "compounder" - i.e. pharmacist). He also studied a book of ka:tha: which is the basis of his tattooing 'ritual' to cut-off the ancestral spirits. Pete was fascinated by the Christian and Western influences on this man and that he didn't spring from the Buddhist tradition. However, there have been at least 2 Shan tattooers (one recently died) who also worked in the hills.

Later in the afternoon, I brought up this subject with the GKA. He said that he had heard about the Shan tattooers - in fact, he said, the old GKA who was 1/2 khomyang and 1/2 Burmese and who had studied in both Burma and Thailand was himself skilled in this way, and people (including Karens) used to come to him to be tattooed. He said that the 'medicine' used for tattoos against the spirits (trawel) is called wa:ho:lu: (ဝါဟိုလူ), ho:lu: being a Burmese word. He said that the custom of tattooing with particular substances and, in accompaniment with wa:tha: (ဝါထာ), is of Burmese origin and is Brahmanistic. There are many types of tattooing practiced - for general well-being, for protection against the actions of certain spirits,

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for invulnerability against bullets, arrows, etc. This latter type of tattooing employs a medicine which is called in N. Thai na:khān ~~khān~~ khān (๕๗๖๓๔๕๖๗). I asked what happened if a person were tattooed to protect against machinations of the spirits, and yet the spirits continued to inflict illness on the person. He said that one could get tattooed again.

Dave Marlowe refers to the na:khān as a "tattooing cult", but I think that this is giving too much importance to it. To be tattooed certainly changes the traditional religion, because one who is tattooed no longer feeds the ancestral spirits, but the basic nature of the religion has not been changed.

Spirit Worship at Wát Kittiwong:

The CKA told me about spirit worship that goes on in front of the gate at Wát Kittiwong. He says that a few years, the BPP stayed in the sā:la: at Wát Kittiwong while their camp was being built. One of them was addicted to opium and one night in an opium delirium he decided that he was going to go out and shoot a few leading assistants. As he left the gate of the wát, somebody (I believe another policeman) shot him. Ever since, people have come to propitiate his spirit at the gate of the wát.

Leaving of the Monkhood by the Abbot of Wát Chaiyá:á:p

I had heard that the abbot of Wát Chaiyá:á:p is leaving the monkhood. Today, the CKA confirmed this and Wan, our servant, said that he has already left but was still staying in the wát to see that the place is cleaned up. According to the CKA, he had been in the monkhood 91 years. Both the CKA and Wan were uncertain as to what he was going to do for an occupation, and both thought that he was probably going to get married.

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A Karen Buddhist:

When I arrived at Wát Kittiwong this afternoon, a man was in the process of massaging the CKA. It turns out that he is a Karen living in B. Pò:n and through he is a relative (lă:n) of the leading Christian in town, Nási Me:ttá:, he himself is a Buddhist. His occupation is mò:núat.

He has been teaching the CKA Karen so that the CKA can write a dictionary to be used by Thammá:rik monks. The CKA said that the Department of Public Welfare has already published this year such a dictionary in Neo.

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Howland Lua':

This morning we were visited by a Lua' who lives in B. Co:m Co:n who was trying to sell us some silver bracelets. He is a Buddhist and a farmer (paddy, although I think he also said that he had some upland fields). He is originally from B. Ché:n Mò: and came here 12 years ago. He has two children - a girl, aged 15, who has finished M 6 and a boy aged ? who has finished P4. The former would like a job, but hasn't found one. The boy is farming. Both still speak Lua' as well as N. Thai.

Karen Monk at Nai Thian's Mine:

This morning Jane, Sanga, and NAK went to Wát Pá: Hiao. The old monk was there but the young monk was away at 'the mine'. It turns out, so I found out from the CKA, that the mine in question is Nai Thian's mine = Nai Thian was the man who died recently (of liver trouble) and his wife has been very zealous in making merit. The reason, everyone agrees, why the young monk was asked is because he is Karen and most of the mine workers are also Karen. There is no wát at the mine and this was not a regular occurrence during Nai Thian's lifetime.

Burmese Wát:

Lá' thought that the old monk at Wát Pá: Hiao was Khomyan. The CKA said he is Shan and he lived formerly in another wát. The old monk told Sanga that people don't like to be novices at Burmese/Shan wáts because the order is much stricter than in Thai wáts.

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Wát Suphānraṅgī: and Karens:

Pete, who is visiting here at the moment, mentioned to the CIA that wát Suphānraṅgī: (Wát Cō.ṅ. Khām), the Siām wát near the river landing at the corner of the market, is popular with Karens. The CIA said that this used to be true because the former monk/abbot who lived there, (since left the order) was skilled in tattooing, astrology, etc. Karens used to come to the wát to facilitate themselves of this monks' services. However, since he left (there is only one monk there now), Karens no longer come to the wát.

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Karen Employment for Phanasit Company:

This afternoon I interviewed Mũ: Thăwõ:n, the treasurer of the Phanasit Co., about the employment of Karens for the Phanasit Co.

In the lumbering business,, Karens work in cutting trees and managing the elephants which drag the trees from the forest to collection points and stack the trees at these collection points. The Karens are not employed on an individual basis,, but work through one of 32 'leaders' (หัวหน้า) who are also Karens. These 'leaders' come primarily from lowland Karen villages. Mũ: Thăwõ:n gave me the following list of villages which these 'leaders' come from: Bă:n Pò:n, B. Mêt Hă:n, B. Phé', B. Mêt:ĩa, B. Mêt:Thá'Lu:, B. Mêt:la:ma:, B. Mêt:le:Khô:k (บ้านเล็ท), B. Thă:să:ng ya:ng (in Tă:k province), B. Mêt:la:Nó:l, and B. Sêp yuam.

Each of these 32 men contract with owners of elephants, and lumber-jacks. ~~Totally~~, 179 elephants are employed and somewhere around 300 Karen workmen: Each elephant should have 2 people working with it, but quite often only one is: About 2/3 of the Karens are working with the elephants. (It is interesting to compare this number of elephants with the total of 432 elephants listed as existing in the district by the district office - see notes September 11, 1967. Thus,, using these figures,, 41 percent of the elephant population of Mae Sariang is employed by the Phanasit Company.)

The individual groups are paid by the cubic meter of logs they cut, drag to the receiving points,, and stack at that point. (Each log is numbered so that it can be kept track off..) For track ,, the pay is 100 baht per cubic meter. However,, track is not the only lumber cut. In addition, the following types of trees are cut in the district (this is not a complete list, but it includes the most important trees):

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- mái d:ɔ:n (ไม้ดง)) *Xylia xylocarpa* (Leguminosae ~~Fr~~ *heerii*)
mái tákhián (ไม้ตะเคียน)) *Hopsea octonata* (Dipterocarpaceae)
mái prá:ɔ̀ (ไม้ประดู่)) *Pterocarpus macrocarpus* (Leguminosae)
mái tɛp (ไม้เตย)) *Sporosa ciliata* (Dipterocarpaceae)
mái phluay (ไม้พลู)) *Dipterocarpus tuberculatus* (Dipterocarpaceae)
mái yomhɔ̀:m (ไม้ยอหม่อม)) *Cadrella thoma* (Meliaceae)
mái rap (ไม้ระพา)) *Pontacme siamensis* (Dipterocarpaceae)
mái rókfá: (ไม้รอกฟ้า)) *Terminalia falata* (Combretaceae)

Since the lumber of these trees has much less commercial value (some wood is sent to Chiang mai for resale within the country, but none is for export), the amount paid for cutting, dragging, and stacking the wood is much less than for teak. Mǎi Tháwǎ:n did not give me a break down on the amounts paid to the Karens for working this timber, but he did say that for none of them is more than 60 Baht/cubic meter paid.

The elephants do not work throughout the year and there is a definite logging cycle:

- May - December (rainy season and beginning of cold season) Cutting and dragging logs.
November - February (cold season) Stacking logs at collection points.
November - May (Dry season) Collecting and transporting logs by truck from collection points.

Karen cutters and the majority of the elephants work during the first period, and a smaller number work during the second period. In the hot season, the elephants cannot be worked because of the heat and the hardness of the soil for climbing mountains to where timber is cut.

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Even during the hot and cool seasons,, elephants must rest for 1 or 2 days after every 3 days of work. Mō: Thāwō:n said that they never work more than about 20 days a month and less than 200 days a year.

The 32 "leaders" keep track of the number of logs of all types that are handled by the group under them. When these are measured for their number of cubic meters, the company pays the "leader". He in turn pays the members of his group, after deducting amounts for his own wages and money spent on food (which Mō: Thāwō:n indicates is minimal). It was impossible to get any exact figures on what individual workmen and individual elephants receive for their work. However, some gross calculations can establish certain limits. During the work year of 1966-67, 8,845 metric tons or 7,556 cubic meters of teak were cut. In gross earnings, then, the Karen crews received 755,600 B for cutting teak. Mō: Thāwō:n didn't provide figures for other woods (although he said about 3,000 cubic meters of mái dsin were cut). However, he estimated that the gross earnings for all work was probably less than 1,000,000 B. This amount divided by the 300 workmen (some of whom are also managers of the 179 elephants) means that average earnings per man or man and animal couldn't be more than 3,333 B. In fact, elephants and their managers would receive more than cutters and "leaders" would receive more than elephants and managers. Mō: Thāwō:n thinks that B 5,000 for an elephant working during one year would be the uppermost limit. Perhaps the most significant conclusion one can make on the basis of these figures is that B 1,000,000 has been taken into this Karen community in Mae Sariang.

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It should be noted in this regard that only Karens work in cutting timber and in managing the elephants to drag the timber to collection points. That is, there are no Lua, Thai, or other groups involved in this work.

Karens are also employed at the Phamasit mine. M^o: Thaw^o:m estimates that there are not more than 50 of them working there.

I asked M^o: Thaw^o:m about the costs of elephants. He doesn't really know but he says that he thinks that a good one would cost \$ 20,000 and he knows that males (which can work) are more expensive than females. He also knows that elephants are not individually owned, but are usually owned by groups of several people.

Lua³ Employment in a Local Shop:

Jane and Lá^o: were talking about the shop opposite the car repair shop on Mae Sariang Road (259 Mae Sariang Road, owned by Naⁿ: Úit Ph^o:n Phan), which Jane had discovered before (Jane's notes for February 9, 1968) has much contact with local Lua³. Lá^o: says that Lua³ from Co^o:m C^o:n come to do piece work (carrying water, etc.) at the shop. They also go to other shops as well, but this one attracts them more because their used to be a Lua³ working at the shop and they still "know the people there very well." The shop owner is Sham.

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Education for Tribal Groups in Mae Sariang and Mè:la:Nó:i:

This afternoon I was visited by Khru: Pá:sá:t and Khru: Ára:m, teachers from B. Dong and B. Chá:ng Mú: respectively, who came to see pictures of the activities in B. Dong which I had taken. Since Khru: Pá:sá:t is a BPP teacher and Khru: Ára:m is a government teacher, I asked them about the hill tribes education program of the two groups.

a) BPP schools in Mae Sariang and Kí A. Mè:la:Nó:i

B. Dong	(บ.ดง)	T. Mè:la:Nó:i	Láa'
B. Pá:Pě:	(บ.ป่าปี่)	T. Mae Sariang	Láa'
B. Mò: Pá:ng	(บ.แม่ปาง)	T. Mè:la:Nó:i	Karen
B. Mò: Sálá:p	(บ.แม่สะลาบ)	T. Mò: Khon	Karen
B. Thá:táifán	(ท่าต่าฝั้น)	} T. Mò: Yuam	Karen
or B. Co:U:	(บ.คออุ)		

The school in B. Pá:Pě: was the first one BPP in the area and has been going for 8-9 years. The BPP teachers have their own monthly meetings.

b) Non-BPP Hill Tribes Schools

The Cawát also has a program for hill tribes education which is distinguished from the BPP system and from the village school system.

The organization which administers this program is called the

Onka:h sáam Bò:á:há:m Cawát (องค์การสามบ้านสามคนจาวฮัต)

The teachers involved in this program, called colloquially Khru: ^{Chac} ~~Chac~~ Chac (ครูจ๊าก), take special examinations in the provincial capital.

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There are **suth** hill tribes schools in all districts of the province.

The program has been going about a decade but has only been in the

Mae Sariang area three years. Khru: Anam gave me the following list of

schools in this program (although I suspect that some of them are now

'village schools'):

B. Chá:ng Mò:	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Mae Sariang	Lúa'
B. Húai Phún	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Mò:lá:Nò:i	Karen
B. Húai Mò:m	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Mò:lá:Nò:i	Karen
B. Mò: Sò:p	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Mò:lá:Nò:i	Karen
B. Phá'	((U. ๕๕๕))	T. Bá:n Ká:t	Karen
B. Sǎohín	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Mò: Khon	Karen
B. Mò:Thá lu:	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Mò: Yuam	Karen
B. Mò: Kə̀ Pa:	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Mò: Yuam	Karen
B. Phá' Mò:lə:	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Bá:n Ká:t	Karen
B. Mò: Hǎ:n	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Bá:n Ká:t	Karen
B. Mò: Tò:p Nya	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Bá:n Ká:t	Karen
B. Mò: Tǎa	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Bá:n Ká:t	Karen
B. Kò:ng Kò:i	((U. ๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕๕))	T. Kò:ng Kò:i	Lúa'

c) Karens as Teachers:

Both teachers said that there were only three teachers in the area

who are of Karen ancestry: Khru: Sám: who teaches in B. Mò: Hǎ:n, Khru:

Chá: tǎt, Khru: Sám: Es son, who teaches in B. Dong, and the headmaster in

B. Mò: Tǎa.

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Border Police Station at Thâ:ta:fân:

Khru: Prâ:â:t said that before he became a BPP teacher, he was a regular BPP policeman and as such spent time at the station at B. Thâ:ta:fân (B. Co: U:), which is located on the Salwin. He said that the whole border area, both sides, is populated by supporters of the "Free Karen" movement and that the opposite shore is patrolled by "Free Karen" soldiers.

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Interview with the Kamnan of M̄:la:N̄:i:

Today, a Phra^o Kham: from Bangkok (with H̄:lampong) was here visiting the CIA. The latter asked me to take him and the visiting monk on a tour to M̄:la:N̄:i and M̄:la. We went to M̄:la:N̄:i first and I decided to take the opportunity to find out about some local history. The CIA suggested we talk to the Kamnan, which we did.

The Kamnan said that the Shan here came from the Burma side about 95-6 years ago. When they arrived there was a Khomnyang village, B̄:n Kia:ŋ, located in the area. He said that L̄:ma lived here before the Khomnyang and that the 'proper' name of the village is M̄:la' N̄:i. Another name he mentioned was M̄:la'k̄'.

He said that his grandmother was born in M̄:an Pa:i on the Burma side. He said that people were also from Myan T̄:n (?).

He said that the C̄:o f̄:a of Myan Pa:i in Burma came to visit Myan Pa:i in Thailand about 30 years ago.

Some T̄:ŋ s̄: used to live here, but their descendants are Shan. There are now three households which are T̄:ŋ s̄:.

People who came here first lived in M̄:la:l̄:ŋ and then came here.

The government school in M̄:la:N̄:i has 240+ students. The Kamnan, who is 56 years old, was in the first class. The school originally used the Bombay-Burma resthouse as a school building.

The Kamnan lived 15 years in Burma as a M̄:la'it, but not as a monk. He has lived at Baw Lake and Kanteawadi (both Karen States) and Mandalay, Moulmein and other places. Government teachers taught in the wats in Burma.

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He said that a number of people from Mě:la:Nó:i still go to study in Burma. Two monks in Mae Sariang and one in Mě:la:Nó:i have studied in Burma. He now remembers only a little Burmese [[?]], but he prefers to listen to sermons in Burmese.

He said that Wát Cánhá:ra:wá:t in Mae Sariang was built by people who worked for the Bombay-Burma Co. [Phanasit Co. has inherited the obligation of patronizing this temple].

Wáts in Burma led to the migration of Shans to Mě:la:Nó:i.

Tribute from here was money and figured according to the population. Never sent tribute to Burma, but was always under Chiang Mai.

His Mother-in-law, a woman of 78, came into the room. We asked her some questions. She came here when she was one year old from B. Pá:la:in (ပဲယုဂ်ကုန်း) in Ampho: Myan, Mae Hong Son. Her parents came from Myan ~~Rei~~ Pan.

I asked about marriage customs here. The Kamnan said that the newly married couple may live with parents of either one after marriage.

Visit to Mě:Tí:

On the way back to Mae Sariang from Mě:la:Nó:i, we stopped in B. Mě:Tí:, the Karen village on the road. This village has a reputation as a Christian village and the Baptist missionaries often take guests up there because it is easily ^{accessible.} ~~acceptable.~~ Thus, it was interesting to stop there with two monks. We went into the center of the village and stopped at the house of a man the CIA said was the leader of the Buddhists in the village. The women and children in the household (including visitors from

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other houses) did not seem to be any more proficient in wâi-ing the monks than did the hill Uáa', although they knew they were supposed to wâi (eg. they didn't know the position to sit in, how to wâi, and how many times to wâi). The house had a Hípphá ..