

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand
Original hand-written version

30/6/63

WEDDING:

Tomorrow, there will be a wedding in the village - one couple. The son of Mr. Ta:p.

RELATIONS OF MR. HŌ:

In the house of Mr. HŌ: there is a young boy who is called lā:n. His parents are both dead - ~~Not certain whether~~ he is a grandchild ~~or nephew, but think nephew~~. He is called "Little Buffalo" because he tends the cattle. His Mother was a daughter of MR. HŌ:

The son of Mr. HŌ: - ~~the~~ ~~black~~ ~~toothed~~ one - is now ~~un~~ unmarried but formerly, he was married to the woman who has had a caesarean.

THAM BUN CEREMONY AT THE HOUSE OF MR. HŌ:

Because of the many deaths in Mr. HŌ:'s family of recent, he had a tham bun ceremony this morning. First, the priests came and were fed & chanted. Then the "head priest" chanted in Thai using a book to read part of the chant. I didn't understand it all, but I gathered that this was a special chant for getting rid of malevolent spirits. I heard the word thawada mentioned a number of times.

Then, 2 water baskets full of water were taken. Mr. HŌ: took some wax & rubbed it on the inside of the baskets. Then some leaves were placed in the baskets. Then a tray with a bait net, some leaves, cigarettes, & home-made candles were presented to the priests by a layman (not Mr. HŌ:) in the traditional way. 2 of the priests (there were 3 priests and a novice) took the candles & lit them. The "head priest" chanted while both priests held the candles over the baskets to let the wax fall into the water. When that was finished, the water was taken & sprinkled around the house on the people - the priests chanted during

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this. One woman had the priest pour water over her head (this was the gr. mother of the child and the mother of the father of the child who had died last yr.).

When this was finished, the priests again chanted as several people slowly poured water through the slats in the floor of the house. This is called ສູດນ້ຳ ວິນິນາ (suet nám wī nī na:). It is somehow connected with the phi: ^{head}. Then the priest took the bait net and all of the priests went down stairs.

Below the house at each of the 4 corners of the house, the following occurred:

1. Mr. HŌ: placed a small bit of food (several kinds) on a piece of coconut supported by a small pole about a ft. high. So this was attached a string.
2. The priests passed the string from one to another and when all of them held it, they chanted.
3. Some sand was placed in a hole dug at the foot of the post. The head priest took a small spade and covered the earth over. While he was doing this, the priests chanted.

This last custom is called ສູດ ສູດ ທີ່ ທີ່ (suet su:t thi:t) & is performed in all tham bun bā:n ceremonies to improve the earth of the house. The phi: won't like this new earth and so they will leave.

1 July, 1963

Memories:
Weddings:

This morning there was a wedding in the village. Apparently, this is a fairly auspicious day because there are weddings all over the area. ~~However~~ The reason for this may be that

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this is the last ^{time} day before Lent begins - and then the last day to get married for 3 months. Also, it is the first of the month - an auspicious day.

Those who got married were $\text{กบฏ สอน สอน สอน สอน}$ (sam:in sŏmphi:thák) and ก. ส. ก. ส. ส. ส. (khamphi: thapsiri). The boy who was the son of กบฏ สอน (ta:p) - the No. 56 KY and the girl the da of ก. ส. (heng) - the No. 9, KW. The boy was 26 yrs. old and the girl 25. The bride price ฿796 .

It is interesting to note that this boy was the son of Mr. Ta:p who got a girl pregnant last year and whom was sent to Bangkok. An indemnity was paid for the fact that a marriage did not ensue. He has now returned & married this girl. Apparently, the reason that Mr. Ta:p objected to the other girl, the one who got pregnant, was that her family was poor and Mr. Ta:p's family wealthy. Apparently, thus there is some sort of status relationships determining marriage.

WEDDING CUSTOMS:

As I have described other weddings in length, I will not describe this one but only make a few notes to supplement the other reports. I should point out that there was no Suttas served at this wedding because of the fear of the police.

sŏmma:

The custom of ສອມມາ (Lao) must be present in any wedding ceremony - no matter how brief, to make it a proper wedding. This custom is sometimes called ໂຄ້ ໂຄ້ ໂຄ້ (khŏ: khŏ: mo:) in Thai. This custom is the presentation of flowers and candles (usually placed on a burl) & sometimes money to the parents of the bride. This custom was demonstrated by ~~the~~ the

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son of Mr. Ta:p coming up to Mr. Wichian (who was present) on his knees. Pushing the burl with flowers and candles in front of him towards Mr. Wichian and with head bowed until it almost touched the floor and arms outstretched touching the burl. He remained in this position while Mr. Wichian explained some of the responsibilities & duties associated with marriage. This is the traditional way of doing things. When he had finished, Mr. Wichian touched the burl and the son retired. This procedure was repeated with me. When I had finished, however, I was instructed to place the flowers & candles on mattresses behind me which the couple would use in the evening.

Sŏmma: applies to a variety of practices: the presentation of these the flowers - candles to respected people; the presentation on the first night of marriage of the bride to her husband, and at other times as well; the custom of placing the flowers & candle in the lowest step of the bridegroom's house just before he leaves for the wedding; and doing the same thing at the foot of the steps of the bride's house before he enters. These latter two practices are called sŏmma: baedaj. When he does it at his own house, he gets down on his ~~hand~~ knees and places the flowers - candles in the bottom step, saying while he does this such things as "now I will leave". He then ~~has~~ rises, and bows and wags in several directions.

However, the most important sŏmma: is that to the parents of the bride. If a couple have no ceremony, they must do this. And often, when they have no other ceremony they will present some money to the bride's parents (a token bride price). Mr. Ngew

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Nuan
+ ~~Luang~~

got married by having a sūmma: to her ~~past~~ mother.

VILLAGE AND ARMY:

villagers could stop talking about the army. I think, now, that nearly everyone in the village of walking or being carried age has been to see the army. One of the comments was that "the soldiers don't drink water." I imagine that this opinion has arisen because of the soldiers' refusal to drink water ⇒ their great propensity for drinking coles, etc. As a matter of amusement, we were asked by villagers if "we drank water before we came here?". I sometimes get a feeling of being a creature from outer space for I might as well be for all the knowledge the local people have of our ways.

There is great interest in everything that the Army does ⇒ there is hardly a trick that isn't picked up - their sleeping habits, the cigarettes they smoke, etc. At least when they leave the villagers will at least have some criteria by which to judge other Parangs - whether for good or bad.

Mr. Wichian is not particularly happy with the building of the school because he says, and I agree, that it has difficult implications for the CD program of encouraging villagers to help themselves.

RETURN OF THE MISCREANTS:

Today, by taxi, the 6 men taken by the police in the raid at the last set of weddings returned home. They had spent 4 1/2 days in jail. I don't think that they returned in a fully repentant state.

1/7/63

Ma. Ngaw + ~~Luang~~: Nuan

This morning at the wedding, Ma. Phon + others were talking about ^{Nuan} ~~Luang~~ ⇒ Mr. Ngaw. It seems that ^{Nuan} ~~Luang~~ had spent \$24 for some pills that were no good ⇒ Mr. Ngaw had been quite unhappy about them ⇒ they had had a quarrel. This quarrel was soon known all over the village. The result was that Ma. Phon and others said that Mr. Ngaw treated ^{Nuan} ~~Luang~~ with little more respect ⇒ consideration than a servant.

It is a matter of fact that was how the relationship began. ^{Nuan} ~~Luang~~ was a servant who came to help with the pigs. Then about 4 months ago, they got "married" - which in this case consisted of no more than sūmma: - the presenting of flowers and candles to Luang's mother. There was no bride price.

This feeling among the villagers that ^{Nuan} ~~Luang~~ isn't given proper status is interesting. For one thing, I think that the expression of the idea represents a slight resentment on the part of the villagers toward the "capitalistic-oriented" person. But more than that, I think that it reflected the feeling that ^{Nuan} ~~Luang~~ was being mistreated - that in other words, she was being demeaned beneath the normal position of a married woman in the village, a woman is entitled to as much equality ⇒ independence as a man (though there are divisions of Tabawa).

^{Nuan's} ~~Luang's~~ mother is a sister of Ma. Phon's first wife. A relationship which entitles Ma. Phon to refer to her as a relative.

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BUDDHISM AND VILLAGE STATUS:

Mr. Phon, Mr. ~~Ta:p~~, Mr. Pha:, Mr. La:, Mr. Chu:, and others have never been ordained. Thus, they don't have the title of thit. Mr. Ngaw says that if a person hasn't been ordained, he won't have a proper understanding of Buddhism & will be more likely to tham b'ai:p. I am somewhat surprised that Mr. Phon has never been ordained because he has two qqa boys who have gone up in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. One is phra mi:h'a:səy & the other, who is no longer a monk, is called tamruət siŋ - lit. "policeman Sing" because he is now a policeman in Sarakham. Mr. Sing's wife is a teacher at Ban Mi: sches.

Mr. Si:nai: ^{Thapsari} the old mō:suət was in the monkhood many years & has a great amt. of status. I have often seen him helping the priests in certain ceremonies. He was a monk in another village near Mahasarakham.

SOME PERSONAL NOTES:

Mr. Cha:j - the asst. headman was over. He said that he has had 12 children, 2 of whom are now dead. Mr. Phon apparently had a fairly boisterous adolescence and was among other things a mī:lām pleaser. But the real mō:lām person is Mr. Saw Thapthani: (see no. 8) who is an a:ca:n. He learned his trade in Myong Ohn where he lived with his wife, who is from there.

CHANGES IN CUSTOM:

Mr. Ngaw said that the daughters of Mr. Phon can ramwong very nicely as can Mr. Sais. I said that I had never seen any ramwong in the village except at the wat fai

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with "imputed girls". Mr. Ngaw said that ~~there~~ ramwong is a custom of times past. Nowadays, there are the dances at wat fai and so the traditional village dancing isn't carried out much anymore.

BRIDGE REPAIRS:

When the bridge was built on the road the other day, there were ^{men} ~~people~~ from all khim's participating. Mr. Ngaw said that Mr. Phon chose the people who would work.

2 July, 1963

BUDDHIST LENT:

The 7th of July, (1122 7 8) is the first day of phasa: (Buddhist lent). The day before, on the 6th, will be ceremonies both in town and in the village. The ones in town are supposed to be quite beautiful.

SHAMAN:

There are 2 mō:phi:fa: (๒๒๐ ๕๗) in the village. One is the wife of Mr. Ta:p & the other is 1121 ๗ (mā: pū:) the wife of ๒๒๑ ๗๒๕ ๗๗๗๗ (sō:n khamlō:g) in Khun Yai.

WAT COMMITTEE:

There is a wat committee

3 July, 1963

REPAIRS ON KHUTI:

sən sətəkən:

Today there was a work party to repair the khuti at the wat. The major instigators of this were Mr. Phon, Mr. Hō:, the man whom I often see at the wat, Mr. Nō:j, & the 3 priests.

After the wooden drum was sounded, other people began straggling in to help so that in the end there were quite a few people working. The job was really a complete one in that all ^{pole} supports which had been eaten away by termites and cross boards which were broken were replaced.

Also, new boards were placed around the porches. Mr. Phon explained that these repairs were made in anticipation of khāw phansā:

Buddhism:

Mr. Phon says that there will be no other men ordained as monks because there is no a:ca:n jāj at the wat. I have often wondered why phrā² mahā:səng doesn't come here during phansā. There seems to be a new little samane:n at the wat (new making two).

RAIN-MAKING CEREMONY:

Mr. Phon says that tomorrow there will be a ceremony or event at the wat at noon to determine whether or not there will be a "rain requesting" ceremony. Certain astrological calculations by a mō:de: will be made. If such a ceremony is held, it will be a trāg-d'wax between teenage girls & boys. If the girls win, rains will not be long in coming.

3/7/63

MR. BOONSUK:

Mr. Boonsuk, who the brother of Mr. La:, who has been in jail with the others because of the event at the last wedding, apparently has not lost his job because of his jail experiences. He showed me his card today indicating that he is still the representative of "such-and-such" advertising firm in Sarakham. He was going to Roi-et on business today.

These Killings:

Yesterday, there was another horse killed in Khrom Pa:hāt. Mr. Phon apparently indicated to those in charge of the slaughter that we didn't like horse meat. Mr. Ngāw is afraid to eat horse meat; says that BNI is known for eating horse meat.

Jane's interviewsFEEDING AND RAISING OF PIGS:

"Spoke with girl from Ban Khwaw who came to buy brass." At her house there are 20 pigs which her family sells in Ban Khwaw. 20 pigs eat 10 thang of brass per day, and 1 thang costs 1 baht. Also told me that there are 3 rice-mills in Ban Khwaw, but they occasionally all run out of brass to sell; eg. today. Hence came here to get it. Brought along water-cart to carry it in.

COST OF RICE:

"She also said 1 thang of khaw rice (khaw sa:n) costs ฿25.00.

ACTIVITIES AT STORE:

"2 boys on their way through came & cooked themselves 3 small saques and a big

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(Jane cont.) which of khaun niau over ~~leung~~ fine - Nuarr's fire. Then they wrapped in papaya leaves. For this they paid \$2.00 (i.e. Mr. Ngaw also sells cooked food, or provides related cook-out."

Mr. Ngaw:

Today, Mr. Ngaw has been away in the market all day (went home about buying a sewing machine). Jane has noticed that when Mr. Ngaw is away, her mother is around much more.

COURTSHIP:

Occasionally in the quiet of the night, one hears the music of a khue:n. This is some young swain entertaining his sweetheart. Often, both will be in the company of other young people.

CONTACTS WITH OUTSIDE:

One of the major contacts which villagers have with the immediate world around them is through conversations they have with people who come from surrounding villages to have their rice milled by Mr. Ngaw, to sell charcoal, to buy brass, etc. These people sit around talking with other people - part villagers - & gossiping. The store really takes the place of the coffee shop in other parts of the world. Currently, the major bit of conversation concerns the American soldiers who are building the new school. And we are repeatedly asked to explain their habits.

People coming come bringing baep's of paddy or the may come by khavian (1 khavian = 10 thung) with straw for the oxen or buffaloes while they are waiting for rice to be milled.

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One of the standard contacts with the outside world are the two buses which pass through on their way to Sarakhae in the morning between 9-10:30 in the morning and which return between 4-5 in the afternoon. These buses are always full and often stop to drink water or take on things & passengers at the store. The cost of travelling one of these buses is \$1 to the corners (often done for a cigarette), \$3 to Sarakhae. At the corners, one can catch a bus for to Poi-et for \$3-4 (bargaining is even done in this case). A bus to Sarakhae can be got at the corners for \$2.

4 July, 1963

WOMEN AND TRAVEL:

Today, a woman from N'ig ke: (the road surrounded by a number of villages where the American Const. Army Co. are encamped). She said that she bought her pho:n in Bangkok where she had spent 15 days in visiting relatives. This woman has also lived in Khonkaen & Udorn. This is one of very few village women whom I have met who has gone on such long raj thiew's. She speaks Bangkok Thai to some extent. There is one woman in Khim No:n who has been in Bangkok recently.

5 July, 1963

RAIN-MAKING CEREMONY:

Yesterday, Mr. Phan had said that an aca:n would come and determine whether there would be a rain-making ceremony or not. Unfortunately, the aca:n was unable to come. If he had decided that a ceremony was necessary, then 6 boys & 6 girls equally matched as to size & weight would have had a tug-of-war. Another custom for bringing the late rains is to place a cat into a

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Fish-holding basket and set afloat on the water. The subsequent cries of the cat were supposed to make the

Thusada aware of their responsibility of sending rains.

Unfortunately, rains began last night & so all hopes for any ceremonies were dispelled.

WEDDINGS:

This morning there was a wedding between a boy in KENK & a girl in Bâ:n Yang - a village near the road leading to the place where the soldiers were ^{are} working. The bride groom was สอน ท้าทาน (sorn thapthani:) son of ชวน ท้าทาน (chorn thapthani:) - the # 86. He is 21 yrs. old. It is interesting that this is the same boy who was supposed to be married to another girl from KENK on May 2nd (see p. 209) but was sick on that day.

The bride is น.ก. 1673 (natg) who is 18 yrs. old. The bride price was \$816 (this is \$20 more than would have been paid if he had married the other girl).

There was no ni:khuian ceremony for the boy.

While we were visiting the house of the boy, several guests pressed us to go with the procession to the household of the girl. We were said now to be villagers of BNT & therefore should go. I will never forget this wedding for we walked some 2-3 miles in heavy rains and barefoot through mud & water to get to the house of the girl. There was little difference in this wedding & what we have observed in BNT.

TYPES OF MĪ:lam:

Yesterday, we talked with Mr. Wichian concerning mĪ:lam. He said there are several types of mĪ:lam among which are the following:

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1. หมอคำขวัญ (mō:lammū:):

หมอ (mō:) - 'performer, doer, one skilled in'

คำขวัญ (lam) - 'to sing'

ขวัญ (mū:) - 'group'

Group of singers who perform "folk operas" with themes taken from Ramakian & other sources.

2. หมอคำกลอน (mō:lamklon:):

กลอน (klon) - 'rhyme, poetry'

Singing done in rhyme by 2 or 3 persons who use great play on words.

3. หมอคำขวัญผีฟ้า (mō:lammū: fā:):

ผีฟ้า (phī:fā:) - 'sky spirits'

Dancing & singing done to exorcise spirits or placate spirits who are causing illness.

6/7/63

ACTIVITIES CONNECTED WITH THE BEGINNING OF BUDDHIST LEAST - VILLAGE:

Tom This evening people in the village will take things to present to the priests for their use during least. There won't be much other happenings because there is such a small population in the wot and no alcaim jaf.

- TOWN:

In the town there will be rather greater activities. The following is a translation of the schedule of events to be held during today & tomorrow:

6/7/63

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

zai:tsä:lähä

zai:tsä:nbu:cha: (๖๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗)¹ and khaw pürim phansä: (๕๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗)²

2506

zai:tsä:lähä

Saturday, 6 July, 2506 (zai:tsä:nbu:cha:)

7:30 a.m. Presentation of morning meal to priests & novices; Hearing of a sermon which shows the Dharma of cäkraläppawät nä sä:t

(๖๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗)³

7:00 p.m. Lighting of procession of candles around phrä züp bo:söt (๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗)⁴ at Wat Mäh:chuy and a competition among "worshiping" lanterns.

Sunday, 7 July, 2506 (khaw pürim phansä: "Candle" competition)

1:00 p.m. Donors from all wats process with candles to the area in front of Sala Klang, Chauwat Mahasarakham for competition.

2:30 p.m. Joint Committee judges the candle competition.

¹ ๖๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗ 'the eighth lunar month'

² ๕๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗ 'to enter Buddhist lent'

³ ๖๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗

⁴ ๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗ formal used for 'temple'

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5:00 p.m. All donors and believers take flowers, incense, and candles and present them to the monks in the wats.

(Signed) Mahasarakham municipality

17 June, 2506

12 July, 1963

Returned to the village after 4 days in town and 3 days in Bangkok.

DEATH:

The sister of Mr. La: who lives in Khien wet had an infant child who died last evening this week.

RAIN-MAKING CEREMONIES:

The village had originally planned to have a ye:tsä (๕๗๓๗๓๗๓๗๓๗) - "rain calling" ceremony on Tuesday and had sent Mr. Ngai to town to in farm use of this ceremony. However, as I was away, they postponed the ceremony. But yesterday the farmers decided that they had better hold the ceremony or the rains will never come. The ceremony is held on 5 successive nights and in all cases consists of a heq-'o-wer between young girls & young boys.

The "nope" for the heq-'o-wer consists of long tough vines attached to a mortar and pestle in the middle. The mō:süt came and lighted some candles and placed some leaves & blossoms on this mortar. Then, he chanted some few words.

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The belief is that when the tog-o'-war is held, if the female side is successful, the rains will come, if not the rains will be postponed. This evening there were 4 competitions held among gay lizards - the girls won 3 - not without some assistance from some young men - and the men won the 1st trial. Another go will be held tomorrow.

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Mr. Ngaw bought 2 female pigs - one for \$200 & the other for \$300.

Another tog-o'-war held in the wai in evening. Mr. Si: hū: didn't show up → so the ceremony wasn't for real. Three times the device being pulled broke, so more or less made the whole thing a farce.

14 July, 1963

LACK OF RAIN & CONCERN ABOUT "STARVATION":

Mr. Phon this morning began to worry out loud about the lack of rains. He said, though laughing about it (as they seem to do about all serious matters), that if the rains didn't come soon people would have very poor crops and people would starve.

I have noticed that Mr. Ngaw has been buying paddy. This he will mill & sell to people who have run out of rice before the next harvest. There are apparently quite a few people who have to buy rice.

In the evening the rather half-crazy barber was over and was saying that he was starving. Mr. Ngaw says that he doesn't make enough in barbering to feed himself & family. This I can believe. He was rather awfully treated by Mr. Ngaw & Mr. Phon.

14/7/63

ATTITUDES TOWARDS FOOD:

This could really be said to be a subsistence economy insofar as food is concerned. So far as I can tell, the only time that any family in the village buys food is at a time of a major celebration. There is "hunting-and-gathering" used to supplement the diet - to provide the kāp khāu. Women go to the fields to look for frogs, snails, insects, plants, fruits, all sorts of leaves, bamboo shoots. New fish, hunt lizards, and this morning one person brought in a 6 foot snake which he was planning to eat.

I see now, and I quite agree, that one place where our "report" may fail is in the matter of food. Our diet is so vastly much more expensive than standard diet, that it sets us off immensely. People gather around to see the garbage which June throws to the pigs. And on days when a large amount of meat or other purchased items have ^{gone bad} ~~gone to waste~~, and we have thrown ~~it~~ such away, there has been much consternation among the onlookers.

Even when the financial level of a family improves, diet ~~does~~ usually does not. The only major difference between Mr. Ngaw's diet & that of other villagers is slightly more meat which he occasionally purchases when he goes to market. He also does not like certain things gathered or hunted - such as snakes and rats.

Probably, the worst and most humiliating state that a family can be in is that of having no rice nor the means to ^{obtain} ~~purchase~~ it. Such a person is without the pulse of the economic system and has become dependent on others.

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VILLAGE LEADERSHIP:

Mr. Phom has been headman now for 15 yrs. He says that he will remain headman until he dies & then the villagers will choose another headman. The villagers choose the headman, but the headman chooses the Asst. Headman. The Kamnau is always the headman of Ban Khuan. The present one has been Kamnau 3-4 yrs.

CO-OPERATIVE LABOUR:

Mr. Phom says that work on the school will begin very shortly. In this case, every household must contribute a member to help. As only about 20 people can work per day, there will be a rotation among households.

IDEAS ABOUT OUTSIDE WORLD:

There certainly has been an effect, among villagers, in the knowledge of the outside world with the coming of the SEATO forces & the engineering company. Today, I overheard a conversation among a group of young men (late teenagers) such things as "to Japan among the SEATO countries? (they thought not) "why don't Filipinos speak Thai, because they look like Thais? (they have small, brown bodies also). "what language is spoken in Japan?" (thought maybe English), etc. The point here is ~~that~~ not the question ~~itself~~ but the fact that names of "foreign countries" can be bandied around at all. There was discussion not only of these countries but also of Australia, France, etc. One person commented that Russia & Red China ("Red" is used in Thai as well) are Communist countries.

Also, there was considerable discussion of the antics of the Americans - with particular

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mention made of Negroes. Some villagers have picked up such words as "Hi" and "Ok" though they don't know what they mean.

It must be pointed out that these impressions made by foreign troops on the villagers have not been organized systematically in the villagers' minds. Ideas of what and where other countries are is still vague in the extreme. Nonetheless, the existence of other peoples & different ways of life have been visually impressed on the villagers. And this awareness has stimulated a curiosity concerning the strange. Also, I am myself aware, that probably more knowledge about the ways of Westerners has come, insofar as the villagers are concerned, via Jane and me than it has through the casual contacts with the American troops.

More Two 'o' wars:

At night ~~Last night~~ there was an even bigger "celebration" at the wat - many more people who again came to participate in the two-'o' war in order to bring the rains. It certainly is great fun for the young people. This time the girls (with Jane's help) won 3 out of 4 goes.

15 July, 1963

REPORT DIFFICULTIES:

Jane has just returned from the school and it seems that Mr. Buntuang was rather huffy & said that he hadn't seen me for some time. I think he is hurt because I have been going over there very little of late whereas I used to go nearly every day. Also, I think that he thought that ours was a special relationship & that I would spend far more time with him than the rest of the villagers.

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VILLAGES WHICH BRING RICE TO BE MILLED AT MR. NGAW'S MILL:

People from

The following villages bring rice to be milled at Mr. Ngaw's village:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| B. Nók Kràdók | B. Sýa lein gwa |
| B. Yâ:ng | B. Khô:k ráj |
| B. Hý | B. Nám thiag |
| B. Nô:ng Dùk | B. Mí: |
| B. Khô:k Nô:ng | B. Dô:n Du: |
| B. Nô:ng Kug | |
| B. Húa Nô:ng | |

In addition some people bring rice away as Mr. Ngaw's village (Nô:ng Khâ:) in T. Tha. ta:m come to have rice milled.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS LACK OF RICE:

3 men came here today to buy rice. Said "Necessary to buy rice because the rains haven't come and there is no rice to eat." Also, said that Jim's helping on the tug o' war last night should help bring the rains.

In the afternoon Mr. Ngaw and I went to B. Sô:ng Phýaj to buy a khein which Mr. Ngaw was having made for me. In the evening we had a regular game session in the house while people came to demonstrate my khein and play the phin.

The rains came in the evening so there was no tug-o-war.

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This morning Mr. Ngaw sold a sow to B. Khwâo co-operative. This sow Mr. Ngaw has had for 2 yrs. It has had two litters of pigs, but the second batch was not very healthy & so he decided to get rid of it. He received B600 for the pig for which he orig. had paid B100.

BUDDHISM:

Mr. Ngaw says that the moon in Khum Nô:n - Mr. Khun Thapthani: - when we got sattho: the other night was to be the a:ca:n jô:j in the west (up until February or March of this year).

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HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE:

Began the head of household questionnaire today. Mr. Wichian came out to help me begin it. It is interesting the sort of channels that were gone through in getting the groundwork laid. First, we went to Mr. Thiang & Mr. Wichian explained the questionnaire to him. He in turn called a meeting of all the students & explained to them about the questionnaire & told them to inform their parents. He also explained that I was not an outsider coming in to the village, but a person whom everyone knows. We, then, went to talk with Khun Nô:ng about being my interviewing agent. I agreed to give him B300 for helping with the whole questionnaire (Mr. Phou had some doubts about him ~~and~~ because he thinks he doesn't read too well & also thought the amount of money a little high). I think that maybe I will have a little trouble with him at first & then it will be all right.

We also talked with Mr. Phou and he seemed quite receptive to the idea. In fact the first 3 people to whom the questionnaire was given seemed quite agreeable - Mr. Phou (KPH), Mr. Phou, & Mr. Ngaw.

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Several comments were made:

- 1) Mr. Thieng says that he thinks that some people have a queen but as they have it illegally, they will not answer this question. Mr. Wichian was more sanguine.
- 2) Mr. Wichian added Korat as another city where people perhaps go to live and work.
- 3) The question on how many years has the person studied brings some the response of how many were spent in studying as contrasted with the no. of years of schooling completed.

19/7/63

Education

Today we had lunch at the school. This came about as a result of a monthly program at the school where a special lunch is prepared for the students. Each student is supposed to donate 50 st. The total amt. is used to buy chickens and the other food to be made for the lunch (the children each bring their own rice). It is indication of the poverty of some of the families in the village that only about 24% of the students participated on this occasion (it may also be a function of the time of the year when farmers have the least money).

6 chickens were bought for \$5 each (which means that they were being sold at a discount). Khun Beng and Khun Sraphai made the food: ^{kaj jay} ~~ka jay~~, ^{kaj jay} ~~ka jay~~, kaj tom. Only the latter two were given to the students, the ^{kaj jay} ~~ka jay~~ being saved especially for the teachers and ourselves. There are rough bamboo picnic benches situated near the bit. It was here that the students were served. The two watery dishes were mixed together and then placed in small bowls for 3 or 4 students to eat from. As mentioned before, the students had brought their

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own rice. As soon as the students were finished, we ate.

There were 3 students standing apart and not participating. It appears that they forgot their rice or else had none to bring. Finally, the teachers called to them and made them come over. They shared the rice of other students.

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE:

The educ. comm. includes the following people:

นาย ทร ทักษะ	Mr. Phon Thapsuri	Headman
" ดี ทักษะ	" Di. Phonkhan	
" ชัย สัมพันธ์	" Chai Somphithak	Asst. Headman
" มิ ทักษะ	" Mi. Thapsuri	
" ลา ทักษะ	" La. Thapsuri	
" สัม ทักษะ	" Som Thapsuri (KUN)	
" พนม ไร่ไร่	" Phonma. Seitaksai	
" สัน ไร่ไร่	" San. Seitaksai	
" ดา ว ทักษะ	" Da. W Thapthani	

DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOL:

The school is located in the sai-lai wet - a building opened on all 4 sides. In front of the sai-la is a small enclosed grounds (enclosed by a low fence) in the middle of which are planted flowers and other plants.

Desks for the students consist of low benches about a foot above the floor. There are about a ft.

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wide and about 3 ft. long. Behind each of these 3 and sometimes 4 students will kneel on the floor. The students come in with their papers, erasers, rulers wrapped in a pha:likhoma: as a piece of rough cotton. These are placed underneath the low desks when the children are in class. The 4 grades are divided by woven bamboo partitions which can be removed (as can most of the rest of the school equipment) when the sai:la:wai needs to be used for other purposes. In the front of each "classroom" are a chair, a desk (rough, heavy) and a fold away blackboard. These are used by the teachers.

There are various posters, announcements, pictures, etc. placed on the part of the building. The most important of these is an assemblage of the following things placed in the center part: a picture of King Bhumibol below which is the national colors, and below that a "shrine" with a glass statue of the Buddha and vases of fake flowers on it. There are also a few numbers of placards which always begin with "พระพุทธเจ้า (Phat Bo:sa:t)" - "Buddha say" - followed by several words in Pali (written in Thai orthography with certain special symbols) and then a Thai translation of a moral aphorism such as "As a person speaks, so he shall do." There are also several little wooden blue boards on which a snippet of a poem - again usually with a moral overtones - is written. There are 2 biological diagrams - one showing the internal organs and one about the teeth. There is also a small map of Thailand. In addition there are several pictures of important buildings & wats in Thailand.

As one enters the school there is major blackboard on which "Statistics concerning numbers of students at Wat Ba:n No:ng Tjin School" are written. This includes the number of students in each class & is supposed to include the daily statistics on number of students who are sick, tardy, absent. It also includes the names of each teacher & which classes they are teaching.

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There is also another major blackboard on which important announcements are written - such as "Today is examination day." or "Today is wai:khru: day". There is another board on which pictures from magazines are occasionally ~~use~~ posted.

ILLEGAL CHILDREN:

Yesterday, the girl that had a child by the son of Mr. Tai (the boy who married very recently) was around. Jane said that Mr. Ngai was teasing her unmercifully about how the child cried when his daddy went away (he went to Bangkok after the baby was born), about how the boy wouldn't marry her because she is too thin, about her having trouble to find another husband. Jane said that she seemed to take it all in good humor, which is far more than she could have done. Mr. Ngai later said that the indemnity paid for getting this girl pregnant was \$12 because the girl's family is very poor (her father is dead). However, if she had come from a rich family, the indemnity might have been as high as \$5,000. However, it would usually be about \$1,000. He also said that bastard children are somewhat looked down on, but I really doubt this & think that he may have been expressing a personal opinion. However, such a child might be teased because the Thai show no qualms in talking about others' disabilities.

LEARNING TO PLAY KHEIN:

For 2 days now, Khun Nin from Khun ~~ong~~ wit has been over to teach me to play the khein. He must be finding it to a difficult job. He himself is one of the better players in the village - has played for 2 years.

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Misc.

Continued census today.

Another big-of-war rain requesting contest in wait in evening.

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~~Continued census today.~~THAM BAN AT HOUSE OF MR. LA:

This morning there was a ceremony of thambanbân ; sû:khuân at the house of Mr. La: - the naklong - in KPH. Many people from all over village attended and partook of his food & satto. Told that ceremony held in his house every year - always in 5th month. Held to placate ancestral spirits and to make the house, its inhabitants, and visitors happy.

In an inner room, the two priests & a novice were chanting. When this was finished, a bucket (or more properly a bucket) of water in which a candle had been allowed to drip and a twig was stirred during the chanting was taken by one priest and sprinkled on the rest of us present. Then the priests went to the four corners of the house. At each place they did as they had in the case of Mr. H's house: - i.e., a collection of food on a small piece of bamboo was prepared up on a stick. Then a string was attached to this ~~on which the~~ to which the priests held. Then they chanted. When they had finished, a whole was dug at the base of the post and the food was deposited therein. This food was for the ph:k bân.

Also, a string was taken and wrapped around the house. This function somewhat similarly to the ph:kheon on a person's chest - a tying in of the khuân of the house.

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Mr. Ngai says that Mr. La: had this ceremony to get rid of the bad influences of having been arrested by the police and thrown in jail. A thambanbân ceremony is held in order to ward off accidents throughout the year. Only richer people, or people who feel the need because of extenuating circumstances (such as Mr. H's: because of the deaths in his household) have the ceremony because of the outlay in money for food & drink.

Today completed 6 more questionnaires. Spent most of day in town.

ARMY AND VILLAGES:

22/7/63

On Saturday a group of the Soldiers along with John McClean to the village to present 34 roughly made tables and chairs for the school (very roughly made indeed). Unfortunately, I was not in the village when they arrived. On Sunday I went to the army camp and discovered that BNT had been selected as a result of a list which Mr. Wickham & I had prepared concerning what villages in Tanbon Kluwan most needed things and which we had given to Lt. McCarden, the man in charge of Civic Action for this area during the SEATO Exercise. BNT had been at the top of the list.

I informed Mr. Ngai & Mr. Thieng that I had been more or less responsible for the getting of the desks. They appreciated the fact, and I don't think that our rapport was at all injured by this situation. In fact, Mr. Thieng was a little effusive, saying that I had contributed \$500 for school and had been responsible for getting the student's SEATO kits and the desks (not exactly true, but true in part).

22/7/63

On Friday there was a major ceremony of the new school ("Friendship School") in which the head of JUSMAB came up to officially turn the school over to the Chaengwat. There were numerous floats around the village that said himself was coming (though this was not the case). But even if it had been true, I doubt that people would have shown much more interest - a real contrast to the interest taken in the Queen & King?

KHUN NIN:

This evening when Khun Nin was teaching me on the Khe-in, he played the "King's song". He also knows the words. This is interesting as regards participation in national cultural traditions. It's also interesting that the Khe-in with its typical uniqueness is used to play a Western-type melody.

23/7/63

MR. NGAI AND BANOKAI

Last night we discussed with Mr. Ngai about his experiences in Bangkok. He spent 2 periods there - each of 3 years. The first one was when he was 18-21, and the second 23-26. When he went down he first found a job in a Chinese store at \$250/monthly but as this was too little, he changed jobs & ended up working in a Chinese noodle & cracker making company. He started this job at \$400/monthly. He was also provided with board and board of room (room being a dormitory with another 12 or so workers). He worked a night shift (all the time he worked for the company) of 7-8 hours a night, 7 days a week, every day of the year except the 3 day Chinese New Year. By the time he left the 2nd time, he was earning \$700/monthly. He said that some of the other workers were coming up to \$1,200/monthly for doing the same job, but "they were Chinese."

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He got his first raise by a demonstration of honesty. One day he came across an open safe full of "piles" of hundred-baht notes. He reported this to the owner, who as a reward for his honesty raised him to \$500/mo. the next month.

At the end of his second stay he had ~~earned~~ saved \$3,000. He said that he deprived himself of most luxuries - ~~not~~ restricting himself, for example, to 2 cheap cigarettes a day.

He says that many people from the Northeast work for the Chinese because they can make better salaries this way than they can in working in other unskilled labour such as construction. This is particularly true of his village - Bân Nôig Khai, but not so true of BNT.

SCHOOL:

The school is presently closed for 45 days during the planting & transplanting. Khun Banokai himself will help with the planting in her parents' fields in Ban Khuan. Mr. Thieng says that when the school re-opens there will be a Buddhist siat moon at the school.

24 July, 1963

ELECTIONS AND VILLAGE:

Last night Mr. Ngai described the last election that was held for legislative representatives before martial law came into effect. There were 19 candidates for 3 positions and every voter voted for just one candidate (the three with the most votes were the 3 who got the seats). Mr. Ngai said that the villagers really enjoyed the campaigning for one candidate had free movies in town and another went around giving medicines for villages. When it came time to vote, Headman Phon said that he thought about for such-and-such a candidate was best because he would most consider the needs of the villagers.

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Mr. Ngaiw said, however, that if one didn't agree, he wouldn't have to vote for the candidate Mr. Phon suggested.

The actual voting took place at Ban Khuvaw. Here there were a number boxes - a number corresponding to a candidate. People deposited pieces of paper in the box corresponding to the candidate of their choice. The candidate Mr. Phon had suggested came in 2nd and thus was chosen as one of the representatives.

Nó:j:

Mr. Ngaiw was talking about Nó:j's family last night. It seems that his father is a bit of a ne'er-do-well. He used to own farm land but sold it for ready capital. Now he fishes, makes charcoal, & makes bamboo walking to sell. He buys 2 litres of rice/day from Mr. Ngaiw to feed 5-6 people in the family.

Nó:j has been married before - to a girl in Ban Khuvaw. One day he came here & never returned to her. No one knows why. He now claims to be single. There apparently weren't any children.

AMOUNT OF LAND NEEDED FOR SUBSISTENCE:

Mr. Ngaiw says that for a family of 5-6 people, 12 rai of poor land or 5 rai of good land is needed to produce enough rice for the family throughout the year.

RADIO LISTENING:

This evening Mr. Ngaiw had Radio Peking on (in Lao). He says that he doesn't like to listen it for too long because it is illegal to listen and he is afraid of the

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price.

TRAVELLING SALESMAN:

This morning a travelling medicine salesman came to the village. He set up a small table on which he placed 2 types of glass decorated bottles & several types of packets of medicine. A small crowd had gathered (all women & children except the priests and ourselves) one of his assistants passed out "free" packets of a powder to be used for aches & pains. Then he gave his spiel on his medicines, explaining their use and told the people that they could get a cheaper price on here and now than they could get in the market. He then offered a combination of 2 bottles and 2 packets for a total of \$15. Unfortunately the crowd dispersed at this point and he made no sales. He left shortly afterwards.

He himself comes from Kabanin & the medicine is made in Vientiane.

WORK IN VIETNAME:

Nó:j says that when he worked in Vientiane, he made 70-80 kip ^{day/week} /month (at that time 4 kip = 1 baht). He says that now inflation has got so bad that his sister is waiting until the kip is worth more before she returns from Vientiane. ~~1~~

Asked Nó:j the other day if any of the many people who have been to Laos have ever been in the Lao army. He said that there was no one, but that he himself could have joined if he had wanted to. He said that there was a man from Ban Khuvaw who is the Lao Paratrooper.

The following information arose during my survey: -

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BIRTH CONTROL:

Mr. Chaij who has had 12 children (10 still living) says that having so many children is very difficult. "One must love so much money to raise so many children." He is interested in using birth control methods.

SICKNESS:

Three of Mr. Chaij's children are up sick with a fever of some sort. I really fear for them.

MR. SĪ: HĀI:

The mō: sĪ: hĀI says that he has been an "a:ca:n" for 48 yrs. He studied with some other men in the village in the arts of this practice. He can read both Lao & Thai though he never studied in school.

25/7/63

RICE Cycle:1. Preparing the fields:

Sometime during the period of late May to mid July (depending on when the rains come), the men will go to the field with a plow made of hand-hewn wood with a cutting edge made of rough iron made in Poi-oi. ~~It will take their buffalo and~~ This is done after the fields have been dampened by sufficient rains to make the earth moist. With their buffaloes they will do the first plowing. After it has rained more, they will plow the fields a second time and then they will harrow the fields. The harrow is entirely hand-made in the village.

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2. Planting:

First unshelled rice kernels are placed in a basket. These baskets are floated (looked) for 2 days (1 full day and an additional night) in a small pond such as the one near the vat. This is to let the rice germinate.

One field is prepared and diked to hold the rain water. The germinated rice seedlings are then placed broadcast in this field. They are planted very close together.

3. Transplanting:

When the rice has grown to about a foot in height, the villagers of both sexes and all ages go to the fields to pull up the rice seedlings. Before this can be done, however, sufficient rain must have fallen to fill the diked unplanted fields. The rice seedlings are pulled up in such a way that the roots remain intact. The seedlings are shaken free of dirt and mud and then tied in bundles. ~~When~~ The villagers then will put these bundles on a hap stick and carry them to the unplanted fields. There where there is a layer of fine mud covered by a thin layer of water. The seedlings can here be transplanted.

27 July, 1963

Smallpox Epidemic:

Some 18 or 19 years ago, according to Mr. Ngān, there was a small pox epidemic in this area. He said that something like 200 people died in NĪ:ng Khā: alone. Many people abandoned their homes and went to live in makeshift houses in the fields to escape from the uncleanness of their homes.

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DEATH:

An infant child died in village yesterday. The mother was around this morning but I didn't know her.

KILLING OF BUFFALO:

This morning a buffalo of Mr. Tai's was slaughtered & butchered. It seems that in the last few days this buffalo, an old one, has been chilled by the rain and so Mr. Tai decided to have it killed. The meat was sold to various villagers.

POLITICS AND VILLAGE:

Mr. Ngaw last evening expressed some opinions on various political personages in recent Thai history. He believes that Pridi along with several of his friends were responsible for the death of King Ananda. He was surprised to learn that Pridi was still alive and was in Red China (he was also somewhat surprised to hear that Phibun was in Japan). He had very strong feelings against Gen. Phao whom he considered an evil person in no uncertain terms. He thinks that it was good the Genl Surt "seized power" before Phao did. He thinks that Surt is a good leader.

He again expressed his dislike for the Red Chinese because they are anti-American. He also said that the situation in Laos is terribly confused - a really funny situation, he commented, that such a small country should have both a Communist and non-Communist gov't. He is unaware of the personages involved in the Lao struggle for power. He was quite surprised to learn that Cambodia was not a Communist country. Why is Thailand not friendly with Cambodia if she isn't Communist? He expressed the opinion that Khao Phra Wiham

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probably should have belong to the Khmer since it did belong to them in ancient times (he was in Bangkok during the height of the Khao Phra Wiham crisis).

Mr. Saw AND M^o:LAMMIA:

Last evening Mr. Saw was over helping me in learning about the Khmer. He said that he learned his skills of m^o:lammia: director in BNT, though Mr. Ngaw said that Mr. Saw perfected his skills while living in his wife's home in Nuang Phon. Mr. Ngaw says that every village has its m^o:lammia: group.

30 July, 1963

RICE PLANTING:

In the fields today saw people of all ages pulling up the rice seedlings from the seedling plots to be replanted in other fields. The women & young girls will strike the rice plants against their foot in order to shake the earth loose. The men do it against their thighs. The seedlings are gathered in bunches to be transferred to other fields. When they are properly replanted, they are merely stuck into the mud at about ft. intervals between each row and between each plant as well. I would guess that there is some correlation between how close the plants are and the goodness of the land in which they are planted. People seemed to be enjoying themselves in the field, and I didn't notice anyone working alone. Several bunches I passed were completely closed up as they were close to the fields and so everyone had gone to the fields. This sort of work must be done when there has been enough rain so that the rice seedlings can be stuck into the soft mud. This period is a time of intense activity and people seem to be away from the house from early morning until almost sunset.

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Local Alcoholic Beverages:

When we were in the field yesterday, Nōj took me to drink some satto. This satto was in a large clay pot which had been buried in a rice-field dike (the top being covered with a cloth & then a small metal dish. When people wish to drink this, they uncover the pot & scoop out the wine. I imagine that there are several reasons why the rice wine is kept here: (1) it must be kept some place for several days (this part wine is 10+ days old); (2) in the fields, the police are less likely to find it (the making of local brew is illegal).

At dinner, Mr. Ngai arranged for us to buy a quart of satto from a man for \$1 (Jene's comment, "where else in the world could one purchase a bottle of wine for a nickel?"). This was a most welcome addition to the meal.

LOCAL LOTTERY:

In the surrounding villages (and I understand throughout the rural Thailand) a local version of the lottery is run. This local lottery is based on the national lottery in the following way: a person chooses a number of two digits (often chosen by taking a birth date and choosing the last 2 numbers of the serial number). He pays for this choice (as yet I don't know how much) and more than one person may choose the same number. The purchasing of the numbers is done on the 5 days preceding the announcement of the winners of the national lottery. The winners are determined by the last 2 numbers of the winning numbers of the national lottery. The chances of winning in this local lottery are much higher (1 chance in 90) than in the national lottery, but, of

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course, the returns are much lower.

Mr. Lai is the local person in charge of the local lottery. Nōj is the seller of "tickets". Actually, there are no tickets, but Nōj will write down the chosen number on a piece of paper along with the name of the purchaser. ^(usually 00) The ~~number~~ is called lottery. The buying of a local lottery ticket is called liberally, "the buying of a number" (๖๐ ๖๐). The local lottery is illegal; Nōj says that if a policeman came, he would have "to run very fast."

31 July, 1963

EDUCATION:

I have been struck in making my household census in the high incidence of literacy. However, I noticed that Kingshill says in Ku Daeng, that "most people over 38 yrs. of age are illiterate." He made his study 10 years ago, so I would expect to find that most people over 48 are illiterate which is an approximation of what I do find. I think that I would find similar comparisons in Kaengmau.

Talked with Mr. Siha: this afternoon and asked him if he could remember how long the school has been in 1951. He couldn't, but he said it wasn't here when he was a youth.

1 August, 1963

NAMES:

I discovered today in the census that people often have two first names: a "school name" (or formal name) and a "common name". Sometimes when I have made the census, I have got the one, and other times the other.