

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written between February 1 and February 29, 1968.

Field notes in this document were primarily written in Amphoe Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son Province (Changwat Mae Hong Son), and Bangkok, Thailand. A few entries were written by E. Jane Keyes. This document is preceded by field notes written in Mae Sariang in January 1968 and is followed by notes written in Mae Sariang in March 1968. The first few entries in this document were written by E. Jane Keyes in Mae Sariang while Charles F. Keyes was in Bangkok.

Mae Sariang (Jane Keyes's notes)

February 6, 1968

Khrū Sukhon

Went with Pete to visit Khrū Sukhon 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 + ago was previously married to the daughter (now deceased) of the *Cao fā* Mae Hong Son, by whom he had 3 children, all in Mae Hong Son – youngest in Mathayom 8, middle one a nurse, eldest ? Used to live in house of *Cao fā* right opposite Khrū Somphet's that we took a photo of. Would probably be a good source of history, and would at least know something about when the *Cao fā* last held power and/or title.

Mae Sariang (Jane Keyes's notes)

February 8 and 9, 1968

Miscellaneous

Took photos of market. Miscellaneous information picked up enroute was that one of the 24 rice mills in Mae Sariang is owned by the shopkeeper of the shop opposite La'ô's which sells a lot to the Karens. Also on way home visited pot-maker's house. In course of waiting at shop opposite car and bicycle shop while Pete was having car fixed, learned (a) formerly Lua couldn't speak Kammüang and therefore trading was very difficult, (b) lots of Lua live near Wat Čom Čāēng behind Ācān Don's. These speak Kammüang and many trade at the self-same shop. Particularly came at mid-day. Usually buy *nām ôi*. Karens like betel; Lua prefer *miang*). 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, the shop-owner said they grow them down in Tak, where the Karens are settled agriculturalists (?).

Also, learned that the hotel 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 Sombat.

Mae Sariang (Jane Keyes's notes)

February 10, 1968

Sanga's Family

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 S's daughter works there, although they had to pay for medicine, blood, food, and transport on trips visiting him every day). 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.

Sanga said that the body was kept for a year before cremation. Medical costs came to 2-3,000 baht; the cremation to over 10,000 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 wat, hire of the priests to say the right *suat*, funerary casket, etc., plus feeding a great number of people not only at the ceremony itself but also for those who came to the house with condolences (and sometimes money). Chit helped them with ฿2,000 toward expenses, much of it came out of her two daughters' earnings, 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 couldn't have been able to help out.

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 (e.g. 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 ฿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 Čit was in his first year at Chula (in engineering or mechanics or something like that) when the Japanese arrived. Both he and Čit 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 *khiat* and has a *hua-tō* 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.

Mae Sariang (Jane's notes)

February 11, 1968

Communism

Čit came to visit. There was much talk about the Communist threat closing in. Apparently Wan's mother at the *ngān* last night had been saying it wouldn't be long before they came to Mae Sariang and Mae Hong Son, and there was much fearful discussion.

Mae Sariang (Jane's notes)

February 12, 1968

Hudspeths and the Pwo Karen

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 motorbike 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 P'wo 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 P'wo Karen as spoken in Burma differed from that spoken in their area near Hot, and (2) got Mr. Hudspeth to produce a Thai alphabet system for rendering Karen, since he felt that if Karens were going to live in Thailand it was better that they should learn the Thai alphabet. As to (1) Mr. Hudspeth found that there was a 33 percent difference in vocabulary between Burma and Hot 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.

Trader from Burma

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.

Bangkok (all following notes written by Charles F. Keyes) February 12, 1968

Asia Foundation and Thammacārik Program

I talked with Bill Klausner this morning about what he knows about the Thammacārik program. He says that the idea originated with Mr. Prasit Disawat, the head of the tribal development division of the Department of Public Welfare. His wife died and he entered the monkhood at Wat Benchamabophit (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 Wat Bencha 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.

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 Wat Mahāthāt supports meditation centers.

Bill then arranged for me to read a letter from Gordon (Graham ?) 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 Thammacārik program.

The Asia Foundation gave ฿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 ฿67,500 for all other expenses.

The monks are to be sent to Tak, Chiang Mai, Mae Hong Son, Chiang Rai and Phetchabuun. Fifty monks in 10 teams.

“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 Wat Benchamabophit 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 Wat Benchamabophit¹

This afternoon Sulak took me to meet the abbot of Wat Benchamabophit, Phra Thammakittisophon (พระธรรมกิติโศภณ) who is the Cao Khana Phāk for Region 6 (Chiang Rai, Lampang, Nan, Phrae) and Chairman of the Thammacārik program. Sulak says that the abbot is a native of Chiang Rai. I came to interview him about the Thammacārik 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 Haw as novices in Wat Bencha. One of the Meo, from Phetchabun, has been in since 2509 [1966]. He had studied at a government school before coming into the wat. These 5 are from the following places: B. Phayao, C. Chiang Rai, Phetchabun and Tak.

The idea of the program was that of the Head of the Tribal Welfare Director, Department of Public Welfare, Mr. Prasit Disawat. He was ordained in 2507 [1964] in Wat Bencha when the idea was begun. [At this point I started recording the interview – see transcript for rest of interview.] [NB: English translation of the transcript follows.]

Translation of Transcript of Interview with Abbot of Wat Benchamabophit about the Thammacarik Program

NB: Sulak Sivaraksa was also present at the interview; tape transcription by Amara Bhumiratana, then a PhD student in anthropology at the University of Washington.

[Tape 16, side 1, tape marker 018] The Thammacharik program was originated by Nai Prasit Ditthasuwat, the Head of the tribal development division of the Department of Public Welfare. He consulted Phra Ratchawetsuthirokee and Phra Kittisophon.

¹ Charles F. Keyes's tape recording of his interview with the Abbot of Wat Benchamabophit on February 12, 1968 is located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.27 EC, and 2001-2.28 EC. The original tape is titled, "Tape Number 16, Side 1 and 2." The recording has also been digitized. An index of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW. There is no Thai transcript.

The plan was to send high ordered monks from Bangkok.

Many tribal people were ordained as a result of the first trial. In Phetchabun where Phra Thepwarawethi of Wat Paknam was the leader, seven people were ordained as novices. In Mae Sariang, a few novices were also ordained but all of them retired.

One of the problem in employing monks from Bangkok is communication. In the second year, (1966) monks from northern provinces as well as monks from Bangkok were recruited. Each unit had at least two monks who were natives of the province. This plan proved to be impractical in terms of organization and control. (Six monks and nine novices were ordained.)

In 1967, the unit was also composed of two monks from provinces where northern dialect was spoken. Students from Chulalongkorn [Buddhist] University also accompanied each unit. *Chao Khana* controlled monks in the provincial areas. The problem of organization and control proved to be better than the previous years. Only 4 monks and 42 novices were ordained this year. The four monks ordained are two Karens from Mae Hong Son, one Meo from Tak, and one Meo from Phetchabun.

[052] The Karen monks remained only 20 days and retired from monkhood. The practice was allowed because :

(1) Grown men have to work to support their families.

(2) Because of illiteracy, these monks cannot join all activities required. The monk from Tak was ordained for three months (one *phansa*) and the monk from Phetchabun remained in priesthood for one month. 16 novices are still at Wat Benchamabophit, two of whom were ordained in the earlier years. 8 novices remained for the whole *phansa* in Nan. At the end of the *phansa* two novices retired. 8 novices were from Chiang Rai. Some novices remained in Chiang Mai while others retired. 5 Yao novices were ordained and 3 retired. 4 Akha novices were ordained.

[tape marker 077] Last year 7 novices passed *nak tham trī* 4 novices from Wat Benchamabophit; 2 Meos in Chiang Rai; 1 Meo in Nan.

The Karens are the most easy to get along with. The Yao are the most easy to understand. The Meo are the brightest and the most studious. The Lahu and the Lisu are about the same. The Akha are the slowest.

Regarding cleanliness: The Yao are the cleanest. The Karen, Meo, and Lahu are second.

The Yao and Meo live on the ground, raise domestic animals, but have separate rooms for living. The Lahu, Karen, Akha, and Lisu live off the ground on raised floors.

[tape marker 098] Yaos are more intelligent than other tribal groups. They united together and generally will not leave their areas. All tribal groups look down upon the Akha because they eat dogs which are believed to create body odor.

[105] There has been no mentioning of belief in spirits by the tribal monks and novices. Actually, the plan is not to abolish belief in spirits. Specifically, belief in household spirits is allowed to remain or even encouraged because such belief is a means to show gratitude to one's ancestors (similar to ancestor worship of the Chinese). However, belief in other spirits. i.e. *phī nām* should be abolished because what is believed to be a manifestation of the spirit is in fact caused by physical condition. The difference in body temperature and the temperature of the water upon contact will cause trembling. The Thammacharik monks have taken a few people to bathe at 10 a.m. or 1 p.m. when the water is warmer. Aspirins are given to those who tremble.

[126] The Dept. of Public Welfare pays 10 baht for food and 15 baht for other expenses for each monk per day (about 450 baht per month). At the center there is an errand boy who receives 200 baht. excluding food, per month.

The units only go to the non-dangerous areas. Even after the plan has been made, if the Dept. of Public Welfare or the border patrol police feel that the area is not safe, the plan will be changed.

[144] The teaching of Buddhism is based on practice, not doctrine, i.e. *sila*, *samaddhi*, *panna*. The monks practice *sila* by omitting the evening meals and practice *dhamma* by being kind and helpful to the people. They do not preach since preaching will not help the villagers. It is more helpful to teach cleanliness to the people.

[158] Children are taught to make merit by not harming other individuals. Sometimes, Thai is taught and parents send their children to learn Thai.

[165] Chulalongkorn students go out for two months because they have to come back to school. But monks remain there for four months.

[169] This year plan will be similar to last year. The unit will consist of non-Bangkok monks, Chulalongkorn students, and a tribal novice. These novices will be able to approach the tribal people easier because they (may) speak the same language. Besides, tribal novices can teach us their tribal languages. We only know men language. Because of the pattern of division of labor, women are cut off from outside contacts and do not negotiate with outsiders.

[194] During the orientation, the monks learn about the different tribes because monks have to make contacts with the people. In addition to the general routine of receiving food, reciting or chanting after meals, and etc. monks also teach the children who are waiting to be taught in the afternoons.

[204] Sacred water is not used. Arrangements are made by the Dept of Public Welfare to teach monks to use first-aid. In the field, when monks distribute medicine, they teach the people to pay homage to the Buddha (*wai phra*). Furthermore, these people are not taught to abandon their belief in spirits because such belief is a means of social control. However, some belief are beneficial to keep while others are not. For the new year feast, the shaman examines the sick and declares the animal Which the spirits want for the particular day. This practice gives the people the opportunity to eat their domestic animals

[235] Monks teach people cleanliness but do not teach people to kill fleas because monks do not kill any kind of animals.

[244] Belief in spirits is a method of social control because people are taught not to do certain things through fear of the spirits.

When tribal people ask Čao Khana Amphoe to *chap phī*, he recites the five precepts and gives sacred *wai* to symbolize the fact that the spirits have been forced out of the village. Northerners use *sompōi* to make sacred water, and sometimes, the people will prefer *nām sompōi* instead of *nām mon*.

[279] Tribal people have turned to many great religions. Lisos and Yaos are Christians who have moved from Chiengtung and Haws are Muslim from Islam Yunnan.

[300] Belief in household spirits should be kept because it perpetuates gratitude. But the tribal people themselves would like to abandon the belief in other spirits. Among the Meos, at death, in order to have a funeral, son(s) of the dead man must kill a certain

amount of animals for feast (the kind and amount is specified by the shaman). If the requirement cannot be fulfilled, the corpse is allowed to disintegrate. When the Meos express their desire to abandon this practice, the Dept. of Public Welfare encourages the abandonment for health reason.

[side 2, tape marker 001] The fund from the Asia Foundation is transferred to Wat Phra Sing in Chingmai (sic) where *rajanuwat* is initiated. In this program, both the villages on the lowland and the hills are visited for 15 days. Monks and students from the adjacent wats learn to organize to work in groups. The financial support is of the Asia Foundation only.

Thammacharik program is sponsored by the Dept. of Public Welfare (and partly by the Asia Foundation in the first year) for the benefit of the tribal people. Although the program is under the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Education gives hands in the educational aspect, the Ministry of Public Health gives hands on the health problems, and the Border Patrol Police lead the way into the hamlets. That is, the Border Patrol Police will visit the hamlet and make sure that it is safe before the visit of the Thammacharik.

[021] The acceptance of the welfare group and the Border Patrol Police by the tribal people depends on the individuals. Many are adopted as 'father' while others are told to go away to The Border Patrol Police school was initiated by the King's mother. The police men taught school for the first few years and hired other people in the later years.

The Thammacharik will not visit the Christian hamlets even after the people from the Public Welfare Dept. have made contact because they feel that there is no point in showing the people divergent views and beliefs.

There are two units in the Mae Chan area (one Buddhist and one Christian ?). The monks in the Buddhist hamlet went in 1965 and taught school. At first there were 30 students from Nongwaen area, about 5-10 kilometers away. There were 50 students in the second year of teaching and 70 students at the moment. The monks went from Nakhon Thai, Phitsanulok.

[051] Medicine and school material are given to the people and children. The school is being built permanently. The tribal people would like to move as a unit and the government is encouraging them to move to the lowland areas. Though these people trust

the monks, monks still need to be accompanied to avoid possible misunderstanding on the part of the girls. Yao girls are carefree and might not realize that monks practice celibacy.

[064] There is no reaction from the Christian hamlet because both the Buddhist and the Christian work independently and do not compete with each other. It seems like some Christian are converting to Buddhism. Actually one might say that there is some conflict. Last year, one boy wanted to be ordained but his father did not allow him.

[071] In Mae Sariang, the teacher wanted everyone to go to the wat. When the Christian students did not want to go they were threatened of lowering their grades. The matter went to *Palad amphoe* who claimed that non-Buddhists are not Thai.

[080] Religious conflicts are delicate matters to handle. Some Christian group in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai hired ex-monks who are Christian converts to tell how Buddhism did not help him. When other Buddhists get angry there will be some fight. Each group should work separately and not insult or attack the other group.

[109] In Mae Sariang, schools used to be taught by Burmese in Burmese. At present, the Thammachariks (Burmese or Thai ?) ask some Meos and Karens to teach in Meo or Karen using Roman scripts.

[110] Our Thammacharik teach the language proposed by the center without teaching religion. The Christians teach reading as well as religion.

[120] In 1967-1968, the temples were built temporarily because it is hard to get monks to stay there permanently. At the Mae Chan Center, three *kutis* were built and the *wihan* will be built later. We might have wats in every center and maybe all tribal groups will be represented.

[132] The *chedi* in Mae Sariang are built according to Burmese tradition. The Karen are the carrier of this tradition. They might be a problem group later because when they flee from Burma, they cross the political border. Thailand may not accept them (the Burmese Karen) due to her political relationship with Burma.

Meo Daeng come from Luang Phrabang to Nan and Tak and brought with them Communism. Communist representatives came to the lowland area, asked the people about their living conditions, and asked to see their guns. Then, if the people followed these communist representatives they would receive carbine (?) guns as well as being

brain-washed. Nan is connected to Luang Phrabang and Lan Chang where communist Laos can come in very easily.

In 1966, we captured some Communists from Laos; the leader of the group was a half-Chinese who came to Phapphachai, Hua Rim, and then Nan. At the time, the government sent cavalry men to protect the people. While the soldiers were there, nothing happened. When the raining season came and the men left. Three months later they (the Communists?) captured all and it became clear that the Communists were in Mae Sod in Tak.

[289] Most of them were Meo in Laos. Some Meo were generals in the Laotian army. Among the Meo who fled to Thailand, there was a Meo general. He was killed while fleeing. Thus, the group dispersed and many came to the Thammacharik areas. In Phetchabun, the government wanted to preserve certain areas. They (the Meo Daeng?) came in and destroyed the areas. One of the Thammacharik advised the Meo to unite together and try to get hold of same land (either through true possession or rent). The (government?) policy still does not allow possession of land by tribal people. Land is still communally owned.

We want the tribal people to observe *wisakha buchha*. But monks cannot walk under (in) shadow. If Thammacharik monks will go out, they have to go by plane.

[232] About the end of April (after *songkran*) another trip will be made.

[254] At the Chiang Mai Center there are houses of every hill tribe.

At Chiengdao, it is nice and quiet.(nostalgic?) [end of translation]

Bangkok

February 13, 1968

American 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 American 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 American

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 Meo living in Laos might be a good idea. However, knowing Thai script, it wouldn't be difficult to learn Lao script.

Mae Sariang

February 13, 1968

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

Table of items for sale in the fresh market of Mae Sariang

Date	Karen	Lua
Thursday, February 08, 1968	coconuts; dried fish; soybeans (เมล็ดถั่วเน่า)	no observations
Friday, February 09, 1968	tobacco; comb, a type of sweet made of rice (ข้าวแตนทราย); common mackerel (ปลาหู); type of orange (ส้มเขียวหวาน)	like a donut (ขนมวง); <i>miang</i> (เมี่ยง); <i>khanom lôl chông</i> (ขนมลอดช่อง), eaten on the spot; lettuce; stretch shirt (เสื้อยืด)
Saturday, February 10, 1968	meat (variety unspecified); fresh vegetables (variety unspecified); common mackerel (ปลาหู); dried fish; ready-to-eat foods such as <i>lāp</i> (ลาบ) and sausage	<i>miang</i> (เมี่ยง); meat (variety unspecified); sugar (น้ำตาลอ้อย); tobacco
Monday, February 12, 1968	lettuce; cabbage; meat (variety unspecified)	<i>miang</i> (เมี่ยง); tobacco; lettuce

Tuesday, February 13, 1968	coconuts; common mackerel; dried fish; fresh vegetables (variety unspecified); tobacco; ready-to-eat foods such as noodles (ขนมจีน & ข้าวแตน)	common mackerel; fresh vegetables (variety unspecified); tobacco; ready-to-eat foods such as noodles (ขนมลอดช่อง, ขนมอง); meat (variety unspecified)
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Ceremony at Wat Sitthimongkhon

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

Translation of invitation to ceremony at Wat Sitthimongkhon

 Invitation For All Buddhists

Although Wat Sitthimongkhon which is situated within the sanitary district is one of the oldest wats of Mae Sariang district, there are still structures within the wat that are not yet in good condition such as the monk's seat-bed (เสนาสนะสงฆ์) 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 wat] have a plan to develop and improve the wat 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 (or pious) Buddhists. Thus, a wat improvement festival has been arranged. The supporters of Wat Sitthimongkhon have scheduled the merit-making festival of "The Great Life Sermon" (*tang thammaluang*) The income arising from the worshipping of this *tham* will be taken by the [wat] committee to be used in continuing the building of the wat 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 Mākhābūchā is the day of the Great Life Sermon merit-making which will begin at 7:00 hours. The faithful of the wat will make merit by filling the alms bowls at 8:30 hours. The sermon will begin with the *Thatsaphôn* section and end with the *Nakhôn* section.

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

Therefore will all Buddhists who desire to receive merit please gather together to listen to the Great Life Sermon at Wat Sitthimongkhon. (Wat Khapuangnai) according to the day and time which has been spoken of here.

(Signed) Abbot Sīthon Thāwarakhuō	Chairman
Police Captain Sœm Waidī	Committee Member
Sgt. Co: Ngāmcan	Committee Member
Mr. Bunthā Rāmnēt	Committee Member
Kamnan Suthat Suksomcit	Comm. Member and Secretary

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

ขอขอบคุณมายัง พุทธศาสนิกชนทั้งหลาย


ควยวัดสีหขิมงคล ตั้งอยู่ในเขตสุขาภิบาล เป็นวัดเก่าแก่วัดหนึ่งของอำเภอแม่สะเรียง สิ่งก่อสร้างต่างๆภายในวัดยังไม่เรียบร้อยดี เช่น เสาสนะสงฆ์ และ กำแพงเป็นต้น เฉพาะอย่างยิ่งกำแพงวัดซึ่งก่อสร้างมานานก็ชำรุดทรุดโทรมไปตามกาลเวลา เจ้าอาวาสและ-
 ศรัทธาทุกคนมีโครงการที่จะพัฒนาวัดให้เจริญรุ่งเรือง เพื่อให้สอดคล้องกับนโยบายของรัฐบาลและ-
 กรมศาสนา ทั้งนี้เพื่อความมั่นคงของพระบวรพุทธศาสนาสืบจนชั่วกาลนาน แต่การพัฒนาดัง-
 จำต้องอาศัยแรงศรัทธาของพุทธศาสนิกชนผู้มีใจกุศลทั้งหลายร่วมกัน งานพัฒนาดังนี้จึงจะสำเร็จลงได้
 เหนือ คณะศรัทธาวิศิขิมงคล จึงได้กำหนดงานทำบุญกุศล "เทศน์มหาชาติ" (ทุ่งขรรค์หลวง)
 ขึ้น ปัจจุบันรายได้ขึ้นเกิดจากการบูชาธรรมนี้ ทางคณะกรรมการจะได้นำสมทบทุนสร้างกำแพงวัด-
 คื่อไป โดยมีกำหนดการดังนี้

วันอังคารที่ ๑๔ กุมภาพันธ์ ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับวันขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เดือน ๕ เพ็ญ เพ็ญ
 มาฆบูชา เป็นวันทำบุญเทศน์มหาชาติ เริ่มเวลา ๐๗.๐๐ น. คณะศรัทธาทำบุญตักบาตร-
 เวลา ๐๘.๓๐ น. เริ่มเทศน์มหาชาติ ถัดจากศพ เป็นกัณฑ์แรก และต่อไปจนถึงกัณฑ์-
 เป็นกัณฑ์สุดท้าย

จึงได้ออกบุญมาขังทาน หากมีเจตนาศรัทธา ขอช่วยรับเป็นเจ้าภาพกัณฑ์.....

 กำหนดเทศน์ เวลา... 14.00 ... น.

นั้น จึงขอเชิญชวนมายังพุทธศาสนิกชนผู้ใดใครในหมู่ทั้งหลาย โปรดได้ไปร่วมฟังเทศน์-
 มหาชาติ ณ วัดสีหขิมงคล (วัดตะป่องโน) ตามวันเวลาดังกล่าวโดยพร้อมเพรียงกันด้วย

	เจ้าอธิการศรีทน	ถาวรคุณ	ประธานกรรมการ
	ร.ศ.อ.เสริม	ไวยุติ	กรรมการ
	จ.ส.ต.จ้อ	งามจันทร์	กรรมการ
	นายบุ ทา	รามเนตร	กรรมการ
	กัมปณัฐพันธ์	สุขสมจิตร	กรรมการและเลขา

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

Mae Sariang

February 15, 1968

Talk with Cao Khana Amphoe

This afternoon I paid a visit to the CKA to borrow his slide projector. In talking with him I asked about the Karen monk from Wat Pā Hiao 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.

Mae Sariang

February 17, 1968

Trip to Māē Tia

Today we went up to Māē Tia because Jane had heard that there were still elephants dragging logs there. At Māē Tia, La'ô 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 *phāsin* 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. Huai Phūng and have been contracted for by the Sahamit sawmill in Mae Sariang.

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

Mae Sariang

February 19, 1968

Lumbering

Today Čit 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. Phā Phā. However, before we reached B. Phā Phā, we turned off on another road which leads through the Phanasit Tobacco station, across the river, and then turns south again. We followed this road until we were near the lowland Karen village of Bān Huai Māē Kōng Pāē (บ้านห้วยแม่กองแป้). Here we observed elephants, with their Karen mahouts, stacking logs which will later be picked up by the Phanasit trucks. There were at least 20 elephants working. They are all owned and operated by Karen. Two to three were from Bān Huai Māē Kōng Pāē, and the others were from many different Karen villages.

After watching these proceedings for awhile, we turned back and travelled up the road 1-1½ kilometers to a place where men were loading (with use of mechanized cranes) trucks with the logs.

Čit 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 Northern Thai from Lampang. (Čit says people from Mae Sariang and Chiang Mai don't like to do this work). The elephants work on a contract basis which Čit 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

Bān Huai Māē Kōng Pāē 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. Huai Phō (บ.ห้วยโพ), another lowland Karen village.

Tattooing Among Karens

Today Pete came down from the Karen village where he has been for 10 days or so. He told us about meeting a Karen man who is involved in tattooing Karens as a method of ending the feeding of ancestral spirits. This tattooing is called *caekkasī* (? sp.) in Karen, *sapyā* (สับยา) in N. Thai either as 'tattooing' or 'vaccination') and *sakyā* (สักยา) in Thai. According to Pete this man is originally from Māē Tia 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 *katthā* which is the basis of his tattooing 'ritual' to cut-off the ancestral spirits. Pete was fascinated by the Christian and Western influence 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 Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA). He said that he had heard about the Shan tattooers – in fact, he said, the old CKA

who was half Khonmüang and half 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 (กัณฑ์) is called *yābōlū* (ยาโบบูลู) *bōlū* being a Burmese word. He said that the custom of tattooing with particular substances and, in accompaniment with *katthā*, 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 for invulnerability against bullets, arrows, etc. This latter type of tattooing employs a medicine which is called in N. Thai *yākhāmkhōng* (ยาข่าหม่อง). 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 *caekkasī* 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 Wat Kittiwong

The CKA told me about spirit worship that goes on in front of the gate at Wat Kittiwong. He says that a few years, the BPP stayed in the *sālā* at Wat 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 *wat*, somebody (I believe another policeman) shot him. Ever since, people have come to propitiate his spirit at the gate of the Wat.

Leaving-of-the-Monkhood by the Abbot of Wat Chaiyalāp

I had heard that the abbot of Wat Chaiyalāp 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 wat to see that the place is cleaned up. According to the CKA, he had been

in the monkhood 9 lents. 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.

A Karen Buddhist

When I arrived at Wat Kittiwong this afternoon, a man was in the process of massaging the CKA. It turns out that he is a Karen living in B. Pōng and through he is a relative (*lān*) of the leading Christian in town, Nāi Māēttā, he himself is a Buddhist. His occupation is *mô nuat*.

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

Mae Sariang

February 20, 1968

Lowland Lua

This morning we were visited by a Lua who lives in B. Čôm Čāēng 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. Chāng Mô 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 Nick A Keyes went to Wat Pā Hiao. The old monk was there but the young monk was away at 'the mine'. It turns out, so I found out from the Čao Khana Amphoe (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 wat at the mine and this was not a regular occurrence during Nai Thian's lifetime.

La'ô thought that the old monk at Wat Pā Hiao was Khonmüang. The CKA said he is Shan and he lived formerly in another wat. The old monk told Sanga that people

don't like to be novices at Burmese/Shan wats because the order is much stricter than in Thai wats.

Wat Suphanrangsī and Karens

Pete, who is visiting here at the moment, mentioned to the CKA that Wat Suphanrangsī (Wat Čongkham), the Shan wat near the river landing at the corner of the market, is popular with Karen. The CKA 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 Wat to facilitate themselves of this monk's services. However, since he left (there is only one monk there now), Karens no longer come to the wat.

Mae Sariang

February 21, 1968

Karen Employment for Phanasit Company

This afternoon I interviewed Mō Thawan, 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. Mō Thawan gave me the following list of villages which these 'leaders' come from: Bān Pông, B. Māē Hān, B. Phae, B. Māē Tia, B. Māē Tha Lū, B. Māē Lāmā, B. Māē Lē Khōk (บ. แม่เล โศก), B. Thā Sōng Yāng (in Tak province), B. Māē Lā Nōi, and B. Sop Yuam.

Each of these 32 men contract with owners of elephants, and lumberjacks. 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 of.) For teak, the pay is 100 baht per cubic meter. However, teak 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):

mai dāēng (ไม้แดง): *Xylia xylocarpa* (Leguminosae kerri)

mai takhian (ไม้ตะเคียน): *Hopeaodorata* (Dipterocarpaceae)

mai pradū (ไม้ประจูด): *Pterocarpus macrocarpus* (Leguminosae)

mai teng (ไม้เต็ง): *Shorea obtuse* (Dipterocarpaceae)

mai phluang (ไม้พลวง): *Dipterocarpus tuberaelatuo* (Dipterocarpaceae)

mai yomhōm (ไม้ยมหอม): *Cadrela toona* (Meliaceae)

mai rang (ไม้รัง): *Pontacme siamensis* (Dipterocarpaceae)

mai rokfā (ไม้รอกฟ้า): *Terminalia alate* (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. Mō Thawan 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 B/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.

Even during the hot and cool seasons, elephants must rest for 1 or 2 days after every 3 days of work. Môt Thawan 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'¹. He in turn pays the members of his group, after deducting amounts for his own wages and money spent on food (which Môt Thawan 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 baht for cutting teak. Môt Thawan didn't provide figures for other woods (although he said about 3,000 cubic meters of *mai dāēng* were cut). However, he estimated that the gross earnings for all work was probably less than 1,000,000 baht. 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 baht. In fact, elephants and their managers would receive more than cutters and 'leaders' would receive more than elephants and managers. Môt Thawan thinks that ฿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 ฿1,000,000 has been taken into this Karen community in Mae Sariang.

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 Phanasit mine. Môt Thawan estimates that there are not more than 50 of them working there.

I asked Mō Thawan 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.

Lua Employment in a Local Shop

Jane and La'ô were talking about the shop opposite the car repair shop on Mae Sariang Road (259 Mae Sariang Road, owned by Nāng Čit Phôn Phan), which Jane had discovered before (Jane's notes for February 9, 1968) has much contact with local Lua. La'ô says that Lua from Čhom Čāēng 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 they used to be a Lua working at the shop and they still "know the people there very well." The shop owner is Shan.

Education for Tribal Groups in Mae Sariang and Māē Lā Nôi

This afternoon I was visited by Khrū Prasāt and Khrū Arām, teachers from B. Dong and B. Čhāng Mō respectively, who came to see pictures of the activities in B. Dong which I had taken. Since Khrū Prasāt is a BPP teacher and Khrū Arām is a government teacher, I asked them about the hill tribes education program of the two groups:

a) BPP schools in Mae Sariang and King A. Māē Lā Nôi

- B. Dong (บ.ดง), T. Māē Lā Nôi – Lua
- B. Pā Pāē (บ.ป่าเป้า) T. Mae Sariang – Lua
- B. Māē Pāng (บ.แม่ปาง) T. Māē Lā Nôi – Karen
- B. Māē Salāp (บ.แม่สะลาบ) T. Māē Khong – Karen
- B. Thā Tāfang (บ.ท่าต้าฟ้าง) or B. Cō Ū (บ.จออุ) T. Māē Yuam – Karen

The school in B. Pā Pāē 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 Cangwat 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 *Ongkān suan Borihān Čangwat* (องค์การบริหารส่วนจังหวัด). The teachers involved in this program, called colloquially *khṛū chāokhao* (ครูชาวเขา), take special examinations in the provincial capital.

There are such 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. Khrū Arām gave me the following list of schools in this program (although I suspect that some of them are now 'village schools'):

List of non-BPP Hill Tribes Schools

Village		Tambon	Ethnic group
B. Čhāng Mō	บ. ช้างหม้อ	Mae Sariang	Lua
B. Huai Phūng	บ. ห้วยผึ้ง	Māē Lā Nōi	Karen
B. Huai Hōm	บ. ห้วยฮ่อม	Māē Lā Nōi	Karen
B. Māē Sāēp	บ. แม่เสป	Māē Lā Nōi	Karen
B. Phae	บ. แพะ	Bān Kāt	Karen
B. Saohin	บ. เสาหิน	Māē Khong	Karen
B. Māē Tha Lū	บ. แม่ทะลุ	Māē Yuam	Karen
B. Māē Kōng Pāē	บ. แม่กองแป	Māē Yuam	Karen
B. Pha Móló	บ. พะมอลอ	Bān Kāt	Karen
B. Māē Hān	บ. แม่หาร	Bān Kāt	Karen
B. Māē Tōp Nūa	บ. แม่ต้อบเหนือ	Bān Kāt	Karen
B. Māē Tia	บ. แม่เตี้ย	Bān Kāt	Karen
B. Kōng Kōi	บ. กองก้อย	Kōng Kōi	Lua

c) Karens as Teachers

Both teachers said that there were only three teachers in the area who are of Karen ancestry: Khrū Sanô who teaches in B. Māē Hān, Khrū Choetdēt, Khrū Sanô's son, who teaches in B. Dong, and the headmaster in B. Māē Tia.

Border Police Station at Thātāfāng

Khrū Prasāt said that before he became a BPP teacher, he was a regular BPP policeman and as such spent time at the station at B. Thātāfāng (B. Cō Ū), which is located on the Salween. 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.

Mae Sariang

February 29, 1968

Interview with the Kamnan of Māē Lā Nôi

Today, a Phra Khrū from Bangkok (Wat Hualampong) was here visiting the Čao Khana Amphoe. The latter asked me to take him and the visiting monk on a tour to Māē Lā Nôi and Māē Tia. We went to Māē Lā Nôi first and I decided to take the opportunity to find out about some local history. The CKA 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 Khonmüang village, Bān Klāng, located in the area. He said that Lua lived here before the Khonmüang and that the 'proper' name of the village is Māē Lua Nôi. Another name he mentioned was Māē Laka.

He said that his grandmother was born in Müang Pāi on the Burma side. He said that people were also from Müang Ton (?).

He said that the Čaofā of Müang Pāi in Burma came to visit Müang Pāi in Thailand about 30 years ago.

Some Tōngsū used to live here, but their descendants are Shan. There are now three households which are Tōngsū.

People who came here first lived in Māē Lā Luang and then came here.

The government school in Māē Lā Nōi has 240+ students. The Kamnan, who is 56 years old, was in the first class. The school originally used the Bombay-Burmah resthouse as a school building.

The Kamnan lived 15 years in Burma as a *lūksitwat*, but not as a monk. He has lived at Baw Lake and Kantarawadi (both Karen States) and Mandalay, Moulmein and other places. Government teachers taught in the wats in Burma. He said that a number of people from Māē Lā Nōi still go to study in Burma. Two monks in Mae Sariang and one in Māē Lā Nōi have studied in Burma. He now remembers only a little Burmese [?], but he prefers to listen to sermons in Burmese.

He said that Wat Čantharāwāt in Mae Sariang was built by people who worked for the Bombay-Burmah Co. [Phanasit Co. has inherited the obligation of patronizing this temple].

Wats in Burma led to the migration of Shans to Māē Lā Nōi.

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. Pālān (ป่าลาน) in Amphoe Muang, Mae Hong Son. Her parents came from Müang 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 Māē Tia

On the way back to Mae Sariang from Māē Lā Nōi, we stopped in B. Māē Tia, 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. 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 CKA said was the leader of the Buddhists in the village. The women and children in the household (including visitors from other houses) did not seem to be any more proficient in *wai*-ing the monks than did the hill Lua, although they knew they were supposed to *wai* (e.g. they didn't know the position to sit in, how to *wai*, and how many times to *wai*). The house had a *hingpha*.