Mae Sariang October 2, 1968

Kathin Ceremonies

The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) told me today that there will be the following kathin ceremonies in Mae Sariang:

November 1 Amphoe sponsoring a kathin sāmmakkhī at Wat Kittiwong

November 2 Group from Bangkok sponsoring a kathin sāmmakkhī at Wat Sitthimongkhon.

November 3 Forestry Office sponsoring a kathin sāmmakkhī at Wat Chaiyalāp.

Khun Čit also told me that Thong-ôn will sponsor a Kathin at Wat Nâm Dîp as well as Wat Mantale. Čit says that Thong-ôn was the first person in Mae Sariang to sponsor a kathin.

Mae Sariang October 4, 1968

End of Lent Activities

Today marks the beginning of the end of lent activities in Mae Sariang. There will be four days of activities:

13th day of Waxing Moon, 12th Month (Northern Reckoning)

- preparations – decoration of houses and making of special food.

14th day of Waxing Moon, 12th Month

- 5-5:30 a.m. – Monks and novices from every wat in the vicinity of the town will go along the streets to binthabāt (บิณฑบาตร) i.e., collect alms. People believe that the monks should return to their wats before dawn. Some people will come to make special offerings at the wat – usually those who didn't present early morning alms.

15th day of Waxing Moon, 12th Month (wan sin njal)

- early morning binthabāt, but by fewer monks and novices.
- services at each wat
- morning – receipt of precepts
- noon (at Wat Kittiwong) – bathing of relic
- afternoon – sermons
- evening – procession of candles and "tô"

1st day of Waning of Moon, diuan kiang, 1st Month

- early morning binthabāt, few monks and novices.
According to Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA), traditionally the 13th, 14th, and 15th days of the waxing of the moon were the days on which activities were held, but the Amphoe office has requested the extension of one day to bring the ceremony more into accord with Central Thai patterns. The CKA showed me a letter he received from the District Office, written by the Education Officer acting in the stead of the Nai Amphoe, formally inviting (nimon) the monks of the district to ôk binthabāt on the three days mentioned above. The CKA said that the ordinary populace will also make such an invitation. (Amusingly, the invitation from the District Office had written the wrong date, 11th instead of 12th month).

The monks will receive the assistance of people carrying the trays to take up the extra food –  hāp biāt (หาบเบี๊ยด).

Most of this help will come from Karens – and usually P'wo Karens, the Northern Thai being āi according to the CKA. In return for their help, the Karens will receive all of the extra food which cannot be saved. I had noticed today that the town is full of Karens (mainly P'wo) and the CKA said that they had come because they knew that tomorrow the wats will receive a surfeit of food.

All of the wats from Wat Kittiwon in the South to Wat Sophān in the North and Wat Čôm Čāēng in the East and Wats Nām Dīp and Thunglāēng in the West will participate in the binthabāt in Mae Sariang town.

Tribal Population in Mae Sariang and Māē Lā Nôi Districts

The BPP has just finished a census of tribal peoples in Mae Sariang and Māē Lā Nôi Districts. The CKA obtained the summary figures which appear below. (I have rearranged these figures):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District and Tambon</th>
<th>Tribal Group</th>
<th>Mūbān</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Over 15</td>
<td>Under 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mae Sariang District</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>1,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,379</td>
<td>4,189</td>
<td>3,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māē Lā Nôi Sub-District</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1,293</td>
<td>1,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,264</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>2,380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary Statistics

Summary statistics are somewhat complicated since they must permit comparisons with detailed census figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Tribal Group</th>
<th>Mūbān</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mae Sariang (6 tambon)</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>7,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mae Sariang and T. Māē Lā Nôi</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>8,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>9,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māē Lā Nôi Sub-District</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>3,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mae Sariang and Māē Lā Nôi</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>10,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>12,266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These statistics are misleading because they take no account of ‘tribals’ living in villages or communities dominated by Tai-speaking people (e.g., B. Phae in T. Mae Sariang, and B. Pōng in T. Bān Kāt).

These figures are interesting, nonetheless, when compared with those which I obtained from the Amphoe Office when I first arrived in Mae Sariang (see notes for September 11, 1967 and compare those of August 24, 1967). At that time, the district was noted as having 8 tambon – probably the 6 Tambon of Mae Sariang District and the 2 of Māē Lā Nôi Sub-district combined, thus making the figures comparable with the last set of figures in the above table of ‘summary statistics’. In 1967, the district was listed as having 85 mūbān, considerably less than the 139 listed for tribal villages above. I suspect, thus, that the figure of 62 Karen mūbān in T. Māē Lā Nôi is incorrect. The only population figures that can be compared are those for total population of Karen and Lua.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1967 (Amphoe)</th>
<th>1968 (BPP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>19,860</td>
<td>22,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>2,464</td>
<td>2,762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Tribes</td>
<td>22,324</td>
<td>25,717</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1967 Amphoe figures are probably based on the 1960 census. If this is the case, and the figures were taken at face value, it would mean that the Karen population increased 15.6 percent in the space of 8 years and the Lua population increased 12.1 percent. Both increases are
considerably less than the estimated 2.8 percent annual increase estimated for the whole
population of Thailand.

*Kathin* at Wat Sitthimongkhon

Today I received a letter from the abbot of Wat Sitthimongkhon, Čao Athikān Sithôn
Thāwarakhunō (เจ้าอธิการศรืทน ถาวรคุโณ) inviting Jane and me to attend the *Kathin* ceremony
being sponsored at his wat by a group from Bangkok on the 1st and 2nd of November. In the letter
he also enclosed a copy of the schedule of events for this ceremony. This schedule and its
translation follows.

Translation of *Kathin* Schedule at Wat Sitthimongkhon

**SCHEDULE OF EVENTS**

*Ceremonies of Welcome - Kathin Procession and Kathin Presentation*

*Kathin Sāmmakkhi* Bangkok - Mae Sariang

To be Presented at Wat Sitthimongkhon, Mae Sariang District

November 1-2, 1968

By the Teachers' Association of the Thailand Private School

and a Student Group from the Public Relations School

* * * * *

**Welcoming Ceremonies and Kathin Procession**

1 November 1968

15.00 hrs. The Officials, merchants, and people of Mae Sariang will assemble at the Čôm Čāēng
school to prepare the welcome for the group from Bangkok.

16.00 hrs. The Bangkok group will bring the Kathin to the Čôm Čāēng school. Then there will be
a welcoming ceremony including gong and drum music, singing, and *fōn lep* dancing.

A leader of the Mae Sariang Buddhists will place a garland on the leader of the
Bangkok group. The Mae Sariang leader will give a speech of welcome, followed by
a response by the leader of the Bangkok group. Then the *Kathin* will be taken in
procession through the streets of Mae Sariang, turning left to enter Lāēng Phanichai
Street, left again at Wai Süksā Street, right at Mae Sariang Street, and then left to
enter Wat Sitthimongkhon. The people from Bangkok will then enter which will have
been prepared for them in the wat. The *Kathin* will be placed in a pavilion in the
grounds of Wat Sitthimongkhon.

18.00 hrs. An evening meal will be served to the Bangkok group.

19:00 hrs. The *Kathin* celebration will begin with nine monks chanting *suat mon* followed by
the lighting of fireworks, a movie, and Burmese music.

**Ceremony of Presenting the Kathin Robes**

2 November 1968

7:00 hrs. Coffee and Ovaltine will be served to the Bangkok group.

8:00 hrs. The *Kathin* ceremony. The chairman will lead in the worship of the Triple Gems;
receive the precepts; presentation of the *kathin* robes. The *Sangha* will receive the
*kathin* robes and take them to make obeisance in the *bōt*. Then they will return to the ceremonial pavilion.

The leader of the Bangkok group will give a cordial speech.

The abbot will repeat the *Sammōthanīya Gatha* (*สัมโมทานิยกถา*)

The attendant offerings to the *Kathin* will be presented and the ceremony will end with the clergy's blessing.

17:00 hrs. The Bangkok group will be fed a noon meal.

13:00 hrs. The Bangkok group will depart.

Apparently the organizer of this *Kathin* is the son of the Kamnan of T. Mae Sariang who is now a reporter in Bangkok. He was a monk for a short spell in Wat Sitthimongkhon.
Mae Sariang | October 6, 1968

End of Lent Ceremonies

During the last two days we have participated in End of Lent (ôk phansā or ôk phasā as it is called in Yuan) ceremonies. Yesterday we joined in the early morning filling of monk's alms bowls. We went to La‘ô's house at about 5:00 a.m. One group of monks had already passed by and most of the rest did before 5:30, the official starting time. People usually gave the following offerings:

1) cooked rice, placed in the monk's alms bowls.
2) a savory, often in plastic sacks - one per wat - given to the khanjom who accompanied the monks.
3) a sweet – usually a rice-flour khanom - often several per wat – also given to the khanjom. (La‘ô substituted oranges for khanom).

The procedure was as follows. A group of monks would approach, ranked in order from abbot, through monks, to the novice with least service. As they approached, the layman holding a rice bowl would remove his shoes and step forward. The monks would stop, and the layperson would place a little rice in each bowl. If the monks had the covers on their bowls (not all did), they would lift them enough to allow rice to be put in. When the monks passed, the layperson holding the savory and sweet would step forward and present them to a khanjom. Groups of khanjom included both the regular dekwat and volunteer Karen help (usually P‘wo Karen). These khanjom also carried baskets to receive the overflow of rice. No word was spoken to or by the clergy during the procession.

This procedure is fairly standard for binthabāt, Thai style, except that there are many fewer monks and novices on ordinary days. The Burmese/Shan monks follow a different tradition on ordinary days – each monk going with a khanjom in a different route. Moreover, they usually give a haiphon to the donor on the spot. This time, I didn't observe the giving of blessings, but the monks from Wat Uthayārom did separate.

I counted the following wats passing us – Čantharāwāt, Suphanrangșī, Kittiwong, Ommarāwāt, Sitthimongkhon, Khapuang, Nām Dip, Chaiyalāp, Sāēn Thōng, Uthayārom,
Sībunrūang, Čôm Thông (?). There were also groups out from Wats Sophān, Thā Khām, Čôm Čāēng, and Thung Lāēng, but I don't think they passed us.

This morning Sanga went out in the road behind our house. She counted only six wits, but she didn't stay for the full course.

Today we went to Wat Kittawong for the morning activities which included the following:

1) Talk by Cao Khana Amphoe (CKA) about activities and Kathin.
2) request and receiving of precepts (5).
3) suat mon by monks during which people sai bāt
4) Presentation of food to monks
   a. wāēn tān
   b. presentation
5) Sermon.
6) Hai phon by monks.

I think that before we arrived, a large number of people also made individual offerings as many were apparent.

After the ceremony, the CKA distributed the extra food from the morning's binthabāt and the sai bāt at the wat to about 10+ Karens (all P'wo). The CKA says that these Karen will carry the food back to their villages. They have slept, at the wat. This same pattern is repeated in all wats. One of the village from which a large number of P'wo came was B. Huai Plā Kong. This must be a particularly poor village since we have often had people from there coming to beg at our house. The CKA says there was one S'kaw Karen amongst the group at Wat Kittiwong – an opium addict who lives in B. Pōng. There were still a few Karen around the wat when I returned at noon and the CKA said a few will remain to help tomorrow. Most, however, returned home today.

At noon I returned to Wat Kittiwong. After the monks finished their noon meal, the following activities/ceremonies took place:

1) Request and receipt of precepts (5).
2) Ācān wāēn tān to wai thāt (the thāt had been brought out before and placed on a table in front of the room).
3) Ācān wāēn tān – dedication of nām sompōi
4) Bathing of thāt
   a. monks and few laymen in kuthi
   b. rest of people outside
5) Sermons
   a. one for the dead/individual sponsor
   b. one wat sermon

I noticed as I left that a number of old people were set up to sleep in the sālā.

At the morning ceremony, there was a smattering of younger people. In the afternoon, mainly older people – even more so after the bathing of the relic was done.
**Mae Sariang**  
October 7, 1968

**End of Lent Activities**

Yesterday evening and this evening, there have been processions of young people taking candles (and flowers) around to all of the wats in town. These processions are part of the end of lent ceremonies. Last night, the Burmese orchestra came with the group and after the circuit of the waits had been made, returned with the group to Wat Ommarāwāt where it played until late in the evening.

Last night, also, Sanga went to an evening service with sermon at Wat Sitthimongkhon.

**Ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt**

Last night a neighbor (a youngish man who seems to be close to Wat Ommarāwāt affairs) came at the behest of the abbot of Wat Ommarāwāt to invite us to a ceremony this morning. The abbot was sponsoring a ceremony to make merit for his deceased parents. We couldn't go because we had to spend the day in Chiang Mai in connection with an immigration problem.

In the course of inviting us, we asked the neighbor about the abbot. He says that he is from Moulmein. He volunteered that he is too soft-hearted and doesn't keep the novices in line - in contrast to his brother, the former abbot, who was very strict.

I asked about the three novices now at the wat. Apparently none plan to learn after lent. In fact, they seem to have been selected from families who didn't plan to send their sons on in school. The informant said that all of the families are poor. [This statement led me to thinking that one would probably find a larger percentage of people from poor backgrounds in the clergy than in any other non-peasant occupation.] One of the novices is the son of a S'kaw Karen family who used to live in B. Pha lô and now live in B. Dong near the lumber-mill where the father works. The other two are Yuan. They are getting both "Thai" and "Burmese" clerical training, the first from the school at Wat Sībunrūang and the latter from the monks in Wat Ommarāwāt.

**Mae Sariang**  
October 8, 1968

**Ceremony of the “Thousand Candles”**

Tonight, a ceremony of Shan origin, called in Shan hāētian heng, 'procession of the thousand candles’ was held in the streets of the town and in Wat Sībunrūang. This is a ceremony connected with the Ending of Lent and has a single sponsor. The same ceremony will be held at Wat Ommarāwāt on Saturday.

To do the ceremony properly, the sponsor must hold the ceremony for three consecutive years (one informant said that an alternative was to present 3000 candles in a single year). This is the third year for both Wat Sībunrūang and Wat Ommarāwāt.

The ceremony consists of two parts:
1) A procession through the streets to every wat to present a small number of candles.
2) Offering of 1000 candles and other alms (tongôn) at a specific wat.

The procession had the following components:
1) The creature called tô and the accompanying elfin
2) São (representatives of the Young Peoples’ Clubs of each wat) carrying trays with lighted
and unlit candles and suai dôk.

3) A very large ‘lantern’ – or, rather, a ‘tower’ decorated with lanterns.

4) The sponsor and his friends/relatives carrying the alms.

5) Orchestra – including the Burmese orchestra, another local orchestra from B. Čôm Čãēng, and drums.

6) A group of young men, wearing sarongs, and with make-up on who do a parody of traditional dancing.

7) Other people – many of whom were setting off firecrackers (fireworks appear at all major festivals).

The procession started at the house of the sponsor. What went off there, I do not know (liang, etc. ?) (In the afternoon the sponsor and colleagues were involved in making the decorations). This house was on Lāēng Phānit Street. The procession went first to Wats Chaiyalâp and Ommarâwât, then returned to town and went to the wits in town. Whether it went clear up to Wat Čôm Čãēng, I don't know, but I do know that it didn't go to Wat Čôm Thông. Then it reached Wat Sibunrûtang about 10 p.m. (having begun around 7 p.m.). All along the way the tô danced as did the group of male dancers. There may have been as many as 200 people in the procession.

At Wat Sibunrûtang, the clergy present were not only the residents of that Wat but also one representative from each of the 10 other wits in town. The CKA was present and took the place of honor in the preaching chair. A lay leader sat in front of him. The ceremony went as follows:

1) Worship of the Triple Gems, request and receipt of precepts.

2) Wāēn tān by Ācân.

3) Sermon by CKA.

4) Presentation of alms.

5) Truāt nām and Hai phon.

6) Final ending - Ācân followed by monks chanting (brief).

During the service, the tô stayed outside and pranced about and some people set off fireworks. Both before and after the ceremony, the Burmese orchestra, which had entered the kuthi played. The service was over at about 11 p.m.

Politics

There has been a growing interest in the forthcoming national election of MP's. The other day, Prayûn, the head of the airport, was talking to the CKA about his candidacy (He is an old air force buddy of Air Marshal Thawee). Today, while I was at Wat Kittiwong, Insuan was discussing political prospects with the CKA and Wichian, the owner of the Ommârī shop. There were also three P'wo Karen headmen present (came down to pick up their monthly salary). They were sent off by the CKA and the others to meet Prayûn. In the evening at Wat Sibunrûtang, Insuan, the head of the electricity plant Khrû Bunyûn, and a couple of others were again discussing politics. Apparently there are already 8-9 candidates including Prayûn, Udom, Thônghôn's brother Nikôn (who used to be Phanasit manager here), Wichai (a teacher), and perhaps
Riangsôn from Mae Sariang (the rest are from Mae Hong Son). The point was made that a teacher is the only person with wide contacts among all the people of a constituency. There seemed to be some sentiment in favor of the Democrat Party.

In a similar vein, I was talking with Insuan about the Provincial Assembly of which he is a member. This Assembly has considerable responsibility over the spending/allocation of ARD funds which have been recently provided to Mae Hong Son. First priority is the road to Mae Hong Son. There is also to be a road on the opposite bank of the Yuam from Nām Dīp to Huai Sāi. Insuan had said that the local District Officer had wanted a road to follow the Phanasit Road on this side, but that he had argued in the Assembly in favor of the road on the other side because the Phanasit Road would exist anyway. This led to the remark by both Insuan and the CKA that the current Nai Amphoe knows nothing of the real conditions of the district.

Mae Sariang

BPP Statistics on Tribal Population

Today I mentioned to the Caō Khana Amphoe (CKA) that I thought that one of the figures he obtained from the BPP or tribal population (see notes for October 4, 1968) – namely the ‘62 Karen mūbān’ in T. Māē Lā Luang appeared to me to be in error. We, thus, went to BPP headquarters to check. The CKA had indeed copied the 62 correctly and the only explanation anybody at the BPP could offer was that the figure may refer to number of settlements rather than government mūbān.

A more likely figure for Karen mūbān in T. Māē Lā Luang is 16. In the figures at the sub-district office in Māē Lā Nôi (see notes for July 22, 1968), a total of 21 is given for the number of mūbān in the tambon. Two of them are ‘Thai’, two are ‘Lua’, and one is Meo. The rest are Karen.

I also learned that these figures are not the result of a recent census, and may date back to 1964 – thus, obviating my analysis (October 4, 1968). The Meo village is an offshoot of Meto, the village studied by Geddes.

BPP "Tribal” Schools

The following information was obtained from a chart kept at BPP headquarters and from people there. The two schools which no longer exist as BPP schools were turned over to the government some time age (at least B. Māē Kông Pāē was).

(See table on next page.)

BPP in Mae Sariang

The BPP was first established in Mae Sariang in 1952. It has been in its present headquarters since about 1954. Between those two initial years it was located for one year at Wat Kittiwong. The CKA says that during that year, one of the BPP officers shot his commander because of his (the murderer’s) craving for opium. The commander died on the steps of the wat.
A ‘Shan’ Trader

We were visited this morning by the husband of the woman who owns the khao sôi shop. He is half Shan – his father being Shan, and his mother Yuan, but he operates as a Shan trader in still going into Burma. He takes manufactured items into Burma and brings out jewels, cloth, etc.

I asked him about Môkmai. He says it is a smaller town than Mae Sariang. Although the main part of the populace is Shan, there are Yuan wats there and people know the Yuan script.
### List of BPP “Tribal” Schools in Amphoe Mae Sariang and King-Amphoe Māē Lā Nōi, 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BPP School No.</th>
<th>Name of Village Where Located and Tambon</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th># Teachers</th>
<th>Number of Students Male, Female, Total</th>
<th>Date Est.</th>
<th>Date closed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B. Salā Chiang Tông (บ้านสะเชิงตอง)</td>
<td>Shan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>P1 M F P2 M F P3 M F P4 M F T</td>
<td>1/4/58</td>
<td>10/8/64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>B. Māē Kông Pāē (บ้านแม่กองแป)</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>P1 M F P2 M F P3 M F P4 M F T</td>
<td>1/2/58</td>
<td>10/8/64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>B. Māē Salāp (บ้านแม่สะลาด)</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7 3 3 4 - - - - - - - - 17</td>
<td>1/7/60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>B. Pā Pāē (บ้านป่าแป่) T. Mae Sariang</td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15 6 3 2 1 6 5 8 46</td>
<td>15/7/60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>B. Dong (บ้านดง) T. Māē Lā Nōi</td>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17 1 11 2 7 - 22 4 64</td>
<td>7/9/64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>B. Mātātang (บ้านท่าตาฟัง)</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 3 11 2 6 - - - - 21</td>
<td>20/10/65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>B. Māē Pang (บ้านแม่ปัง) T. Māē Lā Nōi</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6 6 4 - - - - - - - - 16</td>
<td>10/8/57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Procession of a "Thousand Candles" at Wat Ommarāwāt

Two days ago a woman came with the usual candle in a silver khan to invite us to a hāētian heng ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt on Saturday the thirteenth. She suggested that if any of our girls were free, that it would be nice for them to help at the house of the sponsor of the ceremony – a local postman. Phan actually did help.

However, because we have had guests (Hintons and friends on Friday night and a group of 13 – Mike Moerman, Marianne, and three children, Clark Cunningham and two children, Paul Cohen and wife, and Doug Wiles, wife and child – yesterday) we didn't see any of the preparations. Moreover, because it was raining last night, we didn't see the procession until it arrived at the wat.

Procession included the following:
1) Burmese orchestra.
2) Drum, gong, and cymbals orchestra.
3) Sāo carrying trays with candles and flowers.
4) Sponsors and relatives carrying offerings (tonngôn, etc.)
5) A highly decorated prasāt containing a relic.
6) People carrying large dōk mai phlāng.
7) Other people.

The procession reached the wat sometime after 8:30 and we all (literally) went to see. After much preliminary arranging of the prasāt, taking photos at the abbot's and sponsor's requests, and playing of Burmese music, the ceremony got underway.

The preaching chair was taken by the abbot of Wat Uthayārom. A lay leader, knowing the Burmese/Shan style, started with a wāēn tān in Shan. This was responded to by the monk in Shan. Then, the people said the ôkasā, worshipped the Triple Gems, requested precepts, and received the precepts. Then monks suatmon. Then the monk gave a sermon. He started off speaking Northern Thai, saying that he usually gave sermons in Shan, but that as many people found it difficult to understand Shan he would give a sermon in Thai. This he proceeded to do for nearly an hour without text. This was followed by presentation of alms to monks, and then the hai phon.
Monks had been invited from each wat and so there was a division between Thai and Burmese/Shan monks in the chanting. They were all presented with *tonngôn* and boxes containing cigarettes and matches.

**Police Day and the BPP**

Today is *wan tamruat*. Police Day. Yesterday the BPP officer who used to be the teacher in B. Pā Pāē came to invite me to come and participate in the activities at the BPP headquarters. I arrived somewhat early and talked for a while with this teacher about BPP activities.

In addition to education, the BPP does some work among hill tribes in the way of health and agriculture extension – mainly in the villages where there are schools.

This station has responsibility for all of Mae Sariang District and Māē Lā Nōi subdistrict. There are also stations in Khun Yuam and A. Mūang and there will be a new station shortly at Pāi.

There is a new program which provides higher education for hill tribes students from villages where there are BPP schools. There seems to be some idea that those trained in this program will enter the BPP. The students are sent to some place in the north (Māē Rim ?) to school. At the moment, there are two students from B. Pā Pāē and two from B. Māē Salāp and, I believe, 15 from the whole province.

This teacher himself spent ten years in B. Pā Pāē and was last year transferred to Māē Rim, the BPP Headquarters for the North. He spent a few months there and then was transferred back to Mae Sariang to become head of the education program here.

The actual ceremony involved five monks, one each from Wats Čôm Čāēng, Kittiwong, and Sībunrūāng, and two from Wat Chaiyalāp. The monks said that there was some problem in finding enough monks to go around today for the provincial police had invited nine, the police in Māē Lā Nōi had invited several, and Wat Thung làēng had invited twenty wats to participate in a *tān tāēn* ceremony. At BPP Headquarters, an *ācān* had also been involved. The ceremony was the standard ceremony used at *thambun bān*, etc.

1) BPP leader lit candles and incense.

2) *ācān* leading people in worshipping the Triple Gems, requesting precepts, receiving precepts from senior monk.

3) *Suat mon*
a. started by one monk in middle (from Wat Kittiwong)

b. at beginning the monks unwound a ball of string which was attached to a *bāt nām mon* and to a Buddha image and passed around the building. The monks held the string in the *wai* position during *suat mon*.

c. the senior monk lit a candle and held it over the liquid in the *bāt nām mon* to make *nām mon*.

4) *ačān wāēn tān* (short)

5) Sermon.

6) Feeding of monks.

7) Presentation of offerings to monks.

8) *Hai phon*.

9) Sprinkling of holy water by senior monk while other monks chanted.

10) End of ceremony with monks – they were then taken to their wats.

11) Feeding of guests – drinking as well.

*Thôt Phā Pā* at Wat Ommarāwāt

Last night at the ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt mimeographed slips were passed about which invited people to join in a *thôt phā pā* at the wat today. The slip and its translation follow.

Translation of Invitation to *Thôt Phā Pā* at Wat Ommarāwāt

**Invitation to Join in Making Merit**

**At a Thôt Phā Pā Sāmakkhi**

Nāng Amphôn Chāwatnakun and Nāng Lāēng Nanthsombān will join in sponsoring a *thôt phā pā sāmakkhi* at Wat Ommarāwāt on the thirteenth of October, 2511 at 1900 hours. All Buddhists are invited to join in the merit-making on this occasion beginning at 9:00 hours at the house of Nāng Lāēng Nanthsombān, located next to the Thai Samut Phānit Insurance Company.

[Signed] Nāng Amphôn Chāwatnakun

Nāng Lāēng Nanthsombān

Sponsors
We didn't attend the ceremony because we were too tired from the visit of the group from Chiang Mai. I did see the ‘tree’ offering being prepared, and we heard the procession, including the Burmese orchestra.

**Mae Sariang**

**October 14, 1968**

*Kathin at Wat Chaiyalāp*

Today we received an invitation to the *Khatin* celebration at Wat Chaiyalāp.

Translation of Invitation to *Khatin* Celebration at Wat Chaiyalāp

*Kathin Sāmakkhi* [sponsored by] the Regional Forestry Officials of Mae Sariang to Collect Funds for Building the *Kuthi* at Wat Chaiyalāp

Tambon Mae Sariang Amphoe Mae Sariang Cangwat Mae Hong Son

***

Owing to the fact that the *kuthi* at Wat Chaiyalāp, Tambon Bān Kāt, Amphoe Mae Sariang, Cangwat Mae Hong Son has fallen into great repair because it was
built 80 years ago and must be rebuilt, the Kathin Association of the Mae Sariang Regional Forestry Office has agreed to the sponsoring of a Kathin giving ceremony at Wat Chaiyalāp on the third of November 1968. Thus, we would like to invite all relatives, friends and patrons of religion to support this thôt kathin in accord with one's ability in order to restore this kuthi that it might be completed well. We sincerely hope that we will receive all your support in this worthy cause.

**Schedule of Events:**

Saturday, November 2, 1968

9:00 a.m. Preparation of the Kathin offerings at the Mae Sariang Regional Forestry Office.

2:30 p.m. Procession from the Mae Sariang Regional Forestry Office to Wat Chaiyalāp with the Kathin offerings. In the evening there will be a celebration and fireworks display.

Sunday, November 3, 1968

10:00 a.m. Ceremony of Thôt Kathin

10:30 a.m. Presentation of food offering to the monks and novices.

11:30 a.m. Sermon; presentation of associated Kathin offerings,

Chanting of blessing by monks; then, a feast for those who have joined in the ceremony; end of ceremony.

**List of Organizers:**

Mr. Phet Khacônarapaisuk  Chairman

Mr. Sālō Withakkhamontrī  Deputy Chairman

Mr. Prasit Chāsombat

[Followed by a list of 40 people and the Wat Committee of Wat Chaiyalāp who are committee members.]
บันทึกเฉลิมฉลองภูมิจารึก

เนื่องจากภูมิจารึกคุณคณบดี

บทเรียนที่เกี่ยวข้อง

เมื่อวันที่ 26 กันยายน 2543

คำเรียก:

ที่นั่งพักหน้าต่าง

วันนี้

กำหนด:

เวลา 05.00 น. นักเรียนทั้งหมด

ที่วัดชัยวัฒน์

เวลา 06.00 น. นักเรียนทั้งหมด

กรุณาระบุที่ที่ตั้ง

เวลา 07.00 น. นักเรียนทั้งหมด

กิจกรรมที่ตั้ง

เวลา 08.00 น. นักเรียนทั้งหมด

กำหนด:

เวลา 09.00 น. นักเรียนทั้งหมด
Mae Sariang

Karen School and Karen Social Mobility

Today, while at Wat Kittiwong, Insuan happened to mention that there used to be a school in B. Pōng called the "Mainglongyee Karen School." He thought that it had been founded by the Bombay-Burmah Company, but employed Christian teachers.

Tonight, I visited Benny at the hostel and mentioned this school to him. He called Khrū Sanô, a Karen who teaches at B. Phômâlô and happened to be visiting the hostel to answer my questions about the school.

Khrū Sanô says that he doesn't know when the school was founded, but it was in existence some 35 years ago when he went to it. It was actually financed by the Rangoon Mission and had nothing to do with the Bombay-Burmah Company. It was founded for Karens,
but employed some Thai teachers and apparently conformed to the Thai system of education. It also had Karen teachers from Burma to teach Karen and English. At one time Burmese was taught, but the local Thai officials disapproved, and the subject was dropped. As it was the only school in B. Pōng and the only school in Mae Sariang offering more than a P4 education, many Thai (Khonmüang and children of officials) also attended the school. They didn't study Karen, however. A hostel was associated with the school, at which lived Karens from villages in the hills. The school was financed by the Rangoon Mission and when the Japanese came, this support ended. A few of the teachers, including Khrū Mēttā, arid people living in the area combined to transform it into a Thai private school (rōngrianrāt). But this endeavor apparently failed. After the war, the Karens in Burma went into rebellion and no new financial support was forthcoming. The same was true of another Burmese Mission financed school in Chiang Mai. The school in Mae Sariang was located near the present-day airport, a tract then owned by the Karen Mission.

Discussion of the school led me to ask about Karens who had risen in the outside world. Khrū Sanô prefaced his answer by saying that Karens don't like to associate with society (organizations ?) and prefer their home life (he exampled his wife). Some of the graduates of the Mae Sariang school include Khrū Sanô, himself, the teacher at Māē Tia, his brother (who was a policeman). Besides these, and Khrū Mēttā, who works at the court, he could think of few others who had risen in the Thai system. His brother has left the provincial police to take up farming in Phômalô. His son, Chāētdēt is a 'hill tribes' teacher in B. Dong. Bun-Eng has recently become a teacher. One Karen is now studying to be a BPP officer in the school at Lampang. Someone also works in the forestry department.

I asked if any Karens had gone to Burma for further study or to enter government service there. He said that he couldn't think of any besides those who had become evangelists. He then said that several Karens from Māē Hān and vicinity had joined "the army" in Burma (probably Karen Liberation Army or whatever it is called), but hadn't stayed long.

Karens have long been active in the lumber trade here. He said that the richest Karen was one Čantā, now living in Lôikô, who was a major elephant contractor. He apparently got into trouble over illicit lumber and dares not return. Phôwong, headman of Māē Hān, is a close associate of this Čantā. During Bombay-Burmah times, many Karens from the Burma side came over here, with their elephants, to work in the teak trade.
(He said, incidentally, that prior to the war, only rupees were used as currency in Mae Sariang. Also, he said, the market language was mainly Burmese and one heard as much Burmese as Northern Thai on the streets.)

He told something of his own life. He was born in B. Huai Phung (Chôti) and came down when he was fairly old to enter school. He studied here and in Chiang Mai. After finishing school, he became a teacher, first at Thông Sawat school and then at Sôphans. When war broke out, he left government service because he couldn't live on ₱28 a month. He took a job as interpreter with Japanese, working with elephant crews who were Karen and translating into Thai for the Japanese. For this he received Baht 100 a month. After the war, he worked in the lumber trade for awhile and then returned to teaching, being posted at Khapuang, Sôphans, Mâē Hâñ, and finally at Phômalô.

He has five children, first two boys, second two girls and fifth, who is a boy. The first or second boy is sôn, has married and is apparently a ne'er-do-well, the other is châtdât. The third is studying in MS4 in Bangkok and whence finishes MS 5 plans to become a nurse and return to Mae Sariang. The fourth is studying in Chiang Mai, but not at Dara. The fifth is in school in Mae Sariang.

**Education in Mae Sariang**

According to Insuan, the first Thai schools in Mae Sariang were founded shortly after Thai took charge of the government here. The first schools in Mae Sariang were in Wat Sâlâ and the first school building was the Boriphat Süksâ school, named after the Prince of Nakhon Sawan who visited here in the thirties (?).

Yesterday, a teacher at the new kindergarten, located across from the Baptist Mission, visited us. This kindergarten was a project of the present Nâi Amphoe and was just opened this year. I asked her if any Karens attended the school and she said yes, five - all children of Burmese Karen refugees living in B. Pông (one is Benny and Lahsay's retarded child, Ruth). No Karens come from neighboring villages.
A few days ago, two young women (employees of the Phanasit Company?) came to invite us, with candle in a silver khan, to a thôt kathin ceremony sponsored by Thông-ôn at Wat Čantharāwāt. Yesterday, we sent Phan and La'ô over to the Phanasit Company to help with the preparations. Today, we participated in the ceremony.

Although we were invited for 9:00 a.m. to come to Wat Čantharāwāt, Thông-ôn and a few men as entourage presented the robes at Wat Uthayārom (and Wat Suphanrangsī?) beforehand. The main celebration did take place at Wat Čantharāwāt with the following personnel:

a) Monks: Two from Wat Čantharāwāt, one from Wat Suphanrangsī, two from Wat Uthayārom and Tu Pan from Māē Lā Nôi (not a full participant).

b) Ācān: (or equivalent in Burmese) – Man with wart on face who can wāēn tān in Burmese.

c) Thông-ôn as main sponsor.

d) Guests: Invited by method described above; helped by providing money for Thông-ôn.

e) Help: People from Phanasit who made food, served monks and guests, etc.

I noticed that none of the Karen connected with the Phanasit Company were present.

The ceremony was entirely in the Burmese form, but the following parts were identifiable:

a) Request and receipt of precepts.

b) Presentation of Kathin robes (led by Ācān in chanting; performed by Thông-ôn – main monk, and ācān – second monk).

c) Request (by ācān) and sermon (by chief monk).

d) Presentation of food to monks (second monk ate separately or not at all).

e) Presentation of other offerings to all monks except Tu Pan.

f) Hai phon by chief monk – Thông-ôn truat nām.

g) liang khāēk

Khun Čit says that Wat Čantharāwāt used to be a Mon wat, but when a replacement for a former monk was made, a Burman (the present abbot) was sent instead of a Mon.
Trip to Māē Lā Nôi

Today, I had arranged to take the Čao Khana Amphoe and go up to Māē Lā Nôi. When I finally left Wat Kittiwong, I found that our group included Khun Prayūn, the head of an airport who is running for the National Assembly, Sanguan, the policeman who went on the trip to the Salween and is now one of Prayūn’s campaigners, an ex-monk from Wat Kittiwong, the CKA and myself.

Politics

During the course of the day, I heard much about the politics connected with the forthcoming elections for the National Assembly. Prayūn is running on the Government Party (the Sahaprachā thai) ticket because he is an old friend of Air-Marshall Dawee. He is not the only government candidate for the one seat in Mae Hong Son province – there are at least two in Amphoe Muang, plus Wichai, a mine owner living in Chiang Mai partially and partially in Mae Sariang, and maybe others. Kitti, the assistant headmaster of the Boriphat School is the only non-government candidate yet in the race – he represents the Prachatipat (Democrat) party.

Prayūn has several campaign managers (hua khanāēn): Sanguan, Wichian (the owner of Ômārī) and a son-in-law of the famous and wealthy Karen, Čanthā (he was the one who got in trouble and despite his elephant and land holdings in Mae Sariang was forced to flee to Phapun).

I cannot quite make up my mind whether the CKA is really supporting Prayūn or really making mock of him – e.g., he introduced him in Māē Lā Nôi as "our MP".

Čit thinks that Prayūn's chances are small because he is not well-known (he certainly doesn't speak Northern Thai). His only claim to fame is his friendship with Dawee. But Čit says, it really doesn't matter what party one belongs to in Mae Sariang because people vote for the man. He said if Nihorn, Thông-ôn's brother and former MP from Mae Hong Son, were running he would win hands down. He says the Karens will vote the way the Phanasit Company want them to do. With Nihorn not running, he thinks Wichai will win, not because he is a good man (Čit thinks he isn't), but because he is well-known.

Prayūn's attitude struck me as somewhat naive and overbearing. If I were a voter, I would think him a busy body, and not a person who really understands local conditions.
Māē Lā Nōi

Nothing particular occurred on our trip to Māē Lā Nōi. We went because the CKA wanted to check on the building of a new bōt in the northern wat. (It is worth noting that it will be a Central Thai style bōt.) Someone from Bangkok will donate the Buddha image for the bōt.

I visited some with Tu Pan who is now living in the northern wat. He tried to explain to me the 'flag' (thung) that hangs in front of most Shan wats. He said that it had to do with the five 'Buddhas' and also admitted that it was connected with making merit for the dead. But he couldn't recall all the symbolism.

I noted that there were a large number of Karens in town - in the shops.

We stopped at the Amphoe Office and found it closed up - at 2:30-3:00 in the afternoon. There is little to do in this district. The CKA said that originally the Governor had wished to have the Amphoe Office at Māē Lā Nōi, but that the old people there didn't want it. Now they regret it. They didn't want it for fear that it would mean more taxes.

Mae Sariang

Talk with Ed Hudspith

Ed Hudspith came down today to bring the gazetteer of P'wo villages which I had started him on. He says that P'wo villages are usually named after a locally important natural object or place (stream, rock, etc.) and that the Thai names for these villages are often translations, but sometimes transliterations of P'wo names. One village B. Phae, gets its name, however, because the Lua used to kill goats for offerings in this village.

Ed says that the Schlatter's think that they have about 100 Christians – mainly in B. Phae and B. Lā-up. There are no P'wo Christian in Mae Sariang.

He is finding quite a difference in dialects between P'wo speakers here and P'wo in Hôt. His informant is a P'wo from B. Khapuанг whose father was a Thai (Khonmüang or Shan ?). He thinks that P'wo here may, paradoxically, be more Thai-ized than even lowland P'wo in Hôt because of the impact of the mines and teak trade.

Plan to Change the Course of the Yuam River

The Government has a plan, so several informants have told me, to change the course of the Yuam so it flows into the Ping rather than the Salween.
Mae Sariang  

October 28, 1968

Thôt Kathin at Wat Sibunrüang

Today a group associated with Wat Phra Sin in Chiang Mai sponsored a thôt kathin at Wat Sibunrüang and then a thôt phāpā at Wat Kittiwong. Over 300 people came from Chiang Mai, arriving between 8 and 10 in the morning. The presentation took place at Wat Sibunrüang after lunch. I did not attend owing to an infection, but Jane and Sanga did. They said that there was much dancing and Burmese music. The following is a translation of the invitation put out for this ceremony.

[NB. – no translation follows in hand-written or typed fieldnotes.]

Documents: Invitations to ‘Chiang Mai – Mae Sariang’ Kathin Ceremony
เชิญร่วมท่าบุญทอดกิจธีร เชิญใหม่ - แม่สะเรียง

เนื่องห้าวยวัครบุญบารี อำเภอแม่สะเรียง จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน ได้สร้างאמเนียนสถานการณ์ไทยให้กลับเข้าสู่สมัยของพระสงฆ์ สมควรจะได้รับการรับประทานให้สมคบเป็นที่สักการะและเป็นที่เกิดแห่งพระสงฆ์ คณะธรรมการกรุณาเข้าใจเป็นแม่สะเรียง จึงพร้อมใจกันจะเกิดแม่สะรีไปถึงควาย เพื่อสมทับการปฏิบัติธรรมตั้งในงานบุญการบุญ

วันที่ ๒๗ ตุลาคม พ.ศ. ๒๕๔๑ ทรงกับคณะใหญ่น้อย ขึ้น ๘ กว่าตกแต่งดวงกิจธีรที่วัดพระสิทธิ์ บริเวณวิหาร กลางคืนผ่านพระสมณ์

วันที่ ๒๘ ตุลาคม พ.ศ. ๒๕๔๑ ทรงกับคณะใหญ่น้อย ขึ้น ๘ กว่าเวลารound ๐๕.๐๐ พ. ออกไปจากวัดพระสิทธิ์ เชี่ยนใหม่ เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ พ. ทำพิธีมหาบุญสุดท้าย

เวลา ๐๕.๐๐ พ. ออกไปจากวัดพระสิทธิ์ เชี่ยนใหม่ เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ พ. ทำพิธีมหาบุญสุดท้าย

เวลา ๐๕.๐๐ พ. ออกไปจากวัดพระสิทธิ์ เชี่ยนใหม่ เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ พ. ทำพิธีมหาบุญสุดท้าย

ขณะนี้ จึงขอขอบคุณยินดีที่จะทำความยินดีกับทุกคน หากท่านใดมีความประสงค์จะร่วมบุญกิจธีร เชี่ยนใหม่ - แม่สะเรียง ท่านจะได้รับคุณธรรมอย่างยิ่ง จึงขออวยพรและยินดีต้อนรับ.
Mae Sariang

Khrū Bā Khāo

I mentioned to the Čao Khana Amphoe today that I had heard (from Ed Hudspith) that the Khrūbā Khāo is currently at Nā Fan in Om Kôi District. He said that he had heard this too and added that he would be coming to Mae Sariang in the fourth month (sixth month of northern reckoning). He has been invited by Wat Sāēn Thông. The CKA gave his approval on two conditions: (1) that the Khrūbā Khāo would keep, and announce, waiphra according to the clerical conditions and (2) that the Khrūbā Khāo not require that all who wish to take the precepts, take 8, before which they must shave their heads and eyebrows and don white robes. It is apparent that the CKA hopes to use the Khrūbā Khāo's visit to set straight certain mistaken impressions he has conveyed to his followers. After giving me this story, the CKA launched into a long monologue, as he has before, on the faults of the Khrūbā Khāo – cutting illegal timber, allowing his followers to put out misleading teachings over his name, allowing his followers to use his name for profit. I asked, apropos of Wat Sāēn Thông inviting the Khrūbā Khāo, whether monks ever made obeisance to the Khrūbā Khāo. At first the CKA said no, but on second thought said that some did because they considered the Khrūbā Khāo still to be a monk.
CKA and Tribal People

The CKA is arranging to take a group of tribal people to Bangkok in December. He already has a number of people willing to pay the ฿150 round-trip fare – mainly from the lowland S'kaw villages. He also hopes to have Lua and P'wo going as well.

Election for National Assembly

Today in Wat Kittiwong I picked up a campaign flyer for Udom Mahāwanā (อุดม มหาวนา), owner of the Nakhôn mai ('New City') Sawmill in Mae Sariang and member of the Mae Hong Son Provincial Assembly.

**Document: Campaign Flyer for Udom Mahāwanā, Candidate for National Assembly**

Udom Mahāwanā has announced his candidacy for the National Assembly. Interestingly, this flyer indicates no party identification, although some sources have said that he is associated with the Government's Party.

Wichā, the mine owner and member of the Provincial Assembly and the man Čit thinks has the best chance of winning, has also declared his candidacy.

**Mae Sariang**  
**October 30, 1968**

**Names of Abbot of Wat Ommarāwāt**

Today, I learned that the abbot of Wat Ommarāwāt is named Khintōng (ขิ่นตอง).

**Mae Sariang**  
**October 31, 1968**

**Trip to Bān Huai Kung**

Today I took a group including our entire household and the Čao Khana Amphoe with his servant Tu on a picnic/visit to B. Huai Kung, a mountain S'kaw Karen village included within the coverage of the hill center. There were very few people in the village due to the fact that harvest is going on. The P.W.D. personnel were also not present (they spend 10 days away from
the hills in Chiang Mai and 20 days in the hills). Some Northern Thai (females) were in the village seeking cucumbers, squashes, pumpkins and *makôk* (‘hogplum’?). These they bought to resell in the valley. Again I was impressed both by the beauty of this village and the number of opium addicts in it.

**Tribal Development and Welfare Center**

On the way back from Huai Kung, we stopped at the Tribal Development and Welfare Center. At the shop, we saw a number of Karen, both P'wo and S'kaw about. Popular items seem to be *plātû*, tinned fish, 'fanners' clothing, blankets, bobbles. The shop is run by N. Thai.

We then went on to the center. I learned from the chap who usually drives the center's car (but he is more than a driver) that there are at least two S'kaw Karens on the staff. One is a development worker and formerly was a member of the Baptist hostel, but "he hasn't been to church in the 18 months he has been at the center." The interpreter (who is officially entitled something else so he won't have to be paid so much) is apparently a more committed Christian. (Bun-Eng will also become the headmaster of the School at the center.)

There are now 4-5 houses around the school, but the CKA says that the plan is to move about 20 down. The settlers are given land and money to help erect their houses. In another context, the CKA emphatically rejected the idea of the center being a *nikkhom*.

I copied the following information from one of the wall posters in the center:

**Mae Hong Son Tribal Development and Welfare Center**

- **Built**: 1965
- **Opened**: 1966
- 14 workers in 4 *nuai*
- Estimated 50,000 hill tribesmen in Mae Hong Son province
- Estimated 20,000 hill tribesmen in Mae Sariang district
- Number of tribal people served by center: 38 villages, 875 households, 4,966 people.
- Eventually, the plan, graphically displayed on the wall, is to have 68 centers from which the total tribal population of Mae Sariang can be reached. But I suspect that this is more of a dream than a plan. At least it suggests Thai outreach to tribals rather than resettlement.
Lumbering in Mae Sariang

The CKA says that there are only two mechanized lumber mills in Mae Sariang. One is owned by Udom and the other by the Phanasit Company. There are many sawmills using human power only (e.g. the ones owned by Riangsôn, Ai Phō, Khrū Kham, etc.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lumber Mills in Mae Sariang</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nakhôm Mai Mae Sariang Lumber Mill</td>
<td>Udom</td>
<td>Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sîwichai Kānmai Lumber Mill</td>
<td>Khrū Kham</td>
<td>Karen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Wichai</td>
<td>Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phinthông</td>
<td>Riangsôn</td>
<td>Thai-Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thā Khām</td>
<td>Ai Phō (Po-u)</td>
<td>Karen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Băn Nông Tūn**

November 17, 1968

Yesterday we arrived in Mahasarakham and spent the evening and stayed with Mrs. Chuanphit. This morning we went out to BNT. Mr. Ngao was not there, having gone to Nông Khā to look after his sick brother-in-law. We went in search of him and shortly returned to BNT. In B. Thā Tum, a group of teachers and villagers interested in development had set up a turnpike and charged ฿10 for large vehicles and ฿5 for small to pass out of the village. The money is to be used for improvement of the road. The village is also completely surrounded by a fence with gates that are shut at night. Moreover, the village has its own home guard.

Apropos of these things Phūyai Phon said that it was impossible to establish either a fence or a home guard in BNT because the village is too spread out. Mr. Ngao thinks that it would be an improvement if the outlying households in the village could be persuaded to live in a more compact area and a better defense of the village could be affected. There is a police (provincial) substation near B. Thā Tum. Apropos of this, I asked Phuyai Phon and the other village elders who had gone with us in the car to Nông Khā about the Village Defense Forces which the government is in the process of setting up. Phuyai Phon had heard of the Force but said that none had been established in this area. One other man said that such forces were only necessary in border provinces and Phuyai Phon added that in this area it was peaceful and that no such force was necessary.
I asked Mr. Ngao about his case. He said that the case hasn't yet been decided although it was considered by the court some weeks (months ?) ago. In the end he didn't pay any bribe to the court officials. A court clerk asked him for ฿1000 "to give to the judge", but he told Mr. Ngao that he couldn't give it directly to the judge. Mr. Ngao decided that the money might not reach the judge. He also had heard from another source that he should give the money to the judge's wife, but he didn't do so. A week or ten days ago he had a visit from some high police official posted in the N.E. (he came into Mahasarakham by plane). I believe this was in response to the article I wrote in the Social Science Review. Mr. Ngao did not admit to paying bribes to the police out of fear of possible repercussions for himself, and somewhat oddly to my mind, out of fears of what would happen to the policeman whom he bribed. Mr. Ngao hasn't been contacted by any of the friends or relatives of Sing, the accused, since the trial began but he has heard indirectly that if Sing is released he will try to kill Mr. Ng.

Meanwhile, Mr. Ngao goes on with his improvements. He has enlarged his pig pens, is building an extension on his house, and is building a well and fish pond. I noticed books in his house on the raising of animals and on accounting.

I asked a group of villagers including Mr. Ngao and Phuyai Phon if they felt that the village had improved since we lived there. Mr. Ngao said he thought it had since the road was now better. But as for personal standard of living, the headman and other villagers thought that things were worse. For two years the rains have been very poor and the rice crops have been poor as a result. Last year the kenaf price was its lowest ever – 50 st./kilo - and people didn't make much money. This year the price is better ฿2.50/kg. – but few people have planted kenaf because of their experience last year. No encouragement has been forthcoming from the current C.D. worker who apparently is such a loss that the headman described him as having died.