VERHANDELINGEN
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

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SILVIA W. DE GROOT

FROM ISOLATION TOWARDS INTEGRATION

THE SURINAM MAROONS AND THEIR COLONIAL RULERS

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE DJUKAS (1845-1863)



THE HAGUE - MARTINUS NIJHOFF 1977

FROM ISOLATION TOWARDS INTEGRATION

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PREFACE

With the appearance of the English version of this book, originally published under the title *Van Isolatie naar Integratie* in this same series in 1963, a few words of explanation and clarification will not be out of place.

The years between 1963 and 1977 have witnessed a steady growth in interest in the social history of the Caribbean area in the wider sense, as is evidenced by the increasing number of publications in this field that have appeared during that time. Surinam has been no exception. As one of the countries in and around the Caribbean Sea with its own distinct historical role, both present and past, it has received its fair share of attention. It is this growing interest which has induced me to make the original text accessible to a larger public. For the resultant English version the Dutch text has moreover been supplemented and revised. So the final chapter, entitled "Migratory Movements of the Djukas", which had been published elsewhere, is a later addition, for instance. I felt that its inclusion here was justified by its obvious relevance to the text, of which it now forms an integral part.

The selection of primary sources for the analysis offered in this book was restricted mainly to documents kept in Surinam, notably in the Lands Archief in Paramaribo. The analysis is focused on the period immediately preceding that most crucial event in Surinam's history, the abolition of slavery. It is especially concerned with some of the reactions when the harbingers of abolition presented themselves, in particular those in connection with the relations between the Maroons and the white colonists in Surinam.

I am much indebted to the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde for its preparedness to publish the English version in its Verhandelingen series as well. The translation, prepared by Elisabeth Eijbers, was carefully revised and edited by Maria J. L. van Yperen of its editorial staff. Mrs. J. L. van Romijn-Van der Oordt of the Institute's Caribbean Department undertook the difficult task of con-

verting the manuscript into a neat and legible printer's copy. Finally, I wish to thank Mr. W. Blom for preparing the accompanying maps.

The grant enabling me to visit Paramaribo to collect and microfilm the relevant documents in the Lands Archief in 1961 was made available by the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Research in Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. The Dutch version of the book received the Winifred Cullis Award from the International Federation of University Women in 1965.

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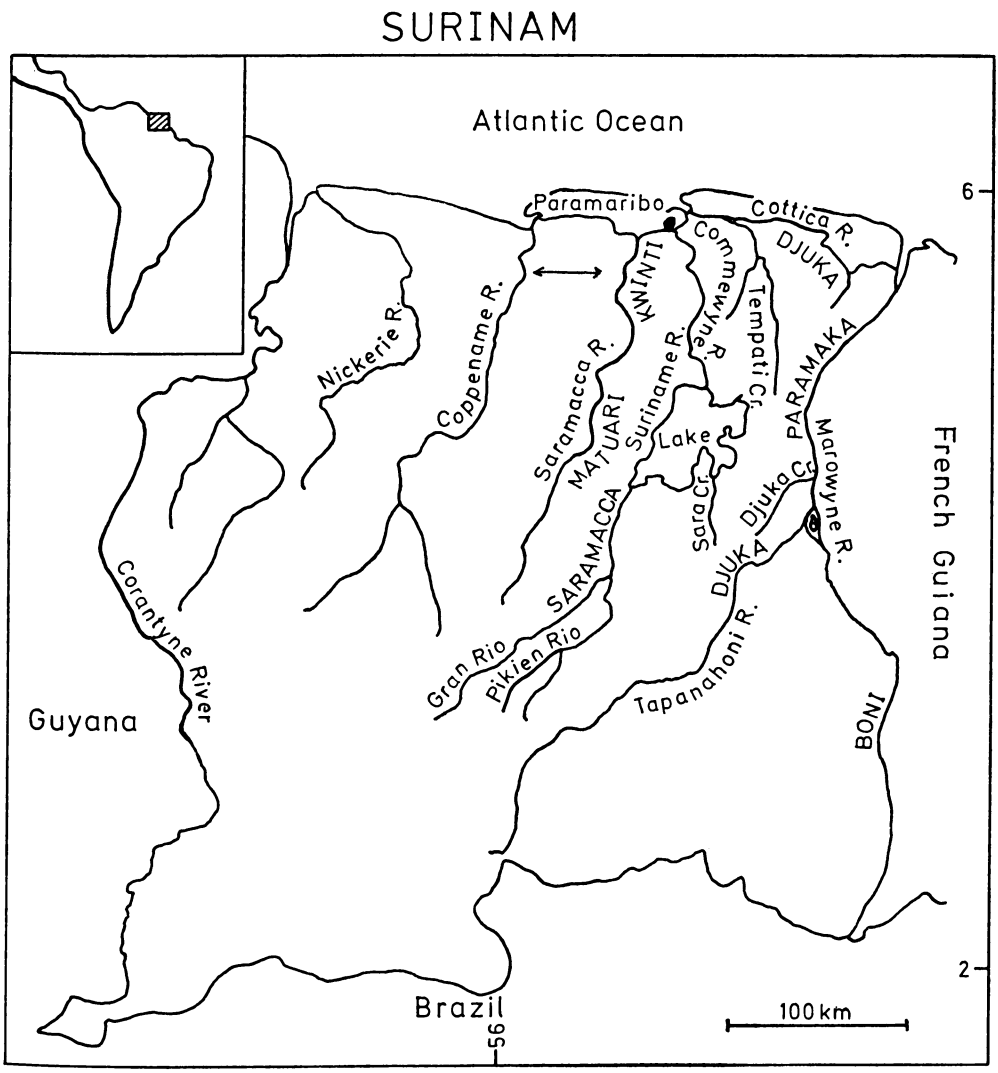
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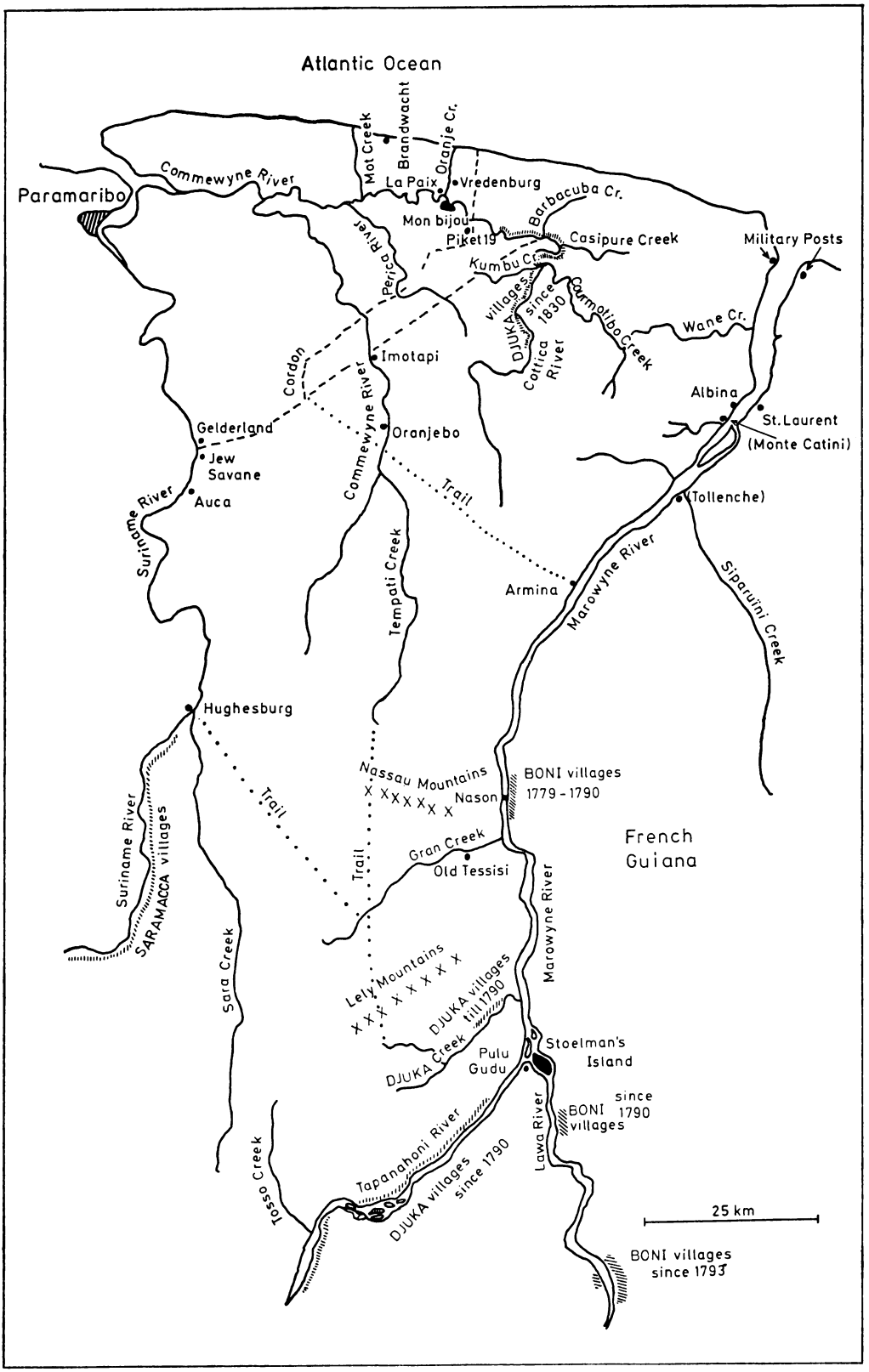
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Location of the Different Maroon Groups:

DJUKA:	on the Tapanahoni and Cottica Rivers
PARAMAKA:	on the Marowyne River
BONI:	on the Lawa River
SARAMACCA:	on the Suriname River
MATUARI:	on the Saramacca River
KWINTI:	on the Saramacca and Coppename Rivers


Atlantic Ocean
Paramaribo
Commewyne River
Mot Creek
Brandwacht
Oranje Cr.
La Paix
Vredenburg
Mon bijou
Piket 19
Barbacuba Cr.
Casipure Creek
Military Posts
Perica River
Kumbu Cr.
DJUKA villages since 1830
Cottica River
Carmelibo Creek
Wane Cr.
Albina
St. Laurent (Monte Catini)
Cordon
Imotapi
Commewyne River
Oranjebo
Gelderland
Jew Savane
Auca
Suriname River
Trail
Tollenche)
Tempati Creek
Armina
Marowyne River
Siparuïni Creek
Hughesburg
Nassau Mountains
Nason
BONI villages 1779 - 1790
French Guiana
Gran Creek
Old Tessisi
Suriname River
SARAMACCA villages
Sara Creek
Lely Mountains
DJUKA villages till 1790
DJUKA Creek
Pulu Gudu
Stoelman's Island
BONI villages since 1790
Lawa River
Tapanahoni River
Tasso Creek
DJUKA villages since 1790
25 km
BONI villages since 1793

LEGEND TO MAP OF EASTERN SURINAM (HISTORICAL) ON OPPOSITE PAGE

Location of Maroon Groups:

DJUKA: on Djuka Creek and the Tapanahoni and Cottica Rivers

BONI: on the Marowyne and Lawa Rivers

SARAMACCA: on the Suriname River

— — — — — Military Cordon (completed 1776).
Military Posts: Gelderland, Hughesburg, Imotapi, Oranjebo, Piket 19 and Brandwacht; and, on the Marowyne (Dutch side): Prins Willem Frederik (at the river mouth) and Armina.

..... Trails:
From the Cordon to Armina — military trail, used by Black Chasseur mutineers in 1805.
From Hughesburg and Tempati Creek to Djuka Creek — used by Maroons and the peace negotiators (1758-1760 and after).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. *Subject and sources*

This survey of sources is intended as a contribution towards the understanding of the historical and sociological aspects of the contacts between Negroes and whites in Surinam during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries, especially those between the runaway Negro slaves and the Government in Paramaribo. After an arduous, exhausting campaign lasting well over 50 years, the white colonists finally made peace with each of the three main groups of Maroons, viz. the Djukas or Aucaners, the Saramaccaners and the Matuaris, in 1760, 1762 and 1767 respectively.

As stipulated in the peace treaty, relations between the two parties were maintained directly through a military official called "posthouder" (postholder), who was stationed among the Maroons by the Government, lived among them and represented the authorities with them. His duties consisted in seeing to it that the stipulations of the peace treaty were observed and sending reports on this to his superior, from whom in turn he received his instructions, likewise in writing. His findings, opinions and recommendations were of the utmost importance to the Government, which to some extent based its policies regarding the Maroons hereon. One of these policies concerned the maintenance of the voluntary isolation of the Maroons until about 1845. To safeguard the colonists against the perpetual danger of attack by large groups of Maroons, a pass system was introduced so as to keep the number of people travelling down the rivers strictly within the limits stipulated in the peace treaty.

After 1845 (i.e., during the period immediately preceding the emancipation of the slaves in 1863) the Government began to change its views, to try and consolidate its relations with the Maroons, and to encourage them to abandon their life in isolation and settle in the cultivated parts of Surinam. It was hoped that they might thus be drawn into the labour process.

The present paper deals with this changed attitude after 1845, as well as with the efforts, uncertain at first, to improve the relations with the Maroons as reflected in the correspondence between the Government and the "postholders", in particular the postholder among the Djukas or Aucaners, who lived along the Marowyne, Cottica and Commewyne Rivers.

The voluminous correspondence between the postholders and the Government is kept at:

1. the "Algemeen Rijks Archief" (General State Archives) in The Hague for the period from 1760 to 1845; and
2. the "Lands Archief" in Paramaribo for the period from 1845 to 1963.[1]

2. *Historical survey*

In Surinam, plantations have constituted the most important form of economic organization ever since 1650, when the Englishman Francis Willoughby, the Earl of Parham, took possession of this area and founded a European settlement here. The labour needed for the large-scale cultivation of such staples as sugar in the beginning, and coffee, cacao, cotton, tobacco and indigo later on, was supplied by slaves, after whites — non-slaves — had proved unsuitable for the heavy work involved in both Surinam and other subjugated tropical territories from the outset. Initially Indians were also used for plantation work, but in the long run they, too, proved unsuitable. However, in the 16th century the Portuguese began tapping an enormous reservoir of comparatively cheap and easily obtainable slaves in Africa.

The Dutch, after conquering Brazil in 1634 and expelling the Portuguese from the West African coastal area not long afterwards, began supplying the entire area from Brazil to the southern part of North America with this form of labour. In November 1668, when Surinam was taken over by Abraham Crijnssen of Zealand, the latter reported the presence of 714 slaves, not including women and children.

An initial period of confusion, during which both the States of Zealand and the States General claimed sovereignty over Surinam, came to an end in 1682, when Zealand sold the colony to the West India Company for 260,000 florins. This Company formed a "triumvirate" with the City of Amsterdam and Cornelis van Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdijk, as the other two partners. This "triumvirate", styling itself the "Geoctroyeerde Societeit van Suriname" (Chartered Society

of Surinam), hereupon took charge of the administration of Surinam.

The slave trade to Surinam was carried on by the Dutch West India Company, established in 1621. After the signing of the Treaty of Münster in 1648 and the loss of Brazil in 1654 it had had to compete with English and French companies, however. The Company had thereupon lost its former power and glory, and in 1674 was converted into a new West India Company (W.I.C.).

On this occasion it was financially reorganized and a new charter, to be revised every 25 years, was drawn up by the States General. This charter of 1674 gave the new W.I.C. the sole right of trade, especially as regards slave trading, in the Netherlands colonies in the West Indies. In point of fact, the importation of slaves was made compulsory for the Company in the Charter drawn up in 1682. The reason for this was that "slave-running" was becoming increasingly difficult and also less profitable because of growing competition. On revision of the Charter in 1730, the compulsory supply of slaves came to 2,500 a year; the numerous complaints of plantation owners about shortages of slaves testify that the W.I.C. was not meeting its obligations in this respect, however. As was to be expected, the monopoly was abolished in 1784, while private traders had meanwhile been admitted to the trade on special conditions from 1730 onward.

The Chartered Society, under the supervision of the States General — which were bound in the case of either internal or external aggression to come to Surinam's aid — continued to exist until 1795, when the administration of Surinam was taken over by a "Committee for the Colonies and Possessions on the Coast of Guiana and in America" until 1801, succeeded by a "Council for the American Colonies and Possessions" from 1801 to 1816.

The administrative regulations (I) [2] laid down in the Charter of the Surinam Society of 1682 were put into execution by the Governor, Cornelis van Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdijk, who saw to the further details in Surinam itself.

The Governor, who was the highest official in the colony, was appointed by the W.I.C. subject to the approval of the States General and the Prince of Orange. He administered the colony with the assistance of a "Political Council" ("selected from among the most prominent, prudent and moderate of the colonists"). The office of First Councillor was held by the Commandant or commander in charge of fortifications and the military. Furthermore, a fiscal sat on the Council in an advisory capacity. In 1764 the Political Council was split up

into two separate Councils: a Council of Policy and a Criminal Law Council. The Council of Civil Justice constituted a separate body. The members of these Councils were selected by the Governor from pairs of lists drawn up by the colonists. This arrangement remained essentially the same until 1816.

From 1799 to 1814 — except for one short interval in between — Surinam was a British protectorate, the only difference being that the Governor was now appointed by England.

In 1816 this administrative system was supplanted by a new one, which remained in force until 1828. Hereby the Governor General, appointed by the King, had the greatest executive power; he was assisted by a Court of Policy and Criminal Law, of which nine members were appointed by the Governor and nominated by the colonists, that is to say, by those who owned plantations, and "consequently those who are most concerned in the welfare of the country", as before. However, the ultimate authority lay with the mother country, which ruled the colony through the Colonial Department.

The colony fared badly in almost every respect after this time. For instance, the new administrative system proved unsatisfactory and complaints came pouring in, so that in 1828 J. van den Bosch, who had been sent to the West Indies as Commissioner General especially to investigate the situation, drew up plans for a new administrative system, whereby all the West Indian colonies were centrally governed by a single Governor General residing in Surinam. The Court of Policy and Criminal Law was replaced by a "Supreme Council of the West Indian Possessions", which governed both Surinam and Curaçao together, these two becoming separated again in 1845.

The system of representation by colonists was abolished. The executive power came to reside almost completely in the Governor. The Supreme Council consisted of four members, viz. the Attorney General, the Comptroller General of Finance, the Councillor-Commissioner for the Native Population and the Commissioner of Crown Domains. The function of Secretary of the Supreme Council was fulfilled by the Government Secretary.

This system also proved unsatisfactory and was revised as early as 1832. The Supreme Council was converted into a Colonial Council which was composed of the Attorney General, who was also Colonial Treasurer, and six of the most prominent residents, which meant that the colonists were given a somewhat greater say at least in executive matters. These members of the Council could be elected in the old way

from among "owners of plantations resident in the colony, or the agents of owners". As most plantations in those years had been mortgaged in the Netherlands by their owners, they were run by agents of the mortgage banks, so that few of the members of the Colonial Council were in fact plantation owners, but most were agents. Although this system of administration also had certain adverse effects on the colony — this "plantocracy" of conservative absentee owners being opposed to all change in the existing conditions — it was not until the abolition of slavery that any really worthwhile innovations were introduced. The only measures to be taken in this period were a few financial ones designed to save the country from total ruin.

The most important factors shaping the character of the colony of Surinam can be said to be firstly the fact that it was regarded as an overseas possession of the mother country, and secondly that it was a slave colony.

The two principal groups bent on making profits out of the country were the Directors of the Chartered Society and the colonial plantation owners. The existence of these two interest groups side by side gave rise to a perennial conflict between the Government and the colonists that began when colonization first started and grew steadily worse after that. Although the Society, with its charter for governing the colony and the backing of the States General, was able most of the time to carry its plans through, it was conscious of its dependence on the colonists. In spite of the obstruction of most Government decrees, mutual complaints by and against the Governor and members of the Council, quarrels about the succession, petitions to the States General and the Directors of the Society, violent personal feuds, and so on, an unstable kind of equilibrium was even so maintained, so that for over a century huge fortunes were made by members of both parties. They were fortunes from which Surinam itself was never to benefit, however.

The fiercest and best-known conflict was that between Governor Mauricius (appointed in 1742) and a large group of the more prominent colonists. It assumed such proportions as to cause Mauricius to be recalled to the Netherlands, where he was cleared of all blame. He nevertheless did not return to the Colony. This violent conflict, in which almost everyone in Surinam became involved, continued to exercise an influence on Surinam affairs for many years after.

Surinam's status as a slave colony was also responsible for tension in its society. For slavery, i.e., the use of human beings as "mere in-

struments in the production process" (III), to be accepted as an institution a number of arguments were necessary. The two main rationalizations here were:

1. Slavery is not in contradiction with Christian doctrine.
2. The Negro is inferior to the white man. This was supposedly evident from many of the Negro's characteristics: his customs were "barbaric" (i.e., un-Christian), he only worked under coercion, he was vindictive, slow-witted and sexually promiscuous.

Armed with a feeling of superiority that was bolstered by these convictions, the plantation manager was confronted with a slave force that outnumbered the whites 25 times in 1738, 15 times in 1786 and 6 times in 1830. It certainly had to be coerced into working, and was furthermore hostile, either overtly or covertly, towards the masters. In spite of his ideology and inevitable feelings of superiority, the slave owner lived in constant fear of slave risings, a fear that was far from groundless.

In a society of this kind, in which the white masters were subject to enormous tensions, it is not surprising that "unbalanced, quick-tempered and touchy" personalities with "maniacal tendencies" developed, personalities with "psychopathic traits" (IV). On the plantations these tendencies not infrequently found an outlet in monstrous atrocities and acts of cruelty.

Although the residents of the colony were convinced that the slaves could be made to work only through the exertion of rigorous severity and unremitting force, they realized at the same time that it was in the interests of the plantation owners themselves to keep the above-mentioned excesses within reasonable bounds; after all, they were dependent on the slaves for the achievement of their goal: the amassing of wealth. The numerous ordinances and regulations issued by the Government bear witness to this awareness, while their regular repetition shows that it was necessary time and again to remind forgetful slave owners to moderate their cruel punishments.

The slaves of Surinam never united to stage a large-scale uprising, as was the case elsewhere (Berbice, Haiti, etc.), but many threw off the yoke of slavery by running away in large groups. They fled into the forests or up rivers and creeks, there to build villages and cultivate land. But this was not enough, necessity and vindictiveness driving them back to the settled parts of the colony to launch attacks on plantations and carry off women, food, implements and weapons.

Even at the time of Lord Parham there were reports of runaway

slaves, and whenever Indian slaves were used, these also escaped into the forests or up the rivers (the Suriname, Saramacca and Coppename Rivers). Both Maroons and Indians continually harassed the plantations. The best-known group of these Maroons, led by Chief Jermes, who settled first at Para Creek and later on on the Coppename River, numbered a few hundred already at that time.

Governor van Sommelsdijk, who arrived in Surinam in 1683, in that same year made peace with the Indians, who, after being declared free, no longer interfered with the colony's affairs. A year later, in 1684, a peace settlement with the Maroons on the Coppename followed, and of this group, too, nothing more was heard. But the number of runaway slaves, and accordingly the unrest in the colony, increased.

After a rising on a Jewish plantation in 1690, in the course of which the owner was killed and all the slaves escaped into the forest, the colonial administration was forced to take more effective measures to prevent the loss of valuable slaves and defend the colony against plundering raids by the Maroons.

Many different attempts were made. Even under Governor van Sommelsdijk an armed citizens' guard had been instituted. It was divided into 11 companies (including one Jewish one) for the districts, and 3 to 5 for Paramaribo, and undertook patrols against the Maroons; these were not very successful, however, so that from 1730 onward regular soldiers were also used. The penalties for running away became increasingly severe, this becoming punishable by death after 1721. The rewards for the apprehension of Maroons were regularly increased. Wolbers (V) states that in 1685 the reward for apprehending and returning a runaway slave was fixed at 5 florins; in 1687 it was increased to 300 pounds of sugar if the slave had been deliberately hunted down, and only 100 pounds of sugar if this was not the case; in 1698 it was increased to 25 florins and 50 florins. In 1717 permission for tracking down Maroons was granted to all colonists, and the reward for the discovery of the location of Klaas and Pedro villages was fixed at 1,500 florins, that for the discovery of the whereabouts of other Maroon villages at 600 florins, and that for tracking down an inhabitant of any of these villages at 10 florins.

But all these measures were to no avail, and the number of fugitive slaves continued to rise, especially after 1712, when a panic caused among the colonists by the invasion of the French Admiral Jacques Cassard led them to send their wives and children into the forest, accompanied by their slaves. The women and children afterwards re-

turned, but a large number of slaves chose to remain in the forests and there joined the existing groups of Maroons. In 1738 the number of Maroons was estimated at 6,000. At that time there were about 400 plantations, and about 50,000 slaves and 2,000 whites !

These figures show that by that time more than 10 per cent of the slaves had run away. This percentage remained more or less constant until about 1830, i.e., for almost a century, after which both the number of plantations and that of slaves decreased. The number of Maroons, however, increased by about 1,000 during that time, coming to about 8,000 in 1863.

In 1730, after the plantations had suffered numerous attacks, a number of expeditions were undertaken, resulting in the discovery and destruction of the notorious Klaas and Pedro villages on the Saramacca River. Eleven Maroons were executed, and "these were dealt with rather severely, in the hope that such an example would have a deterrent effect on their accomplices and would diminish the tendency to abscond among the slaves" (VI). One of them, "the Negro Joosje", was accordingly sentenced "to be pierced through the ribs with an iron hook and hanged from the gallows, there to remain thus until death shall ensue, whereafter the head will be served and impaled and the body left as a prey for the birds", and a few others "to be bound to a stake and burnt to ashes over a slow fire, and while burning to be pinched with redhot pincers" (VII).

However, in 1749, since the "expeditions, not having had the desired effect, were doing more harm than good, while they served to increase the arrogance not only of the Maroons, but also of the slaves, and were making the tracks through the forest leading to the Maroons known to them" (VIII), Governor Mauricius, who had been in Surinam since 1742, decided to take other measures, "namely, to find out whether it was possible to make any kind of peace or conduct any negotiations with the Maroons (in the same way as the Lord of Sommelsdijk had done with the Indians and the Coppename Maroons during his term of office, and as the English had made peace with the Chiefs of the Maroons in 1739, after the Island of Jamaica had been exposed to the same danger through the impudence of Maroons as Surinam), forasmuch as, however successful any expedition might be, it would have no effect other than the destruction of a few villages and the death or capture of a few of their inhabitants, with any such advantages lasting but a few, indeed, sometimes only one or two years, after which time they fully recovered their strength and original number

of villages, as has been proved on several previous occasions. Moreover, experience has taught that all these expeditions not only were attended with insurmountable difficulties, but furthermore were very costly, inasmuch as the expenses for each commando came to more than a hundred thousand guilders, including compensation for slaves and hire as well as other expenses, while at the same time this great expense, trouble and danger were in no way rewarded, in the sense that the principal aim of the expeditions, namely the extermination of that pernicious scum, the runaways, or the reduction of their power to the point where further harmful undertakings were impossible, was never realized. The Governor is therefore of the opinion that the best and most efficient way of accomplishing this would be by undertaking one giant expedition and, even after taking one or more villages and inflicting a crushing defeat on them, making peace sword in hand, as the saying goes" (IX).

Moreover, Mauricius intended to "respect the peace with those who had been set apart by the Peace, and to please them in every way, and persecute those outside the scope of this Peace without giving quarter", and "divide them, and, if possible, sow dissension among them." (X).

In spite of the opposition of the members of the Council, who could not see the use of making peace at all and shrank from the expense of such a "giant expedition", Mauricius persisted and effected his immediate purpose. After an expedition of 1,000 soldiers under the command of Lieutenant-Captain Carel Otto Creutz to the Saramacca, resulting in the destruction of three villages and the adjacent cultivated lands, contact was established with Chief Adoe and his roughly 1,600 subjects. The negotiations were successful and the Peace with them was based on the 1739 treaty with the Maroons in Jamaica. Creutz departed after promising that presents would be sent in confirmation of the Peace. But now the members of the Council, who had been opposed to the conclusion of peace to begin with, raised objections to the plan to send Louis Nepveu and thirty soldiers with presents to Adoe. They considered the expense too high and thought that a few whites led by a man by name of Picolet (a member of the Council) and accompanied by twenty carriers would be sufficient. The result was disastrous: the group was attacked by a discontented chief, Zam-Zam, and massacred down to the last man. Adoe, who waited for the presents in vain and concluded from rumours of the conflict in Paramaribo that the Peace was merely a ruse to attack him again,

resumed the war, and the attacks on plantations continued undiminished. On the plantations themselves there were now also bloody uprisings. In the fifties the area around the Commewyne and its tributaries the Cottica, Perica and Tempati was a centre of unrest. In 1757 there was a big rising in Tempati, whereby the slaves of the timber plantation adjoining the river refused en bloc to be transferred to a different kind of plantation and escaped into the forest.

There they joined a group of Maroons that had earlier run away to Djuka creek, a tributary of the Marowyne. Together they formed a group of about six hundred, which launched regular attacks on plantations, carrying off weapons, implements and women, but at the same time leaving at every plantation letters signed by a certain Boston indicating that they were prepared to make peace.

Governor Mauricius, who was in the long run unable to cope with the antagonistic colonists, returned to the Netherlands in 1751. His successor was Governor Spörcke, who died a year later; after some difficulties about his succession, Governor Crommelin was appointed in 1753. He struck trouble with the same Council members of whom Mauricius had been a victim for almost a year. However, after Mauricius' rehabilitation, he was able to nominate new members to the Council. For a while he was on good terms with these, but fresh difficulties soon arose. The colony was in great financial difficulties, which — together with the ever-increasing unrest created by the attacks of the Maroons — made it imperative for definite steps to be taken. The military force was strengthened, in spite of strong opposition from Council members, as were also a number of defence works, while several military posts were built.

In 1758 it was resolved to respond to the offers of peace by the Maroons on Djuka Creek (II). After sending two trusted Negro slaves, Coffy and Charlestown, to them first, in order to see whether the Maroons were sincere, two whites, James Abercrombie and J. Rudolph Zobre, set out with gifts and a draft of the conditions of peace. They were received with great solemnity. The two envoys had to swallow a number of reproaches concerning the misbehaviour of the whites on the plantations, and also because the presents included no powder or shot, for which they had asked especially. Furthermore, the great bravery of the Maroons in defending themselves was pointed out to them. However, this was followed by the acceptance of the peace treaty in principle. A new list of gifts, which were to be sent a year later, was drawn up, and in April 1759 the same two envoys duly

set out again for Djuka territory accompanied by nine or ten soldiers and 60 carriers. A truce was made which was to last a year. In September, 1760, a Government peace delegation headed by Major E. Meyer left Paramaribo. It also included Abercrombie and Zobre, two hundred and six soldiers, two surgeons, and slaves carrying rations and gifts. The parties met at the appointed meeting-place, Steenkreek near Djukakreek. Peace was ceremonially concluded on 10th October, 1760. The eloquent Boston took the necessary oath, also on behalf of chiefs "Pamo, to whom the land belongs", and "Araby, who lives in Jouka", whereafter the oath was confirmed according to both the Negro and the white custom.[3]

This peace treaty again was based on the treaty concluded with the Maroons in Jamaica in 1739 (XII).

The articles that are relevant for our survey run as follows (XIII):

Article 3

They shall remain without restriction in the places at present inhabited by them, and all the necessary adjoining land, provided this is no closer than at least two days' or ten hours' travelling from any plantation; if, however, they wish to settle anywhere else, whether this be further upstream or elsewhere, they shall be bound to obtain prior permission from the Government of these territories, the same applying if they wish to prepare building-timber for purposes of sale upstream in accordance with the local custom.

Article 4

If any slaves should defect to them after the Amnesty and the Treaty and the signing thereof, they, the Maroons, shall be bound to return the same and surrender them to the whites without exception, for which they shall receive a due reward in money or kind, in accordance with an agreement to be made especially about this, namely ten to fifty Dutch guilders for every slave so returned. For convenience sake they shall be allowed to surrender the same to the nearest white for delivery to the nearest Council member or Citizens' Guard Officer, whereupon the reward shall be paid out to them forthwith.

Article 5

They, the pacified Negroes and their successors, shall do everything in their power to capture any slaves running away after the conclusion

of this treaty, as well as any hostile Indians, and shall surrender the same, or, if necessary, kill them. Furthermore, they shall be bound to try and track down and capture any runaway slaves immediately upon being notified of the latter's escape by the Governor; and in the event of a rebellion or trouble on any plantation or in any part of the colony, their Chiefs shall see to it that, at the first summons of the Governor or the Governor-in-Council, the required number of male members of the tribe shall be placed at his disposal. They shall undertake to be of the greatest possible service to the whites, also against other runaways — in the first place the runaways banded together between the Marowyne and Cottica Rivers — whom they shall help exterminate, especially if these attack whites or commit hostile acts of any other kind; whereas the free Indians, who are on terms of friendship with us, are also included under the terms of this treaty, and must not be molested in any way.

Article 10

They shall be free to convey any of their produce, cattle, goods, timber, etc., — though never in groups larger than ten or twelve persons at a time — for the purpose of selling the same in Paramaribo or any other place stipulated, on condition that they report to the Governor immediately upon arrival, in order to give notice of their presence and of the goods they intend to offer for sale.

Article 12

A sufficient number of whites shall live among them to see to it that all these conditions are observed; and in return they shall allow twelve Creoles from their midst, all of them sons of Chiefs or the most prominent among them, to live among the whites in Paramaribo, though with permission to change the same every year.

Article 13

They, the Maroons, shall in future no longer pass sentence of death upon anyone without the knowledge of the authorities of this colony, but shall hand over the offender — if they consider him to deserve the death penalty — together with the charges against him, to the Government, which is the only competent court in matters of life and death; the punishment of all other offences shall be left in their hands, however.

Pursuant to Article 12 a white soldier, Sergeant Frick, was posted together with two ordinary soldiers to the village of the Paramount Chief. From now on the tribe was officially designated as the "pacified Bush Negroes beyond Auca", or the "Aucaners", since the treaty had been concluded at Djuka Creek, which is 57 miles beyond Auca plantation on the Suriname River. This tribe styled itself the Djuka, and its territory also as Djuka.

After the success of these peace negotiations, the Saramaccaners also showed themselves prepared to have another try. A number of Saramaccaners who desired peace presented themselves at the principal Djuka village of Bongo Dotti, outside their own area, and there held discussions about the possibility of coming to an agreement under the same conditions. Louis Nepveu, a brother of the later Governor Jan Nepveu, played an important part in these talks, which took place first in Bongo Dotti and later at Sara Creek [4], where peace was made with the Saramaccaners in the same way as with the Djuka on 18th September, 1762. The postholder, Ensign J. Dorig, took up his residence at Victoria Post on the Suriname River, which was gradually settled by the Saramaccaners.

The same Chief Zam-Zam who had been responsible for the failure of the attempts to make peace in 1750 now interfered with the distribution of the gifts, thereby causing Chief Moesinga to be neglected. Moesinga was furious and, convinced that the whites were partly to blame, attacked a number of plantations, carried off 150 slaves, and repelled a patrol sent to capture him. But eventually he concluded a separate peace in 1767, together with his co-Chief Becoe. This group, the Becoe-Moesinga or Matuari, remained on the Saramacca. They obtained the right of free passage through Wanica Creek for the transportation of their products, and the postholder appointed to their territory took up residence at Saron on the Saramacca.

At last peace had been made on all fronts. The colonists rejoiced. In Paramaribo days of prayer and thanksgiving were held. Governor Crommelin was duly commended and congratulated by the directors of the Society, and those who had contributed to the conclusion of the peace were rewarded with sums of money and other gifts.

However, the problems of the colony were by no means solved: the conclusion of peace with the three Maroon groups soon proved no guarantee against slaves running away. Although the above groups, grudgingly and with much passive resistance, kept more or less to the terms of the treaty and surrendered some of the runaways, this did not

prevent the slaves, who saw no improvement in their treatment on the plantations, from revolting, running away and forming new foci of unrest, which endangered the entire colony and created an atmosphere of panic. Many new measures were taken. Governor Nepveu, who was appointed in 1770, took great pains to solve the problem. He had a military cordon, consisting of a chain of military posts at regular intervals with a connecting road between them,[5] constructed around the cultivated part of the colony, and created a "Free Corps" composed of manumitted Negroes and mulattos in 1770, and a "Black Chasseurs Corps" composed of slaves bought by the Government from plantation owners in 1772 (XXXI). These two Corps were to be used in expeditions against Maroons. Nepveu, moreover, applied to the mother country for a further reinforcement of 1,200 men. In 1773, 800 men under the command of Colonel Fourgeoud arrived from the Netherlands.

The newly formed groups of Maroons subjected the plantations in the Commewyne and Cottica areas to fierce attacks, successfully repulsed a succession of patrols, and took some of the military posts of the cordon. Their chiefs, Bonni, Baron and Joli Coeur, were brave warriors, intrepid and vindictive. It cost the colony and the forces brought from the Netherlands many years of great exertion to drive these "Bonni Negroes" out of their villages, which had been converted into fortresses, and finally far into the interior, where they were placed under the control of the Djukas along the Upper Marowyne. These hostilities, which varied in intensity but never really stopped, lasted from 1769 to 1793 (XXX).

In the meantime the postholders posted among the three different Maroon groups tried to carry out their duties. Their office was far from being a sinecure. There was always cause enough for quarrels, and these officials, whose position was not an enviable one, were often scarcely able to cope with them. Every time there was a runaway who had to be returned, according to the terms of the peace treaty, they had to recommence protracted negotiations. The periodical distribution of presents among the Maroons was invariably attended with trouble: the Maroons always felt wronged, and thought they had to travel too far to fetch the goods from the store.

Their distrust of the whites, from whom they always expected new attacks, was expressed in their attitude towards the postholder. To be able to perform his duty at least to some extent, the latter had to be as crafty and cunning as his hosts.

The first postholder among the Djukas, Sergeant Frick, who was of German origin, spoke the Surinam vernacular badly; he stayed on only till 1763. In one of his letters (August, 1762) he complains about the difficulty of capturing and confining runaways; these were usually armed and offered strong resistance. So he was asking for handcuffs. The letter ends with a pathetic cry of distress, asking for more help to be sent with the regular provisions and stores. These latter the Maroons were willing to fetch only if they were paid more than he could afford. "I cannot believe that it is your Honours' intention to let me go to the dogs here, to put it bluntly, without clothes, and without powder and shot".[6] He ended up being so unpopular with the Maroons that they forbade him to send any letters setting forth their wishes and complaints to Paramaribo at all, "as they did not help anyway", and once even imprisoned him and his two soldiers, confiscating all his possessions. Although he was soon released, the Maroons and he no longer trusted each other and he asked to be relieved.

Both Governor Crommelin and the Society would have preferred a civilian rather than a military man as postholder, but the members of both Courts successfully opposed such an appointment. Their objections to the proposal to appoint a "capable, moderate and sensible man, a non-soldier" were that the expenses involved would be too high for the residents; that there were enough capable non-commissioned officers who could keep a watchful eye on the Maroons; that it was more difficult to find a capable man, or even someone who could write at all, among the civilian population; and that the work was dangerous. Whereas it is the military man's duty to remain at his post in case of trouble, a civilian could leave if things became "too hot for him".

The upshot of it all was that until the nineteenth century the postholders remained military men, who were given a 100 or 150 guilder douceur now and then for solving difficult problems.

After 1793, when the hostilities against the Bonni Maroons ceased, these latter were prevented by the Djukas on the Upper Marowyne from causing further trouble, and large-scale uprisings no longer occurred. The slaves continued running away, though in smaller numbers. Some of the factors responsible for this were the gradual decrease in the number of plantations, and hence of slaves, the prohibition of the slave trade in the Netherlands possessions in 1814, and the growing realization that slaves should be treated better, either from utilitarian or humanitarian considerations. After the abolition of slavery, first by England in 1833 and then by France in 1848, of which

the slaves and Maroons in Surinam also came to know, there were expectations that the Netherlands would follow suit. This did in fact happen, though not until 1863.

3. *The office of postholder after 1835*

The fear of hostilities with the Maroons, whether in the form of scattered attacks or of a general surprise attack by all the "pacified" groups combined, possibly with the help of runaways and even the Indians, still prevailed throughout the entire colony in the nineteenth century. On renewal of the Peace Treaty with the above-mentioned three Maroon groups (the Djukas or Aucaners, the Saramaccaners and the Matuaris or Becoe-Moesinga Maroons) in 1837, 1835 and 1838, the principal points again concerned those measures that were designed to protect the white colony, viz. the fixing of boundaries that the Maroons were not supposed to cross and the prevention of possible attacks by Maroons allowed to travel down the river to come to town by means of a pass system, together with the rules governing the capture and surrender of runaways.

The postholder was given greater responsibility with regard to the supervision of the observance of the new contract than before in 1760. It was now part of his duty to keep an eye on all of the Maroons' movements from his isolated post and to report on these regularly.

In the "Political Contract" concluded with the Djukas on March 25, 1837, the status and duties of the postholders were described as follows:

Art. 4. "Both the Paramount Chief and the lesser Chiefs are each to reside in the village in which they are in authority . . . .; and the postholder and assistant postholder, or either one of them, subject to the Government's approval, shall always reside in or near the Paramount Chief's village".

Art. 5. "The Paramount Chief and all the other Chiefs, including the minor and Bush Chiefs, are to inform the postholder of the number of men, women, boys and girls of which the population consists, as well as of the number of guns, both working and defective, within one month after the date hereof, and at every full moon to supply the postholder with a list of the names of all who have died and been born since the last full moon".

Art. 6. "If they send a patrol beyond the cordon [7] they shall be paid a reward of fifty guilders for every runaway captured. However,

the postholder is to be informed accordingly beforehand, and to give his permission for sending the patrol".

Art. 13. "In the event of the death of a Paramount Chief or lesser Chief they shall be free to choose his successor; however, they must immediately inform the postholder accordingly, and hand over to him the Chief's staff, metal chain, etc. He shall then — after ascertaining that the newly chosen chief's conduct has been such as to render him worthy of the Government's confidence — send a written report to the Government. After confirmation of the appointment by the Government, the chief must come to swear an oath of allegiance".

Art. 15. "Passes for Paramaribo or any other place..... shall never be issued to more than forty of them at a time; in order to obtain said passes they must apply to the postholder, if present, or to the assistant postholder, between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m., giving details of their own names and those of their chiefs and villages, of the number of guns both working and defective, of the contents of their cargo, of the articles they intend to buy, of any leopard heads they are carrying, and any other information he may require." Articles 22, 23, 24 and 25 regulate the payment of the travelling expenses from and to town of the postholder and assistant postholder, as well as the transport costs of all goods going upstream and downstream. Letters are to be conveyed free of charge.

Art. 26. "They are forbidden to have any guns repaired or to buy any guns, powder, shot, machetes or flint, except with due permission from the postholder, who will endorse their passes accordingly, which may then serve as licences."

Art. 27. "All persons violating one or more of the conditions set forth herein will be liable to punishment in Paramaribo if they should fall into the hands of the Government, and by the Paramount Chief, in the presence of the postholder or assistant postholder, who will draw up a report accordingly, if they are in their own territory or on their way there.

And if this condition is not met, all river traffic will be closed to all Aucaners until punishment has duly taken place."

In the general "Instructions for Postholders among the Maroons", which were laid down for the guidance of postholders in a resolution adopted on November 11, 1835, the implementation of the aforegoing measures was prescribed in greater detail. It was the postholder's duty to summon the Paramount Chief and all the other chiefs to a meeting immediately upon his arrival at his place of residence, in order to

explain all the various points of the contract to them again, and inform them that "all complaints, requests, and, in a word, everything the Maroons might wish to bring to the notice of the Government, must be conveyed through his intermediary."

The administrative duties of the postholder were likewise further defined in these Instructions (35Fii) [8], as follows (XV):

Art. 4. "The postholder shall keep an accurate daily record of all that passes in his district, where he will act as Government Resident, and shall keep a register of all passes issued by him; these must be numbered and must specify the names of the Maroons concerned, as well as those of their chiefs and villages and the date of their departure. He shall also keep a record of all the return passes. He shall, as far as possible, register all births and deaths for each individual village. He shall draw up and keep a conduct sheet recording the behaviour of the chiefs generally. He shall send extracts in duplicate of all these records and documents together with his own comments, if any, to the official of the Department for Maroons and Indians attached to the Government Secretary's Office in Paramaribo every three months."

Art. 10. "On the return of the Maroons concerned, he shall carefully investigate whether the conditions set out in the return passes obtained by said persons here in Paramaribo have been observed, by checking:

a. the stated number of guns both working and defective,
b. the number of machetes purchased,
c. the amount of powder and number of new guns; if the conditions have not been observed, he shall confiscate any excess numbers, investigate in what manner they have been obtained, and have some reliable person bring them here; and he will issue no new pass to the offender for the whole of the following year."

The postholder is emphatically reminded of his duty to keep a close watch and report on the movements of the Maroons within their own groups, as well as their contacts with other groups of "pacified" Maroons and with runaways and Indians.

Art. 6. "The postholder is emphatically urged to investigate with the greatest possible secrecy and discretion who are the chiefs of villages guilty of harbouring runaway slaves or in league with camps of runaways."

Art. 7. "He shall endeavour by every possible means to make it

clear to the Maroons what unpleasant consequences and delays any illegal connections are likely to have for them."

Art. 8. "He shall seize every opportunity of obtaining reliable information on what Indian tribes the Maroons maintain peaceful relations with and about how they may in one way or another be helpful to one another, as well as of finding out whether or not these Indians are known to the Government."

Art. 9. "He shall try in every possible way to find out what connections exist between the three main Maroon tribes[9], and furthermore use every available means to keep the differences between them alive; but he is to act cautiously in every respect, and to try and win the confidence of the chiefs in order this way to discover their real intentions, without, however, giving the slightest impression that the Government is at all interested in this."

Art. 12. "He is to visit the Maroons' villages upstream and downstream at least once a year and on these occasions to investigate carefully whether they are harbouring any runaways or entertaining any relations or contacts with runaways, and, if such be the case, to make detailed notes of the matter and submit a report accordingly to the authorities; and if he should discover any runaways or captured slaves being harboured in any village, he is to see to it that they are handed over to the Government as soon as possible."

The postholder was allowed to visit Paramaribo in order to make purchases once a year (art. 13), but was prohibited (art. 16) from "carrying on trade either with them (the Maroons) or the Indians, in order to avoid that any obligations should arise towards them, since he must always see to it that he remain independent, an exception being made for such goods as he is obliged to exchange for his sustenance."

In article 15 he was "seriously warned against becoming too familiar with the Maroons, not only since this would breed contempt for him personally, but also because such degrading behaviour would lead to a neglect of the Government's interests as well as to whites in general becoming ridiculous in the eyes of those to whom they should always be an example of good behaviour and morals, in such a way as to preserve the respect of these people".

According to these Instructions (art. 18), the postholder could furthermore refuse people passes as a means of enforcing the law in the case of such offences as theft, the smuggling of powder and guns, and "disrespect towards whites and disobedience to their chiefs".

The above shows that the main duties of the postholder consisted in seeing to it that runaways were caught (by means of expeditions if necessary) and surrendered by the Maroons; finding out whether there were any contacts between the Maroons and Indians in order to prevent conspiracies; keeping the Government informed on the numbers of the Maroons and the names of their villages; restricting the number of Maroons travelling to town and along the river; keeping a record of their trade; and preventing smuggling, especially in powder and guns.[10]

The implementation of the "Political Contract" as well as the "Instructions" was not without its shortcomings. In the first place, both parties shirked their obligations as much as they could. The Maroons went back on their promise to surrender runaways and engaged in smuggling, while the Government for its part kept putting off sending the gifts which, according to the contract, had to be presented every four years, and failed to station a postholder in or near the village of the "Paramount Chief", about which the Djukas regularly complained. In 1842 Armina post, located at quite a distance from the village of the Paramount Chief as it was, was abandoned, and when in 1846 Ch. L. Dhondt became postholder, he remained on the Cottica, while the assistant postholder resided in Albina on the Lower Marowyne. The annual visit to the villages along the Marowyne, as prescribed by art. 12 of the postholder's "instructions", was never paid by Dhondt. Shortly after his appointment as postholder he paid one visit to the Paramount Chief on the Tapanahoni, and this visit was to remain the only one.

The Assistant Government Secretary, H. C. J. Slengarde, accordingly wrote with reference to the delayed distribution of gifts (Chapter III, 2) in a report to the Government Secretary (July 13, 1846 (12)): "If one admits that non-observance of the treaty by us is arousing dissatisfaction among them, one cannot deny either that, when *they* commit breaches of the treaty, they can rightly claim that the whites were the first to violate it."

Little became of the postholder's task of gathering information on the Maroons' political activities "with the greatest possible secrecy and discretion" (art. 6 of the Instructions). The postholders sometimes gleaned such information from rumours, though one gets the impression that the Maroons spread these on purpose and that it was impossible to check them completely as to their truth.

The results of the postholders' activities were often less positive than

had been expected at the time the Political Contract and the Instructions were drawn up, as is apparent from the regular reprimands and vexed letters the different postholders received from Paramaribo. This is partly explained by the fact that a completely one-sided view was taken of the relations between the Maroons and the Government. There was no understanding for the Maroons' feelings about the relations between themselves and the Government and the contracts concluded between them, for instance. The Government, and the entire colony, for that matter, based themselves on the assumption that the peace conditions had been forcibly imposed on the Maroons, and that they were designed solely to prevent the latter from exposing the colony to any further danger of attacks on plantations and giving shelter to runaways. (Supervision was necessary here because the Maroons were not to be trusted !) The Maroons, on the other hand, believed that the whites, even though they had strengthened their position through the deployment of armed forces, had been unable to subdue them, and had in the final analysis offered peace for that precise reason. It was true that the terms of the peace treaty restricted their movements and obliged them to surrender runaways, but they had at the same time secured their individual freedom as well as authority in the area they had settled without outside help. Their voluntary isolation served to protect them against the whites (who were not to be trusted !), while they could make known any wishes they had to the postholder, who in their view possessed very little authority. They regarded the presents offered them once every four years as a kind of tribute.

As a result of this state of affairs the two parties neither trusted nor understood each other. It was only after a full century that the mutual distrust and misunderstanding diminished somewhat, while it took another century before the two sides were on fairly relaxed terms.

As for the postholder, it is evident from the Instructions that the Maroons mistrusted his presence among them not without reason, even though they also realized the usefulness of having someone who could serve as a contact with the whites in their midst. And as for their low opinion of his authority, they were not far wrong in this respect either, as the postholder was practically powerless with regard to their refusal to observe the terms of the treaty or any other conditions.

Moreover, they were very well aware that the postholder's status and salary as a civil servant were quite low. Although it was impossible for them to form an opinion of his educational level, they could tell whether he was able to make an impression on them, whether he

had a grasp of problematic situations and was capable of action, and also whether he could see through and thwart their stratagems, which constituted part of their political game.

Unfortunately the postholders' talents were seldom such that they came up to the expectations of either the Government or the Maroons. This was not surprising. In the beginning these functionaries were recruited from among soldiers mostly of the rank of sergeant, and sometimes lieutenant, and later from among ex-soldiers of the same ranks, and only in a few cases from other circles; but they were seldom well-educated men. Their financial position was far from enviable, the postholder among the Djukas drawing an annual salary of fl. 1,300 in 1846; and even this was an improvement on the time when postholders were classed purely as soldiers and obliged to live on their military pay.

Once he occupied this post, the postholder received particularly little support from the Government. Contact was maintained through letters that sometimes took weeks to be conveyed to and from Paramaribo by Maroons.

As was stated above, the postholder had little means of enforcing his authority. He could only refuse passes or stop the traffic up or down the river, and was furthermore practically powerless to impose or enforce even these measures.

When eventually the Government came to regard the "improvement" of the Maroons' morals and customs as part of the postholder's duties, partly as a result of a more humanitarian attitude — though more often on account of the advantages it expected thereof for itself — the Inspector of Crown Lands, H. C. J. Slengarde, stated in a report of an expedition to the territory of the Djukas and the Bonni Maroons in December, 1860 (cf. Ch. III, 6): ".....It is indeed regrettable that the Government of the Netherlands failed to take a much more serious interest in the fate of the Aucaners and the Bonni Maroons at a much earlier stage. With the exception of Dr. Hostman, who lived among the Aucaners as postholder,[11] but whose stay here was too short to be of any real benefit, the Government has not only always been badly represented with the various Maroon tribes, but has furthermore had as representatives people whose abilities and culture can be anything but highly rated, and whose moral example was in no way such that it answered the important purpose for which they were appointed.

Indeed, how is it possible to attract suitable persons with the scanty wages awarded for the function of postholder ? Even Mr. Kappler,

who constituted in general a favourable exception, was paid an annual salary of only f. 672 for a period of many years. Would it be at all surprising, therefore, if he regarded his function, the proper exercise of which involved many dangers as well as the risk of disease and demanded many sacrifices, as a matter of secondary importance ? In point of fact, he was never even expected to apply himself energetically to the civilization and moral advancement of the Maroons, which would, moreover, have been impossible for him — at any rate in as effective a way as the importance of the matter requires — from his post, Albina, distant from them and lacking in the necessary means as it was. As we have already stated above, only a good example, together with good, steadfast leadership may possibly bring about a favourable change in the morals and religious convictions of the Maroons and turn them into useful members of society. How often have we stopped to think of this in the course of our talks with them, when they intimated that they would like to have a a respectable white person take up his residence among them in order to teach and guide them and to make them acquainted with all the potential wealth of Auca's mineral and vegetable resources ?"

The postholder's activities may be divided into his administrative work on the one hand and special assignments on the other. Particularly the way in which the postholders carried out their special assignments, in which they had to act on their own initiative, provides an insight into the personalities of the various postholders and the reactions of the Maroons.

	Governor	Attorney General	DEPARTMENT FOR THE NATIVE POPULATION, CHARGED WITH SLAVE, MAROON AND INDIAN AFFAIRS					
			Government Secretary-cum-Commissioner Nat. Pop.	Ass. Gov. Secr. entrusted with Native Population Affairs	Postholder with the Djukas	Ass. postholder with the Djukas	Postholder's Post	Ass. Postholder's Post
1845	Ph. de Kanter until July 16 R. F. Baron van Raders	Ph. de Kanter	G. S. de Veer	J. C. Theil	C. J. Geut	Ch. L. Dhondt		Picket 19 (Cottica)
1846	do.	do.	J. A. Lisman	H. C. J. Slengarde	Ch. L. Dhondt	A. Kappler	Comboes Creek (Cottica)	Albina (Marowyne)
1847	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1848	do.	do.	do.	do.	M. Montecattini (Acting)	do.	do.	do.
1849	do.	do.	do.	do.	Ch. L. Dhondt	do.	do.	do.
1850	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	Monbijou (Cottica)	do.
1851	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1852	Ph. de Kanter (Acting) C. Barends (Acting) Jhr. J. G. O. Stuart von Schmidt auf Altenstadt	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1853	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1854	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1855	C. P. Schimpf	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1856	do.	J. A. Lisman	E. A. van Emden	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1857	do.	J. W. Gefken	do.	do. Inspector of Crown Lands [12] charged with Nat. Pop. Affairs	do.	do.	do.	do.
1858	do.	do.	do.	H. C. J. Slengarde	—	do.	do.	do.
1859	do.	do.	do.	A. Wildeboer (Acting)	A. Kappler	S. G. Klein ("correspondent")	Albina (Marowyne)	La Paix Plantation
1860	R. F. van Lansberge	do.	do.	H. C. J. Slengarde	do.	do.	do.	do.
1861	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1862	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
1863	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.

CHAPTER II

THE OFFICE OF POSTHOLDER AMONG THE DJUKAS (1845-1863)

1. *The postholders and their superiors*

The Department for the Native Population, charged with Slave, Maroon and Indian Affairs, was headed by the Government Secretary, who was also Secretary of the Colonial Council, in his capacity as Commissioner for the Native Population. However, the Department's activities were directed by the Assistant Government Secretary. In matters requiring special deliberation he consulted the Government Secretary, while he also received his instructions from him. The Attorney General was his advisor in legal matters, while appointments and Government resolutions with regard to other matters were confirmed by the Governor.

The postholder, being a Department official, directed all letters and reports to the Assistant Government Secretary, and only in rare exceptions to either the Government Secretary himself or to the Attorney General or the Governor.

Although the Department for the Native Population in 1857 was placed under the direction of the Inspector of Crown Lands, Industry and Agriculture and the Assistant Government Secretary was appointed to the office of Inspector at the same time, the latter's duties as far as the Department was concerned remained the same.

These duties were described as follows by Assistant Government Secretary H. C. J. Slengarde at the end of a general survey of Maroon affairs (July 13 (12)) after his installation in 1846: "The Assistant/-Head of the Department for the Native Population is virtually a slave to the Maroons. The latter, who lack all notion of time, start troubling him at six in the morning and continue doing so until six in the evening. In vain does he try to instruct or even request them to visit him between 6 and 9 and between 4 and 6.....

.....they were invariably dissatisfied if they were not immediately attended to, and it is no easy task for anyone to have to interview,

without exaggeration, up to thirty a day..... If one further considers the noise and racket they make — from which it is for the present impossible to deter them — it will surely be unnecessary for me to explain how difficult the position, which admittedly does not make too many demands as far as administrative work is concerned, is and must be if one adds to this the many visits of all kinds which must be made to the stores, the Attorney General's and the Treasurer's and to private citizens with differences with the Maroons.

The administrative work itself is restricted to the correspondence with the postholders, the issuing of return passes and permits for the purchase of guns, writing up the Journal and the application book, and the inspection of the budget, the pass book and the letter book."

Slengarde was furthermore "a sworn translator in the French and English languages and the Negro English tongue". He gives the impression of having been a somewhat formal, though sensible and upright civil servant.

The table on p. 24 sets out the different functions and the names of the officials in question in the period under discussion. The most frequently mentioned names in the following chapters are obviously those of the postholders among the Djukas and that of the Assistant Government Secretary, viz.:
Ch. L. Dhondt (postholder 1846-1857),
A. Kappler (assistant postholder 1846-1859 and postholder 1859-1863),
M. Montecattini (acting postholder for Ch. L. Dhondt in 1848),
H. C. J. Slengarde (Assistant Government Secretary 1846-1857 and Inspector of Crown Lands 1857-1863).

2. *Personal description of Ch. L. Dhondt and his attitude to the Maroons*

Charles Louis Dhondt was born in Steken, near Hulst, Belgium, on August 21, 1788. He was a Roman Catholic and was educated in Ghent and Lille. He joined the army in April, 1830, whereupon he was posted to the "West Indies Army" depot. After taking part in a ten-day campaign, for which he was awarded the Cross of Merit and assigned the rank of corporal, he went to Surinam in January, 1831. Here he became quarter-master with the Chasseurs Battalion, to leave the military service in 1834. From 1834-1838 he was a clerk with the Government stores, at an annual salary of fl. 600 in 1838. In that same year he became assistant postholder with the Djukas, at fl. 800

a year, and in February 1846 was promoted to the rank of postholder, with an annual salary of fl. 1,000 and an extra allowance of fl. 300. Of his more than 27 service years he spent 18 in the bush.

He was unmarried, but was living with Delphina, "his housekeeper, manumitted by him", and his son Charles Louis Dhondt. The same Charles Louis, or Karel, was manumitted in 1850, following a petition by Charles Louis Senior to the Governor (June 13, 1850, 35 F[II]), in which he stated:

"C. L. d'Hont [13] declares with all due respect:

That he is the owner, under the conditions of freedom, of the slave child Karel, 8 years of age, son of Delphina;

That he gladly undertakes this responsibility and submits herewith

1. an extract from the slave register,

2. a certificate of baptism issued by the local Roman Catholic Parish.

And respectfully requests that it may please Your Excellency to grant papers of manumission to the above-said slave child, with himself and, if Your Excellency should so require, Mr. H. C. J. Slengarde as sponsor, with permission for the said child to bear the surname of Dhondtfils."

From 1846 to 1850 Dhondt's post as postholder among the Djukas was at Comboes Creek, near the Cottica River, just below the junction of the Cottica and Courmotibo, and afterwards on the land of the abandoned plantation Monbijou, then converted into a Military Picket base, also on the Cottica, close to Oranje Creek.

In 1846, when Dhondt had been living among the Maroons for eight years, he was 58. His letters give an impression of him as a solid colonial civil servant, not particularly intelligent, prone to anxiety, in poor health and without any sense of humour and prematurely old as a result of the difficult, uncomfortable life in the bush. His attitude to and opinion of the Maroons, about whom he had to write regular reports, were in complete conformity with those of other unenlightened colonists. These were still ensnared in the ideas described by R. A. J. van Lier,[14] ideas conditioned by the process of "dehumanization", a concept used by that author to characterize the relationship between masters and slaves, but which is equally applicable to the relationship between whites and Negroes in that same society in general, and between Government officials and Maroons in particular.

This not exactly favourable view of Dondt is in need of some further qualification. Life in the bush for such a prolonged period, among people so essentially different from oneself, isolated from one's fellows

and deprived of all material comfort, with very little support from the Government in Paramaribo, moreover, was quite enough to undermine the morale of anyone who did not happen to be in his element in these surroundings in a much shorter time.

After all, one can hardly blame Dhondt, a product of his time as he was, for holding views that differed from modern ideas or for being relatively uneducated. One is justified in criticizing him nevertheless, since "enlightened" colonial civil servants definitely did exist, and a more intelligent attitude (quite aside from education) was evinced by other postholders, e.g., A. Kappler.

His appointment as postholder coincided with that of the new Assistant Government Secretary, H. C. J. Slengarde, the successor of J. C. Theil, who had just died. Dhondt was a friend of Theil's and had written to him just before his death in 1846 [15]: "The good prospects of which I was pleased to be able to inform you,[16] namely of gaining sustenance from the soil by my own labour within three months, have been four times eaten up by the multitudinous ants, called Couma-Couma [17], and thus frustrated, so that I have lost all inclination to sacrifice my health and money any longer.

To speak of other experiences is unnecessary, though it will not be superfluous to inform you that my only solace, my purchased little boy, is seriously and mortally ill, where . . .[18] that I would never forget, now that I am advanced in years (58), exiled so to speak in the wilderness, among recalcitrant Negroes, who are supposed to be human beings, without the solace of God's supreme guidance, left to my own resources, in an eternal humdrum. So consider, Honourable Sir, the unhappiness arising from this and the great suffering all this is causing a respectable, well-brought-up person."

Dhondt asked the Government Secretary to be made Theil's successor. Slengarde was appointed instead, however, and although Dhondt was promoted and given a higher salary, he remained in the bush.

On February 2, 1848, Dhondt wrote that he considered it advisable to abandon the post at Comboes Creek and to transfer it to a point further down, in the vicinity of a military post.

In July 1848 Dhondt went on six months' leave and was substituted by M. Montecattini, who — by order of the Government — investigated the feasibility and the expense of transferring the postholder's post from Comboes Creek to Monbijou. The findings were that the transfer would offer definite advantages, as well as being necessary. So Government Resolution No. 1479 of November 27, 1848, states,

among other things: "that the necessity of this is beyond question, since the present location of the house, being at least ten hours' sailing from Monbijou Picket, is quite unsuitable, the above-mentioned official thus being not only destitute of all aid in emergencies, but also obliged to send to the distant plantations for the most vital necessities, which, furthermore, involves considerable expenditure for the treasury.....; and also because it will be possible to keep the Maroons travelling up and down under more effective surveillance here ..... The Government Secretary deems a sum of one thousand guilders, including the costs of reclamation of the necessary tract of land and of painting the buildings, sufficient." [19]

Dhondt finally moved on June 30th, 1850. He lived initially in a small temporary building. He wrote at the time that a great deal of work still remained to be done on the grounds. It took much time and effort to get the grounds in proper order, and even more to keep them in reasonable condition. Dhondt wrote repeated letters complaining about the grounds, the house, the drainage ditches, the dam, the shortage of labour and the delays in the dispatch of instructions and money for wages and purchases from Paramaribo. So he wrote in a letter of 30th April, 1854 (56): "Finally, I feel obliged to inform your Honour that the front steps are virtually useless; in order to prevent accidents from happening, I am compelled not to use the front steps. I have replaced the back steps, which are likewise completely dilapidated and in a state of collapse, with a provisional ladder in order to be able to enter the house. Because of the high level of the water in the drainage ditches (which are in need of repair) and the heavy rains, the grounds are always muddy and the latrine, which seems to have been erected too close to the ditch, is threatening to collapse. In order to avoid undue expense, a number of things ..... need to be repaired."

In January 1856 Dhondt was given permission to go on leave again. He had no canoe, however — the old one being useless and permission for a new one not having been received —, so that on January 17, 1856 (58) he complained to Slengarde: "You know that I have none, so that I am unfortunately obliged to request you to inform our above-mentioned chief (Lisman) of the matter, and convince him that an official among recalcitrant Maroons cannot remain without a suitable boat without being exposed to great danger when out on official business or in the event of illness or in other unforeseen circumstances."

He eventually had a new dug-out made, and was hoping to go on

leave on October 1, having arranged for his son, Dhondtfils, to act as his deputy during his absence.

Meanwhile Dhondt had asked for various reasons to be pensioned off. In a letter of August 1, 1856 (58) he wrote to the Department: "Finally, seeing that I am advanced in years (68) and suffering from a dangerous eye disease, which is so serious that I cannot distinguish anything with my right eye, and with the left only at a very short distance, I intend to apply to His Excellency ..... for permission to retire from the Government service in the regular way." Another reason for Dhondt's decision to retire was that he disagreed with the new regulations concerning the freedom of movement of the Maroons (see Ch. III, 4.).

When October came he was still unable to go on leave, as he was ill and there were no Djukas to be found to transport him to town. He finally arrived in Paramaribo in late November. Here he had an interview with the Governor. In a letter to the Attorney General, J. A. Lisman, (dated November 28 (58)) he wrote: "I requested His Excellency to officially authorize my son, C. L. Dhondtfils, to attend to my official duties when I myself am absent or ill, without extra expense to the treasury..... His Excellency furthermore intimated to me that it would be best, in view of my advancing years, to apply for superannuation, saying, however, that I might go on living at Monbijou post and performing my official duties, for which I would receive a remuneration."

It was not until the end of 1857 that the above arrangements were officially confirmed. A resolution (No. 1425) (59) of November 11 stated that "although the presence of postholders among the Maroons is considered superfluous under the altered circumstances[20] ", "the retired Dhondt will nevertheless be allowed to continue to carry out that function, and will be paid an allowance of thee hundred guilders over and above his regular pension."

A fortnight after this decision was announced, on November 20th, 1857, Dhondt died.

Dhondt's opinions of the Djukas had been formed during his years as assistant postholder, so that by the time he was appointed postholder in 1846 these opinions had become fixed. Although the Government's policies changed considerably over the years, there was no change in Dhondt's views.

In August 1846, for instance, he wrote (35 F^{II}) the following about the movement of Djukas along the rivers and in the direction of town

as a result of the food shortage: "It is important to keep the Aucaners, who are timid so to speak, and who wish to be treated in a manner that is somewhere half-way between severity and leniency, rather more in check. It is necessary to adhere to the regulations already in force and to abandon the present exaggerated leniency, for then one will find the Aucaners obliging instead of stubborn. One must never show fear in their presence. If they detect the slightest hint of fear, then one will soon encourage [21] them in their boldest pretensions, *by which they mean to intimidate people; one must deal with them fearlessly, as I have done up to the present* [22], and then one will soon find out of what little account they are, namely from their obsequiousness and unsolicited servility; to treat these people kindly is to treat them wrongly, as nine years' experience has taught me ..... Only strict obedience to the regulations will make the uncivilized decent-minded; this is a prerequisite for all peoples."

The fact that Dhondt himself was frequently unable to manage the Djukas by following the line of action which he so positively recommends here is evident from his many complaints about the Maroons' intractability, recalcitrance and insolence.

On March 16, 1848 (5), these views were repeated almost word for word by him, this time in connection with the Djukas' attempt to take the law into their own hands following a fatal accident.

In the annual report to the Department for the Native Population for 1849 (5), he expresses the opinion, after remarking that "in their own country, as here in the uplands, they harbour the most atrocious and inconceivable superstitions, just like the most uncivilized and savage of peoples, and indulge in an unbridled manner in all kinds of idolatry," that all this, "especially here in the uplands, should be eradicated on account of the frequent intercourse they have with the plantation Negroes; and for this reason I consider it necessary that they be forced to live in villages, and not in isolation, as is at present the case. The great fuss they make of their chiefs is meant to scare us, and to enable these to assert themselves and command as much respect as important officials in civilized communities, or else to obtain some undeserved present or other. The latter is characteristic of all of them, and, as they are covetous by nature, is innate in them. They are a quite disorderly lot, just like their uncivilized nations of origin, which in my view is a consequence of their nomadic way of life, and of the fact that they are opposed to all useful work, and are shiftless, subsisting as they do on hunting and fishing, and enjoying too much

freedom. I feel justified in concluding from all this that they never comply with any of the orders of the authorities or the stipulations of the peace treaty concluded with this tribe. Whenever they are notified of some official instruction or when the peace treaty is read out to them, everyone present invariably replies: 'Yes Masra, that is right, and that is at it should be'. But hardly have they left when all their fair words and promises are reversed, and they will then say: 'Let them say what they like, we are free to do as we choose and see fit'. As would seem to me, this explains why they have behaved so stubbornly, so indifferently, so improperly with respect to the Department's orders in my presence..... [23]. This shows that, just as in former times, they want to force our hand, probably on the assumption that the plantations cannot exist without them, since they consider themselves responsible for curbing or putting a stop to the running away of slaves, while I regard the Aucaners as the original cause, as it were, because of their uncontrolled and shiftless way of life and their frequent intercourse with the plantation Negroes ! I consider myself justified in observing that, in order to suppress this presumptuousness, the most effective policy would be to curb their excessive liberty to some extent. If such should be possible, then experience will soon show them to be more tractable and of greater genuine use to society. My experiences in the course of twelve years have made me realize that as soon as one is in any way generous to these people, who are godless though not stupid, they take it into their heads that the Government, forced by circumstances, has a need of them. The only way of preventing this is never to depart from the regulations in force until they have shown by their behaviour that they are worthy of the respect and faith of this Government. Up until now I have had no cause for advising the Government of this being the case in any way, while I feel that without the effective cooperation of the Government no good is to be expected from this scum of humanity unless a pestilential disease should break out among them, or effectual regulations to the effect that they must pay their share of the country's taxes, just like all other free persons, were to be drawn up. Then they might hurry over to the good side."

These proposals clearly show how little appreciation Dhondt had for the Maroons around him. Considering the sudden outburst that "this scum of humanity" would only "hurry over to the good side" if they were afflicted by "a pestilential disease" in the final sentence of this otherwise relatively unemotional report, the words "little appreciation"

seem a gross understatement for his manifest aversion and contempt. Dhondt's views had not changed by 1851. In his annual report of that year (5) he writes that he is "unable to inform the above-mentioned Department of any improvement at all in the Aucaners' behaviour, way of life or culture. Everything is and remains disordered and barbaric, in the uplands as well as in their own country."

It is not surprising, therefore, that Dhondt expected absolutely no good to come of the relaxation of the restrictions on the Maroons' freedom of movement in 1856. It is obvious from the relevant section of his letter [24] how sceptical he was about the new regulations; in the end this provided one of the reasons for his request to be allowed to retire. In a letter to the Attorney General in which he announces his plans accordingly (October 11, 1857 (59)) he writes: "on the grounds of my advanced years (69), I am today applying to His Excellency for the honour of receiving a pension, earnt by long years of service, as respectfully requested on December 1st of last year. The intractability of the Aucaners is daily becoming more intolerable. No further news."

Dhondt's requests and recommendations for more severe measures were never heeded. On the contrary, during his term of office as postholder most of the military posts, on which his authority had partly depended, were abandoned, while, moreover, the Maroons were given considerably greater freedom of movement.

Although Dhondt, when brought face to face with the customs of other societies with which he was unfamiliar, was filled with horror and disgust at the sight of "barbarity", his reports on the Djukas' religious and other meetings are vivid enough, and not ethnographically incorrect.

In September, 1846 (35F^{II}), he describes a Djuka funeral at Comboes post as follows:

"On the 12th inst., at 8 o'clock in the morning, the death of an old Aucaner called Coffy Pagne of Paise occurred; by evening the place was full of Aucaners. The women put on a show of crying as though mad, while the men, like harts panting for water, kept asking for *dram*.[25] Without taking the trouble to inter the body, however, they spent all night amusing themselves with frivolous talk, which ended up in a guzzling and drinking bout and finally, in accordance with their usual custom, in quarrelling about the cause of death; they do not believe in natural causes of death, thinking it to be brought on always by a witch or else by a Jorka or the spirit of some deceased relative floating in the air.

Not until the afternoon of the 14th was the body washed, and thereafter placed on view in the shed, amid barbaric howling all the time, indicating how wild they were. Shortly after that the corpse was placed in a coffin made out of a decayed canoe, which, amid a silence which to me was unexpected, was then swung around in order to see whether the Jorka or spirit would not accuse any of those present of the death. This was followed by a scene that was not very much short of wild fighting mixed with terrifying raving lasting more than three quarters of an hour. In the evening and night all was quiet. On the 15th the coffin with the body was finally again swung around in the way described above, whereupon it was once more put on view. It was nine o'clock by the time they began to think of burial; more barbaric howling, singing and a few gun-shots served to announce this intention. Soon thereafter the coffin was nailed shut, which ceremony took place at half past eleven, with all those present contributing their share to fill up this last abode with all kinds of articles. Now the *dram* the Aucaners had brought began to get the better of them, and I had to intervene. With the exception of a few, they all set out for the various *los* [29], leaving me in peace. But at one o'clock the scum came back to fight outside the door, crying as though out of their wits, and my intervention had no effect on this disorderly mob. All this took place in the presence of elders, who, like the rest of the dregs of humanity, pay not the least heed to sound orders or reason, so that my safety is constantly threatened by all kinds of dangers. It is for this reason that I feel constrained to submit the present report, so as to enable the Department for the Native Population to take measures to protect me against further disagreeable experiences of various kinds by means of effective aid. ..... On the 16th, at the break of day, gun-shots and barbaric singing announced the wild ceremony of the burial of the stinking remains, at which, to my dismay, a drum was also used; the frightful and horrifying scenes enacted by the Maroons are exceptionally savage and idolatrous, and this ought to be curbed in Cottica. The day was passed in drinking and quarrelling. According to some, the body did not wish to depart; others wanted to proceed with the burial. This ceremony finally commenced, after a great deal of insane raving and barbaric howling and after much swinging to and fro of the coffin, at five o'clock, when to my great satisfaction the body, together with the mad Maroons accompanying it, proceeded up the river to a place used for burying their dead.

After everything was quiet again, and I had informed the elders of my dissatisfaction and told them that I would report everything, they all came like children to beg forgiveness with flattering words. Although this is a sign of their weakness, their craftiness shows through it just the same."

In a report to the Department for the Native Population of 1849 (8), Dhondt writes: "In their own country, as here in the uplands, they attach credit to the most atrocious and inconceivable superstitions, like the most uncivilized and savage of peoples, and abandon themselves to all kinds of idolatry. Each family may be regarded as an independent unit, the elders of which act as judges in disputes of every possible nature, the sentences passed by these, however abominable to the feelings of more decent-minded people, and however barbaric and atrocious they may be, being invariably carried out. Only at *whiks* parties,[26] which take place at the death of almost every Aucaner, since they do not believe in natural causes of death, does the Paramount Chief intervene to administer the *Zweri*.[27] If the person subjected to this *Zweri* seems at all affected by it, he is left to be dealt with by the families as they see fit, and a horrible death is inevitable for him. This may sometimes be avoided by paying a ransom, however; if such is the case, they will still persist in their arbitrary, vindictive and unreasonable notions nonetheless, until an opportunity of taking revenge arises, where a major part is played by the wandering Jorka or spirit of the deceased. Snakes and other vermin, which they venerate as gods, also play an important role here."

In the annual report of the same year, 1849 (5), he writes: "A few months ago there was a fuss for six whole days on account of a snake which had died more than three years ago and whose Jorka [28] was not fully satisfied and was therefore free to wander about before finding peace. A few days ago a small snake was found dead in the neighbourhood; this dead animal was regarded as one of their idols by the Aucaners and thus provoked a commotion lasting two days and two whole nights. It was then placed in a coffin and carried around in the same way as their dead or the latter's hair. After being asked who had killed him or from what cause he had died, the snake God was ceremonially buried, in accordance with their idolatrous custom. At present they are busy over a dead cayman found in the river. The Cayman god, whom they fear, has to establish who was the offender as well as the cause of death. After that there is more fuss and more sacrifices, and only then will the Cayman God be ceremonially buried.

It will be clear from these details what sort of state of idolatrous superstition they are still in."

On August 1, 1856 (58), Dhondt reports: "The death of a Negro girl belonging to Otter *lo*[29] gave rise to difficulties with a Negro called Johannis Franki of Bley *lo,* who, according to the reports, is being conveyed to Auca. You know the Aucaners, and how they are erring as much as ever before and do not believe in natural death causes, so that, however unreasonable the findings, presumably this matter will be settled in a barbaric way."

3. *Personal description of A. Kappler*

August Kappler was an exceptional man. A description of his activities as assistant postholder from 1846 to 1863 provides only an incomplete picture of the period he spent in Surinam, since this constituted a comparatively unimportant part of his 45 years of service in that country. Indeed, his own works afford the most penetrating insight into and present the most exhaustive account of the character of the man. His books on Surinam reveal how extensive his knowledge of and great his devotion to that country were (XVII, XVIII, XIX).

Kappler was born in Mannheim in 1815. Here he received an elementary school education and was apprenticed to a grocer-druggist. He did not like this job in the least and hence travelled to the Netherlands, where he joined the Colonial Army, originally in the hope of being sent to the Dutch East Indies. As he had to wait too long to be sent there, however, he chose Surinam instead, where he arrived in 1835. Here he served as quarter-master, remaining in the army until 1841. During this time he collected samples of the native flora and fauna, sending specimens to Europe for sale. His book *Sechs Jahre in Surinam,* which appeared in 1854, deals with this period (XVII). In the meantime, after resigning from military service in the Netherlands in 1841, he returned to Surinam, where he resumed his collecting, in 1842. He had plans for going to the Marowyne to engage in lumbering, for which he obtained a licence in 1846. Here he settled to the south of Wana Creek, naming his grant "Albina" (after the woman he married in 1852). He started off with Indian labour, and purchased his timber from the Maroons. This venture proved no great success. In 1852 he entered into a partnership with a Dutch firm, sent to Germany for some carpenters and other workmen, as well as his wife, and made a new start.

In addition to his timber-trading, he launched an agricultural and cattle-breeding scheme. This colonizing venture also fizzled out — the German colonists were dissatisfied, and the Dutch firm went bankrupt. The Government, however, found Kappler's ideas on colonization on the Marowyne promising (the French had been very active on the opposite bank since about 1850), and requested him to work out a scheme for a new venture at the public expense. However, a newly appointed Minister of Colonies was opposed to the plan, so that it was not carried out. Kappler was paid a substantial sum of money as compensation, with which he purchased "Albina". He started another private enterprise, this time with the aid of Chinese indentured labourers, imported into Surinam from 1853 onwards. His agricultural and cattle-breeding venture was doing well by now, especially because he was able to trade on a large scale with the penal colonies on the Marowyne in French Guiana. In 1876, when gold was first discovered on the Marowyne and people went there to seek their fortune in large numbers, his venture really began to flourish. But now the Government's interest was aroused in the Marowyne area, which was beginning to show great promise. Moreover, the French were becoming too interested in the area to the Netherlands' liking. This led to the appointment of a District Commissioner for the Marowyne district upon the subdivision of Surinam into districts. The Government bought a half-share in "Albina", and in 1876 the newly appointed Commissioner took up his residence here.

After the arrival of this Government representative, Kappler felt severely restricted in his freedom. Having wielded the sceptre over the settlement he had founded as well as the Marowyne River area in general as a virtual potentate, he could not stand having a Government official at his side. He returned to Europe with his wife, a disappointed man, in July 1879. Here he wrote his books *Holländisch Guiana* (XVIII) and *Surinam* (XIX), and likewise did much travelling, to die in Stuttgart in 1887.

When Kappler first went to live on the Marowyne in 1846, he requested the Government to appoint him as assistant postholder. "Without any difficulty I obtained permission from the Governor of the colony to take up my residence on the Dutch bank of the river, and, moreover, since the insolent and impudent behaviour of the Maroons living on the upper banks of the Maroni was expected to cause me much distress, living alone as I was, was assigned the titular office of assistant postholder. In this latter capacity I had to issue passes to

any Dutch Negroes wishing to travel to the settled part of the colony, so that I was more or less in charge there."

The Government Resolution confirming this appointment emphasizes the fact that Kappler's contacts with the Maroons might be useful to the colony.

So the Government Resolution in question, No. 1579 (2) of October 29, 1846, states: "Considering that the applicant's presence in the Marowyne district, in accordance with his own request, may, without any expense to the Colonial Treasury, be utilized in order to have some person reside there who, endowed with the title of Government Official, will be able more successfully to devote himself to winning over the Aucaner Maroons with a view to gradually converting them into useful members of society; for that reason we hereby ordain that: —

1 A. Kappler Esq. shall be given permission to settle on the River Marowyne, south of Wana Creek, at five hours' distance from the sea.
2 The above-said A. Kappler Esq. shall be appointed assistant postholder, without any expense devolving upon the Colonial Treasury, and with such duties as are to be laid down in a set of special instructions which the Acting Government Secretary is hereby invited to draw up."

Kappler never received these special instructions. On October 22, 1850 (8), he once more asked for these to be sent, saying: "In conclusion, I would respectfully remind your Honour of the Instructions I have been promised, as four years have elapsed since, during which time I have had to trust to my own judgment."

In the meantime he had received an appointment as salaried assistant postholder, at fl. 672 a year! This had been prompted by the abolition of slavery in French Guiana in 1848, in consequence of which it was feared that slaves might try to escape from Surinam. Hence it was deemed important to make Kappler's function more clearly official, so that he would have greater power of intervention.

After the death of Postholder Dhondt, Kappler asked to be appointed to this post in his stead. At that time, namely the end of 1858, a permanent, regular source of income would certainly have been welcome to him, as his timber-trading and agricultural venture had come to nought, and it looked as if a Government assignment for founding an agricultural colony together with a hundred Dutch families would not come off either. He was, in fact, appointed to the post, though on

condition that it would go to someone else if the colonization scheme under his supervision were approved after all. Instead of fl. 672 a year, he was now paid fl. 1,000. Although the resolution by which he was appointed was dated August 2, 1859, it was not until 1860 that it became certain that the colonization scheme, for which Kappler had drawn up detailed plans, had been rejected by the newly appointed Minister of Colonies, Rochussen.

The task with which he was charged as a civil servant comprised, among other things: the organization of the distribution of gifts to the Maroons in 1849-50, which was a far from easy task [30]; securing Paramount Chief Bijman a salary instead of the obligatory periodical gifts [31]; and undertaking a trip to visit Paramount Chief Bijman in order to sound him out as to his preparedness to allow missionaries to work in his area.[32]

The letters and reports written by Kappler about these and other matters show up the differences between his and Dhondt's characters.

Kappler seldom complained. He liked the life at Albina and on the Marowyne, while he makes no mention in his letters of his personal disappointments outside of his postholdership. His reports and recommendations were lucid and realistic, and in them he never yielded to despair or self-pity. He furthermore was not inclined to regard himself as a victim of the circumstances in which he found himself, in contrast with Dhondt, who had no other business or personal interests. He regarded the office of postholder as a sinecure (especially after he became salaried), and not as his life work. This attitude naturally is not expressed in any of his letters, but is all the more clearly reflected in his books, especially *Holländisch Guiana* (XVIII).

Although he also felt that the postholder's means of enforcing his authority were definitely insufficient, he was not weighed down by this like Dhondt. His letters are mostly well-written and lucid; he had quite a good knowledge of Dutch and made fewer stylistic and grammatical mistakes than Dhondt, or even some of his superiors. However, there is little trace in the official correspondence of the lively spontaneity and sense of humour which make his books so exceptionally readable.

As it was not part of his duties to write monthly reports on his experiences with and opinions of the Maroons, he gives very little explicit information on these. Although his reports and letters in reply to the special instructions which the Government sent him (as was mentioned above) do contain some implicit information of this kind,

it is his books and articles which testify that he had made a thorough study of the Maroons' way of life and character traits. *Sechs Jahre in Surinam* (1854) (XVII), as well as *Holländisch Guiana* (1881) (XVIII) and *Surinam* (1887) (XIX), contain descriptions of the Maroons that prove that he was thoroughly acquainted with their history, religion and way of life.

He did not like the Maroons and, despite the fact that he found fault with the Indians on many points also, he got on better with them. In *Holländisch Guiana* he says: "However popular I was with the Indians, the Maroons on the other hand distrusted me. They did not understand what a European was doing on the river which they had been used always to regard as their property. I suffered much at the hands of these rough Negroes. The fact that I was so familiar with the Indians was most disagreeable to them, since these were their virtual slaves."

He did in the end succeed in overcoming their distrust and carrying on trade with them, though not in establishing friendly relations with them, as he was able to with the Indians.

Kappler's comment on Dhondt, who so often emphasized the need to exercise severity in his letters, but was evidently incapable of doing so in practice, was: "So my neighbour ..... with his eight to ten labourers, has not succeeded in erecting a comfortable house either, nor has he ever succeeded in planting sufficient 'underground crops' (mainly cassava, but also sweet potatoes, peanuts, etc.) to serve for his subsistence. Because of his enormous indulgence, he was much more popular with his servants than I with mine." (XXI).

However, Dhondt's letters do not seem to bear any indication that the fact that he was "more popular" made his contacts with the Maroons any the more pleasant. On the contrary, the distrust, aversion and contempt which Dhondt himself felt for the people he had to deal with daily ruled this out almost altogether.

4. *Personal description of M. Montecattini*

M. Montecattini, a Corsican by birth, was a one-time officer with the militia, and had taken part in several expeditions. He had run several sugar plantations, but in 1848 began a timber enterprise on the Marowyne, to the indignation of Kappler, who — with good reason — regarded him as a competitor. Montecattini settled half an hour upstream from Albina, although his licence was for a tract below Albina.

This way he was able to intercept all the Maroons' timber coming down the river before it reached Kappler at Albina. He was much better off than Kappler, having the means to charter sea-going vessels and sell his timber in the Antilles, while Kappler was obliged to haul his with canoes on difficult and dangerous trips downstream to Paramaribo, there to find means of shipping them to the Netherlands.

Moreover, Montecattini possessed a greater authority over the Maroons, since he had distinguished himself on the expeditions he had joined and had become a commissioned officer, whereas Kappler was only a corporal. In addition he had been able to win the confidence of the Maroons in the Cottica area, inter alia during his term as acting postholder from August to December 1848, so that these had promised to bring him wood from those parts as well. Their favourable disposition towards him is testified by the fact that Paramount Chief Bijman "chose him to be his special friend, and they drank each other's blood in token of their friendship" (XXII).

Kappler, who had been assistant postholder for two years at the time (Wolbers, p. 737, erroneously contradicts this), could not afford to adopt a familiar attitude towards the Maroons, which was in contradiction with art. 15 of the "Instructions for Postholders among the Maroons" of 1835 [33].

The example of Montecattini, who refused to conform to these Instructions during his term as assistant postholder, testifies to the compiler's lack of insight. Although Montecattini was on familiar terms with the Maroons [34], in their eyes he was even so a *grand seigneur,* an officer and a wealthy man, and he behaved accordingly. Kappler had no money and was only a "coprali". Moreover, they saw him "cultivate his own fields, cleave his wood and cook his own food. This made him look like a 'Potti bakkera' (poor white), for whom they had little respect (XXIV).

All this was enough to explain Kappler's often acrimonious remarks about Montecattini's doings only half an hour's distance away. But added to this were Kappler's feelings, as assistant postholder, of being passed over upon Montecattini's appointment as Dhondt's deputy when the latter went on leave in 1848. In *Holländisch Guiana* his comment on this is: "Far removed from all educated people, confined to a small plot of land of less than half an acre in size, and surrounded by swamps, drawing a salary, moreover, of fl. 1,200 tot fl. 1,500 — for this was to be substantially decreased —, I would not have cared to sacrifice my independent, if troubled way of life to live as a resident

without any occupation for the mere sake of being relieved of the toil for my daily bread at 32. I nevertheless complained both in writing and orally to my chief, Attorney General Lisman, who, occupying a fairly high rank in the Freemasons, did not wish to refuse Brother Monte-Cattini the post he had asked for."

In the end Montecattini, who had remained a Frenchman, managed to obtain permission from the French Government to have trees felled on the French side of the Marowyne, which work was carried out at a particular settlement under the supervision of one of his associates, Tollenge, or Dollingh, as Kappler calls him.

Despite his much more favourable position, Montecattini even so never succeeded in making the fortune he dreamt of.

Round about 1857 his venture was terminated. The immediate cause of this was probably the Government's sudden threat, in February 1856, to withdraw his licence unless he went to settle at the spot originally allocated to him: below Albina on the Marowyne. Furthermore, he was to pay taxes in future.

In November of that year Montecattini was given another month's grace to vacate his establishment. But in the meantime he loaded up a ship and absconded to Barbados (or perhaps he had disappeared even before that), and nothing more was ever heard of him.

Montecattini's term as acting postholder covered only six months, namely from August to December 1848, and his official activities were restricted to routine matters and the writing of a report on the transfer of the Comboes Creek post to Monbijou Picket. He was a timber trader in the Marowyne area for about seven years. Although he was often away taking his timber to the Antilles or Paramaribo, he nevertheless exercised an influence on the situation in the area because of his intensive contacts with the Maroons and the dificulties he caused Kappler, as well as because of his preparedness to arrange matters for the inactive Dhondt as acting postholder. Montecattini proved in many cases to be more familiar with the movements of the Aucaners than Kappler, and definitely more so than Dhondt. At the time of the question of the gifts [35] the Granman made use of Montecattini's Djuka labourers to convey messages to Kappler and the Government Secretary. A long letter written by Granman Bijman to Postholder Dhondt in 1854 was drawn up at Montecattini's settlement, moreover (by T. Montecattini, i.e., his brother or son).[36]

CHAPTER III

THE POSTHOLDERS' ACTIVITIES

1. *The postholder's administrative duties*

The postholder's administrative duties were clearly defined in articles 4, 10 and 12 of his Instructions. He had to keep a journal, as well as a register of all passes issued to travelling Maroons, specifying their personal names and those of their villages and chiefs, together with the goods they were carrying, and the dates of departure and return.

He also had to keep separate registers of births and deaths for each individual village, and a record of the conduct of the chiefs. Once every three months he had to send extracts of "all these records and documents" to the Department for the Native Population.

In addition he was supposed to visit every Maroon village on both the lower and upper reaches of the rivers at least once a year, and to keep a journal in which he recorded all the information he gathered there.

From 1846 to 1859 Dhondt was charged with these duties in the Marowyne, Cottica and Commewyne areas. Although one gets the impression that he complied with his instructions as much as he could, his records were often incomplete, while he did not get as far as actually carrying out all his instructions.

He did draw up his monthly, quarterly and annual statements, though these show many gaps. The contents of a number of such quarterly and annual statements are reproduced in table A on page 44.

In this table, I have added up the monthly figures so as to obtain quarterly statements, while the quarterly statements of a given year have been compiled into an annual statement for that year.

To these statements the postholder has added notes and comments on the passes issued, the trade in timber, *dram* [37] and bananas, and on smuggling by the Maroons. There was smuggling in bananas, *dram* and especially gunpowder, much to Dhondt's annoyance, though there was very little he could do about this, as he had virtually no powers to take measures against it, for the Government gave him none.

TABLE A [38]

Djuka trade and traffic (table compiled from data supplied by Postholder Ch. L. Dhondt)

Annual Statements	Passes issued			Timber Imports [39]			Exports [41]			
	for Paramaribo	Lower River Reaches	Number of Persons	Rafts	Boats	Value [40]	Double 5-gallon Flasks		Bunches	Value [40]
							Dram	Syrup	Bananas	
1846	264	535	1949	265	520	fl. 50,000				
1849	300	316	1551	350	305		1972	1002	9465	
1851						fl. 40,000	2407	1356	15310	fl. 14,830
1852	213	316	1271	232	454	fl. 32,180	2500	1135	15815	fl. 16,874.75
1854			1222	221	369	fl. 37,000	2795	1364	12885	fl. 15,000
1855	320		611	68	390		1016	548	7407	
1856			1285	300	350					
Quarterly Statements										
1847 3rd			541	48	104	fl. 12,400	380	200	3400	fl. 2,680
4th						fl. 18,750				fl. 2,877
1848 1st	117		283	41	89	fl. 10,600	123	217	4567	fl. 2,698
2nd	89			30	150	fl. 12,000	333	178	2467	fl. 3,116
1850 1st	94		287	53	65		326	161	2652	
2nd	122		289							
3rd	127		340				340	260	4660	
1853 1st	176		458	71	121	fl. 9,310	709	336	2250	
2nd	103		263	63	57		485	230	1830	
3rd	176		446	109	99		1260	577	3140	

Difficulties regularly arose about the number of passes that might be issued to Maroons trading or travelling along the rivers. The maximum of 40 persons at a time often proved much too low. Especially in times of shortage of food, or after the opening up of the river traffic after its closure as a punitive measure, the demand for passes was great. Dhondt, who got upset as soon as the Maroons began pressing him or started to grumble, usually asked the Department to be allowed to issue more passes in such cases, but he was seldom permitted to do so. Slengarde gave strict orders about this, and continued doing so until 1856, when these restrictive rules were withdrawn.[42]

In 1850, at the time of the gifts issue[43], the Djukas were denied the right of passage for a few weeks as punishment for putting off sending for these gifts. This gave rise to a shortage of food, and when the river traffic was finally opened up again there was a large influx of people in search of food. On August 27, 1850 (8), Dhondt wrote "I deem it my duty to inform the Department for the Native Population that the number of the Aucaners stipulated in the Treaty, namely 40, was reached already on the 22nd inst., so that I may not issue any more passes, as instructed. Since that date, fourteen timber rafts with at least 40 men bound for Paramaribo, and 25 boats manned by 50 men, all of them hungry on account of the food shortage, have arrived..... In order to prevent pilfering of bananas from the plantation provision plots, as also unpleasant experiences and conflicts that might arise out of the food shortage and the attendant famine, I make so bold as to respectfully request the above-mentioned Department herewith to authorize me to issue the Aucaners here at present with passes for town and for the provision plots further down."

Dhondt did not obtain the necessary permission, yet the situation did not give rise to any "unpleasant experiences and conflicts" — the Maroons were evidently able to fend for themselves, either by returning to the Tapanahoni and their provision plots, or (as they had always done in the past) by smuggling bananas.

An example of a list of penalties imposed on Maroons is found in Table B.

Nothing came of the instruction to visit all Maroon villages at least once-yearly. Dhondt once travelled to see the Paramount Chief at the Tapanahoni at the time of his appointment, in 1846, and that was all. He does not mention any journey to the Cottica and Commewyne area either. He compiled three different lists of chiefs and their *los*

TABLE B

Penalties imposed on Djukas
(List compiled by postholder Ch. L. Dhondt in 1853, 3rd quarter (55))
Extract from Record of Penalties kept by the Postholder

names of Aucaners punished	age	*lo*	term of punishment [45]	penalty imposed by	charge
Kwassi	20	Otterloo	6 months	postholder	selling *dram* to garrison
Koffy	25	Kompagnie	6 months	Slengarde	living in town without permission for prolonged period
Kwakoe	20	Ducan	6 months	Slengarde	do.
Kwakoe	20	Pediloo	6 months	Slengarde	do.
Maboi	25	Lapaix	6 months	Slengarde	do.
a Sribi and Cojo	20	Otterloo	6 months	Slengarde	do.
Alein	30	Otterloo	6 months	Slengarde	do.
Coffy of Mayna	18	Otterloo	6 months	postholder	going to town and beyond to stay without prior notification
Coffi [46]	22	Otterloo	6 months	postholder	do.

and villages, the two complete ones of which are reproduced in tables C. and D.

Kappler compiled a similar list on visiting the Tapanahoni in 1857.[44] This list is reproduced for the sake of comparison in table E. Although there are some differences in the spelling of the names, the numbers of the various *los* correspond quite closely.

E. Wong, in his article on the Maroons of Surinam (XXVI), presents a list of *los,* chiefs and residential villages compiled in 1830 by F. Schachtruppe, Dhondt's predecessor in the Marowyne area. On comparison of Schachtruppe's list, Wong's comments on this, and the lists of Dhondt and Kappler, one is struck by the following facts: (1) In his list of 1846 (table C.), Dhondt, like Schachtruppe, assigns Ottro-*lo* the first and foremost place. Second on the list is "Miss Jan negers", together with Ottro-*lo*. This is undoubtedly the same as the Missiedjan-*lo* to which Wong refers as constituting part of Ottro-*lo,* though it does not occur anywhere in the official records. In Dhondt's

TABLE C

Tribal Division of the Djukas
(Compiled by postholder Ch. L. Dhondt on March 24, 1846 (35F[II]))

Chief	*lo*	Place of Residence	Number				Total
			m	f	boys	girls	
Paramount Chief:							
Bijman	Otterloo	Auka					
Major:							
Cadet							
Baton Chiefs:							
Jackie Gomatarie	Otterloo	Kakantrie					
Asinuwapoe (deceased)	Otterloo and	Pikettie	158	170	100	190	618
Alabi	Miss-Jan Negroes	Kouwru Grond					
Kwakoe (deceased)	Hansuloo	Hansu	120	130	60	80	390
Kwassi Aponti (deceased)	Javaliloo	Clementi	120	140	100	110	470
Kwassi	Bleyloo	Malobi	90	100	90	110	390
Bijman (deceased)	Ducanloo	Monsouci	90	100	100	120	410
Bonoe Poti	Pediloo	Goetappi	120	110	120	150	500
Cofy Appra	Kompagnieloo	Wareloo	70	90	60	80	300
Alabie	Lapaixloo	Mindriwater	40	45	30	55	170
Coffie Amansun	Ververiloo	Kisays	70	80	50	70	270
Joukje (deceased)	Espinassiloo	Slebakreek	90	110	80	100	380
Andriesje	Patraloo	Wanvliege	80	100	70	90	340
Kwamina	Munchieloo	Munchie	100	110	100	150	460
Andre (deceased)	Castilleloo	Goedeke	75	85	70	90	320
Kwassie Trapon	Laparraloo	Laparrakondre	60	50	75	95	280
Saron (deceased)	Wanaboloo	Wanabo	50	60	40	50	200
			1333	1480	1145	1540	5498

(Dhondt's additions have been corrected)

list of 1851 (table D.), "Miss Jan" *lo* is not mentioned. He still mentions its chief, but remarks that the latter is "without a tribe". Wong, on the other hand, states Missiedjan *lo* to be still existing, but no longer to possess a chief. In Kappler's list of 1857 (table E.), neither the *lo* nor the chief is mentioned.

(2) Wong refers to Djoe*lo*, which in 1830 was still subdivided into Manchie*lo*, La Parra*lo*, Castillie*lo*, and Wanebo*lo*. According to Dhondt's lists, this was still the case in 1846 (table C.) and 1851 (table D.). Kappler's list of 1857 (table E.) also mentions Manchie, Castillie and Wanebo *lo*s. Possibly Kappler's Miranda*lo* is identifiable with the La Parra*lo* of the other lists, especially since Wong says

TABLE D

Tribal Division of the Djukas
(Compiled by Postholder Ch. L. Dhondt on December 1, 1851 (8))

Chief	*lo*	Remarks
Paramount Chief:		
Bijman	Otterloo	Clever, hypocritical, underhand
Major:		
Cadet	Otterloo	Good, a dunce
Baton chiefs:		
Jackie Gomatarie	Otterloo	Good, old and decrepit
Alabie	(without a tribe)	Good, old and decrepit
Kwassi Jungh	Hansu	Well-known, deceitful cunning [47]
Adam Castro	Javaliloo, Clementiloo,	Old and decrepit, worthless
deceased	Bleyloo	
Cojo Macossoe	Pediloo	Unknown, untrustworthy
deceased	Kompagnieloo	
deceased	Lapaixloo	
deceased	Ververiloo	
Matthijs	Espinassieloo	Good enough
deceased	Patraloo	
Kwamina Abona	Manchuloo [48]	Unknown to me, is good
Coffie Sapundu	Castilleloo	Good enough
Kwassi Trapon	Laparrakondre and Wanabo	Good and obliging

that one of the villages inhabited by these *lo*s was called Miranda. There are other instances of the names of villages and *lo*s being mixed up.

(3) According to Dhondt, Hansu was the village of residence of the chief of Hansu*lo*. The Hansu (or Ansoe, according to Wong's spelling) had moved to the Cottica before Dhondt's time; here Agitiondro was their principal village. Kappler, who only lists the *lo*s of the Tapanahoni and the Upper Marowyne, does not refer to Hansu*lo*.

(4) Dhondt, like Schachtruppe, refers to Monsouci as the village of residence of Ducan*lo* (table C.). In Dhondt's list of 1851 (table D.) Ducan*lo* is not mentioned. According to Kappler (table E.) Benanoe was their village. Ducan*lo* had probably moved, since Wong also refers to Benanoe as their main village.

2. *A hunting accident (1848)*

On February 19, 1848 (35F[II]), a certain Djuka (Aucaner) died

TABLE E

Tribal Division of the Djukas
(Compiled by Assistant Postholder A. Kappler in 1857 (59))

lo	Place of Residence of Chief	Chief	Location	Distance from mouth of Tapanahoni	Approx-imate numbers	Remarks
Otterloo	Drietabbetje	Granman Bijman	ait	10 hours	80	"Derki" was appointed Chief of Otterloo by Bijman, in the capacity of adjutant.
Otterloo	Piket	Tjambé	right bank	8 hours	50	
Otterloo	Kankantriana	Major Cadet	ait	10½ hours	10	
Javaliloo	Clementi	Adam Castro	ait	6 hours	200	
Pediloo		Mahosso	right bank	2 hours	200	
Vanferiloo		Peggi	ait	11 hours	150	
Wanabaloo		Kwassi Trapoen	ait	18 hours	—	not visited by me.
Espinassiloo	Joekatapoe	Matrakki	ait	10½ hours	50	
Manchiloo		Abia	ait	9½ hours	200	former Chief Aboena having died recently, his cousin Abia has been appointed.
Patraloo		Alali	ait	20 hours	—	not visited by me.
Compagnieloo		Apiri	ait	6½ hours	40	
Bleiloo	Manlobi	Jakki	ait	4½ hours	180	
Lapaixloo		Bosija	left bank	6½ hours	30	
Castilleloo		Koffy	ait	12 hours	—	the former Chief Koffie is deceased, and his nephew Koffie has been appointed (not visited by me).
Ducanloo	Benanoe	Venloo	ait	4½ hours	80	
Miranda		Tjentji	ait	18 hours	—	not visited by me.

after being accidentally shot by a man named Aboma Gado when out hunting. Dhondt, who was convinced that the shooting had been accidental, feared that the dead man's relatives might nevertheless feel that this was cause for a vendetta. So he intervened with the permission and on the instructions of the Department.

This was one of the rare occasions on which the authorities succeeded in interfering with the Djukas' administration of justice. There are various aspects to this case, such as the Djukas' reaction to such a fatal accident, Dhondt's views on the action taken by them, and the measures taken by the whites to thwart the Maroons' administration of justice.

"On the night of the 19th inst. it was reported to me that the Aucaner Aboma Gado, meaning to shoot an animal, shot the Aucaner Dosode a Kappi dead. Although this was definitely an accident, it may lead to a burning in the Aucaner manner,[49] such matters being left to the vindictiveness of the dead man's relatives. However, I shall do everything in my power to stop such barbaric behaviour, in the assurance that the Department for the Native Population will not blame me for doing so, and the confidence that the authorities will once again support me. I have already explained to the elders what our humanitarian duty demands if we are to avert horrifying consequences. I shall await written instructions as to how I should and must act. When on the point of dispatching the present letter I heard that Aboma Gado has been hidden tonight, for fear lest he come to harm."

Slengarde replied on behalf of the Government Secretary on February 29, 1848 (12): "You must, upon receipt of the present letter, summon the chief of the *lo* to which the Aucaner Dosode a Kappi, shot dead by Aboma Gado, belongs, or, if this *lo* be absent, any chiefs as well as other elders present in Cottica, and notify the same on behalf of the Government Secretary that, since according to your report and to information I have received direct from some Aucaner Maroons the shooting was not intentional, but an accident, no revenge of the kind you fear must be taken on the Aucaner Aboma Gado; and, moreover, that the Government Secretary is not opposed to a light form of punishment being imposed, such as dealing the accused a number of strokes in your presence, refusing him meat, fish and other kinds of food, or some similar such punishment, entirely at your own discretion. You must furthermore inform these elders that, if they feel that Aboma Gado deserves a more severe punishment than that mentioned above, they are on no account, especially in this

particular case — the accident having occurred on colonial territory between Monbijou post and the postholder's place of residence — to take the law into their own hands, but are to send Aboma Gado to town and surrender him to the Government Secretary, who will thereupon take appropriate measures according to the exigencies of the case. You are further requested to impress upon the elders on behalf of our chief that every act of cruelty committed by them in defiance of his explicit orders will be most severely dealt with by the Attorney General, that the *lo*s of the culprits will receive no gifts, and that the ringleaders will be banished from our rivers for good. In conclusion I would request you to keep a close watch on any who are likely to commit excesses in this matter, and to note down their names."

On March 25 (35Fii) Dhondt wrote: "It has been reported to me that a number of Maroons tied up Aboma Gado with the intention of cutting him up with a knife at Bossegrond, where Aboma Gado had been placed under the protection of the Aucaner Tamboe of Ducan*lo*. This is the first act of cruelty in contravention of the Government Secretary's orders of the 29th of last month. The chief ringleaders are Godjo, Gappi, Moffi, Pinti, Jackie and others belonging to Espinass*ilo*, who held a secret meeting of elders on the 16th, believing me to be uninformed of the matter. I once more pointed out that they would be held responsible for any unpleasant incidents that might arise, in order to restrain them, adding that I would stop all river traffic if I noticed them taking the law into their own hands again. Aboma Gado, who had been placed under the protection of Chief Kwassi Jungh of Upper Courmotibo, has now fled to Auca. This is all one can expect of these crafty people, who cast every good thing to the winds. Because of their docile and tranquil appearance, one is inclined to be lenient to them at first, only to become aware of all their trickery afterwards, much to one's own discomfiture. This is a frequent experience with the Aucaner people.

On the 27th I observed how all my words had been in vain, and how the Government Secretary's orders were ignored, as they intended taking the law into their own hands with regard to Aboma Gado. At 11 o'clock in the evening I set out for Vredenburg post to consult with the Commandant, in compliance with my Instructions of May 4, 1838, No. 524/475. After a detailed examination of all the facts relevant to the case we resolved, in accordance with the above-mentioned orders, to stop all river traffic until further instructions from the Department for the Native Population."

At the end of June of that year (35F[II]) Dhondt wrote: "The river traffic ..... was opened up again on the 10th inst..... on the 8th, Chief Kwassie Jungh arrived here with Aboma Gado, requesting me to open up the river traffic again, which I promised to do, and which, in fact, happened, as was mentioned above ..... There was a meeting of elders concerning this matter on the 20th, and another one on the 21st, attended by all the interested parties, including Aboma Gado. I was thereupon informed in the Aucaner way, i.e. officially, that they were all quite convinced that what had happened was not intentional but an accident, and that revenge would therefore not be taken."

But a year later it became clear that the Djukas were far from regarding the matter as settled. On March 16, 1849 (5), Dhondt asked what to do "in the case of Aboma Gado, who seems to have been taken to Auca in order to drink Zweri [50] (which must absolutely be prevented). Major Cadet and others have given Bijman utterly false information regarding the matter, in accordance with the wishes of the most vindictive of the local elders. This deceit may have the same consequences as in the case of the Aucaner Atoqua, who was burnt alive at Arminagrond on the Upper Courmotibo. They need little encouragement in this, as a single false word, indeed, the mere thought that the Zweri has struck him, is sufficient to cause the luckless victim to be pursued, apprehended, bound and abandoned to the flames, out of sheer bloodthirstiness or vindictiveness.

In the present case the above accident is not the only subject under discussion, but the Jorka or spirit of a Maroon who was mistakenly burnt alive for whisck (witchcraft) by the Javaliloo Maroons fifty years ago, and who happened to belong to the same *lo* as Dossoe a Kappi, is also playing a role. It is this Jorka that is demanding the shedding of the Javali Maroons' blood in order that it may find peace.

This barbaric custom is deeply rooted among the Aucaners and is likely to have the most pernicious and inhuman of consequences unless stern measures are taken."

The river traffic was again stopped, this time from March 28 to April 10. In the end more talks were held on the matter, and agreement was reached. On 17th April, 1849 (5), Dhondt was able to report: "Now the Aboma Gado affair has completely quietened down. I have heard that a Maroon of Espinassie*lo* has brought news accordingly, but am unable to find out anything definite, so that it is important that you should officially interrogate the cunning Kwassi

Jungh. If this is done, Sir, then everything that is going on will become known." And on May 3 (5) he wrote again that the matter was now settled once for all and that everyone concerned was convinced that it had been an accident. "Jantje of Compagnie *lo* ..... was chosen at the above-mentioned meeting to deliver this open letter to you, ... requesting and beseeching the following:

1. To consider everything that happened contrary to your orders in connection with the above-mentioned affair forgotten ..... They, the elders, undertake in future to punish every wrong and improper act in my presence ....."

Chief Kwassi Jungh, who was summoned to Paramaribo to be heard there, was dismissed from office because of the part he had played in the affair. But on July 27, 1849 (12), Slengarde wrote to Dhondt: "You are hereby authorized also to inform the dismissed chief Kwassi Jungh that, as a result of the Paramount Chief's pleadings on his behalf, our chief is prepared this time to forgive him the offence he has committed, on condition, however, that he present himself to Mr. Kappler to offer his humble apologies for his impudence and, moreover, submit a statement by this official to the Department as evidence that he has duly done so."

This was done accordingly, though not until 1850, as is evident from a letter by Kappler of March 6 (8), which says: "ex-chief Kwassi Jungh arrived here this evening and, as you ordered him to, offered his apologies for what he has done."

3. *The distribution of gifts (1849—1850)*

Article 21 of the "Political Treaty" of 1837 reads: "The gifts which will be presented to them punctually and regularly every four years if they behave well and in such a way as to be worthy of the same, will be inspected and taken receipt of in Paramaribo by four chiefs of their choosing; two of these will remain in Paramaribo until such time as the gifts have been distributed, while two must escort the goods to Armina post, where each chief will come to fetch the goods that are rightfully his, to take these to his village and distribute them among his people at his own discretion, in such a way that there will be nothing for anyone to find fault with, much less for anyone to dispute. The Government will also see to it that the goods are sent to each chief separately, so that it will be impossible for any of them to be treated unfairly. They will be forbidden to trade, sell or give any of these

presents to anyone who is not on peaceful terms with the Government, and on no condition to slaves."

According to one list of gifts, the goods sent included: "Chiefs' robes, round hats, guns, casks of gunpowder, shot, flints, axes, pickaxes, chopping-knives, machetes, grindstones, daggers, razors, scissors, tinder boxes, mirrors, cat's-eyes, chintz dresses, floral cotton, frieze, calico."

In 1848 the decision for the distribution of gifts was taken. The last distribution had taken place eight years previous (end of 1840 — beginning of 1841), and the Maroons had complained several times about this, for instance to Dhondt during his visit to the Djukas in 1846.

The time of the distribution was provisionally fixed "at full moon" in February, 1849, and the place decided on was Albina. A. Kappler, whose function as Assistant Postholder had just become salaried, was summoned to Paramaribo and there instructed to inform the Djukas of the plans accordingly. Although both Kappler and Slengarde expressed doubts that the Granman would be in Albina on time, the Government Secretary considered six weeks long enough to inform the Paramount Chief that his presence was required and to allow him to make the necessary preparations for the journey and thereupon travel to Albina. So Slengarde instructed Kappler on January 22, 1849 (12), "to send a special messenger to Paramount Chief Bijman of the Aucaners with the message that the Government Secretary will be at Albina with the gifts on the 21st of February, and will remain there until the 24th of that month; and that he and his followers are therefore to come there at the same time in order to fetch the goods, as these will not be unloaded unless they are present, but, on the contrary, will return to Paramaribo with the Government Secretary on the 25th if they have not come by February 24; and that they may rest assured that the goods will not in that case be brought back, if they are ever distributed to them at all any more".

On 26th January (12) the Maroon chief Jackie van Otterloo, who was in Paramaribo at the time, was urged "to take a verbal message concerning the gifts to his chief with the utmost speed". And "the message was repeated to him word for word, and he was given a piece of string with the same number of knots as of days remaining until the distribution in question was to take place at the abovementioned spot, with the instruction to untie a knot every day, in such a way that when all the knots had been untied the time had come for them to go to Albina."

Kappler also sent a number of messengers to the Paramount Chief.

The first signs of dissatisfaction on the part of the Maroons about the manner in which the time and place for the distribution had been fixed now became evident. One chief in Cottica assured Kappler that the Government had no right to decide when the Paramount Chief should come, but that the Paramount Chief should be able to stipulate the time himself, together with his chiefs in council.

Dhondt wrote that a rumour had been circulating since February 15 (35F[II]) that "if the gifts to be distributed in the course of the year do not correspond to those given in former years, they, the Aucaners, will not accept them". "This rumour", he adds, "is finding credence, but, like all other stories (like that about stopping the river traffic again) sent abroad to intimidate the whites, will vanish like snow before the sun in due course."

On the Paramaribo side the plan was nevertheless implemented according to schedule; the Government Secretary and his assistant, together with a doctor, were picked up at the mouth of Wane [51] Creek and brought to Albina by Kappler, while the gifts, which had been sent to Paramaribo from Holland, were carried by sea.

The official party and the gifts arrived at Albina, as planned, on February 22, 1849, but there was no sign of the Paramount Chief. After five days' waiting, the party returned to town in a huff without having achieved its purpose.

A few days later a Djuka chief appeared at Albina with the news that the Paramount Chief was due to arrive in a few days, as he had been prevented by illness from coming sooner. Kappler curtly replied that the Government Secretary had already left with the gifts. Finally the Paramount Chief himself suddenly arrived at Albina, profusely apologizing to Kappler and requesting him to ask the Government Secretary to set a new date for the distribution of the gifts, promising that this time he would arrive on time without fail.

The laconic Kappler was hardly surprised at this course of events, since on all previous occasions when gifts had been brought for distribution to Armina military post in the Marowyne area, it had taken weeks of waiting before the Djukas had finally condescended to come and take receipt of them.

Although the offended Government Secretary was at first determined not to bring the gifts back again, as stated in a letter to Dhondt of December 17, 1849 (12), but wished instead to keep them in Paramaribo, where they might be fetched in the course of the next few months, he changed his mind on receiving a conciliatory letter from

Kappler. The Paramount Chief had offered his apologies, had sent a number of chiefs to Paramaribo, had sworn that it was impossible for him to go to town personally and had promised solemnly to be on time the next time gifts were distributed at Albina.

On February 7, 1850 (12), Slengarde wrote to Kappler that the gifts, "insofar as they have not become spoilt or reduced in value because of the long delay, will once more be brought to Marowyne as soon as a suitable opportunity presents itself."

On June 13 (12) Slengarde sent news that he was intending to set out on the colonial schooner on July 9 or 10. If the Paramount Chief should arrive before that time, Kappler was to inform him that the schooner had sailed from Paramaribo and had probably been "delayed by adverse winds, strong counter-currents, etc.", and persuade him to wait for it to arrive.

It is quite obvious that this time the authorities were confident that the matter had been properly arranged and could now finally be settled. No attention was paid to the vague reports coming from Dhondt, who wrote on June 30 (8) that Chief Kwassi Jungh was on his way to town, bearing tales that were quite incomprehensible to him. According to these, the Djukas were prepared to pick up the gifts at the (abandoned) military post of Armina, but not at Albina. He further reported on July 9 (8) that "aside from the rumours already known to your Honour, I am told that the French are fostering plans for seizing the Aucaners' gifts with their troops upon their distribution here, and that the Paramount Chief has decided for that reason not to take receipt of the gifts anywhere else except the abandoned post of Armina. This unfounded rumour is spreading everywhere, so that I do not know what the consequences of all this will be."

The river traffic on the Cottica was stopped on July 12, and on July 17 Slengarde arrived in Marowyne on the schooner "Curaçaonaar". He was in for another disappointment: Kappler came to tell him while still aboard that so far there had been no sign of the Granman and that this expedition, too, would prove to be in vain.

Slengarde tells of this second failure in a report to the Government Secretary dated July 20 (12). On the day of his arrival, a few Djukas working for Montecattini had come to tell him that they believed the Granman had already left Djuka. The next day a few more Djukas had appeared at Albina, reporting that the Paramount Chief had arrived at the mouth of the Siparawini (a creek on the left bank of the Marowyne). Both groups, who had insistently requested Slengarde to

wait for Bijman's arrival, had been sent upstream with the urgent message that the Granman was to see to it that he arrived in time, as Slengarde would otherwise leave without further delay. The next day an official spokesman of Bijman had finally arrived conveying the latter's greetings and reporting that the Granman was at the Siparawini, and that the Assistant Government Secretary "and the gifts were expected there." He, too, was informed of Slengarde's "surprise" and of the fact that it "was due to sheer benevolence on His Excellency's part that the gifts had been brought to the Marowyne for a second time, since they had strictly speaking forfeited them by their wanton behaviour the previous year." The next day the Paramount Chief still had not arrived, so that Slengarde had left with the gifts for the second time on July 19, 1850.

Paramaribo was now extremely annoyed. But, as the administration wanted to get rid of the gifts, both Dhondt and Kappler were instructed to investigate the situation and find out what the Paramount Chief's plans now were, though without making any definite promises.

A month later, on August 23 (8), after the Djukas had been punished with a ban on all river traffic until August 10, Dhondt wrote that he had heard that the Paramount Chief and his followers had temporarily stopped at Armina military post on Bonni Creek, which had been abandoned in 1841, and were waiting for the gifts there.

On September 21, 1850, the Paramount Chief paid a visit to Kappler, who had just returned to Albina from Paramaribo. Kappler wrote on September 22 (8): "After holding a meeting with his people yesterday, he has now asked me to beg your Honour to definitely inform me this time when the schooner may be sent here, so that he may know whether it will be possible for him to stay in the lowlands until such time, since he and the other Aucaners have not provided themselves with enough food for a long stay (of three months, according to them) in the lowlands. If the schooner should depart immediately, he will be able to manage it, but if not, he will be compelled to leave for Auca. He has furthermore assured me that he will not cause the schooner any delay, but will attend to the matter forthwith. It seems to me that his chiefs have much influence over him and that he is a mild and tolerant man. I have no doubt but that the matter may now be satisfactorily settled, and I particularly request your Honour to comply with his request, since it will prove most difficult to get all the chiefs, living several days' journey from the Paramount Chief in Auca as they do, together again as at present."

Kappler, who evidently felt it was high time for the matter to be resolved to the satisfaction of everyone, and who was probably anxious about the difficult situation that was arising for the Djukas and their Paramount Chief, also wrote an unofficial letter to the Government Secretary, in addition to the letter of September 22.

This letter is not to be found anywhere in the archives, which contain only the indignant reply to it. The latter is likewise an unofficial letter, opening with the word "Amice" and signed by Slengarde, though written on the orders of the Government Secretary, and dated October 18 (12). It reads: "The contents of the letter as a whole have aroused the displeasure of our chief, as they could not but do, showing as they do that you have completely lost sight of that firmness and dignity which every civil servant, and more especially those like you, who represent the Government at distant posts among uncivilized peoples, must always maintain. The Government Secretary has therefore desired me emphatically to bring this to your notice, and to point out to you that you will henceforward be expected to show greater firmness, or at any rate not to forget yourself to the extent of giving a few wanton Maroons, at their insistence, a letter addressed to yourself in order that they may consult the gods,[52] as you write, since in the first place this is an indication of exaggerated indulgence, or even timorousness, and in the second place it is diametrically opposed to the aims of the Administration, which is endeavouring to civilize the Maroons rather than encourage them in their superstitions and indolatrous notions.

As regards the other point raised in your letter — I am referring to the rumour conveyed to you by a third party according to which the Bush Negroes would take yourself and Mr. Benissia prisoner and take you to Auca as hostages if the gifts were not brought soon, etc., etc. — I must inform you that this struck our chief as so ridiculous that he has instructed me to pass it over in silence .... In your own interests, our chief has omitted to give the letter in question to His Excellency (the Governor) to read, as I feel that this would certainly be to your detriment.

Allow me, as your friend, to say a few words to convince you that you must not be too lenient towards the Maroons; one should always be firm to them, especially in remote places, as otherwise they will imagine that one is afraid of them and will become progressively more impudent." Despite this incident, Kappler continued his negotiations with the Djukas. On October 9, Chief Jantje of Pediloo returned from

Paramaribo with letters for Kappler. "I could already tell by the insolent manner of this Aucaner," Kappler wrote on October 10 (8), "who was planning to hand over the letters to Beiman [53] instead of myself, that either your Honour's reply or their reception in Paramaribo had not been to their liking; and only after I had told them most emphatically that I would not inform them of the contents of the letters unless I was given them at once were they given to me under threats.

The Paramount Chief, who visited me with sixty of his men at 11 o'clock this morning, seemed already familiar with the contents, and without any prior discussion told me straightaway what his opinion was. I informed him that the reason why the goods had not been sent was that there was no suitable vessel available, and did everything in my power to satisfy these people. Beiman, however, seemed to have already made up his mind, and, despite the insolence and impudence of his words, I consider it my duty to report them to you nevertheless.

1. Since it now looks as though the Government is making sport of him by not sending the goods, after he has come down with his chiefs and subjects in accordance with the orders given him, and has been living in need waiting for the gifts in Lower Marowyne for three months, compelled to neglect the by now urgent work of felling trees and preparing provision plots, he no longer considers himself obliged to abide by the terms of the Treaty.
2. He informs your Honour that no less than 9 years have now elapsed since the last distribution, and that he feels that you, despite the fact that he, Beiman, has several times surrendered runaways and has always faithfully observed the Treaty, have allowed yourself to violate the treaty and have not, like your predecessor de Veer, lived in permanent friendship with him.
3. He will surrender no more runaways until the gifts have been received.
4. He has always passed on a portion of the goods to the Bonni Maroons and to the Ledimoesoe (insurgents of 1806), and has always kept a watch on these; and he
5. hereby declares that he will remain here waiting for the goods until the full moon on October 21, after which date, however, he will not stay another instant, but will be sure to exact satisfaction from a number of plantations in Upper Commewyne.

This latter point has provoked displeasure even among most of the chiefs, who consider these threats too strong. Some quite heated

discussions have taken place between Beiman and his chiefs, with Beiman insisting that I write the present letter. This afternoon, when alone with me, he agreed to revoke the last point, or to inform your Honour personally thereof. He has assured me repeatedly that he would do nothing to detain the schooner for even a single instant.

I feel confident that your Honour is convinced of my diligence in this matter, and is aware of the difficulties confronting me in dealing with these suspicious people, so that your Honour will not take it amiss if I ask you to give me instructions as to what measures to take in the event of their request being refused."

On October 22 (8) Kappler reported among other things that the Paramount Chief had informed him "that, however much he would like to speak to our chief personally here, he nevertheless realized that it would be too difficult for him to make another journey to Albina, so that he was prepared to accept the presents from any official the latter might send."

Kappler was finally informed that the gifts would be brought to Albina again on December 19 (at the full moon), and on December 31 (8) he reported, in fact, that the gifts had been distributed without any further incidents. After the Paramount Chief, each of the subordinate chiefs had been presented with the gifts intended for them. "Beiman has left today, having taken his leave of me last Sunday. He will probably not go to Paramaribo at any time in the near future, which possibility is not likely to upset anyone."

As regards the interpretation of the peace terms, the first part of article 21 of which runs: "the gifts which will be presented to them punctually and regularly every four years if they behave well and in such a way as to be worthy of the same . . . .", the Maroons, who were convinced they had behaved well, felt they were entitled to the goods. The Government, on the other hand, regarded the distribution of gifts as a special favour on its part. As according to the same article four chiefs were to fetch the goods in Paramaribo and take them thence to Armina post, the Maroons at first refused to fetch them in any other place. The Government for its part regarded the fact that it allowed the goods to be taken to Albina as a concession; Armina post had been abandoned since 1841 anyway.

As far as the matter of prestige is concerned, it was clear to the Government that giving in to the Maroons' protests, which it regarded as blackmail, would mean losing face with the Maroons as well as in Paramaribo, which it could not possibly afford to do. As for the

Maroons, they wanted to show the whites that they were independent and conscious of their rights as a nation, though the struggle for power among themselves also played a part. Bijman, who himself was perhaps prepared to make concessions, was forced to be unyielding by his chiefs.

The matter was settled eventually because both parties had had more than enough of its dragging on, and each felt that it had more or less saved its own face by giving in to the other's demands as little and as late as possible.

A. Kappler gives a fairly exhaustive account of the events surrounding the issue of the gifts on pages 235-246 of his *Holländisch Guiana* (XVIII). Although it differs on a number of minor points from the information I have found in the Archives, his lively and ironical style testifies to the independence and, for his time, liberality of his views.

4. *Modification in 1856 of the supervisory regulations of the Political Treaty of 1837.*

Governor Charles Pierre Schimpf, appointed in August 1855, proposed to the members of the Colonial Council in that same year (viz. December 17) that the supervision of the Maroons as defined in, among other things, the political treaties and the instructions for postholders, should be relaxed.

He listed the following reasons for the strictness of the control hitherto exercised by means of the pass system and military posts: the undesirability of having Maroons coming to town in large numbers, the risk of thefts and disturbances on the plantations, and the likelihood of their carrying off slaves and smuggling gunpowder and arms. His proposal to relax the restrictions imposed on these Maroons was based on the following considerations:

a. The running away of slaves had greatly decreased, since they were given better treatment on the plantations and were getting a bad reception from the Maroons.
b. The fear of large numbers of Maroons coming down-river was no longer grounded. On the contrary, they were now in demand as labourers in the town as well as on the plantations.
c. There no longer was much smuggling or selling of arms to the Maroons.
d. The restrictions were difficult to put into practice in any case, since it was easy for the Maroons to avoid the small military posts and there was no money for reinforcing the garrison.

He therefore thought it advisable to try and integrate this "free population group" into the larbour force in view of the prospective emancipation of the slaves and the shortage of labour.

He decided to implement this plan by abolishing the control of goods transported up and down the river by the Maroons, as also of the number of individuals travelling on the river, and by doing away with a number of military posts. In order not to "remove every appearance of control", he proposed keeping on the postholders for some time, and compelling the Maroons to continue to obtain passes from them.

The Governor's plan met with general approval, and so the details were now worked out further. The chiefs were invited to come to town so as to be informed of the new measures. Paramount Chief Bijman of the Djukas was the first to arrive here and to be solemnly informed of the plan, set out in "Resolution No. 1050 of August 26, 1856, concerning the modification of certain regulations governing the Maroons up until now."

The Resolution, which may be divided into three different sections, was read out in translation to the Paramount Chief by the assistant of the Head of the Department for the Native Population, whereupon the chief solemnly promised to observe it and signed the relevant document with a cross.

The first part of the Resolution states that the Governor, "Having taken into consideration the fact that the Maroons have on the whole observed the treaties between the Government and themselves well, and desiring to show them the Administration's satisfaction and encourage them to remain always worthy of the confidence of the Government", had taken the following resolutions:

1. To abolish the restrictions on goods conveyed up and down the river.
2. To abolish the restrictions on the number of individuals travelling on the river, they being free to "get in touch with the remaining population without any restrictions as to their numbers".
3. To oblige them, however, to still obtain travelling passes from the postholder and have these duly endorsed in Paramaribo, without any longer requiring them to report at any of the military posts.
4. To nevertheless "strictly prohibit them from taking lepers or suspected leprosy cases with them from their places of residence, and to take strict measures against them if they are caught doing so."

Finally, in the third part, the Paramount Chief's attention was elaborately and solemnly drawn to the fact that the Governor "fosters the expectation that the privileges granted them by the Administration may serve as proof to them that the Administration is sincerely desirous of putting its trust in the different Maroon tribes and is well disposed towards them; that they may therefore not only abstain from any kind of behaviour by which they are likely to forfeit the Administration's trust in them, but will also constantly exert themselves to merit the Administration's satisfaction by conscientiously fulfilling all their obligations, being loyal subjects and always behaving well; that the best proof they may give of the desired attitude in order to be worthy of further favours from the Government and be able to enjoy the same rights in all respects as other free citizens will be not only their eschewal of all impermissible behaviour and preparedness to go properly dressed, as befits civilized men and women, but also their agreeing to freely admit Christian teachers for the purpose of giving them religious instruction; and, now that they are given their freedom, that they may freely offer their produce for sale, apply themselves to useful activities to a greater extent than before, and spend their gains thriftily and for useful purposes. The Governor for his part assuring them that, if they do not disappoint him in his expectations, they may depend on the Administration's full cooperation and preparedness to further their interests; this said and done, the Governor invites the said Paramount Chief to notify his subjects of the foregoing on behalf of the Governor, to encourage them to be loyal and dutiful citizens, and himself to be an example to them in this respect."

These decisions were published in the Government Gazette (No. 8, p. 5), "notifying all good citizens that the Administration has every confidence that they will be happy to join the Government in its efforts to inspire trust in the Maroons and protect the same against such impermissible treatment as will antagonize them against the rest of the population or induce them to cling even more to the isolation in which they have hitherto lived; and to lend their assistance in furthering the Government's aims with respect to these people, whose civilization is dependent upon it; in the success of which endeavour the interests of the rest of the population are also closely involved."

The postholders were duly informed of the new regulations, and were given their instructions accordingly. Kappler reacted by only taking cognizance of these regulations [54]; Dhondt, on the other hand, could not see much good coming of all this and said so repeatedly.

The Paramount Chief called on him and delivered the official letter to him while on his way to Djuka on September 10, 1856.

Dhondt wrote on September 11 (59) that he "would send word accordingly to the inhabitants of Upper Cottica and Courmotibo, about 800 souls in all, through their chiefs or elders without delay."

A few days later he wrote that he had decided to go on leave and let his son, Dhondtfils, take over his duties during his absence. He was unable to find any men who could take him to town before the end of November, however. He had already written in the meantime, namely on August 1 (59), that he wished to retire; now that the new regulations had been promulgated, his decision was final.

There are a few disconnected, very badly written, undated fragments of letters to Slengarde, which must have been written in September or October 1856, in which he complains: "However philanthropical may be my attitude with regard to the well-being of all nations, I have always adhered to the principle of proper order and supervision with respect to uncivilized peoples. This frustrated, it is better for me to retire and live on what little I have, this being no gold-mine, as so many seem to think." And in another passage: "Already the Aucaners may obtain as many passes as they want, both here and in town; the good ones fulfil their obligations, the others neglect to do so. I fear that His Excellency's kindness will not have the desired effect ..... I know the Aucaners' way of thinking and believe they are not ready to enjoy so many favours so suddenly. God grant that I am wrong !"

In the "Remarks" added to his report for the third quarter of 1856 (59) he writes: "Since this notification (i.e., of the new measures), only the well-intentioned Aucaners who work for their living have been obtaining passes, while the others say they do not need any, are free to travel anywhere, and travel past as they please day and night without stopping here, so that it is to be feared that His Excellency's good intentions will be frustrated and that, because of their close contacts with the plantation Negroes, their scheming will increase, just as before ..... It is to be hoped that the kindness of the Government of this colony will have the desired results, for then not only the Maroons, but also the Indians may be won over. Hence every effort should be made to achieve the above-mentioned goal, even if everything goes wrong in the beginning, and one must persevere in this; then the shortcomings of these tribes will be seen gradually to grow less, and they will become useful to the colony. But I feel justified in observing that otherwise all hopes of improvement will be vain and futile, especially with regard to the Aucaners."

A letter of November 11 (59), addressed to the Attorney General, runs as follows: "I notice no trace of any useful activities, either in their own interests or in those of the community; nor can I see any improvement in their way of life, their religion or their culture; in all of these respects they are persisting in their erroneous ways. Naturally this will later prove injurious to the owners of slaves. It seems to me both important and desirable for the common weal, Sir, that ways and means should be sought to persuade them to adopt a better attitude quickly. In my view it is advisable to compel the Aucaners to register their names and make them keep these, and to oblige them to live in villages, and not isolated as they are at present. I believe that once they have become used to it, this will be the first step towards their civilization." Finally, in his report for the fourth quarter, which is dated December 30, 1856 (59), he expresses the opinion that "They have no idea whatever of the concessions made for their benefit, but seem to think that the Government was no more than obliged to make them. This was their way of thinking formerly when, whenever they were notified of anything, their answer was invariably 'Yes, very well', but no sooner had they departed than they did as they pleased again, just as they are doing now."

In spite of this contempt for and aversion to the Maroons' way of life — which are far from unusual for the 19th century — Dhondt's judgment in this matter proved fairly accurate. The Djuka's reaction to the "favours" granted them was the same as that to the promise of gifts: they felt they were entitled to them. They were not planning to show any gratitude by changing their ways for the sake of the colonists' prosperity. With his suggestion to try and persuade the Djukas to assume permanent names and give up their semi-nomadic way of life and settle in villages, Dhondt was a century ahead of his contemporaries. His scepticism towards the exaggeratedly high expectations of the men who had framed the new regulations was justified. As Slengarde's reports show, the results were rather disappointing.

The sections of Slengarde's report in the Colonial Reports of 1857 devoted to the Maroons contain the following passage: " 'It is to be hoped', says the Governor, 'that these mild regulations will promote the re-establishment of friendly relations between the Maroons and the settled part of the colony and will serve to make them more industrious.' It is at any rate to be expected that they will supply timber on a larger scale. As a first sign of the favourable influence of the new regulations on the Maroons may be noted the fact that the Auca-

ners, who used formerly to appear in town almost naked, now seem to attach some importance to appearing properly dressed. The advantage of encouraging them in their desire for some form of proper dress will be that they will no longer spend their entire income on drink. For the time being, one should not have too many illusions about their desire to work, as an attempt to employ them as labourers for the improvement of the Saramacca canal proved a failure."

According to Slengarde's 1859 report in the Colonial Reports, the Maroons' zest for work had not improved by that time either, for he still refers to them as lazy and slothful.

5. *The institution of a salary for the Paramount Chief (1857)*

Pursuant to the abolition of the restrictive measures, it was resolved to put a stop to the sending of gifts, since the Maroons would be able to provide for themselves now that they had been granted greater freedom of movement and given better employment opportunities. To compensate for this, it was felt that the chiefs of the different tribes should be paid a fixed allowance. However, each individual chief would have to apply for such an allowance, so that the Maroons would regard the payment thereof as a favour.

The instructions for carrying out this manoeuvre were passed on to the postholders, hence in the case of the Djukas to Kappler. On October 16, 1857 (58), Kappler reported that the Granman had visited him at Albina and had "eagerly accepted the confidential proposal made to him."

Meanwhile the Minister of Colonies had given permission to include the chiefs' allowances as an item on the Surinam budget (Government Resolution 384, March 21, 1857). The Governor had stated to the Attorney General on March 21, moreover, that "In view of our above-mentioned missive informing the Minister of Colonies of all the measures taken by the Governor to remove the Maroons from the isolation in which they are kept, and containing the proposal to allocate the chiefs of these tribes a pension [55] of fl. 25.— to fl. 50.— a month by way of gradual replacement of the customary gifts ....."

Bijman was promised a monthly salary of 25 guilders as from January 1, 1857, "which amount is to be increased upon the said Paramount Chief's furnishing continued conclusive proof of his disposition to act in accordance with the views of the Government, as he has undertaken to do at the last meeting with the Governor..... .

The postholder at the Marowyne is to notify him of this and make payment to him personally, in order to avoid arousing suspicion."

On December 1, 1857, Kappler wrote in a report on a journey he had made to Djuka from 2 to 19 November: "I was very well received by the Paramount Chief, but found very little either in his home or circumstances to distinguish him from an ordinary Maroon.

The first question he asked was whether I had received a favourable reply with reference to his request for a monetary allowance, which I answered by saying that His Excellency the Governor had granted him an allowance of fl. 25.— a month and that I was authorized to pay him that amount. I therefore gave him fl. 25.—, remarking that this was for the month in which he had submitted his request, namely October, and that he was therefore to receive fl. 25.— twice more this year, about which he was naturally satisfied and pleased."

No further difficulties arose in connection with the arrangements for payment of the allowance.

Although the regular dispatches of gifts for distribution among the various Maroon tribes had stopped, gifts in kind were sometimes still made to Maroons visiting town. A small sum was even set aside for these gifts in the budget, usually under the heading "Transport charges, wages and gifts in remuneration of sundry small services rendered and in compensation of funeral expenses of Maroons and Indians." It amounted to about 1,000 to 2,000 guilders.

Kappler also gives a description of these developments in his *Holländisch Guiana.* This contains a few minor differences as regards time and place, but is otherwise accurate.

"While he was busy cooking his meal, for which I put a piece of bacon out of my own provisions into his pot, as he complained to me about having no fish or meat for it, I had the best opportunity of speaking to him — we being quite alone — about one of the points I had been instructed to discuss with him, of which I knew in advance that I could do so successfully without resorting to diplomatic subtlety, namely the exhortation to him to ask the Government for a salary. To begin with, I deplored the fact that a man of his rank and age could not even have Switti Moffo [56], i.e. meat, fish, bacon or similar such kinds of food, with his meals, and expressed the opinion that the Government might give him something extra, since every Maroon chief was given salt, rice, bacon and other things of that sort every time he came to Paramaribo, and seeing that the Governor had such a liking for him personally, I would in his place complain to the latter, so that

he might be persuaded to allocate him an annual allowance. All that needed to be done, I said, was to put in a request for it, while I for my part would be pleased to do anything I could to make the Governor see the matter in a proper light; whether the latter could be persuaded I admittedly did not know. This immediately aroused his interest, for, although the Maroons treat all proposals by the whites with distrust and carefully consider the same, gifts are always accepted, as everywhere in the world. So that same evening I drew up the petition from the black to the white Governor in the vernacular, which he signed with a large cross, whereby I guided his hand. He immediately received an annual salary of fl. 300.—, in fact, which passed to his successor upon his death five years later."

6. *The Bonni Maroons released from the tutelage of the Djukas (1860)*

As stated above, the treaties concluded with the various runaway tribes in 1760-1762 had not brought the peace that people had expected from them. Large numbers of slaves still continued to run away and unite, and so forced the colony into carrying on an expensive guerilla campaign. The largest and most dangerous group of runaways was composed of slaves from the Cottica area, led by Chief Bonni (XXX). Their activities included the plundering of plantations, arson and murder. This led in 1772 to the institution of the "Black Chasseurs", composed of slaves bought from their owners by the Government and trained especially for expeditions against Maroons, and the reinforcement of the existing troops by 800 men under the command of the Swiss Colonel Fourgeoud. These forces succeeded, with great difficulty, enormous expense and the loss of many lives, in eventually driving Bonni and his followers (the Bonnis) out of the settled part of the colony. In 1776 the latter crossed the Marowyne and settled in French territory.

The Governor of French Guiana notified Governor Nepveu accordingly, and in 1777 sent his commissariat officer, P. V. Malouet, to settle this affair. French Guiana, which had to cope with a shortage of labour, was pleased at the arrival of the Bonnis. But so as to avoid the odium of welcoming runaway Surinam subjects with open arms, Malouet was instructed to protest against the Maroons' being driven across the Marowyne, the assumption being that Surinam would not be able to get them to come back by force anyway.

Surinam did in fact decide to let the Bonnis be, as long as they did not show themselves in the colony.

However, there were persistent rumours going around that Bonni would return after all, and when the Djukas suddenly made peace with the Bonnis in 1780, after attacking them several times (they regarded the Bonnis as rivals on the Marowyne), this caused great anxiety in Paramaribo. Efforts were made to arouse as much suspicion against the Bonnis among the Djukas as possible, especially by spreading rumours that the French were providing the Bonnis with arms. When Bonni, in fact, suddenly resumed his raids in 1785 and 1789, the Djukas kept aloof. The Black Chasseurs, under Captain Stoelman, set up a military post on the Marowyne. In 1789 Stoelman succeeded in repelling an attack by Bonni and putting him to flight. Finally, in 1793, the Djukas were given an opportunity, as a result of treason on the part of one of Bonni's followers, to launch a surprise attack on his village of Aroekoe, whereby the Djuka Chief Bambi reportedly killed the notorious Chief Bonni. The strength of the Bonnis had at last been broken for good. They moved up the Lawa River, and the Djukas were instructed to keep them in check henceforth. These instructions were incorporated in the peace treaties first of 1809 and later of 1837 (XXXI).

Articles 8 and 9 of the "Political Contract" of 1837 ran as follows:

8. They shall continue to guarantee the Government as before that the rebels of the year 1805 [57] will take no action, direct or indirect, against the whites or any of their property; if such should happen nonetheless, the Aucaners will consider themselves absolved from the oath they have sworn with said rebels, and thereupon do everything in their power to help the whites if they should be so required; and, if the Government sees fit to attack the rebels, the Aucaners shall remain neutral and neither hinder nor help the same; furthermore they will guarantee that no Bonni Maroons shall ever take action against any white or his property, or enter any district of the colony.
9. Likewise they shall undertake, in accordance with the promise they have already made to that effect, to attack, capture and, if necessary, kill any slaves rising on any plantation, or in whatever other place, if so required by the Government; and they shall furthermore at all times prevent such rebellious slaves from mixing with the rebels or Bonni Maroons."

Although these stipulations still clearly reflect a definite distrust of the Maroons, the fear of attacks by "pacified Maroons" gradually diminished among the whites of Surinam, and they adhered fairly conscientiously to the treaties. Moreover, the problem of runaway slaves grew rather less serious because of the expected abolition of slavery, even though this did not actually take place until a long time afterwards, and, most important of all, people believed that here was a large, hitherto unexploited reservoir of potential labour.

As regards the situation on the Marowyne, the Cayenne French were seen with envious eyes not only to claim the Lawa River, which they regarded — incorrectly, as it later turned out — as a tributary of the Marowyne-Tapanahoni, but also to make a not inconsiderable effort to win over the Bonnis to their side. Reports of this are found in the postholders' letters from about 1850 onward.

Although Dhondt, who visited Djuka in 1846, did mention the Bonnis, he said nothing about the French at the time. In his "Report and Journal" he says: "The Aucaners, as I have mentioned in the estimates of the population of this tribe dated 24th March of this year, have a special relation with the Boni Maroons [58] and rebels of 1805; so much so that the three tribes have become mutually indistinguishable and should be regarded as virtually a single tribe; moreover, the Boni Maroons and rebels of 1805 are living among the Aucaners, and, conversely, the latter among the former. Notwithstanding this fact of their living together, the Aucaners, from selfish motives and out of laziness, are keeping the Boni and rebel Negroes under a certain control, though for no other purpose than to make them do their work.

A few days ago the Boni Negroes appointed a Granman, named Adam, though I have not been able to discover the reason for this; I have only noticed that Paramount Chief Bijman seems to be accepting it, as also that the friendship between all these Maroons is tending to become over-exaggerated, so that if unforeseen incidents should arise one would have to contend not only with the Aucaners, but also with the other above-mentioned numerous runaways roaming about in large numbers there as elsewhere."

It is not evident from other letters that the Djukas had mixed with the Bonnis and the "Rebels of 1805" to the extent described by Dhondt; they definitely lived in separate villages. Dhondt was also mistaken about their numbers, believing as he did that there were only one rebel and about 80 Bonnis still to be found. A few years later, in 1856, however, he mentioned 1200 Bonnis and 400 rebels

in his quarterly list ! Kappler, on the other hand, who visited the Granman of the Djukas in 1857, estimated the number of rebels in their village of Poligoedoe at about 30, while he was informed that the number of Bonnis on the Lawa came to about 600, which seems a much more plausible estimate.

Reports on the Bonnis remained sporadic up to the year 1853. In that year it became apparent that the Paramount Chief of the Djukas was growing uneasy about the activities of French colonists in the Marowyne area. He probably also suspected that what the French were out after was labour, especially among the Bonnis, and he had no wish to be robbed of his fellow-Maroons, whom he himself was using as slaves with the Government's consent.

C. Stein, who was acting as assistant postholder for Kappler at the time, wrote to the Head of the Department for the Native Population on February 8, 1853 (9): "Chief Jackie of the Aucaners has requested me, on behalf of Paramount Chief Bijman, to inform you of the following: seeing that recently (last November) a canoe with Frenchmen came up the river to Auca, while these people have moreover heard that *a French colony is to be established on this river,* this has given them grave cause for *concern,* wherefore their Paramount Chief Bijman and his council would like to have some information on the matter from you and to know what the purpose of this colonization scheme is and how they *are to conduct themselves towards all strangers* who are not Dutchmen above Tappoedam. The more so since there are Bonni and Redcap Negroes [59], who are not on peaceful terms with the Dutch Government, living below them. *They,* the Aucaners, would not wish to be held responsible if any accident or other untoward circumstance should befall any strangers wishing to travel up the river, for which reason it has formerly always been the custom for the Paramount Chief to be informed accordingly if any strangers desired to go upstream, and for the strangers, or whoever else, to be taken to the upper reaches of the river or wherever else they wished to go under *their* guidance and in *their* canoes, with the Government's knowledge, in order to avoid unpleasant occurrences or accidents."

Stein further noted that two Frenchmen had travelled up the river, one of them a man by name of Lugard, who had come to collect caoutchouc, and the other a certain "Tollende", an employee of Montecattini's.[60] They had allegedly penetrated right into Djuka territory, without Montecattini's knowledge, however.

On July 25, 1856, Bijman arrived at Albina on his way to Parama-

ribo in order personally to hear the Government's views on the matter. On July 26 (58) Kappler wrote to Slengarde: "You are too well acquainted with the affairs of the Aucaners not to be aware that the consequences of giving the Bonni Maroons permission to enter the Lower Marowyne or even the settled part of the colony will not be as harmful to the colony as they [61] will pretend. On the contrary, it is my impression that the admission of the Bonni Maroons will make for greater freedom and increased trade here, and that furthermore the Aucaners, upon being deprived of their commercial relations with the Bonni Maroons, will have to seek to earn through labour what they lose through lack of trade with the same. The Aucaners' fear lest the Bonni Maroons be able to trade more freely with the whites is indescribable, and the mere threat by Mr. Tollenge to engage Bonni Maroons was sufficient to make the Aucaners bring him their own people."

The same day that Bijman appeared at Albina, the Governor of Cayenne, Admiral Bondin, also visited Kappler's place of residence. Kappler hereupon introduced Bijman to the French Governor, and on July 27 (58) commented: "What seemed important to me, and struck the Aucaners painfully, was the attitude of his Excellency the Governor of French Guiana to the Bonni Maroons, a fairly numerous tribe of slaves of ours who escaped about 70 years ago, who have never concluded any treaty with the Administration of this colony and are living under the Aucaners' supervision, so to speak. These Bonni Maroons are living on the Lawa, a large river rising in French Guiana, below [62] the area occupied by the Maroons, and about 3 to 4 days' travel from here. They are kept in a certain state of confinement by the Aucaners, receiving whatever European articles they need through them, in return for which they have to do such work for the Maroons as felling timber, making dug-outs, and also, I believe, gathering ground-products.[63] As they are jealously guarded by the Maroons, it is impossible for them to have any direct contacts with the settlements situated on the Lower Marowyne, even if this were permitted them by the Administration in Paramaribo.

His Excellency the Governor of French Guiana intimated to me that he would like to see these Maroons, who were settled in French territory, being allowed to come down to the Lower Marowyne in order to sell their products or find work, which would provide the Europeans settled on the banks of this river with more and probably cheaper labour, and substantially promote industry on the river.

I need not explain to your Honour how true these remarks of His

Excellency's are, while furthermore, I do not believe that, should the Administration in Paramaribo see fit to allow the Bonni Maroons to come down to the Lower Marowyne or even to the inhabited parts of the colony, this would give rise to disturbances, as the Aucaners fear.

This matter, which is of great importance to the Aucaners and could deprive them of all their trading privileges, will be discussed with you by Beiman in the near future. They will no doubt raise every kind of objection and difficulty conceivable so as to convince the Government of the danger of such a concession."

Bijman left for Paramaribo accordingly, and there was informed of the Government's views and given his instructions. That the matter was not adequately settled can be seen from a letter sent by Bijman to Government Secretary Lisman, through Kappler, on February 27, 1857 (59), which reads: "Honourable Sir ! I am harassed all the time by Mr Tollinck (i.e., Tollenge) at Auca. He want to turn my people into Frenchmen. And I no want it. Twice already he been visit my people to make peace with them. So once he been told we no want it, because we are not Maroons of the French, but Maroons of the Dutch. So I takes the liberty of sending you this letter to find out from our Governor whether he has given authority to the Governor of Cayenne. So I asks you to answer me in writing, as the Maroons will probably not bring the answer back to me properly. After sending you my greetings, I remain respectfully, Bijman. P.S. Bijman requests you, Honourable Sir, to give the man carrying this letter a little something, as he has sent it without giving nothing, to carry the message to you as soon as possible."

There is no mention of who composed this letter for Bijman. However, Kappler wrote in an accompanying note of March 14 (59): "The bearer of this, Captain Jantje of Bleiloo, is being sent to Paramaribo by the Paramount Chief to convey to our honoured superior, the Government Secretary, certain complaints about a French settler on this river, who has recently undertaken a trip to the Upper Marowyne with the intention of engaging some Bonni Maroons to fell trees for him. I have already informed Beiman in reply to the same complaint that I would not inform the Administration of their differences with the French either in writing or orally, seeing that he was instructed as many as four years ago how they should behave towards the French. I therefore refer the above-mentioned captain to you."

The Government realized that the preservation of the *status quo* was bound to lead to complications. The French were complaining about

the Djukas' obstructionist tactics and general attitude. The situation on the Lawa, which for the time being was still regarded as French territory, whereas the Bonnis were Dutch subjects, was difficult to solve on the spot. Paramaribo and Cayenne both agreed that the transfer of the Bonnis to the Marowyne would have definite advantages (each thinking that they would be able to attract their labour for their own respective purposes). The only way of achieving this, so they believed, was by withdrawing them from the tutelage of the Djukas. The authorities of the colony felt sure enough of their case to risk arousing the Djukas' anger about this.

Kappler's suggestion that such a measure would induce the Djukas themselves to work harder and seek contact with the settlers of the lower river reaches provided all the more reason to take the necessary steps.

During a visit to Albina by Governor van Lansberge in August 1860, in the course of which he also visited Kappler's property (the latter having meanwhile switched from lumbering to cattle-raising, and started supplying St. Laurent and other penal settlements) as well as the French penal settlements on the other side of the Marowyne, His Excellency had an interview with Paramount Chief Bijman. Here he bluntly informed Bijman that the Djukas' authority over the Bonnis was "illegitimate, or at any rate had lapsed", and that a commission would be sent to settle the matter.

The Chief was furthermore told to bear in mind (as the Governor informed the Colonial Council on October 20, 1860) "that they must refrain from using violence against French subjects travelling up the river, but on the contrary, must take care not to obstruct them in any way". The Governor likewise informed the Colonial Council on October 20, 1860, of the instructions with which the Commission would set out for the Upper Marowyne. The main points were:

"a. To notify the Bonni Maroons that the Administration is prepared from now on to forget all that has passed with their ancestors and that for that reason the same regulations are declared henceforth to be in force for them and the same privileges granted them as those which have been approved for the Maroons; and that consequently they will no longer be subjected to the Aucaners, but are placed on a completely equal footing with them.

b. To notify Paramount Chief Bijman of the Aucaners, in the presence of his subordinate chiefs, that pursuant to clause a. they

are relieved of any responsibility which they consider themselves to have possessed with regard to the movements and activities of the Bonni Maroons up to the present moment, and that they are on no account to keep the latter in a state of subjection.

c. To invite the Aucaners as well as the Bonni Maroons to settle closer to the cultivated parts of the colony, notifying them at the same time that they will be allowed to settle on Crown land after obtaining permission accordingly from the Administration".

The members of the Colonial Council, when asked their opinion, showed themselves through their spokesmen, Attorney General J. W. Gefken and Mr. May, among others, to be very sceptical about the plan. The Attorney General feared "lest these people, by their idleness and complete lack of morality, should set the population to be emancipated a bad example upon Emancipation". Mr. May was of the opinion that "whatever fine promises they might make to the Commission, they would never keep them anyway". Hence no one believed in the desired results, but everyone felt that "in view of the present state of the colony", "which makes an increase in the population desirable", every effort should be made to achieve this purpose. So the Commission was duly dispatched.

A member of the Colonial Council, F. S. Eyken Sluyters, together with the Inspector of Crown Lands, Industry and Agriculture, H. C. J. Slengarde, left in October 1860, and returned in November. They wrote a vivid report describing the journey up the rivers, the way of life of the Maroons, the reaction to the new measures of both the Djukas and Bonnis, and — in connection with the Commission's second assignment — the course of the Marowyne, Tapanahoni and Lawa, from which it transpired that the Tapanahoni was a tributary and the Lawa the continuation of the Marowyne (even the French officer Romny, who had joined the party at Albina and had always assumed that the Lawa and its inhabitants the Bonnis came under the authority of the French Government, had been convinced on the spot that the Lawa was Dutch).

Paramount Chief Bijman, who had ostensibly given in to the Governor's proposals during their interview at Albina, had furiously fulminated against the new plans once back with his own people, and it was only with great difficulty that he could be persuaded to resign himself, though with bad grace. The kind of improvised "tactics" the members of the Commission were forced to adopt in the last resort

are described as follows in the report for 11 November: "This morning new objections were raised. Before proceeding to leave, they decided to consult the oracle in order to find out how the invisible forces — the Yorkas, or shades of the dead — felt about the matter. A cock was brought in and slaughtered at the feet of one of their idols while they performed a number of idolatrous rites. The entrails having been examined, these proved to be black, which augured disapproval; so there was nothing to be done about it now that the evil spirits did not consent. This put us in an unpleasant quandary, aware as we were now difficult it is to dissuade the Maroons from believing in such verdicts. However, we suggested that, now that the feelings of the evil spirits were known, the good spirits should also be consulted, for which purpose we offered another cock, giving instructions on how it should be slaughtered at the same time. This was accepted, and, fortunately for us, the entrails were white; a third cock shared the fate of the other two, and again the verdict of the oracle was favourable. The matter was now settled, and even the superstitious Djambi was satisfied."
(It should be noted here how Kappler, at the time of the issue of the gifts [64] in 1850, had been taken to task by that same Slengarde after handing over an official letter to the Paramount Chief in order to be able to consult the gods about it, among other reasons because it was contray to the Administration's policy to "encourage them in superstitions and idolatrous notions" !)

The party now proceeded to visit the Bonnis to bring them the joyful tidings. After being received at first with great suspicion, the whites eventually succeeded in convincing the Maroons of their good intentions, and the atmosphere changed into one of great joy, tempered only by fears of revenge by the Djukas. "Seeing that the huts are very cramped, we decided to pitch our tent; this was done speedily and well with the help of the local population, the women and children also assisting in a mood of the most exuberant joy. — Our persons and everything that we have with us are provoking the greatest admiration. They keep repeating that we are gods sent to them to help them. — 'Oh, Bonni Negroes !' they repeatedly exclaim, 'who would ever have dared to think that we would see white men here, and Dutchmen at that !' We are almost no masters of the space in our own hut any more; especially the women, who are most of them far from being beauties or possessing perfectly healthy looks, permit themselves great liberties !"

The Frenchman Tollenge was already with the Bonnis when the Commission arrived, and proved to be on very friendly terms with the Maroons, as well as being an "active auxiliary" of the French Government, which, the Commission feared, "will do everything in its power to secure the services of these people first." "It is certainly to be regretted", so the report ruefully states, "that the Netherlands Government has failed to interest itself in the fate of the Aucaner and Bonni Maroons more seriously sooner."

The attitude of the officer Romny and of Tollenge himself, who admitted that the Lawa and hence the Bonnis were Dutch property, reassured the Commission, however, which agreed in the end "that Mr. Tollenge, whose behaviour has been most modest and disinterested, shall supervise the emigration of the Boni Maroons, which in his opinion as well as in that of the Maroons will take at least a few years to be fully implemented." With regard to the immediate future, it was decided that "in 8 to 10 days' time Tollenge will move down stream with about twenty families, which for the time being, namely until such time as the Netherlands Government shall have given the Boni Maroon tribe permission to settle between the former military post of Armina and the settlement of Albina, that is, on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne, shall live and work with him. Later on no doubt the Boni Maroons will disperse all over the colony of Surinam as useful labourers, this depending entirely on the influence Mr. Kappler will succeed in exercising on them."

As regards the Djukas, the Commission did not feel altogether comfortable, writing about this: "We do not consider the remark out of place here that, just as it is extremely important and valuable to establish and maintain relations with the Indian tribes, so it is no less advisable to keep an eye on the movements of the Aucaner tribe by keeping in close contact with them, since our observations tend to suggest the possibility that the Aucaners, in their self-conceit and presumptuousness, may cause the white population difficulties. — Little immediate cause as we have for expecting such a contingency soon, we even so deem it our duty not to keep our feelings in this respect concealed from the Government. Both for this reason and in view of the behaviour of the French near the Marowyne, it is to be regretted that the post of Armina has been abandoned".

As is evident from its report, the Commission was very pleased with what it had achieved, feeling "that they have succeeded in every respect in accomplishing the task assigned them, as far as this has been possible so far". Although the Commission had indeed accomplished

its mission succesfully, the Government's plans with the Bonni Maroons nonetheless progressed unsatisfactorily.

On February 15, 1861 (61), Kappler wrote: "The Bonni Maroons are still working for Mr. Dollinck (= Tollenge), who has sent freeman Beeks to the Lava to engage more still. Mr. Romni also has plans for another trip to visit the Bonnis in order to bring as many of them as possible down-stream in June." And further, on March 16 (61): "On the first of March Paramount Chief Bijman came to see me with the request to persuade the Bonni Maroons to move to the Lower Marowyne. As this accords with your Honour's intentions, I shall await your further orders concerning the matter. Even so, I doubt whether, under the present circumstances, we shall have any influence over the Bonni Maroons, since the French are trying everything in their power to get them to enter their service. Mr. Riolet, so it is said, has brought their chief a uniform, while these Maroons are further being treated with a familiarity which I cannot afford.[65] We cannot rely on Bijman himself, as he is playing off both sides against each other, and is as servile as possible to the French, whom he fears, moreover ..... Mr. Romny has had a long interview with me concerning the delivery of the Bonni Maroons, in accordance with his agreement with Bijman. He is going to see the Bonni Maroons in July in order to try and persuade them to move down-river and settle in the vicinity of Armina, regardless whether on French or Dutch territory *(car ce sont gens libres)*. If necessary, force will be used. He wants the Dutch Government to deal with the Maroons in a similar manner.

On the last mail there arrived the owners of a gutta-percha factory for the manufacture of balata from bully tree milk. Again the Marowyne has been chosen for this new branch of industry. In addition a brother of Mr. Riolet's, the owner of a steam-driven sawmill in Paris, has arrived; so now everyone will try and subject both the Bonnis and the Maroons."

Slengarde, who was undoubtedly disappointed, reacted as follows to this information from Kappler in a private letter of April 5, 1851 (61): "The more I consider the Maroon and Bonni Maroon question, the more I am convinced that we have, in fact, come a day after the fair. La Lava undeniably forms the line of demarcation between French and Dutch Guiana — as it is the Marowyne — and hence the left bank, where the Bonni Maroons are settled, is Dutch territory. This fact alone would constitute sufficient reason to condemn all attempts on the part of our French neighbours to entice this tribe to

their side, and render these attempts illegal, aside from the fact that the Bonni Maroons are descendants of Surinam Negroes and speak the language of our Negroes. We therefore must not tolerate the employment of this labour for the benefit of Cayenne. What will become of my proposals now will depend on the Governor or the authorities of the country."

He then proceeds to reproach Kappler most unfairly:

"At the same time, I deem it my duty to ask you, and I have no doubt but that the Administration will make the same comment, how you could have allowed Mr. Tollenche to overrule you with regard to the matter of the transfer and employment of this labour in a way so contrary to your own interests and those of the Government; and, while that person, whether or not with the encouragement and support of the French Government, is indefatigably trying to ingratiate himself with this tribe and attract them to his side, what you for your part have done towards that end ? Moreover, the question may ultimately be put for what purpose the Government possessed a salaried postholder in the Marowyne area ? .....

I must tell you frankly that I would never allow myself to be outdone in this matter if my interests were so immediately at stake, or if I were but a few years younger.

One can no longer blame the failure of the Bonni to migrate on the Maroons or their isolation, and only your cooperation — your tactful cooperation — is needed to win them over to our interests.

I shall now propose to His Excellency the Governor among other things:

a. the re-institution of a military post in the Marowyne area, with an intelligent commanding officer and a physician;
b. to allocate a certain sum annually to cover the expenses arising from any trips up-river as well as for a few gifts;
c. to provide the postholder with an intelligent assistant;
d. to remonstrate with the Government of Cayenne *inter alia* about the treaty concluded by it with Bijman last year;
e. to enter into negotiations with the Moravian missionaries or the Roman Catholic clergy about posting a missionary among them;
f. to urge for a second mission to be sent to the Maroon tribes on the Upper Marowyne or even to the Indians further inland.

I am obliged to request you urgently to keep the above secret."

Clearly Slengarde, who was disappointed in his optimistic expectations following his visit to the Djukas and the Bonnis, was anxious

to put the blame on Kappler. At the same time the postholder was made responsible in passing for the failure of the Netherlands Government to take appropriate measures. Slengarde made it look as though the measures he was proposing had to be taken because of inactiveness on Kappler's part. Nothing was further from the truth, however, and if the Dutch Administration had wanted to succeed in its plans for getting the Bonnis and Djukas to work for it, these measures — which were the same as those Kappler himself had for a long time been urgently requesting, what is more — should have been taken years earlier.

The reasons why the French were so much more successful in winning over the Bonnis were once more elucidated by Kappler in his letter of January 4, 1862 (61a), where he says: "The two French establishments of St. Laurent and St. Louis are making good progress, especially the former, to which another thirty or so healthy women were brought on 18th October in order to be married off in due course. Those who were brought previously are all married and living with their husbands on the concessions allocated to them along the river .....

The Bonni Maroons will work only for the French, while in any case their number is not large. Because of their location on the Lava, which is connected to the cultivated areas of Cayenne by two creeks, namely the Inini and the Aroea, the Bonni Maroons, though they speak our language, have been in constant touch with the French, while they have had virtually no contact with us. Several of them are working on French plantations and even speak French. No Dutchman has ever travelled up the Lava, only the French have done so ..... The Bonni, having been informed by them that slavery no longer existed in Cayenne, knew at the same time that it had not yet been abolished in Surinam. On the Lower Marowyne they can see for themselves the establishments of the French, with soldiers, hospitals, priests, in short, all that is necessary in an organized society; they are able to make money, are given free treatment when ill, are at liberty to become Christians, implying respect, assistance, fraternity....."

That the Dutch had, in fact, "come a day after the fair", as Slengarde so ruefully remarked, is proved by the further course of events. Although the Lawa was declared Dutch territory through the mediation of Czar Alexander III in 1891 (the boundary dispute having been revived upon the discovery of gold in the area between the Lawa and Tapanahoni in 1885), the Bonnis living on the Lawa, as well as those

who had settled on the left bank of the Marowyne, were regarded as citizens of French Guiana, and in 1892 stated themselves to wish to be so regarded.

7. *Missionary activities*

During the period under discussion (1845-1863) reference is made several times in the correspondence between the postholders and the Government to missionary work among the Maroons.

The Christianization of the Maroons did draw the Administration's interest off and on, though to a much lesser extent than that of the slaves, and rarely actively so.

This interest became progressively more active as the new ideals of the 19th century — including that of the emancipation of all peoples under colonial oppression, with the word "emancipation" referring to both the abolition of slavery and the civilization of the various peoples through Christianization combined with education — gained ground as well as adherents, also in the colonies themselves.

The reverberations of these emancipatory ideas can be discerned in the attitude of the administrators of the colonies concerned. The considerations prompting greater activity in the field of Christianization were two in kind, namely those of a practical nature, embracing the hope that this way a better hold might be secured on the different native populations, so that their labour potential might thus be exploited, and those of an idealistic one, involving the aim to make these better and happier people by acquainting them with, and winning them over to the Christian faith, in the view of Christians the only true one. In between these two extremes there were generally many different shades of opinion. Mostly, however, the securing of labour was considered, if not the principal objective, then at any rate a certain fortunate side-effect of Christianization.[66]

Nor was the foundation in 1828 of the "Society for the promotion of religious instruction among our black population through the intermediary of the Moravian Brethren" by a number of Surinam notables inspired by purely idealistic motives. All noble intentions aside, religious instruction and education were no more than a "sacred" means towards a profane end: teaching the slaves to resign themselves to their fate and do their duty, i.e., work hard for their masters. It was hoped that one of the by-products of the Christian faith, namely the consciousness of the moral obligation to work (for the benefit of the colony !), would go down with the Maroons as well.

The Djukas on the Marowyne and the Tapanahoni successfully resisted all attempts at proselytism; besides, they were rather difficult to reach. The letters of both postholders and the Department for the Native Population contain occasional allusions to the usefulness of Christianization.

On two occasions an effective, though unsuccessful attempt was made in this direction, namely in 1850, when hopes were held that two Moravian Brethren (Herrnhuters) might be sent to the Tapanahoni along with the gifts, and in 1856, when Kappler, acting upon instructions from the Government, tried to find out whether the Paramount Chief was prepared to admit missionaries.

In a report concerning the failure to surrender a number of runaways in one particular instance, dated February 25, 1846 (35F[II]), Dhondt wrote to Slengarde: "I reported this also to Mr. Theil while I was on leave in town; he replied that no good is ever to be expected of the Aucaners, which it is my personal opinion as well. As long as no measures are taken to bring them knowledge of the true God, which must be done by theologians, since, no matter what I tell them about this or civilization, they pay no heed, and continue to err in their deep-rooted, false notions .....

As the Aucaners are really clever at trading and inclined .....[67], and, moreover, are not far removed from the level of civilization that is necessary for a working class, I believe that with a little sacrifice and effort they may be turned into useful members of society, while I am practically certain that they might be guided to knowledge of the true godhead by selfless theologians. In view of the large number of Maroons, the above is of the utmost importance for this colony, where labour is short, and hence definitely worthy of the attention of the Government, especially as they are well-built and slender and inured to the climate."

A few months later Slengarde drew up a report on the Maroons for the Government Secretary (July 13, 1846 (12)). About their religion, he says, "there is little to be said, while that little is such as to fill more civilized people with utter revulsion. The idolatrous veneration of trees, rocks and waterfalls reigns supreme with them. Wisse (poisoning) is allegedly prevalent among them, so they claim, and the unfortunate (possibly also innocent) person suspected or accused of this mostly becomes the luckless victim of their superstitions. He is burnt alive after insupportable torture, and if he succeeds in escaping in time he is outlawed and is liable to be shot without further ado

by the first person who comes across him.

All attempts at converting them to the Christian faith and baptizing them by the Moravian missionaries have shipwrecked on their persistence in their superstition and their aversion to order and civilization."

A report of March 12, 1852 (89), by Government Secretary Lisman to the Governor contains the following passage: "The Maroons have very little notion of religion, and the attempts which have been made to rid them of their false, idolatrous ideas and convert them to Christianity have invariably shipwrecked on their ingrained attachment to the traditions of their forefathers; they say, moreover, that they have always felt happy living like this. So the Aucaners flatly refused, through their Granman, to admit two Moravian Brethren, who had come to the Marowyne especially for that purpose at the time of the distribution of the gifts, to Auca at the end of 1850."

I have found no mention of this anywhere in Slengarde or Kappler's reports on the distribution of gifts in 1850.

Kappler did start mentioning from 1850 on that French missionaries were showing an interest. So he reported on July 2, 1850 (8), after a visit to Mana in French Guiana, for instance, that "The prêtre missionaire in Mana, a very zealous man who is deeply concerned about the false religion of the Aucaners, has asked me several times to be put in touch with Bijman somehow ..... He moreover wanted to undertake a trip to Auca for that purpose. In Mana, of course, everyone laughs at this proselytizing zeal, but as I fear that sooner or later he will carry out his attempts at conversion, I request your Honour to give me some suggestions as to how to safeguard the good gentleman against the insolent behaviour of the Aucaners."

On 22nd October, 1850 (8), Kappler wrote, furthermore: "A pathway is being constructed from Mana to this river, while they are also trying to dig a canal from Accaronary Creek to the Marowyne. The steamship *Le Voyageur,* which recently stopped at Mana for a fortnight and whose captain has sounded the Marowyne, is expected in Mana any day. The parish priest of Mana seems to have taken great pains over this enterprise. His reverence passed this way on his way up, probably to visit Bijman (who is, however, leaving today) and to establish religious connexions with him and the Aucaners — which may possibly take on a different complexion later on —, yesterday."

It is obvious from Kappler's correspondence of the following years that he intended keeping the Government informed on the increasing

activities of the French aimed at securing a greater influence over the Maroons on the Marowyne and the Lawa, of which the missionary attempts formed part, during this time.[68]

However, it was not until 1857 that the Government began to realize that the trouble the French were taking over the Maroons was assuming serious proportions, and to feel that the visits of the French priests might be counteracted by the dispatch of a missionary of its own to the Djukas.

In October of that year Kappler received orders to travel to "Auca" to inform the Granman that he was getting the allowance he had applied for, and to try and persuade him to allow a missionary to work among his people. Kappler's journey lasted from 2 to 19 November 1857 (59).

He discussed the subject with a few chiefs in the village of Bleiloo, a little way upstream of Poeloegoedoe, on about the 7th of November. "Here, as in all the other villages, I found not even the tiniest spark of interest in education or civilization which might induce them to allow a teacher to work among them, but only the wish that they might have in such a missionary someone who might act as some sort of a civil servant, and the kind of person they consider most essential for their safety and convenience."

Finally, he discussed the matter with the Paramount Chief and a number of subordinate chiefs, and "received the following reply from them, which I shall repeat as faithfully as possible, and which all the subordinate chiefs present fully approved.

— That he would permit a teacher to settle among them, but that he would never proceed to have himself converted to Christianity, no more than any white would give up the art of reading and writing in order to worship the obeahs of the Maroons; that he had always heard that it was precisely those Saramaccaners in the Upper Suriname area who had become Christians who were most suffering from and dying of diseases, which was the clearest proof that this religion was not suited to them; that he would nevertheless comply with the wishes of the Government and hold a meeting, and would convey their collective opinion to me through one of the subordinate chiefs; that he was, moreover, quite willing, if there were any missionary wishing to make an exploratory journey, to send some Maroons to fetch him at Albina, and to hold the meeting during his presence at Auca. — He told me how during his last visit to the Lower Marowyne one Mr. Bar, who lives on the French side, had summoned him and

urgently requested him to stay with him until the priest of Mana, whom Mr. Bar wanted to send for by express, should have arrived. That he had refused, however, and had left. At present this priest is even visiting Auca, and has not yet returned from this trip."

To this Kappler added his own views on the prospects for missionary work, viz: "I readily admit that, considering the local obstacles, ... I am extremely doubtful that a missionary could work among them with any degree of success, even if the climate, which I regard as fatal for all Europeans, lets him preserve his health. The great distances at which they live from one another, the very places where they reside, located for the greater part on islands, are bound to constitute an obstacle to any missionary in the performance of his duties, since it is not to be expected that they will come to him of their own accord. He will need Maroons, who will demand generous payment, for every trip, while in view of their nomadic way of life he cannot even be sure of finding them in their places of residence. If the Aucaners could be persuaded to leave their remote hiding-places on the Tapanahoni and settle below Poligoedoe falls (to which they are not disposed, however), and thus move closer to the settled part of this river; and if it should be possible to free the subjected tribes of the Poligoedoe, the Bonni and the Paramacca Maroons from their servitude ..... to the Aucaners; then an end would necessarily be put to their nomadic way of life, and they would apply themselves more to agriculture, like the Saramaccaners; then an industrious teacher might do much good among them. I am of the opinion that under the present circumstances, however, the sacrifices of the Moravian Brethren — by going to live and teach among them — would go unrewarded. Should any of the Moravian Brethren wish to undertake a trip to Auca nonetheless, the brief dry period in February or March would be the most suitable time for this. Furthermore, I would advise them in that case to take Indians with them as far as the Poligoedoe Negroes [69], and to have themselves taken thence to the Granman by Maroons. This gentleman will then have an opportunity of judging matters for himself, and of precipitating them, since it is only to be expected that the answer the Paramount Chief will send on this subject will once more be vague and evasive."

Although it is quite clear from Kappler's letters to the Government how little faith he had in the usefulness of missionary work among the Djukas, he did not try and dissuade the Government from sending a few missionaries to do a little reconnoitring, partly for the sake of

counteracting the zeal displayed by the French, among them Father Neu, an Alsatian.

The Government did not appear to expect much to come of the plan in the end either. It continued discussing it, but never carried it out.

Slengarde wrote in the Colonial Report of 1859, relating to the year 1858: "While in the act of writing this, I was informed by assistant postholder Kappler, however, that in his opinion the stationing of an instructor in Auca at the present moment would meet with less opposition from the Maroons; therefore negotiations will be entered into with the missionaries about the matter without delay." But in point of fact nothing was ever done about it.

In 1860 the matter again came up for discussion — indirectly — in connexion with the Government's decision to withdraw the Bonnis from the Djukas' authority.[70] In a statement by the Governor about this at the Colonial Council meeting of 20th October, 1860, the latter expressed the view that this way "the opportunities for propagating Christianity among them, as well as stimulating industry and diligence, both in their own interests and those of the remaining population, will be increased."

And that was all there was to it, no instructions accordingly being passed on to the members of the Slengarde and Eyken Sluyter Commission.

The latter's report contains only a few incidental references to any sort of belief in the usefulness of stationing a missionary-teacher here (Eyken Sluyter-Slengarde Report, January 5 (69)). Concerning "idolatry and idols" it remarks: "Many a time we tried to convince them in our conversations of the foolishness of their beliefs, and told them of an omnipotent and loving Being, the Creator of heaven and earth, to whom alone all reverence is due; on these occasions they listened to us very attentively, and we believe that with perseverance and tactful and efficient instruction much good may be done in this respect". To this the writers add further down in the report, where this opinion is repeated in a different context, "and they may be transformed into useful members of society."

To his regularly reiterated remarks on the activities of the French on the Marowyne, Kappler added on March 16, 1861 (61): "The Government seemed formerly to have intentions of granting the Moravian Brethren access to the Maroons; if such should still be the case, then in my opinion it is now high time. It seems likely that some of the French priests will be going up river in the dry period."

Less than a month later Slengarde, in the letter of 5th April (61) in which he so severely takes Kappler to task, mentions as one of the measures for keeping the situation on the Marowyne in hand which he was going to propose to the Governor: "the commencement of negotiations with the Moravian ministers or the R.C. clergy concerning the stationing of a missionary among them."

Kappler, who reacted quite coolly to this letter, wrote as follows on January 4, 1862: "A short while ago I had an opportunity of reading the report of the French priest Father Neu, who visited the Aucaners in November 1857, ... to discover that the said priest had run into a few dugout canoes with Bonni Maroons in the village of Poligoedoe; these had implored him to save them from the bondage of the Aucaners and fervently desired the protection of the French Government, in addition to being given a missionary. In his report he represents me especially as a 'protestant enragé' employing every available means of promoting 'les intérêts mesquins de la Hollande', saying that the Lava and the Maroons living on the right bank of the Tapanahoni River indisputably belonged to France, of which he, Neu, was informing the Maroons. (The good priest had not looked behind the little island in the river, and hence had not seen how big the Lawa was.) His advice was to win over these tribes and convert them forthwith (understandably) to Roman Catholicism."

The French priest had written this report to Monseigneur Dossat, the Apostolic Prefect in Cayenne; and Kappler, offended at being called a 'protestant enragé', had written a letter of protest to the Bishop. The Government hereupon ceased all its attempts to get a hold on the Maroons on the Marowyne through missionaries right up till the 20th century. Although the Herrnhuter missionaries did try to gain a firm footing among the Djukas, "in spite of their strenuous efforts, the doors remained closed", even when Granman Osseisi, appointed in 1888, proved more inclined towards contacts with the outside world. He was prepared to allow his people to be educated, and a teacher-missionary, I. G. Spalburg, was stationed in his main village of Drietabbetje (1896-1900) at his personal request. The combination of education with missionary work met with so much opposition, however, that the children stayed away and the school was closed (XXXII).

The Roman Catholic Mission, which began to concern itself with the Maroons and Indians in Surinam only around 1867, fared no better.

CHAPTER IV

MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS OF THE DJUKAS

1. *Government measures*

Ever since the 1760 treaty the Government had exerted itself to regulate the migratory movements of the Djukas. Until about 1845 every effort was made to keep them out of the plantation areas, where they came to trade timber and otherwise in search of a livehood.

Some of the objections to their presence in the Cottica-Commewijne area concerned:

1. Their contacts with the plantation people, which often took the form of illegal trafficking with slaves.
2. Their contacts with runaways in that same area, who were often also involved in smuggling activities.

When in 1835, 1837 and 1838 the peace treaties with each of the three Maroon tribes were revised, the boundaries beyond which the Maroons were forbidden to travel without passes, as well as the maximum number of Maroons with passes allowed on the lower river reaches were also fixed again.

As far as the Djukas are concerned, the regulations regarding their movements are laid down in Articles 3, 10, 11 and 12 of the new peace treaty of 1837.

Article 3 of this runs as follows: "They are to remain living in Auca and under no pretext to travel down, either in order to carry timber or for any other purpose, any further than a maximum of three days' travelling upstream from Oranjewoud Post".[71]

Articles 10, 11 and 12 contain the regulations concerning trade with plantations in the Cottica-Commewijne area, and regarding the places where they might wait for favourable tides[72] and the procedure for checking their passes (on which the nature and quantity of the goods they were carrying had to be stated) by military posts and plantation managers.

In Article 15 the maximum number of Maroons allowed to travel down the rivers, either with Paramaribo as their destination or for purposes of trade on the rivers themselves, is fixed at 40.

Article 20 contains the following statement: "They (i.e., the other Maroons) shall forcibly drive the Aucaners out of the Cottica area and elsewhere, either on their own initiative or if the Government should so desire, and compel them to return to their own territory."

Although the revised treaty, like the original one of 1760, stipulated that the postholder should live "in or near" the Granman's village, this was not the case with respect to the Djukas after 1842, as we saw above. The postholder appointed in 1846 went to live in the Cottica River area.

After 1845 the Government changed its tactics and tried to concentrate the Djukas, who had settled in the plantation area nevertheless, on the Upper Cottica.

Stricter measures were furthermore taken to regulate and curb the movement to and fro between the Marowyne and the coastal area. It was hoped that this would serve to counteract the large-scale illegal trafficking between the Maroons and plantation slaves and would enable the Government to gain a more effective control over the timber trading carried on between Maroons and private individuals, which was giving rise to cheating on both sides. The concentration of the Djukas in the Upper Cottica area proved unsuccessful, as did the attempts to reduce smuggling and regulate timber trading.

2. *The Djukas and their contacts with the inhabitants of the plantation area*

Although the religious faith of the Djukas has tended to confine them to the area and the soil where their ancestors lived and are buried, this has not prevented them from changing their abode several times. For their sustenance they were and are still dependent on hunting and fishing and the yields of their provision plots, namely cassava, rice, sweet potatoes and peanuts. They have always been free to hunt and fish anywhere, while new provision plots could be cleared with relative ease. This has rendered them extremely mobile, while the fact that they have always lived either on or near one of the big rivers has further increased this mobility. Moreover, they have always been able to use the rivers for the transportation of their bush products, which they use for barter with the Indians living up-stream and with the whites down-stream.

Djuka creek, a tributary of the Marowyne River, constituted their original tribal territory. This was where the runaways regularly joined

each other, later to subdivide into smaller tribes or clans, each of which is called a "lo". These *lo*s originally consisted of small groups of runaways from the same plantation. Mostly the name of the plantation or its owner was adopted as the name of the *lo*.

In the second half of the 18th century the Djukas left their creek, travelled up the Marowyne and settled on the Tapanahoni. Djuka Creek remained a place of worship, however.

Each village, or sometimes group of villages, was mainly inhabited by people belonging to one and the same *lo*. The entire territory was referred to as Djuka by the Maroons, and Auca by the whites.

Another area to which the Djukas moved was the Upper Commewyne and Cottica area. This was only natural, since to get from the Tapanahoni to Paramaribo via the Marowyne, they normally travelled via Wane Creek to the Cottica and Commewyne Rivers and thence down the Suriname to Paramaribo. This was quite a long journey, in the course of which they invariably called on a number of plantations, where they did some trading and sometimes remained hanging about in the vicinity for months. A stay in the Cottica and Commewyne area had the added advantage of the proximity of a market for timber and other products. Gradually a number of Djukas settled in this area permanently, although they continued to regard the Tapanahoni as their tribal homeland and to recognize the Djuka Granman as their own. There were also a large number of them travelling to and fro as semi-nomads. If food was scarce on the Upper Marowyne they would trek down the river, and if there was no longer much to be gained by staying in the plantation area, they would move upstream again. The Djukas were well aware that the Government, and especially its representative the postholder, had little means of exerting official authority to prevent them from moving about. It might withhold passes, but then they could do without these. The river traffic might be stopped — which did, in fact, always cause some inconvenience and congestion — but this was inevitably only a temporary measure.

In order to encourage the concentration of the Djukas in the Upper Cottica area which the Government desired, Postholder Ch. L. Dhondt was sent to live at Comboes Creek,[73] about ten hours' travelling from the nearest military post. Here he lived right among the Maroons, so that the Granman's wish to have a white man live among his people was hereby met up to a point. However, the stipulation of the Political Treaty that the postholder should live in or near the Granman's village

was totally disregarded. A journey from Comboes Creek to the Tapanahoni, where Granman Bijman lived, took anything up to 10 or 14 days !

Dhondt's duties furthermore included the encouragement of regular cultivation of the soil among the Maroons, in order to accustom them to living in a fixed abode and gradually integrate them into the colony's productive system.

Dhondt's letters testify that little ever came of all these plans. Whatever influence he was able to exert on the Djukas' movements and their smuggling and trading activities was very slight. Although Dhondt regularly reported on the number of Djukas living in the Cottica and Commewyne area, his figures are unreliable. In March 1846, for instance, he estimated the number of Djukas in the Upper Cottica area at 1,200, and those in the Upper Commewyne area at 1,500. But it later appeared that large groups of Djukas had gone down the Marowyne in search of food at precisely that time. In August 1846 (4), Dhondt wrote:

".....I should point out that the circumstance that large numbers of Aucaners are flocking to town for passes is the outcome of a panicky fear, and is otherwise entirely groundless. As my letters show, it is lack of employment that is impelling them to go looking for trouble by way of satisfying their thirst for revenge for the many arrests [74], as are also the impossibility of obtaining bananas free from the plantations and the desire to avoid being forced to clear provision plots."

But in September 1846 (4), he reports: "Want of food, as a result of the scarcity of bananas on the plantations in the Cottica area, is now causing most of the sluggards to leave for Auca, to return here when the rains start, confident as they are that, as they say, they will then find bananas here as before."

As for the Djukas who did settle on the Cottica, he complains in the same letter: "The dry season set in a long time ago, and not a single Aucaner has made a start with clearing the bush in order to lay out provision plots; hence all the trouble I have been taking for more than eight years to induce them to do so has been, and will ever remain, in vain; from which fact, as also from what they themselves say, I am obliged to conclude that, as I have pointed out so often before (see the correspondence), without strict orders from the authorities they are bound to persist as long as they can in their dogged obstinacy and lack of reason on this point, which is so important for the common weal."

In October 1846 (4), he writes: "The movement to Auca of Maroons who have settled here goes on without cease, so that the present population here is becoming smaller and smaller. This migration is certain to lead to scarcity of food in Auca, and then they will soon come back in droves." And in December 1846 (4): "Only a few have started clearing land in order to lay out provision plots, though only after the rains began, so that it is all to no purpose [75]; moreover, these few plots are insufficient by far even for the few Maroons who are here at present, so that any who return here from Auca will have to go looking for food on the plantations, as before, and obtain the same by bartering *dram*, since the fishing has been poor this year. They nevertheless prefer it this way, as they receive two bunches of bananas for one stoup of *dram* from the Negroes on the coffee plantations. The Aucaners get paid an average of two mugs of *dram* and one of molasses a day for stave-making, which hence provides an easy way of obtaining plenty of food." In his annual report of 1846 (35F^{II}) he has the following to say about smuggling and trafficking: "I have not taken into account the numerous clandestine trips that have been made both to town and the plantations this year; to what cause to ascribe them I know not, and to detect them it is impossible.

The thieving, scheming and other wrongful or shameless acts on the part of the Aucaners are continually increasing this year. As a result, according to the return passes issued in Paramaribo few, if any, prohibited articles [76] have been exported thence, although I personally am quite convinced of the contrary; it is my opinion that in order to put a stop to these clandestine exports it will be necessary to inspect their boats at the different military posts."

In his report of the third quarter of 1847 (35F^{II}) he states: "It is evident from the Aucaners' timber trading activities what large sums' worth of timber are turned over ..... This is apparent also from the fact that, since the time I was transferred to the territory of the Aucaners in 1838, in some years 300 raft-loads of timber and at least 650 canoe-loads of smaller varieties of timber were moved down stream, so that it can be calculated that about 80,000 guilders' worth passed into the hands of various inhabitants of this colony. As for the Aucaners, what have they received or accumulated in return ? Mere baubles, since they possess no goods of any permanent monetary value.

If one assesses the banana exports and adds the amounts consumed by the Aucaners settled here en route and in town, one may without exaggeration arrive at a figure of at least 30,000 bunches, which, at

25 cents a bunch, will then come to the huge sum of 7,500 guilders. It is desirable that ways and means should be found, in the interests of the citizens, to force these Aucaners to produce their own food instead of wasting their time roaming about, the more so since there is much fertile land allocated to them here."

A month later, in October 1847 (35F[II]), he writes: "I should draw the Department's attention to the insignificance of the amount of gunpowder that is exported according to the passes issued by officials in Paramaribo, since it is known to me that the consumption of this article is enormous, and I am convinced that a considerable amount thereof has been secretly transported into the interior."

In February 1848 (35F[II]), he returns to this subject again, saying: "I feel constrained to report that the large-scale exportation of flint and lead strikes me as incongruous; and it is my personal opinion that the exportation of gunpowder should be computed proportionately, and that this hence deserves the attention of the Department for the Native Population." The smuggling of bananas is also referred to in this letter, which says on this point: "I should also bring to your notice the large quantities of bananas that are conveyed upstream. As I am convinced that their boats are thoroughly inspected at Monbijou Picket and that no objects may pass there without the proper permits being duly submitted, one is obliged to draw the conclusion that, just as before, they sneak past the Picket at night to hide any prohibited goods they are carrying, and subsequently return in order to have their passes with permits for the remaining commodities checked."

In April 1847 an official attempt was made to force the Djukas of the Upper Commewyne to move to the Upper Cottica area. Towards this end all river traffic was stopped. This involved that no more passes were issued, even to breadwinners, excepting those Maroons who obeyed official orders. In his report for the second quarter of 1847 (4) Dhondt comments on this as follows: "On my departure from Vossenburg Plantation on the Upper Commewyne I was instructed by the above-mentioned Government Secretary to stop the traffic to all Aucaners until further notice. The communication of these instructions provoked incessant grumbling here and induced large numbers of Maroons to visit me to complain about the shortage of salt, *dram*, molasses and other necessaries; even so, everything remained calm.

In the month of May various meetings of Aucaner chiefs and elders took place, all of them with the aim of prevailing upon me to respect-

fully request the Department for the Native Population to open up the traffic again, on the grounds that the shortage of foodstuffs as well as of the above-mentioned commodities was becoming intolerable. As I knew all this to be true, and was no longer able to keep silent about their plight, I deemed it my duty, in order to avoid unforeseen conflicts and complications, to comply with their request. I therefore left for Paramaribo on May 31, and informed ..... the Government Secretary of all this during an audience on Wednesday, June 2, without any definite decision being taken, however. Thus everything was to remain as it was until the Aucaners, with six exceptions, had left their camps upstream from l'Espérance Military Post; only then would whatever orders would have to be issued be sent to me. .....On June 12 and the following days 75 Aucaners provided with passes by l'Espérance Military Post arrived here from the Upper Commewyne. .....The arrival of these Aucaners further swelled the number of those already here to see me, and the grumbling grew worse according as the effects of the dearth of the above-mentioned necessaries made themselves felt. Finally, on July 6, after duly considering their complaints, I promised them to put in a request with the Department for the Native Population to open up the traffic." On the 18th of July the river was opened up again. By then the shortage of food had become acute. The results of the above measures were only very poor, no more than 75 of the few hundred people living in the Commewyne area having moved to the Upper Cottica. In a letter of August 28, 1847 (12), Slengarde once more expounds the views of the Department for the Native Population to Dhondt. He writes: "Sooner or later the time will come when, by treating them more severely, we shall have to compel them to do what they refused to do of their own accord, namely, to accustom themselves to regular work and stop their eternal scheming with the plantation slaves. It is by no means our chief's wish to thwart them in the pursuit of their interests, but rather to create order, to put an end to all malpractices, and to make better people of the Maroons than they have been up to now; this is Mr. Lisman's sole intention.

Admittedly that honourable gentleman wants the Maroons in general, and the Aucaners in particular, to sell or buy nothing except against cash payment. This will come about automatically in time, however. We shall already have gained much if managers and other people living on the plantations can be compelled to state on the passes issued to Maroons what the latter have sold to them, or, if they have disposed of the same by barter, to mention this openly on the passes, too, if

Mr. Lisman is to condone it for the time being. The latter will be contented if only the Maroons can be prevented from purchasing bananas, *dram* or molasses from slaves, so that these may be stopped from pilfering and frittering away their masters' possessions. You are therefore requested also to act along these lines until further notice, but at the same time to keep the above communication to yourself.

How could any of the Maroons' goods which they have lawfully obtained, which fact, as you say, is stated on their passes, possibly have been seized from them at the military posts ? As this is in complete contradiction with the intentions of the Government Secretary, you are urgently requested to report any illegal actions of this sort, should you come to hear of them, to me without delay, lest the Aucaners' allegations that we are trying to harass them and in no way have their interests at heart be borne out. Allow me to briefly recapitulate our chief's real intentions. By abolishing the passes for breadwinners he intends to compel the Aucaners to become self-supporting and to put an end to their incessant scheming with plantation slaves.

By the prohibition of sales and purchases other than against cash payment he intends to:

1. stop slaves from stealing from their masters and obtaining *dram* from the Maroons to their heart's content, which is injurious to their health, to the appreciable prejudice of their owners;
2. safeguard the Maroons themselves against deceit and fraud, to which they have so often been the victims, even at the hands of whites; in order to achieve which purpose the abolition of *goedjes* [77] for *dram,* etc., is necessary above all else;
3. prevent the same from roaming up and down the river at their own free will, as this is providing them with opportunities of pilfering from the plantations.

Our chief's intention in providing that no more than forty men, as stipulated by the terms of the Peace Treaty, are to be issued with passes is to facilitate their proper supervision while in town, thus preventing them from committing thefts and other offences, so that the country may save on the considerable sums now being spent by the prison governor on provisions. ..... As long as I have had the honour of being Assistant Secretary, I have never once failed as far as is possible to enforce the postholder's authority vis-à-vis the Maroons, and I shall never depart from this principle."

On 10th May, 1848 (12), the prohibition on the issuing of passes for breadwinners was lifted again. Slengarde wrote to Dhondt that he

was authorizing him in the name of their chief "to issue twenty-five Aucaners with passes for town, while a further 25 are to be allowed to go and buy food on the plantations, without going direct to town, though only at that time of year when they are supposed to have their provision plots in order. This authorization is given on the express condition, from which there is to be no departure whatsoever, however, that upon the slightest offence being committed by any Aucaner, ... whoever and wherever he or she may be, not only will the above permission be withdrawn, but all river traffic will be completely stopped."

Dhondt had finally come to the conclusion, however, that the Government's scheme for concentrating both the Maroons of the Cottica and Commewyne and those of the Marowyne areas in Upper Cottica had proved impracticable. He had furthermore had enough of living at the distant post on Comboes Creek, with the miserable state of repair it was in, and so requested to be transferred to some place in the vicinity of a military post. In a letter of February 2, 1848 (5), he writes:

"In my opinion I ought to remark at this juncture that, as experience has taught, the scheme for inducing the Aucaners to move further downstream has been fruitless and futile. Indeed, it has now been proved that many of them, instead of erecting their camps in the proximity of postholders' residences, have moved further inland (they like to live in isolated places). It follows logically from this that the Postholder is cut off from all aid, and is liable and exposed to all kinds of untoward circumstances in the event of illness or other unforeseen occurrences. This provides ample proof, as it were, that this particular residence must be regarded as a dead loss, useless as it is to the colony, to the plantations, or for the civilization of the crafty, intriguing Aucaners settled here in the interior. More than anything that I have mentioned above — which is nothing but the strict truth — the great expense the postholder is obliged to go to in order to feed himself, the uncertainties and long delays involved in the dispatch of official letters, the obstinacy and cupidity of the refractory Aucaners, and other attendant difficulties and wretched circumstances should be taken into account. ..... Indeed, I feel that in view of all this it would be both desirable and in the interests of the plantations, service and the public order to place these buildings at the disposal of the garrison ..... I was sent here instead of further downstream at the request of Bijman, that is, in order to please this black chief, on the assumption

that the Aucaners would move downstream, which so far has not eventuated and will not take place for years to come either (they will never leave their lair)."

Comboes Creek post was, in fact, abandoned and a new post, Monbijou, established. The transfer was organized by Dhondt's deputy Montecattini. On October 24, 1848 (5), Montecattini commented on the Maroons' reaction to the removal as follows: "The Aucaner Maroons are much opposed to my living downstream, saying that they cannot accept the demolition of the house at Comboes Creek and its removal downstream in good spirit, since they desire to have a white person living among them, while the chiefs are certain to disagree and to go complaining to His Excellency and Mr. J. A. Lisman. I think I ought to report this." [78]

When Dhondt returned from leave he settled at Monbijou. In the annual report of 1849 (5) he estimated the number of Djukas in the Cottica and Commewyne area at 790. Nine years later, in the annual report of 1858 (14), he once more referred to the matter of migration as follows: "Pursuant to the permission given in December 1848 by the Government of this colony to the Aucaners to go and work for Europeans along rivers other than those previously stipulated, provided they had obtained special passes, there were expectations that they might leave their hiding-places and come further downstream. Experience has provided convincing proof to the contrary ! The fact that there are at present 700 souls at most here in the interior is evidence of this, seeing that there were formerly always from 1,000 to 1,500 living here. ..... The departure of the Aucaners formerly settled here on the Upper Cottica and the Courmotibo can be ascribed partly to:

1. the low prices now being paid for the timber conveyed down river by them on rafts; [79]
2. the difficulty they are experiencing in obtaining food as a result of their own lack of foresight or laziness;
3. their allegations that the inspection of their boats at the different military posts is causing them much annoyance, which according to them is one of the main reasons for their leaving these parts for their own country and only travelling down to buy or obtain by barter whatever supplies they are unable to obtain along the Marowyne."

On August 1, 1853 (55), Dhondt expressed the following opinion: "If the Government should see its way clear to purchasing the timber of the Aucaners, this would be a great step forward in attracting them

to the lower areas, so that gradually, through increasing commerce with important officials, they would adopt a better style of life, whereby they would become gradually more civilized within a relatively short space of time. It has up to now been impossible for this to happen on account of their trade with the plantations and the close contacts established by them with the plantation Negroes." The Government did not follow this sensible advice, however. All forcible attempts at concentrating the Djukas and controlling their life were finally given up. The Government hoped that, when finally in 1856 the measures restricting their movements were completely abolished, they might eventually become automatically integrated into the labour process and the social structure of Surinam. In this it was also disappointed.

By the time of the abolition of slavery in 1863 the Djukas still had not changed their way of life or their general views. They were still travelling to and fro along the river between their tribal areas on the Tapanahoni and the plantation area and Paramaribo, as in the old days. A number of them remained on the Upper Cottica and the Upper Commewyne, and their trade continued to be irregular. Only their smuggling activities stopped, since from 1856 onward they were allowed to import and export whatever they liked, while after 1863 there were no longer any slaves to trade with.

3. *The Djukas and their contacts with the runaways*

Although there was a decrease in the number of slaves running away from the plantations in the 19th century, this did not stop altogether. No more large groups formed, however. Nor were the runaways endangering the colony any longer, although they were still a nuisance to the plantations. Owners continued to be plagued with losses resulting from slaves running away, and until 1850 military expeditions continued to be organized, both by the military forces (especially by the "Black Chasseurs") and the "Pacified Maroons". These expeditions had just as little success as those of the 18th century. Neither did the surrender of captured slaves by the Maroons, which was made obligatory by the peace treaties, take place without a hitch. The peace treaty of 1837, in articles 6 and 7, laid down the rules of conduct for the Djukas with respect to runaways as follows:

Article 6. "They shall not allow any runaway slave, whether belonging to a plantation or to a private person, to live with them, much less fetch elsewhere, buy or hire any slaves, or take the same to their

villages or places of work, but on the contrary, shall detain any escaped slaves, both male and female, who may still be living among them, as well as any who may come to them or whom they may find, wherever this may be, and surrender them to the nearest military post, there to receive a voucher accordingly, which they may take to Paramaribo in order to receive the reward of sixteen guilders for each runaway slave so surrendered. If any expedition is undertaken by them beyond the cordon, a reward of fifty guilders for each captured runaway will be paid them. The Postholder must be informed accordingly in advance and give permission for such an expedition to take place, however."

Article 7 stipulated that they were forbidden to withdraw from any military expedition undertaken against runaways in which they had been instructed to take part by the Government.

The postholder, who was ordered to keep a careful watch to see that the Maroons fulfilled their obligations with regard to runaways, was supposed to report everything he was able to find out about the contacts between the two groups, and, if he discovered any "runaways or captured slaves being harboured in some village, in that case to see to it that these are surrendered to the Government as soon as possible." (art. 22 of the Instructions of 1835).

That these instructions were much easier given than carried out is clear from the postholders' letters and reports. The total number of runaways between 1845 and 1863 was not precisely known at the time. On December 31, 1856 (58), Dhondt estimated the number of "runaway slaves up here in the highlands [80] and in the vicinity of Auca" at 200. Slengarde, in the Colonial Report of 1849, estimated the total number at a little less than 800. The number of runaways surrendered or captured on expeditions did not come to more than a few dozen. On February 15, 1846 (4), Dhondt wrote in a report to the Government Secretary: "On the 2nd of December of last year ..... the Aucaners Tamboer and Januarie reported to me that there had been six runaway slaves in the Canary Creek area, and that I could count on their being captured. Believing in the truth of their words, since they tallied with what I had already heard before, I gave them powder and shot, etc., so that they might overpower the runaways. — On the 9th of that same month everything I had given was brought back to me by the Maroons, saying that they had not seen the runaways, but only the latter's camp in the neighbourhood of their own camps. ..... Meanwhile, I insisted that the Aucaners tell me the

truth, and a few elders stated, in the presence of Januarie, that they had held two runaways captive, but that these had escaped.

I had been told that not two, but six had come there, however. I did not say anything about this for a while. Meanwhile the Aucaner Kwaminie arrived from Kompagnieloo, and I asked him unexpectedly where the six runaways were. This he did not know, he said, adding, however, that he had seen them himself. This agreed with what I had heard before, and is now confirmed by some Aucaner women, who are generally fairly truthful. .....To conclude, it is obvious that there is a multitude of runaways hiding on both the right and left banks of the Cottica and Courmotibo, from Picket 19 as far away as the uplands, while it is beyond doubt that these have close connexions with the Maroons."

In December 1846 (35F[II]) Dhondt remarked: "The runaways in the Boekoe and Canary Creek areas, as well as in many other places ..... are also helping the Aucaners by supplying foodstuffs; without these, the Aucaners, roaming about without food as they do, would starve as a result of the present dearth of bananas."

In August 1847 (35F[II]) he was able to report that a number of runaways had now been surrendered after all, by none less than the Granman himself, saying: "On August 23 the above-mentioned nine runaway slaves were brought here under a proper escort provided on the orders of said Granman, of which he had placed himself in charge. The Granman arrived on the 25th with a following of 64 chiefs. The delivery of these runaways and Bijman's arrival prompted me to give a *spel*[81] for the people who had come from Auca as well as for the Aucaners settled in Cottica; this went on for four consecutive nights, undisturbed by any unpleasant incidents. On the 30th I delivered the above-mentioned nine runaway slaves to the Commandant of Vredenburg post, receiving a voucher accordingly. After that I left for town with the Granman, at his request."

In 1849 a number of Maroons undertook an expedition in the area lying between the Marowyne and Cottica Rivers. Dhondt reported the results in his annual report for 1849 (8) as follows: "On August 3, ... the Aucaner Kwassie Meninie arrived here with a large following and amid the continuous beating of drums and frantic shouting, bringing with him eleven captured slaves and the hands of four Negroes who had been put to death. As they intended going to town with these, in contravention of the Peace Treaty, I set out for Vredenburg military post at twelve midnight in order to inform the Commandant according-

ly. I provided the prisoners with enough food for five days and, in order to prevent the usual begging from plantations in such cases, I gave the Aucaners two jugs of *dram*."

This procedure gave rise to difficulties with regard to both the payment of rewards for captured slaves to the Maroons and the proposed changes in the reward system.

Slengarde wrote to Dhondt on August 29, 1849 (12), "..... that the above-mentioned Aucaners received the sum of fl. 16.— for each runaway captured or shot, i.e., fl. 240.— in all, while in addition they were given *bakkeljauw* [82], salt, *dram* and gunpowder, and the leader Kwassie Meninie a hunting-gun and accessories besides. However, I hereby request you to have the Assistant Postholder instructed, in the name of the Government Secretary, that, barring any necessary changes in the Peace Treaty, the reward in future is to be paid only for runaways captured and surrendered alive and not for those shot, unless it can be proved clearly and incontrovertibly that the loss of human life was rendered inevitable for reasons of self-defence and self-preservation. You are authorized to have Paramount Chief Bijman also instructed accordingly by word of mouth, partly through trustworthy Aucaners. The cruel and inhuman behaviour of the Aucaners in this matter has made an unfavourable impression on our chief." (!)

Dhondt duly carried out these instructions, reporting on the matter in a letter of September 12, 1849 (35F[II]). According to this the Granman had been "informed of the content of the Government order ..... mainly concerning the reward to be paid in future for slaves captured, and not for those killed, the Peace Treaty of 1836 [83], of which treaty the Aucaners claim they know nothing at all, having been altered." The latter remark shows that the Djukas were dissatisfied with the change, claiming, as they had done on previous occasions, that they knew only of the existence of the old treaty of 1760 to give expression to their dissatisfaction. The Djukas who had gone to Paramaribo to receive their rewards, and had there been informed of the changed rules, did pass Dhondt's post on their way back, though they were obviously discontented (35F[II]). The Maroons transmitted a garbled version of the new regulation, as is evident from a letter written by Slengarde on behalf of the Government Secretary on November 17, 1849 (12), which was directed to all postholders. In this he writes: "The Government Secretary has learnt from a reliable source that a few Aucaners undertaking an expedition beyond Mr. Montecattini's residence on the Marowyne in the month of July last, as a result

whereof they surrendered eleven runaways and the hands of four whom they had shot dead on this occasion, have spread rumours alleging that the Government Secretary ordered them to undertake no further expeditions under any circumstances whatever, and to make this known to their Paramount Chief as the express wish of the Government, and furthermore that they failed to receive the rewards as stipulated by the Peace Treaty, but were fobbed off instead with a reward that was disproportionate to the services they had rendered. In order to remove the false impression which such rumours, however absurd they may be in themselves, may create upon the Maroons, you are hereby requested and, if need be, ordered, in the name of our chief, to notify the Paramount Chief together with the other chiefs through trustworthy people as soon as possible that this is completely beside the truth, and that the Government Secretary, far from ordering them not to undertake any further expeditions, has on the contrary expressed his satisfaction and gone to the trouble of obtaining a good hunting-gun and accessories from His Excellency the Governor of Surinam for the leader of the expedition in question, while they were richly rewarded over and above the sum of fl. 16.— fixed for each runaway captured or shot inside the Cordon. With the authorization of His Excellency you are to have it made known to their Paramount Chief through their intermediary that in future rewards will be paid only for runaways surrendered alive, and not for those shot dead by them, *unless there is convincing evidence that they have been forced to do so in self-defence due to stubborn resistance on the part of the runaways*,[84] and finally that they must always undertake such expeditions only with the knowledge of the postholder.

You are instructed to make the above known to every Maroon visiting your residence in order to secure a pass, or for whatever other reason."

To Dhondt's and Kappler's copies of the letter he added: "As soon as the names of those who have spread the false rumours in question become known to this Department, you will receive further instructions for summoning them here to answer for their conduct."

This question is not brought up again in the correspondence. Though runaway slaves were still occasionally surrendered, only very few were in actual fact handed over after this time. Dhondt still refers to runaways a few times after this. So he writes on November 18, 1854 (57), for instance: "I feel obliged to inform the Department that on the 14th inst. the runaway slaves Verdriet, Jankje, Basta and a number

of others belonging to the abandoned estate of Monbijou were seen on the embankment at the rear of the grounds (which is covered with tall grass). I have notified the Commandant and superintendent Rochemont accordingly; there is no doubt but that these runaways are in contact with the Negroes guarding said plantation, while I am furthermore convinced that they are hiding in the buildings or in the grounds at the back of the property."

On August 1, 1856 (58), he wrote: "..... that two boats with runaway slaves have escaped upstream, passing here amid singing at eight o'clock; how many there were and from what plantation they came is unknown to me."

On the 13th of January 1857, Dhondt reported: "As stated in my letter of 31st December, it is my sad duty to report to the Department that my instructions to the Aucaner captains Kwassi Jungh and Alalie, transmitted through the Maroon Bossoe Curri, to the effect that the runaway slave Jacobus, belonging to Annaburg plantation, is to be surrendered — in accordance with the Department's orders — ..... have not at all had the desired effect. On the 9th inst. Alalie was here in order to obtain a pass; he pretended to be ignorant of the whole thing, and said that everything that was happening here in the hill country was in accordance with Granman Bijman's instructions to Kwassi Jungh, whereby the latter was charged to keep a lookout for anything likely to cause unpleasant incidents. Instead of carrying out his task, he, Kwassi Jungh, the senior captain, contrary to the good faith of His Excellency, has seen fit to disregard the instructions, which is the usual way in which the Aucaners behave as soon as anything required by the colony or the common weal is asked of them. I have heard unofficial reports that a large camp has been pitched on Bokkoe Creek by runaways slaves, with whom the Aucaners, being right in among them, are certain to have relations; presumably this camp has contacts with the so-called *krabbeholen* [85]. Finally, it is rumoured here that an Aucaner girl has been assaulted by runaways, so that not one of them is allowed to travel along the river without a male escort; it is plain from this that they regard it as unsafe, which has never been the case before."

This he followed up with a letter dated February 3, 1857 (59), in which he stated, "I feel obliged to inform the Department that a runaway slave with a small, fully loaded canoe passed this way this morning, going in the direction of the Upper Cottica, while, moreover, some of the runaways hiding in the shed of the abandoned plantation

of Monbijou have also been seen on the grounds here, so that this post ..... is quite unsafe. Moreover, I have reason to believe that the slaves running away to the hills go there to assemble, and are staying there only temporarily, later, when they see fit, to leave for the Upper Cottica. It seems to me advisable that orders be given for the demolition of the shed in question, and that a small garrison be stationed there for keeping runaways at bay and for security reasons."

A few months later again, in July and August, Dhondt once more mentions the appearance of runaways in the vicinity. A letter of 9th July (59), which was probably written by his son, since Dhondt himself was in very bad health at the time, contains the following passage: "I deem it my duty also to inform you that runaway slaves, more than 20 of them, are now wandering about here by day as well as by night, so that my residence is exposed to all kinds of hazards and that some disaster is bound to befall it in the event of the slightest conflict, to prevent which measures should be taken immediately."

On August 25 (59) Dhondt makes the following remarks about the Djukas: "These people, perfidious and lazy as they are by nature, are giving their cooperation to runaways, and, since they are all avaricious, I am obliged to inform you ..... that they are certain never to surrender the many runaways wandering about here; every Aucaner with runaways regards these as his lawful property, so that one can expect little good of the Aucaners."

On 11th October (59) he reported the occurrence of a conflict between his son and a runaway slave, writing: "I am obliged to inform you that in the afternoon of Sunday the 4th inst. my son, C. L. Dhondtfils, while out hunting, came up to the landing-stage of the abandoned plantation of Monbijou; seeing no canoes in the vicinity, he went ashore, entered the shed, and, to his surprise, there came upon a Negro guard together with two runaways, one called Verdriet and the other unknown to him. The Negro guard Spadillo had gone in search of his canoe, which had drifted off along the river with that of the runaways, which is proof that both these Negro guards are in contact with the runaways, a matter to which I have referred in various of my letters.

The above-said Verdriet ..... was in possession of a single-barrel hunting-gun, which he, Dhondtfils, immediately snatched from his hands; this done, he quickly left the dangerous thieves' den and returned home with the gun. I have the honour of sending you the charge herewith, while I am keeping the gun itself in my personal safekeeping as material evidence, in anticipation of your orders."

The Government never took Dhondt's cries of distress about the Maroons' being a danger seriously.

On the contrary, the "relaxed regulations" of 1856 only gave the Maroons — and at the same time, the runaways — more freedom. The closing of the military posts in Dhondt's vicinity further undermined what little authority he had, moreover. It is not difficult to understand why he put in an application for a pension a disappointed man. What is more, it, too, came too late, Dhondt dying a fortnight after being officially pensioned off.

After the expedition undertaken by the Djukas in July 1849, during which eleven runaways were taken prisoner, there were no further expeditions, either on the initiative of the garrison or of the colonists. The number of runaways and the threat they posed to the community had dwindled in proportion to the high costs of organizing expeditions. Because of the approaching emancipation of the slaves the fugitive slave problem lost in importance anyway, and an amnesty was eventually granted to all Maroons and their descendants by a Government Decree of 1862.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The conclusion one is able to draw from the foregoing analysis of official documents covering the period 1845-1863 is that the Surinam Maroons actually preferred their self-chosen semi-isolation to any form of integration into the wage-labour system of the plantation colony the Government tried to impose. They did, however, take advantage of the opportunity this offered them of moving in and out of the plantation area for their own purposes.

The factors responsible for their aloof attitude and the failure of the Government's integrational policy can be summarized as follows:

1. The basic, deep-rooted mutual distrust between the Maroons and whites arising from the conditions on the plantations under slavery and the ensuing revolts, escapes and guerrilla warfare. As a consequence the Maroons have held fears of losing their hard-won liberty the moment they gave in to proposals coming from the Government ever since. Their former masters, conversely, were afraid for many years that the Maroon groups might renew their guerrilla activities, either singly or jointly, and so bring the colony to ruin.

2. The conflicts of attitudes and ideas between the Maroons and the rest of the society conditioned by, among other things, differences in interpretation of the peace treaties. The Maroons considered themselves unvanquished, whereas the whites claimed that they had forced peace upon them. The Maroons interpreted the peace treaties as regulating the conditions of freedom and autonomy within their own independent area. The whites saw in them a means of preventing renewed Maroon attacks and reducing the number of slave escapes. The Maroons' reluctance and lack of cooperation in handing over new runaways as stipulated by the peace treaty invariably led to irritation and the necessity of protracted negotiations.

3. Ignorance of each other's motives and reactions, and lack of appreciation of each other's way of life, as well as mutual feelings

of pride and prestige, which made discussions, compromises or concessions between the two parties exceptionally difficult.

4. The fact that the Government invariably took decisions regarding the Maroons without deigning to even consult the latter's wishes or objections, much less to try and adapt them to their specific conditions. It was the Maroons' policy, conversely, to jealously guard their autonomy and discourage all attempts at interference in their affairs from the outset. Every move to break their self-imposed semi-isolation inevitably met with suspicion, aware as they were of the obvious self-interest which motivated the colonists' overtures.

Several schemes, all of them products of governmental policy, have been tried since. All have failed for a variety of reasons, some of the most obvious of which have been set out above. Only if the Maroons can be convinced of the genuine benefits of a particular new scheme for their own marginal type of society — and it is not easy to convince them of the advantages of radical changes — will it be possible to persuade them to take the risk of participating in that scheme. Only then will projects involving them have any real chance of success. The Maroons, who are a clever and inventive people, can be cooperative as well if they have reason to believe in the cause they are working for and are given the proper tools with which to achieve their goal.

NOTES

1 For the period 1845-1863 I collected the correspondence of the postholders among:
   1. the Djukas or Aucaners, on the Marowyne, Cottica and Commewyne Rivers;
   2. the Saramaccaner Tribe on the Suriname River; and
   3. the Becoe-Moesinga or Matuaris on the Saramacca River.

2 The Roman figures in brackets refer to the titles in the List of Literature Referred to, the raised Arabic figures to the notes.

3 In which connection "Each of the delegates had been obliged to sleep with one of the most prominent Maroon women during his stay, in order to be the better assured of the Peace, and so that their confidence in the white man might thus be considerably strengthened." (XI).

4 A tributary of the Suriname River.

5 "It ran roughly from the Joden-Savanne on the Suriname River in a more or less easterly direction up to Imotapi post on the Upper Commewyne; from there it turned straight up north along this river up to l'Espérance post, whence it ran in a west-easterly direction, passed the Perica as far as Willemsburg and then turned north to the coast." (XIV).

6 I have refrained from giving an exact rendering of Frick's Dutch, which is full of grammatical and other inconsistencies.

7 I.e., south of the "Military Cordon", the line of defence constructed by Governor J. Nepveu in 1778.

8 The Arabic figures in brackets refer to the catalogue numbers of the relevant archive documents in the list of documents.

9 The Djukas or Aucaners, the Saramaccaners, and the Matuaris or Becoe Moesinga Maroons.

10 Besides the postholders, the personnel of the military posts and some of the plantations were authorized to check the passes of and goods conveyed by Maroons passing through.

11 From May to December, 1840.

12 ....., Industry and Agriculture.

13 His usual signature is "Dhondt".

14 "The slaves underwent the same process of dehumanization which had affected European labourers under the capitalistic system of the previous centuries — they came to be regarded less as human beings than as instruments used in the production process. An ideology was evolved which made it easier to forget that they were human; this was the ideology of the lazy, depraved heathen who for his own benefit and that of the world had to be subjected to strict discipline and to be drawn into the capitalistic production process with the severest possible means." (XVI).

15 Dhondt's Dutch, though better than Frick's, was also far from perfect. We have tried to render some of the quaintness of his style in the English translation.

16 Elaborate forms of address were used in the Dutch colonial Civil Service.

Many of these, for which no English equivalents exist, have been left untranslated.

17 *Atta cephalotes.*

18 Part of the sentence has been omitted here by Dhondt, possibly because of emotional upset.

19 Montecattini had estimated the expenses at fl. 1,125.

20 I.e., as a result of the new regulations regarding Maroons of 1856.

21 Illegible word.

22 The italics are Dhondt's.

23 This refers to the vexed question of the gifts; see Ch. III, 3.

24 See Ch. III, 4.

25 An inferior kind of rum.

26 Dhondt is referring here to *wisi* practices (black magic).

27 Trial by ordeal.

28 Spirit of a deceased person.

29 Maroon tribes are subdivided into *lo*s or matrilineal clans.

30 See Ch. III, 3.

31 See Ch. III, 5.

32 See Ch. III, 7.

33 See Ch. I, 3.

34 "Because he furthermore had an old Negro woman for a wife, and could listen to the wretched gabbling of the Negroes for hours on end, indeed, since he was able to put up completely with their peculiarities, he was also popular." (XXIII).

35 See Ch. III, 3.

36 This letter will be discussed elsewhere.

37 An inferior kind of rum.

38 I have not corrected Dhondt's miscalculations.

39 Rafts of timber were mostly made up of cedar-wood.
Boats (dugout canoes) were usually loaded with such varieties as bruinhart- *(couavcapous)*, wana- *(ocopea)*, letter- *(brosium)*, tamarind- and cedar-wood, etc.

40 The value of the products per unit is only occasionally stated, viz.:

	raft	*boat*	*dram*	*molasses*	*bananas*
1847	fl. 150	fl. 50	fl. 3.50	fl. 2.50	25 ct.
1848	fl. 150	fl. 50	fl. 3.50	fl. 2.—	30 ct.
1852	fl. 80	fl. 30	fl. 3.—	fl. 2.—	35 ct.
1854	fl. 100 to fl. 105	fl. 35 to fl. 40			

The values in the table are not supplied by Dhondt, but have been computed by the present author, on the assumption that the ratio between the raft and boat prices remained approximately the same as in the years 1847-1852.

41 Dhondt gives no export figures, but remarks that "exports of bananas, dram and molasses have attained extraordinary heights".

42 See Ch. III, 4.

43 See Ch. III, 3.

44 See Ch. III, 5.

45 I.e., exclusion from being issued with passes.

46 The different spellings of this name are Dhondt's.

47 See Ch. III, 1.

48 "Munchieloo" in table C.

49 I.e., roasting people slowly to death.

50 As part of a trial by ordeal.

51 Often spelt "Wana" in the correspondence.

52 See Ch. III, 6, p. 76.

53 Kappler's spelling of the name is consistently "Beiman", that of all the others "Bijman".

54 Only on January 4, 1862 (61a), did he write in an annual report to the Department for the Native Population: "I have almost no trade in timber left. Since the agreement concluded by the Government with the Maroons 5 years ago, whereby the latter are allowed to go to the plantations in unrestricted numbers, they prefer to operate inside Surinam, where they are able to sell all kinds of timber, while we are buying only what is required by the Antilles."
Kappler had meanwhile switched from timber-trading to cattle-breeding and had found a good market for his products among the French living on the opposite bank of the Marowyne, for the rest.

55 The terms "allowance", "salary" and "pension" are used interchangeably.

56 Vernacular, derived from "sweet mouth".

57 In 1805, during the English interregnum, a number of "Negro hunters" or "Redcaps", i.e., members of the Black Chasseurs instituted in 1772, reinforced by some plantation slaves, rebelled at two cordon posts on the Upper Commewyne. Together with the Bonnis they attacked the hastily fortified post of Armina, but were repelled. (XXXI).

58 As in so many other cases, Dhondt uses various different spellings for the name, viz. Boni Maroons, Bonni Maroons, and sometimes Bonis.

59 The rebels of 1805, so called after the red caps *(Ledi Moesoe)* they wore as members of the Black Chasseurs.

60 This Tollende (Tollinck, Dollinck or Tollenche) maintained relations with the Bonnis and succeeded in winning their confidence. The land settled by him was located on Siparawini Creek, on the left bank of the Marowyne. He tried to engage them as labourers and get them to move to the lower Marowyne, first for Montecattini and later for himself. The French administration was naturally much pleased at this. It is apparent from later letters that the Government did react to the Paramount Chief's anxious remarks; I have not been able to find the correspondence about this in any of the letter-books, however.

61 I.e., the Djukas (Aucaners).

62 This should be "above".

63 Mainly cassava, but also sweet potatoes, peanuts, etc.

64 See Ch. III, 3, p. 58.

65 Kappler means, in his capacity as postholder. See art. 15 of the Postholder's Instructions.

66 R. A. J. van Lier, describing how the missionaries were obstructed by the plantation owners in their efforts at conversion of the slaves, even says: "Opposition to the conversion of slaves only ended when in the 19th century the advantages came to be considered as outweighing the disadvantages .... the necessity of maintaining the existing slave force at a steady level and increasing the number of births was more effective than the influence of liberal ideas.
..... One of the causes of the low number of births was thought to be the absence of strong matrimonial ties among slaves as well as their promiscuity. It was believed that these matrimonial ties could be strengthened by introducing the Christian religion." (XXVIII).

67 Illegible word.

68 See Ch. III, 6.

69 Kappler means, to travel as far as Poligoedoe, located at the point where the Marowyne splits into the Tapanahoni and the Lawa, by boats manned by Indians.
70 See Ch. III, 6.
71 The military posts were part of the "Military Cordon" constructed by Governor Nepveu (1769-1779) to protect the cultivated parts of the colony against attacks by Maroons. Oranjewoud was located at the point where the Cordon cut across the Cottica River.
72 In the lower river reaches there is an appreciable tidal movement.
73 A tributary of the Cottica, just below the junction of the Cottica and the Courmotibo, also referred to as Koemboe or Kumbu Creek.
74 I.e., for thefts and smuggling of bananas from the plantations.
75 Dhondt means that properly the trees should be felled in the dry season, so that the weeds may be burnt and the ground cleared for planting as soon as the rains start.
76 Dhondt is referring here to gunpowder and guns, among other articles.
77 Diminutive of "goed", probably "tegoed" = credit.
78 Montecattini wrote in broken Dutch.
79 Dhondt stated in 1846 that a raft-load of timber in 1842 was worth 80 guilders.
80 I.e., the hilly parts of Cottica and Commewyne.
81 Party, play, performance.
82 From Port. *bacalhau*, "cod-fish".
83 This should be 1837.
84 Slengarde's italics.
85 Crab holes.

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VIII *Op. cit.*, p. 767.

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Catalogue number	Title	Date
2	Incoming Documents, Indians and Bush Negroes *	1845 - 1847
3	Incoming Documents, Indians and Bush Negroes	1846
4	Incoming Documents, Indians and Bush Negroes	1847
5	Incoming Documents, Indians and Bush Negroes	1849
8	Incoming Documents, Indians and Bush Negroes	1850
9	Incoming Documents, Indians and Bush Negroes	1852
12	Letter-Book Indians and Bush Negroes	1846 - 1850
12a	Letter-Book Indians and Bush Negroes	1846 - 1848
	Letter-Book Indians and Bush Negroes	1853 - 1856
13	Letter-Book Indians and Bush Negroes	1847 - 1848
	Letter-Book Indians and Bush Negroes	1851
13a	Letter-Book Indians and Bush Negroes	1851
14	Letter-Book Indians and Bush Negroes	1851
35F II	Indians and Bush Negroes Miscellaneous	1846 - 1851
55	Native Population and Immigration	1853
56	Native Population and Immigration	1854
57	Native Population and Immigration	1855
58	Native Population and Immigration	1856
59	Native Population and Immigration	1857
60	Native Population and Immigration	1858
61	Native Population and Immigration	1861
61a	Native Population and Immigration	1862
62	Native Population and Immigration	1863
69	Protocols 1861, Nos. 51-70	1861
73	Documents concerning Dept. Nat. Pop. and Immigration	1859
73a	Documents concerning Dept. Nat. Pop. and Immigration	1860
85	Letter-Book of the Dept. Native Population	1856 - 1861
89	Letter-Book of the Dept. Native Population	1849 - 1853
95	Letter-Book of the Dept. Native Population	1855 - 1857

* "Bush Negroes" is a literal translation of the Dutch term "Bosnegers" normally used with reference to the Maroons in Surinam.