THE BONI MAROON WARS IN SURINAME

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BY

WIM HOOGBERGEN

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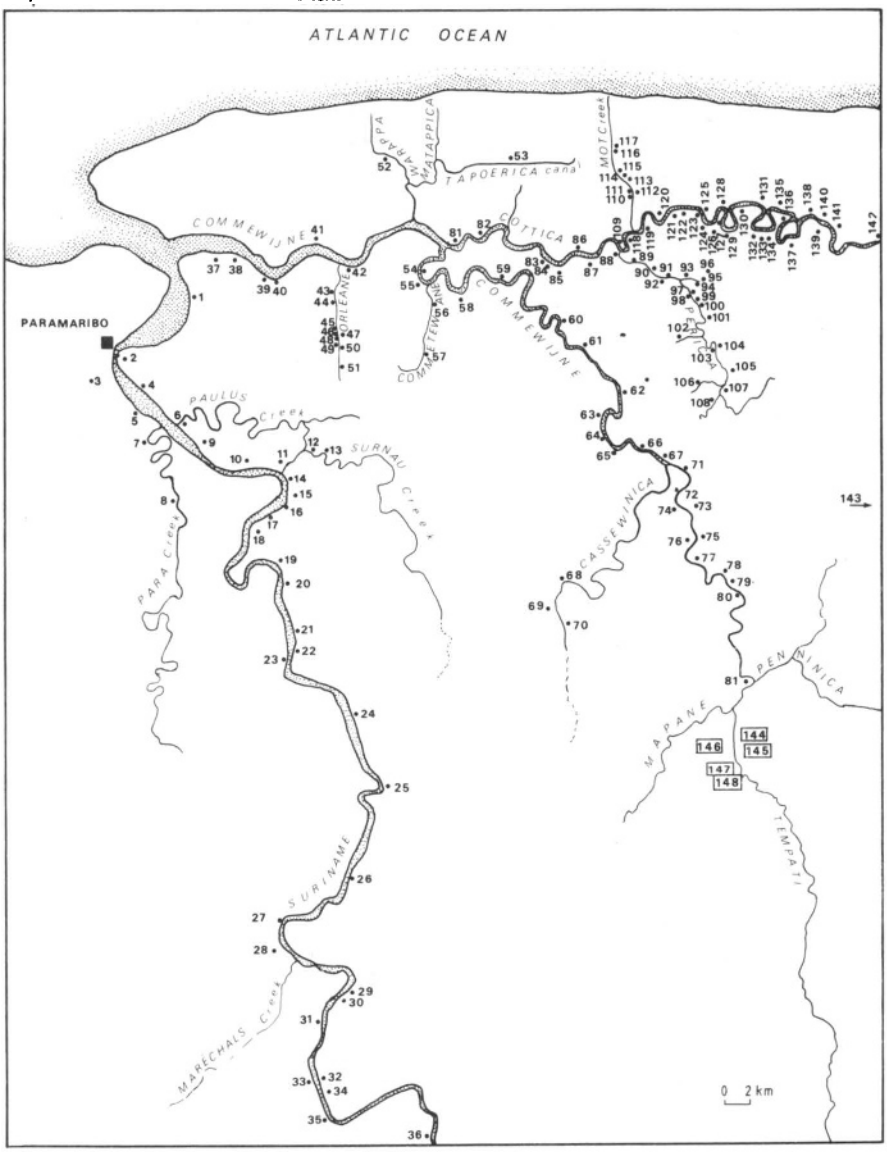

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The area along the Lawa River, the border river between Suriname and French Guiana, south of the great Itepuku Fall, is presently inhabited by about 2000 Maroons who call themselves Aluku or Boni. They are the descendants of Surinamese slaves who escaped from plantations during the period of slavery (abolished in 1863 in Suriname). After protracted fighting on Surinamese territory, they finally fled to French Guiana in 1777 and from there resumed battle against the Surinamese planters in 1789. The Dutch colonists took advantage of the confusion in the years after the French Revolution to settle scores with these Boni, a fight which took place mainly on French territory. The war ended in 1793 with the violent death of the three principal rebel leaders: Boni, Kormantin Kodjo and Puja.

This book describes the genesis of the Boni-tribe. An important aspect of the history of these Maroons is their continuous warfare against the white planters and their colonial armies. As will become clear, there is hardly any information available on the earliest history of this group. It is very likely that small groups of Maroons already settled in the Cottica area, generally in the swamps, east of the developed plantation areas, before 1720. This region is presently considered the cradle of the Boni-tribe. During the period 1730 to 1760 Surinamese planters regularly sent soldiers to the Cottica area to hunt fugitive slaves. They frequently discovered Maroon settlements and regularly killed or caught runaway slaves. Nevertheless, the planters were not as concerned about the Maroons in this region as they were against the Maroons living south of the plantations (the Ndjuka and the Saramaka). Around 1765, however, the planters discovered that another Maroon tribe had been formed east of the plantation area, albeit a relatively small group of only some 400 people. From then on, the Boni-Maroons were systematically pursued. The number of military patrols was steadily increased and the Boni-Maroons, for their part, reacted by attacking the plantations with much more verve than they had ever done before. They also attempted to persuade plantation slaves to join them. Thus the beginning of the Boni-Maroon Wars.

The Boni-Maroon Wars have been a rewarding subject for writers ever since the cession of fighting. The famous Scottish soldier John Gabriel Stedman (1744-1797) was a member of the colonial army which fought the Boni-Maroons in the Cottica area from 1773 until 1777. During his stay of over four years in Suriname, Stedman kept a diary which he later used as a starting-point for the most famous book on Suriname that has ever been published. It was published in 1796 by Johnson of London under the title of "Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes in Surinam". The book became a publicity success. In his 'Narrative' Stedman did not paint a rosy picture of life in Suriname. He frequently denounced the way in which the planters treated their slaves. It has only recently become clear that the 'Narrative' which was published in 1796 is considerably different from the original manuscript that was handed over for publication by the author in

February 1791. The original text has been reedited by Richard and Sally Price and published by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 1988. Anyone interested in the details of the conflict between Stedman and his publisher is recommended to read the excellent introduction to this new edition. An important part of Stedman's work describes the war against the Boni during the period 1773 to 1777. The various references to Stedman's work found below are based on the 1988 version edited by Richard and Sally Price.

A second contemporary report on the Boni-Maroon Wars is found in an article by Charles Brouwn and dates also from 1796. Brouwn, a Government clerk, based his article primarily on a testimony given by a captive young Boni-boy called Jonas. Brouwn's article was reedited by De Beet in 1984, who also included the original reports of Jonas' testimony. In addition, De Beet's publication contains various other archival documents relating to the First Boni-Maroon War (1765-1778). Archival documents with respect to the Second Boni-Maroon War (1789-1793) can be found in Hoogbergen's publication of 1984.

In the 19th century only little was published about the Boni-Maroon Wars. The few authors who wrote about the subject (Heshuijsen 1803, De Ridder 1857 and Wolbers 1861) largely based their stories on Stedman's report. Nevertheless, it was in the same century that several missionaries and explorers drew up an extensive and interesting travel report on their visit to the Boni (Brunetti 1890, Coudreau 1893 and Crevaux 1883). But, it was only in the middle of the present century that interest in the Maroons of Suriname and French Guiana was reanimated. In the 1960s Jean Hurault, who temporarily lived among the Boni-Maroons, wrote a number of important articles and books on their history and social geography. As for their history, Hurault used the archives located in France. It was in these archives that he found a series of interesting reports drawn up by travellers who visited the Boni-Maroons shortly after their settlement in French Guiana. Unfortunately, most of the documents dating from this period consist of the largely irrelevant and long-winded correspondence between colonial authorities. The majority of these documents have been included in Malouet (1802). The French archives thus contain little useful information on the Boni during the period 1785 to 1820. It seems that the important Second Boni-Maroon War, which reduced the number of Boni-Maroons to a mere 100 persons and which was waged largely on French territory, eluded the notice of the Frenchmen. It was only in 1821 that the French entered into contact with the Boni again, who settled on the banks of the Lawa River around 1815, approximately on the place where they still live. Hurault described the subsequent events in a fascinating way: the friendship between the French and the Boni became increasingly intimate, whereupon the Boni decided to move to the Oyapock area. The French government, however, was not pleased with that at all. Consequently, it came to a skirmish between the French army and small groups of Maroons which ended with the death of the Boni's paramount chief in 1841 (Hurault 1960:110-126).

Following Hurault's articles, the Boni have remained in the center of scholarly attention. In 1964 Abbenhuis published an article about Boni in

Dutch, which was largely based on Hurault's work. In 1975 and 1980 two very prominent articles on the Boni-Maroons were published by the Dutch historian Silvia de Groot. The first article gave a general outline of the First Boni-Maroon War. The second article dealt with the story of the death of Boni and the delivery of his head to the colonial authorities. De Groot paints an overall picture of the events concerning Boni's death by combining both archival data and oral traditions. Boni's head was cut off by his killers who wanted to transport it to Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, as a token of their triumph. But they did not get very far as their pirogue capsized in the falls and Boni's head disappeared in the swirling water. It was never discovered.

De Groot's 1980 article clearly indicates that three types of sources can serve as a basis for the reconstruction of the Boni-history: the contemporary works of Stedman and Brouwn, archival material and oral tradition. This present book is based on all three of these sources, although the oral tradition concerning the earliest history of the tribe was not gathered by the author himself but was taken from existing material. In the first place, it has become clear that the 'factual' information on the Boni-Maroons as published by Brunetti, Crevaux and Coudreau contains several disguised elements of oral tradition. Part of Stedman's (1796) work can also be considered oral history, namely those passages that deal with the life story of the three Boni-heroes - Baron, Boni and Jolicoeur.

The history of the Boni-Maroons contains various episodes which form a perfect basis for epic fiction. Boni's death is by far the most favored subject. The first heroic story dates back to 1926 and was written by Willem van Lier. A series of articles on the earliest Boni-history, which was published in the Surinamese daily newspaper *De West* by the Moravian missionary Axwijk in 1961, also ended with an extensive report on Boni's death. The last days of Boni also formed the central theme of André Pakosie's book containing oral tradition as told by his father. Other stories based on oral tradition are also included in the above mentioned work of De Groot, as well as in Thoden van Velzen and Van Wetering (1988). During the 1960s and 1970s the latter two - both Dutch anthropologists - undertook fieldwork among the Ndjuka-Maroons living on the Tapanahoni River. They also provided unpublished oral information for the present book.

Nevertheless, the archives remain the major source for the description of the Boni-Maroon Wars. The works that have been published on the Boni-Maroons represent only fragments of the history of this tribe. The present book is an attempt to paint an overall picture of the Boni-history until 1860. The year 1860 was chosen as a final date because it was in this year that the Boni concluded a peace agreement with the French and the Dutch in which they were recognized as 'Free Negroes'. Thus the Boni-Maroons acquired the status the Ndjuka already held for over 100 years, a status which would be granted to all the Surinamese slaves after the abolition of slavery three years later. I combed the archives of The Netherlands and Suriname in search of data referring to the Boni from their origins until 1860. For the French sources, I based my information on the archival documents which were copied by Hurault at the time and filed as separate documents in Aix-en-Provence

(Archives F.O.M. et Col. Mod. Guyane). In Dutch archives, I carried out my investigation activities mainly in the archives of the *Sociëteit van Suriname* (Society of Suriname) and the *Oud-archief Suriname* (old archives of Suriname), both filed in the General State Archives in The Hague. Concerning the archives of the *Sociëteit van Suriname*, I examined the Minutes of the *Hof van Politie* (Court of Policy), the Letters of the Governor of Suriname to the Directors of the *Sociëteit* in Amsterdam and the Journal of the Governor. The *Oud-archief Suriname* provided important data that was not included in the archives of the *Sociëteit* and also contained some very relevant information for my study, such as the testimonies of runaway slaves. The archives of the *Sociëteit van Suriname* end in 1795. The letters which were sent to The Netherlands in the period 1795 to 1816 have been stored in various other archives in the Netherlands. During this same period, however, Suriname was temporarily ruled by the English (1799-1803 and 1805-1816) with the consequence that most state archives were relocated to London. Nevertheless, the *Oud-archief Suriname* which covers the period until 1828 is fairly useful as a shadow archive. After 1800, the information on the Boni-Maroons is sparse.

Since 1980, I have been systematically searching through the archives in The Netherlands and in Suriname for any information concerning runaway slaves. All my attention has been directed towards the so-called non-pacified Maroons, that is to say, the groups with whom the Dutch did not settle peace. The most important non-pacified Maroons are the Boni, the Kwinti, the Paramaka and the Brooskamper. This book has been dedicated to the most important group of non-pacified Maroons, the Boni. It is suggested that my articles of 1978 and 1983 be consulted for further information on the other groups. Additional materials will be published in the near future.

The present book is an adapted version of my Phd. dissertation which was presented in Dutch in 1985. Although the book contains some data that were only discovered after 1985, it is merely an adaptation and summary of the original work. About one third of the original text has been omitted. The footnotes refer to the subjects on which the Dutch edition contains more detailed information. The manuscript was translated from Dutch into English by Marilyn Suy and corrected by Gary Brana Shute. The translation was financed through a grant from the NWO, (the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research) and by the Department of Cultural Anthropology of Utrecht University. The latter also financed my study trip to Suriname in 1981, in addition to a number of other costs with respect to the relevant investigation.

Finally, I would like to thank a number of people who have contributed to the realization of this book. I am most grateful for the overwhelming support of my teacher H.U.E. (Bonno) Thoden van Velzen, who roused my interest in the Surinamese Maroons and urged me to set off on the path of history. Many thanks also to my colleagues at the department of Cultural Anthropology in Utrecht, who were always willing to spare me some of their time and give me advice. I would like to show my special gratitude to Harry Hoetink for the critical way in which he reviewed the manuscript and to Arie de Ruijter for his methodological comments. The archivists and other employees of the

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Chapter 1
MARRONAGE AND MAROONS

Planters and Slaves

During the Second Anglo-Dutch naval war in 1667 a flotilla of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands conquered the British colony of Suriname. The Dutch quickly established plantations in the marshy territories along the rivers Suriname, Commewijne, Cottica and Perica. Canals were excavated, levees raised, and locks constructed to regulate water levels in the resulting polders. The plantations cultivated crops for which there was an almost insatiable demand in Europe. Sugar was by far the most important product, followed by coffee, cocoa, and (to a lesser extent) cotton. But it was not Dutchmen who performed the heavy physical labor in Suriname's hot and humid tropical climate. For that they bought slaves at auction in Paramaribo, where shiploads of these unfortunates were brought by other Dutchmen from Dutch trading forts in West Africa.

The population of Suriname consisted in 1683 of 579 'Christians' who jointley owned 2983 slaves and 232 'Jews', who had 1298 slaves at their disposal[1]. Twenty years later in 1705, there were 10,000 unfree Africans, and 60 years after that some 50,000, dispersed over Paramaribo and 591 plantations. The sixth decade of the 18th century marks the pinnacle of the planter's golden age. An economic decline followed, with the consequence that the number of slaves and plantations gradually decreased. It was especially after the ban on slave trade in 1808 that the slave population became smaller and smaller. In 1863, when slavery was abolished, the number of slaves had diminished to a mere 36,000. In the same year 216 plantations were still in use.

Although the Atlantic slave trade had been prohibited in 1808, thousands of slaves were still brought to Suriname in the period untill 1826. In that year the registration of slaves made an end to illegal imports. In total, about 300,000 to 325,000 African slaves were sold to Surinamese planters between 1668 and 1826. This is a very large number, especially against the background of an average slave population of 50,000. When comparing the situation with the United States, we see that in the same period about 430,000 slaves were imported there, but the number of black people in the United States totalled two million around 1825 (Price 1976: 7-9). To a certain extent, the difference can be attributed to the bad climatological circumstances in Suriname, but the main reason lies in the fact that the Surinamese planters would hideously abuse their slaves. They would rather import new slaves, who they 'marked down' in ten years' time, than allow for the natural increase of their property. The majority of the imported slaves were male adults, a demographic fact which heavily affected the birth and death rates. As the death rate was con-

stantly higher than the birth rate, the number of slaves born in Africa continued to form a large part of the entire population. In 1740, 90% of the slaves had been born in Africa, whereas in 1770 this percentage still amounted to 70% (Price 1976: 12). As the number of Europeans in the colony was also very small (usually no more than 3,000 lived there), the constant import of new Africans resulted in an eighteenth century Surinamese community with an overall African character.

After an analysis of extensive quantitative data, Postma (1970 and 1975) came to the conclusion that before 1725 more than half of the Surinamese slaves originated from the Slave Coast, i.e. the area inbetween the estuary of the Volta and Cape Lopez. During the following ten years, the area of supply was much larger: the Slave Coast, the Gold Coast and Loango-Angola. In the period from 1736 until 1795, however, half of the slaves came from the Sierra Leone area, the so-called Windward Coast (see table 1).

Table 1: Suriname slaves and their origin in terms of percentage (based on the figures from Postma 1970 and 1975)

	1640-1700	1701-1725	1726-1735	1736-1795
Windward Coast	-	-	4	49
Gold Coast	17	29	29	26
Slave Coast	64	50	33	1
Loango/Angola	34	33	33	24

Surinamese slaves were very much aware of their ethnic origins. They made a clear distinction between Africans (born in Africa) and Creoles (born in Suriname). The first group was subdivided into Gangu (Windward Coast) Kormantin (Gold Coast), Papa and Abo (Slave Coast) and Luangu (Loango-Angola) (Hoogbergen 1985b: 42).

The Kormantin were understood to be slaves brought from the fortress of Kormantin (in the present Ghana) to Suriname. Until 1663, this place was held by the English, after which it became Dutch until 1867 with a short interval between 1782 and 1785. According to Hartsinck (1770: 921-922), the slaves who were transported from the fortress of Kormantin belonged mainly to the Ashanti and the Wassa. The Kormantin were very popular among the Surinamese planters; they were considered to be intelligent and hard-working but, on the other hand, they were feared because of their organizational talents. Considerable Kormantin influences survive in the Afro-American religions of Suriname (the 'Kumanti' Gods' Pantheon and the sacral Kumanti-language).

Those who were called Abo were slaves originating from the Bakundu group, tribes who were living north of the Sanaga River in the northwest of the present Cameroun, near the border with Nigeria. They belong to the linguistic group of the Western Bantu. According to Wooding (1972: 48), the Abo were sold together with other Bantu tribes from this area by the Kalabari

people against whom they were permanently waging war, as well as by their powerful neighbours to the east, the tribes of Ansiko and Luangu.

The name Gangu (or Gango) indicates those tribes with a Mandingo culture in the Sierra Leone area, an area which comprises the present states of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ivory Coast. The name has been derived from Gangara, i.e. the name used for the Mande by the Hamite peoples in the north and by some Mandingo tribes.

The fourth geographical location of the slaves' origin, revealed by the Surinamese archives, refers to the Luangu (Loango). These are people who were captured south of Cape Lopez and transported from the port of Loango in the kingdom of the same name. This was the living area of the Bavili, the Mayombé and the Luangu. It is the coastal zone of the present Gabon, Congo and Zaire. In his famous book on Suriname (1796), Stedman portrayed a Luangu family.

The number of slaves per plantation differed widely. In 1850, for example, there were 213 plantations, 75% of which had less than 150 slaves with a large portion of them about 100 slaves. Fifteen plantations had more than 300 slaves. In 1850, the largest plantation was Alkmaar, which was situated on the Lower Commewijne River and owned 599 slaves. This number, however, does not give a clear indication of the number of productive workers. The number of slaves also contained sick persons, as well as eldery people and children, who were hardly ever involved in the labour. Van Lier (1977: 120) has worked out that on Surinamese plantations approximately 42% of the slave contingent was non-productive. On the plantations, a distinction was made between field and craft slaves. The first group worked in the fields, whereas the latter practised all kinds of traditional trades, such as woodwork, brickwork and forging. The craft slaves were generally Creoles (born in Suriname). A number of slaves, both men and women, used to work as domestic servants, the so-called domestic slaves. In Paramaribo, the majority of slaves consisted of domestic slaves and craft slaves, but there were also field slaves who were hired out to the plantations by their owner.

As far as ownership was concerned, a distinction was made between private and plantation slaves. This distinction was based on the manner of registration: the private slaves were registered under the owner's name, whereas the plantation slaves were registered under the name of the plantation. It often occurred that private slaves worked at the plantations as well (Van Sijpesteijn 1854). In the course of the Surinamese history, it became less common for slaves to be registered as private slaves.

The slaves in Suriname did not have an official family name. The slave registers only mentioned the name which the owner had given to his slave. The owner would choose a name as if he were a farmer naming his cattle. Women's names were chosen from European women's names: Kato, Eva, Silvia, Lea, Alida, Klara, Jacoba, Hester, Lena, Sibille, Josefina, Rosalie, Tina, Dina, Isodora, Francina. As far as men's names were concerned, they even had less scruples. Here we find the days of the week, the months of the year, Biblical names, mythological names, and also names such as Profit, Happiness, Success, Hope, Takecare, Unexpected, Interest, Unrest, Benefit and the

like. Some slaves kept their African name. That explains why some people in Suriname were named after the day on which they were born, in accordance with the African tradition. For men Kwasi (Sunday), Kodjo (Monday), Kwamina (Tuesday), Kwaku (Wednesday), Jaw (Thursday), Kofi (Friday) and Kwami (Saturday) and for women Kwasiba (Sunday), Adjuba (Monday), Abeniba (Tuesday), Akuba (Wednesday), Jaba (Thursday), Afiba (Friday) and Amba (Saturday) were used.

As the slaves in Suriname did not have a family name, it became common practice to use the owner's or the plantation's name. One of the most famous Boni chiefs was Baron of Dahlberg. The addition 'of Dahlberg' means that Baron had been registered as the private slave of someone called Dahlberg. Another famous Maroon was Askaan of Marceille. He had thus been recorded as belonging to the plantation of Marceille. It goes without saying that the slaves used different names when addressing each other and it therefore occurred quite often that a runaway slave, once he was captured, alleged that he did not know his 'real' name, in other words that he did not know under which name he had been entered in the slave register. The custom of classifying the slaves according to their owner or the plantation they came from, allows that most classifications trace back to the names of plantations or former owners. It became common practice among the Maroons to use the owner's or plantation's name, albeit in a corrupted form, to indicate a clan. For example, Amsingh was the owner of the plantation of Meerzorg, opposite Paramaribo. The slaves used to call this plantation Ansu. A clan formed among the Ndjuka was thus named after the plantation Ansu: the Ansu-lo[2].
The fact that a plantation was designed to make profits limited the power of the planter. Any slave was part of his capital, any slave was an investment. A slave might be treated badly - marking him down in ten years' time was often more profitable than taking care of his off-spring - but a planter could not whimsically abuse human lives. Furthermore, one maleable slave was worth two totally uncooperative slaves, which in practice meant that the plantations had worked out a modus vivendi with regard to the rights and duties of the slaves. These customary rules were later laid down in statutory regulations, which nevertheless often remained a dead letter.

The plantation area was divided into a number of districts (called *burgher divisies*), where the *burgherkapitein* held the most important position. He was in charge of the armed vigilante patrol ('militia'), so that all police duties were performed under his command. These duties primarily involved monitoring the slave contingent. The *burgherkapitein* took care of the arms supply at the plantations, appointed the *burgher* patrols which hunted runaway slaves and took firm measures whenever slaves refused to work or stood up against their master. He also had to call together the white inhabitants in his district whenever a plantation was attacked by Maroons. His command covered all white males in the district, each of them having a specific rank in the militia. The main task of this militia was regularly holding a *bospatrouille* (bush patrol), a patrol of several days through the swamps and the forests to the supposed hiding-places of the Maroons.

Marronage

As in other plantation areas, Afro-Americans in Suriname tried to escape from the unwanted and often very cruel existence as a slave by running away. All plantations were situated on rivers and backed on to swamps and forests. These savage areas were barely accessible during the rainy season and neither the planters nor the European mercenary soldiers felt at ease in these regions. This was not true of the slaves, however. Most of them had started cultivating a garden in the forest behind the plantations, on which they grew crops for their own consumption. Often the men would go hunting in the forests. The quagmires were used by both men and women for fishing. Apart from this, the slaves had small boats (made from tree trunks which had been hollowed out) at their disposal. With these pirogues they could paddle across creeks and swamps. White people hardly ever went with them on these trips, so that the slaves outstripped their masters by far in knowledge of the geographical circumstances of the region. As a result, it was not difficult for a slave to leave the plantation without being noticed.

Owing to the ease with which they could run away, slaves preferred desertion alone or by small groups. It often happened that the fugitives remained living near the plantations. This gave them the opportunity to get food from their own or from other people's provision grounds. Runaways would often return to the slave barracks at night. This was, however, a risky business as marronage was a capital offence and betrayal by another was always a possibility. Nevertheless, a captured slave was not always sentenced to death, as he was part of the planter's invested capital. As the planters had the right to inflict physical punishment on their slaves, but were not allowed to kill them, they usually preferred to torture the slaves by whipping with tamarind rods rather than send them off to Paramaribo where the death sentences were executed. It was only those fugitives who were, in the opinion of the planters, 'incurable' or those who had to serve as an example for the others, who were sent down to *foto* (the fortress of Zeelandia) in Paramaribo. Based on information received from the plantations, the *burgherkapiteins* held a record of all 'runaway' or 'returned' slaves. These records reveal that the number of fugitive slaves per year was not very high. It is estimated that, from a total population of 50,000 slaves, the number of runaways amounted to some 250; only half-a-percent of the population. More than 90% of the runaway slaves consisted of men (Hoogbergen and De Theye 1986: 148). Two-thirds of them returned voluntarily after a while. Nevertheless, a mere 80 slaves remained behind in the forest each year.

Almost any runaway sent down to Paramaribo, was punished by death if the *Hof van Crimineele Justitie* (the Court of Criminal Justice) considered it proven that he had run away without a plausible reason. And, a plausible reason was very hard to find. In most cases, the act of marronage was preceded by more than one crime, as most slaves had taken away goods and food when leaving. Therefore, the Court would not only charge the slaves with running away but with robbery and theft as well. Whenever a group of slaves had run away or had attempted to join their companions in the forests, the accused

slave was also put on trial for the crime of rebellion. Marronage of women was judged more charitably. It was commonly thought that women would never run away on their own initiative. Women could, once they were captured, defend themselves by saying that they had been violently carried off, which was usually accepted unless the opposite was proven. In general, one might say that the male slaves who were sent off to Paramaribo by their masters in the eighteenth century (with the exception of, perhaps, the last fifteen years, when sentences were generally milder) in order to stand trial, were sentenced to death.

The Court of Policy and Criminal Justice in Paramaribo held the legislative, judicial and executive power simultaneously. Depending on the Court's tactics of the time, the sentences were either more or less severe. One of the councillors belonging to the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice, the so-called *Raad Fiscaal* (Public Prosecutor), was mainly responsible for the lawsuits. A lawsuit went rather as follows. A captured slave was brought to the fortress of Zeelandia where he was interrogated, after which the charge was drawn up. A slave did not have a counsel for the defence. The *Raad Fiscaal* would read the charge aloud during the meeting of the Court and formulate the sentence demanded. The Court thereupon discussed the case, based on the charge and the sentence demanded by the *Raad Fiscaal*, and passed judgement. The sentence was executed a few days afterwards.

A lawsuit against two runaway slaves from the plantation of Meerzorg may illustrate the above mentioned. In February 1758, the slave Puk deserted after a quarrel with the plantation's *basia* (black overseer). Within a week, he was captured and sent off to Zeelandia. The same fate fell to the slave Orange. He ran away after the *basia* had beaten him. The Public Prosecutor demanded in the charge that, in accordance with the *placaten* (edicts, Surinamese laws), running away should be punished by death. An exception could possibly be made for slaves who had only recently been brought from Africa and were not yet well acquainted with the colony's rules and regulations, or desertion on account of cruel ill-treatment by the owner. Puk and Orange, according to the *Raad Fiscaal*, could not appeal to such mitigating circumstances. Both of them had been in Suriname for quite a while and they had not been mistreated by their master. (Mistreatment by a *basia* was never put forward in mitigation). The Public Prosecutor demanded capital punishment[3].

From 1780, the death sentence was less frequently pronounced. From that time onwards marronage was punished by the *Spaanse bok* and followed by forced labour. *Spaanse bok* consisted of binding the punished one's hands together while his arms enclosed his raised knees, after which a stick was thrust between the hollow of the knees and the tied arms. This stick was firmly secured to the ground, whereupon the punished slave, lying on his side, was beaten with tamarind rods.

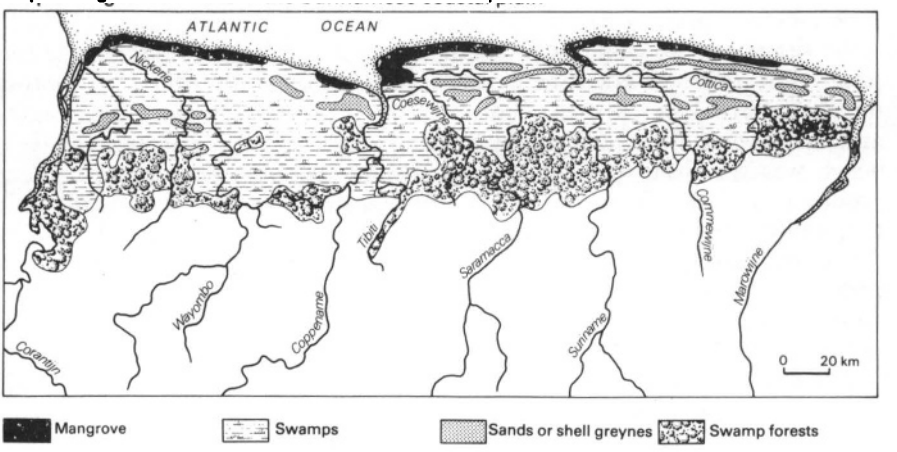
Marronage step-by-step

According to the rules, slaves had to be in the possession of a pass whenever

they left the plantation. In practice, however, it frequently occurred that slaves stayed at neighbouring plantations to visit their friends and relatives, to do some chores or to fetch food from the provision grounds without the owner knowing it. Sometimes, slaves went out hunting or fishing without their master's knowledge. Consequently whenever a slave did not appear at work, the first reaction of the owner was often one of resignation. The only thing he could do was to sit tight and wait. When the slave returned after a couple of days, the planter had to make the painful decision whether he would punish him for his absence or wink at it. This phenomenon of slaves being illegally absent for some time was called *petit-marronage* (Debien 1966: 7-9). It was more or less allowed out of sheer necessity, as long as there were not too many people involved and as long as it only concerned the (male or female) slaves who were least useful for labour.

The geographical circumstances of Suriname are extremely suitable for offering shelter to the Maroons. The coastal strip backs directly onto swamps. The south of these swamps is bordered by a belt of so-called swamp forests, i.e. forests which are, during the rainy season, flooded to such an extent that it is impossible to pass through. After the rainy season it takes about two months before all the water has disappeared so that military expeditions into these swamps and swamp forests were hardly possible during most months of the year.

Map 2: Vegetation belts in the Surinamese coastal plain



Slaves who intended to leave their plantation for good seemed to know three ways for doing so. The first, and outwardly safest way, was by running away to the Maroons who had already settled down in the interior. But it was not always a routine matter that a fugitive was accepted by the Maroons. They could suspect any newly arrived person of being a spy, while it also happened that the ethnic background of a certain slave could stand in the way of his

being adopted by the group. It also occurred that Maroon communities which were composed of *salt-water Negroes* (born in Africa) refused to accept *Creoles* (born in Suriname).

In the beginning of the colony's history the slaves fled mostly to the south. Slaves from plantations situated on the Suriname River and the Para Creek would go to the mountainous region between the Saramacca and the Suriname River. Slaves from the Commewijne, the Cottica and the Perica River areas would seek their hiding-places between the Suriname and the Marowijne River.

When, in the sixth decade of the eighteenth century, peace was concluded with the Maroons in the south - the Ndjuka (or Aukaner), the Saramaka and the Matawai - new runaways lost access to an important hiding-place. The fact was that these peace agreements compelled the *bevreedigde Boschneegers* (pacified Bush Negroes) to hand over all new runaways. But, they did not always do so. On one occasion the refusal to hand over certain fugitive slaves even resulted in the dismissal of the paramount chief of the Saramaka (Oudschans Dentz 1948; Hoeree and Hoogbergen 1984: 260-278). On the other hand, the archives contain numerous references to runaway slaves indeed being delivered up. In the first years after the peace settlement, the Ndjuka and Saramaka handed over many fugitives to the authorities. These people were sentenced to death in Paramaribo, which resulted in a storm of indignation among the pacified Negroes. Both parties thereupon agreed that slaves who had been handed over by pacified Maroons would not be sentenced to death. This oral agreement, however, was revoked by the Court of Policy in 1788 (Wolbers 1861: 428).

As the slaves were not sure whether they would be delivered up by the pacified Maroons or not, escape routes moved westwards after 1760 (across the Saramacca River to the region between this river and the Coppename) and eastwards (to the region between the Cottica and the Marowijne River), which was the living area of the Kwinti and the Boni respectively. These groups provided safe haven and the Boni especially were known for their hospitality. They sought after groups of runaway slaves behind the plantations themselves and tried to convince such people to join their tribe. The slaves who set off for the Boni villages came mainly from the eastern plantation area. The others probably did not know the access route or found the journey too long and dangerous and fled in other directions.

The second way of becoming a Maroon was the easiest way. During raids on the plantations many slaves made common cause with the raiders and disappeared with them into the forests. The following contains many examples of this. In other instances, one might say that the slaves were 'kidnapped' without a direct raid being conducted. Though the word 'kidnapping' contains an undeniable hint of involuntariness, it is highly questionable whether each 'kidnapping' really meant that the slaves were 'forcefully carried off'. The colonial archives consistently make mention of 'kidnapping', and for the planters, 'carrying off' slaves was always synonymous with 'kidnapping'. Women who fell back in the hands of the planters used to plead in excuse that they had been kidnapped. This was a rather obvious gambit as in the case of

kidnapping the person kidnapped was clear of guilt, and as such the female slave was usually sent back to her plantation without being punished.

There was yet a third way of escaping from the plantations which I call 'step-by-step marronage' (Hoogbergen 1983: 78). In case of marronage most slaves who had fled from a plantation did not immediately join the existing groups but tried to make a living on their own in the jungle. The first step was taken when a slave decided to stop participating in the plantation's activities and refused to submit himself to the white master's authority any longer. The plantations were nearly always bordered by the jungle and usually they backed directly on to secondary forest, the so-called *kapuweri*. This *kapuweri* had been formed by the slaves' old gardens growing over. Some time later entire abandoned plantations were found overgrown by the *kapuweri*. On these grounds, the slaves could find themselves a hiding-place which was hardly ever discovered, as *kapuweri* is much more inaccessible than major forest.

The slaves who had found shelter in the *kapuweri*, lived from anything they could find on the old provision grounds or could steal from the slaves' fields. It frequently occurred that the fugitives returned to the slaves' barracks at night, to eat, catch up on news or sleep with their loved ones. The inhabitants of the *kapuweri* usually did not lay out gardens of their own. Each *kapuweri*-man (*kapuweri*-women were hardly ever found) had to make a decision as to how further to procede. He could either return to the plantation, hoping that his punishment would not be all that severe, or he could travel on and try to join other *kapuweri*-men. It was dangerous to stay at one and the same place for too long, as armed commandos of *burghers* and slaves would regularly patrol behind the plantations, while traitors could also pass on the hiding-places to the planters. The archives contain many examples of this kind of fugitive. By way of illustration, a *kapuweri*-story follows of the slave Avans, which is based on a charge dating from 1829.

At the plantation of Ma Retraite, situated on the Orleane Creek, lived the slave Avans. One day, his master sold him. Avans did not like his new master at all, so he fled into the *kapuweri* behind the plantation. There he lived in a hiding-place for some time. One day, this place was discovered. Avans was taken away and brought back to his master, who did not want to have him back and sold him to another planter. Again Avans was treated badly and once again he decided to run away. He went back to the region which was familiar to him: the forests near the Orleane Creek. There he built a hut and approached two slaves from the neighbouring plantation of Practica. They provided Avans with plantains and salt. During one year, the *kapuweri*-man lived there completely on his own. Then he was joined by two slaves who had only recently run away. Both of them built their own hut, at some distance from each other and from Avans. One day, these three men were visited by a group of five Maroons who lived in a village between the Orleane and the Commetewane Creek. They offered Avans and the two others a place of shelter in their hiding camp, but neither Avans nor the others fancied the idea of joining them. The Maroons stayed for the night and left again the following day. Ungrateful as they were, they took Avans' bananas with them. Some time later, one of the Maroons visited the three men again in the middle of the

night. He asked them once again whether they did not want to join his group. They once again refused. The Maroon told the men that his group intended to go kidnapping women at one of the plantations on the Orleane Creek in the near future. Shortly afterwards, Avans heard a terrible noise and when he went to take a look, he saw the Maroons passing by, heading for the plantation of Argent-Court to go and kidnap women. The two other men, who were living near Avans, thereupon decided to leave the area as they were afraid that the patrols chasing after the kidnappers would discover their hiding-place. Avans was not able to flee, for he had an eye disease which had deprived him of most of his eyesight. The pursuit patrol indeed arrived and on 3 October 1829, Avans was found sleeping in his hut. He was arrested and locked up in the fortress of Zeelandia pending his trial[4].

What strikes us in Avans' story is the fact that he persevered in living on his own in spite of an offer to join other groups, even when it became very dangerous to remain living in the area after the raid on Argent-Court. Avans received his food and salt from friendly slaves but, for the rest, he scraped a living together. He had weighed the pros and cons of travelling onwards, returning or staying, and he had chosen to stay.

All those individual *kapuweri*-people congregated in larger groups: the *schuilneegers* (Hide-Negroes). This was the second step in marronage. Groups of 'Hide-Negroes' hardly ever contained more than eight to ten persons. The group nearly always consisted entirely of men, one of them being the chief. The chief was usually the man who had been living in the forest for the longest time. The groups of 'Hide-Negroes' gradually moved further away from the plantations. They sought places which were difficult to discover and there laid out provision grounds. They grew the same crops which were found at the fields near the plantations: corn, rice, manioc, vegetables (*taja*), yams (*jamsi* and *napi*), beans (*pesi* or *bonki*), sweet potatoes and plantains[5]. Nevertheless, the refugees had to rely on the plantations for the greater part of their food and certainly for their tools and clothes, so that they could not move away too far. The formation of such a group of refugees is illustrated by the following episode from the life of Goliath of Del Castilho.

Along the Suriname River, somewhat north of the Maréchal Creek, there was a plantation called 'De Goede Vrede'. Around 1770, this plantation was owned by J. del Castilho. He had a slave called Goliath, who was extremely strong. In 1772, the Boni-Maroons [the group whose history is the main theme of this book] had become such a threat to the colony that the Court of Policy decided to form a small army of about 300 soldiers out of the slave contingent. Slaves were bought for this purpose at several plantations. They received a letter of freedom and were deployed to fight the Maroons. This small black army was called the *Neeger Vrijcorps* (Black Rangers). Their outfit contained a red baret, and thus these soldiers were called *Redimusu* (Red Caps) in popular speech. Goliath of Del Castilho also signed up as a soldier for the *Neeger Vrijcorps*. After some years, it appeared that Goliath was suffering from leprosy. That was the end of his career as a *Redimusu*. Goliath went to settle down as an *obiaman* (Afro-Surinamese medicineman) in the neighbourhood of Paramaribo. He assisted all those who had experienced a great

many adversities in life, with advice and cures. The slaves who visited him would find a man adorned with many amulets. Both his house and his yard were full of magical objects.

In the beginning, Goliath was living on his own but, after some months a woman who had escaped from slavery came to live in his house. Her name was Leysie and she was owned by the planter Van Hout. Van Hout's concubine considered Leysie as a rival. She suspected her of having an affair with her master and therefore conceived the plan of eliminating this competitor of hers. She accused Leysie of black magic: Leysie was said to be intending to kill a child. Van Hout believed his concubine's allegations and decided to punish Leysie by the *Spaanse bok*. From that day onwards, Leysie was beaten every day. One day, she fled town and asked Goliath for advice. *A kondre pori* (the situation in the country is unbearable) Goliath judged. He promised to help her. Subsequently, Leysie came to live with the *obiaman*.

Goliath used to go out for days on end wandering around Paramaribo. One day he returned with two of his former master's slaves: Present and Cocobende. From then on they were living with the four of them. During one of his other wanderings, Goliath discovered an old and abandoned Maroon village. The group decided to move to this village. It lay somewhat further on and was therefore safer. As Goliath was no longer a slave, owing to his military service, he was allowed to stay freely in Paramaribo. And so he did from time to time. He then went to live in his old house near the city. One day, he returned to the others with a new woman, the slave Pampadour.

The owner of Pampadour had sent her out on the streets to hire herself out as a worker. At the end of each week, she had to bring ten *schellingen* (shillings) home. She hardly ever succeeded in doing so and the consequence was that she was beaten every week. One Saturday, when Pampadour anticipated that she would be returning home without the proper amount of money, she went to Goliath and asked him to lend her some shillings. Goliath told her that he did not have any money but he offerred to take her to his hiding-place in the village somewhere between Paramaribo and the Saramacca River. Pampadour did not want to join him (according to her testimony), but Goliath jumped at her, put a piece of cloth in her mouth to keep her from screaming, and violently carried her off to his inland village. In the period untill 1780, Goliath's village became bigger and bigger. Five men and one woman joined these 'Hide-Negroes'. Three of the men brought a fourth woman to the village. In the beginning of 1780, Goliath's village was inhabited by eight men and four women. The men used to be away for long periods of time. They would plunder the surroundings and return to the village every now and then to deliver the stolen goods. One day, it came to a conflict between some inhabitants of the village. The quarrel resulted in one of the men's death.

Some months later, a new slave joined the refugees. Shortly afterwards, the men attacked a slave who was cutting down beanpoles just outside Paramaribo. When the group brought him to the village, Goliath made all sorts of *obia*, those bearers of supernatural power which offer protection against all kinds of danger. He told the newcomer that these *obia* were meant to keep him from running away. Should this man intend to take to his heels, the *obia*

would soon assure him of a gruesome death. Some time afterwards, Goliath brought along a *kapuweriman* whom he had discovered. And a fifth woman arrived at the village: Constantia. As the fifteen 'Hide-Negroes' of Goliath's village did not lay out any garden plots of their own, all the food had to be stolen from the plantations. Each night two men went to Paramaribo to steal goods. The other men stayed in the forest to look after the women. Goliath's followers had three guns at their disposal, as well as two gourds and a little horn filled with gunpowder. They also had some lead.

In May 1780, a patrol discovered the village of Goliath. One Negro was killed in the subsequent fight. Two of the women were taken prisoner. The other men, however, insofar as they were present in the village, managed to escape. After this attack, the twelve remaining 'Hide-Negroes' wandered around the backyards of the plantations in the Para region. Two men were taken prisoner by slaves while they were stealing food. Goliath, December and two women, Leysie and Pampadour, travelled southwards and roamed about the surroundings of the Maréchal Creek. They kept themselves alive by eating *kabbes*, (palm heart). Later on, they were joined by other refugees. In the beginning of September, the fugitives were once again discovered. On 5 September 1780, a military patrol went into the forest to try and capture them. Two days later, the men found traces of about eight Maroons, which were three to four days old. It appeared that the refugees had laid a fire on the path to the Maréchal Creek, on which they had grilled plantains, tayers and yams. The following day, the soldiers found one of Goliath's hiding-places with some goods inside. During the following night, they succeeded in arresting Goliath, Leysie and Pampadour. The others managed to escape, although one refugee was hit by a bullet. The wounded man fled to the Saramaka. These pacified Maroons, however, took him prisoner and handed him over to the government. The Court of Policy not only accused Goliath of kidnapping and detaining slaves, but charged him with theft and robbery as well. He was put to death, just like the man who had been delivered up by the Saramaka. Pampadour and Leysie were sentenced to forced labour[6].

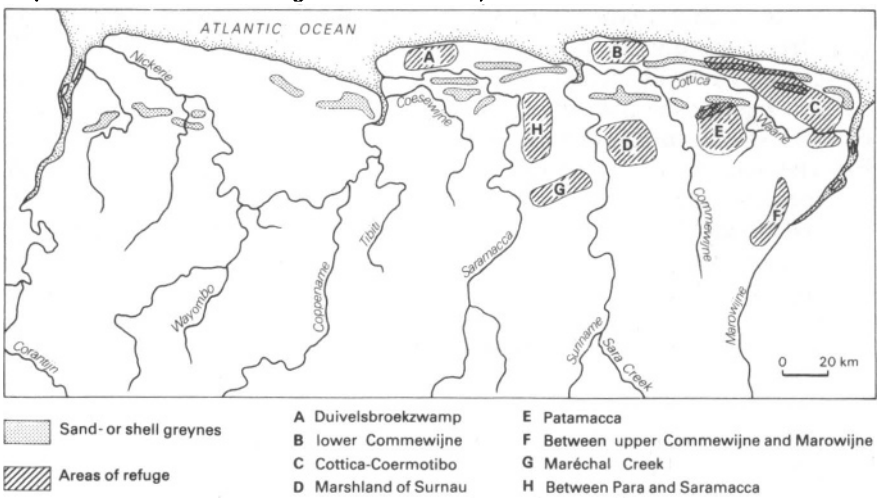
So in five years' time, Goliath's group of 'Hide-Negroes' had grown into a community of sixteen persons: five women and eleven men. A conflict within the group caused the death of one man, while the discovery of Goliath's hiding-place by a patrol resulted in one man shot and two women captured. Of the twelve people who remained behind, two men were arrested behind the plantations. Another three people were caught by a patrol, and the Saramaka Maroons handed over one runaway. The archives, however, do not refer to the destiny of the remaining six. They probably formed the core of a new group of runaways, but they may have joined other groups as well. The region south of the Oranje Pad was swarming with runaways while the Maroons of Kofimaka were also operating in this area (see Hoogbergen 1983: 101).

As soon as the runaways could grow sufficient crops at their gardens they no longer needed to live close to the plantations. They could easily settle at some days' distance from the inhabited areas, at strategic places in the swamps and unpassable swampy forests. The third and final stage in the marronage process had been concluded. The runaways had become Maroons.

One of the conditions for building normal life was a well-balanced composition of the population. The groups of runaways mainly consisted of male adults, but a normal society also needs women and children, for whom the maroons immediately started to look. Some of them sent for their relatives who were still living at the plantation. But many of the maroons did not have any relatives, for they had only recently arrived in the colony. It was especially these people who went in search of women, which was not an easy thing to do, as most of the slave communities protected their women very well.

The communities gradually expanded as more people joined them, either voluntary or as a prisoner captured by the group members. In the beginning, the men were in the majority, but later the demographic composition of the community gradually became more balanced. Until 1760, most Maroon groups finally moved southward, where they formed the Ndjuka, Saramaka and Matawai tribes. When, after 1760, this escape route became blocked, the 'new' Maroons remained closer to the plantations. Map 2 indicates the areas which were almost constantly inhabited by these 'new' Maroons in the period 1760 until 1860. These areas are characterized by a variety of swamps and sand ridges, which were an ideal place of refuge for the fugitive slaves.

Map 3: The main areas of refuge for slaves in the period 1760-1860



A) The *Duivelsbroekzwamp* (Literally Devil's Swamp) to the north-west of Paramaribo, an area of swamps between the estuary of the Saramacca River and the Atlantic Ocean. It was an area of refuge for slaves coming from Paramaribo, the Para region and the Lower-Commewijne area. Around 1690, a group of Saramaka was living there[7]. Afterwards, the region was inhabited by the Kwinti (or Kofimaka) until about 1775, when this tribe was driven across the Saramacca River. In the nineteenth century, the zone was again temporarily inhabited by Maroons who were headed by someone called Ari of Heilbron.

B) The swampy area between the lower Commewijne and the Atlantic Ocean. This region has always been inhabited by Maroons, who actually never engaged in farming. They continued to steal their food from the plantations on the northern bank of the lower Commewijne area and the Matapica region. One of the chiefs of these Maroons, Kopro Kanu, was shot by a forest patrol in 1828. For many Maroons, this was only a temporary living area. They went either eastwards to the Cottica area or westwards, crossing the Suriname River to the north of Paramaribo, to settle down west of the plantation area.

C) The swamps between the Cottica and the Marowijne Rivers. This was the Boni-Maroons living area until 1776. In this year, the Boni could no longer stand the pressure of the continuous pursuits and moved across the Marowijne River into French Guiana. A small part of them probably stayed behind. In the nineteenth century, a new Maroon tribe was formed in this swampy area, known as the *Krabbehoole* (Crab hole). The chief of these Maroons, Prika, was killed in 1831, when a patrol conquered his village. Around 1830, the Ndjuka came to settle down in this region as well. They must have taken the remaining Maroons under their wings.

D) The swampy area around the upper course of the Surnau Creek, between the Suriname and the Commewijne Rivers. Around 1760, Kormantin Kodjo, about whom more will be said below, was living here. Around 1780, the Surnau area was inhabited by a new group of Maroons, which came to a rapid expansion after 1820. This group, the *Brooskampers,* was still fighting the government in 1862[8].

E) The swamp forest west of the Perica and the Commewijne Rivers.

F) The area southeast of the plantations. This region which is, generally speaking, the triangle formed by the Rivers Tempati/Commewijne, Cottica/Coermotibo/Wane Creek and Marowijne, was probably inhabited by a part of the (future) Ndjuka during some time in the first half of the eighteenth century. Around 1760, new Maroons (called the Tesisi-Maroons) came to settle down here. In the nineteenth century, the region was inhabited by Maroons again. The present Paramaka-Maroons have also been living here for some time.

G) The upper course of the Maréchal Creek, a tributary of the Suriname River. Around 1800 the Goliath-Maroons were living here. This region later offered shelter to the Maroons of Pasop, who became known for the fact that their flight to the Saramaka had eventually resulted in the dismissal of Kofi Bosuman, this tribe's paramount chief (Oudschans Dentz 1948; Hoogbergen and Hoeree 1984).

H) The area between the Para Creek and the Saramacca River. Although the Para region contained a considerable number of plantations, there was plenty of virgin forest to offer the Maroons shelter for some time. Most refugees, however, moved on after a while. To the north (the Kwinti), the southwest (the Matawai) or the south (the Saramaka).

Guerrilla warfare

Apart from the fact that they escaped from the cruel existence as a slave, it is a remarkable feature of marronage that the Maroons revolted against their colonial oppressors by force of arms. Raids on plantations, carrying off slaves, murdering supervisors and owners without prior notice: all of this meant that the owners of the plantations in the outlying districts had to be permanently on the alert. Military patrols were very regularly sent off to the jungle to track down the Maroons, capture them and destroy their villages and fields. That was how one tried to prevent more plantations from being marauded. A second reason for sending out forest patrols was to avoid the formation of inland settlements which would attract the slaves. That is why all the villages found were burnt down and all the crops in the gardens were entirely destroyed. Burning down the villages was surmountable, as the Maroons could build new villages within a few weeks, but destroying the provision grounds would have disastrous effects. In order to protect themselves against starvation after the discovery of a village, they took the precautionary measure of laying out the provision grounds at some distance from the village, growing more crops in the various gardens than was strictly necessary and storing their food stock as much as possible in *kibrikondres* (hiding-villages). Most Maroon groups avoided any confrontation with the planters' armies as much possible. As they didn't have the right amount of weapons and ammunition at their disposal, they couldn't put up a good fight.

The Surinamese Maroons were waging war in a region where they were more at ease than their colonial opponents. This was mainly due to the fact that they knew the region and most times they took the initiative of putting up a fight. They preferred to attack their opponents while these were wading through a swamp, for they would have problems with defending themselves because their weapons had to be held high and dry. The soldiers, for their part, knew of course that they were exposed to various dangers in the swamps and they took precautionary measures by crossing the swamps in groups, while having a couple of slaves walking in front of the group. The advantage of the Maroons in this order of battle must not be interpreted as if the natural environment was generally quite favourable to them. During the dry season, their drinking-water wells easily ran dry and the water could turn brackish. During the rainy season, however, the water could rise to such a degree that their gardens were flooded. Insects did not make much of a distinction between black and white. The swampy area of Cottica was especially notorious for its variety of insects. In January 1773, governor Jean Nepveu wrote to the Netherlands that the situation of the soldiers at the posts in Cottica was undescribably bad, as the place was crawling with vermin. Day and night, people were pestered by *maskita* and *mampira* and especially *maku*, which was so abundantly present and whose sting was so nasty that it was equal to the 'worst torture'[9]. It was therefore difficult to undertake any action in the forest with a group of soldiers who were already exhausted to death[10]. The post of 's Lands Welvaren ('The Country's Well-being'), situated on the Cottica, was called Devil's Harbour by the soldiers, a name which clearly illustrates

their opinion about the whole situation. Although the Maroons paid obviously more attention to the presence of insects when choosing a place to live and although their houses were of a better quality than the soldiers' barracks, they were also pestered by these insects, especially by the *maku*, which are, besides, vectors of malaria.

Once the Maroons had found themselves a good place to live, they made every effort to prevent their pursuers from approaching them without being noticed. They would first look for places which were like an island in the middle of a swamp. They cut as few trees as possible to avoid clearings which could be seen from afar. If the land was hilly, they preferred to live on the hills. They tried to hide away the paths leading towards the villages as well as they could. Sometimes, they put tree trunks under the water surface in the swamps which served as a path, but they meandered to such a degree that one had to know the exact location of the trunks to avoid stepping off them. Whenever the roads were easily spotted, the soldiers had to be extra careful, as the Maroons had certainly made pitfalls with sharp poles at the bottom. It was even mentioned in the archives one time that the Maroons had poisoned the water through which the soldiers had to wade. The strong point of the villages themselves was their strategic location. It only rarely occurred that the Maroons had to surround the village with *pallisaden* (stockades).

It is most striking that the Maroons used classic guerrilla tactics and avoided any face-to-face battle as much as possible. Patrols were left wandering around and were seldomly attacked. If this happened at all, it would only be a brief attack at a moment which was inconvenient to the troops. As it will be revealed later on, it was only in 1771-72 around Buku and in 1789-90 near Aroku that the Boni fougth their most enduring battle against the colonial armies. In both cases, however, success was a long way off, as they did not only suffer a defeat in Buku but in Aroku as well. In contradiction with what has been mentioned by some (Price 1973:8, for example), it is not true that the colonial troops were fighting as if they were in Europe. They had indeed adapted their tactics to the circumstances. The troops were preceded by an advance guard, complete with guides and armed slaves who explored the route. The 'avant-garde' was followed by slaves who had to cut a path through the jungle while being covered by the soldiers. They were followed by part of the armed force. Then came the bearers, who were carrying the provisions on their head, followed by the rest of the soldiers. As soon as they came near the Maroons, the bearers stayed behind with part of the armed force, while the soldiers proceeded on their own. It strikes one frequently that the soldiers hardly ever tried to conceal their marching onwards. They used to blow a horn or take pot shots. As a result, the Maroons were warned in advance and could run away, thus avoiding a fight. The soldiers obviously thought that it was better to be a living coward than a dead lion; after all, they were only mercenary soldiers who had let themselves be recruited in Europe on a moment of desperation.

It is known that the Maroons had to share each gun with three fighters. One of them was the shooter, the other one had to take over the gun from the shooter if the latter got wounded or killed, whereas a third one had to see

to it that the wounded or dead fighter was carried off. Dead bodies were not left behind. A correct treatment of the dead and a proper funeral was (and still is) a central theme within the Maroon culture. It had to be prevented, at any price whatsoever, that the relatives would be struck by the revenge of the deceased person's soul. That was why the Maroons insisted on removing the corpses from the battle field. The corpses of the enemy, however, were treated less respectably. Heads were cut off and used as a ball, the skin was stripped off and hitched between poles.

The Maroons did not fight silently - quite the contrary! They used to make a terrible noise whenever they proceeded to an attack. They yelled, blew the *tutu* (horns) and banged drums, hoping to cause such a commotion that the enemy would take to his heels, in which they often succeeded.

One of the main reasons why the Maroons avoided a face-to-face battle was their inferiority in arms. When considering all the Maroon groups who fought the planters after 1760, the Boni were the only ones who were amply supplied with guns. They had captured these guns during their raids on plantations. Gunpowder and lead, however, were scarce. Lead was often substituted by pieces of iron or even by small stones. Whenever the parties had used up all of their ammunition in a battle, the soldiers could send for a new supply from Paramaribo. The Boni, however, had more problems with obtaining a new supply of gunpowder. When the tribe was living in the Cottica area (until 1776), they had to raid plantations to obtain gunpowder. Later, in French Guiana, they could barter with the Amerindians and Ndjuka-Maroons. After the battle near Aroku (1790), they failed in obtaining new ammunition and consequently were unable to defend themselves, as a result of which they had to flee further southwards.

The archives hardly provide any information on the importance of religious customs and methods in time of war. The oral tradition, however, contains abundant stories on the way in which the Maroons would prepare themselves for a battle: bathing, washing, carrying along *obia* and *tapu*[11], whereas these practices passed by the colonial rapporteurs. Only once in a while, the religious system of the Maroons is mentioned. For example, once a Maroon lost a stick wound around with grass, during an act of robbery. This stick was said to make its bearer invisible. When the Ndjuka declared war upon the Boni-Maroons by the end of 1792, the Ndjuka argued that they could not enter into the battle immediately as Mama Cato, the tribe's priestess, needed some time to prepare the *obia*. The Dutch thereupon gave them some *dram* (rum), necessary for the preparation. The *Brooskampers* used to put a *kondi* (statue shaped like a guard) on the access roads to their village as a warning against an approaching forest patrol. There are some indications of the Maroons visiting *lukumen* (prophets) before they entered into combat. In one of Kormantin Kodjo's villages, a *jachtgado* (a sacred bundle prepared for good hunting) was found.

One of the customs frequently referred to in the archives is the act of *swéri dringi*, literally 'drinking the oath'. Groups of Maroons wandering through the forests were always afraid of raids by other groups of Maroons or Amerindians. Whenever they discovered other groups in the neighbourhood and wan-

ted to live in peace with them, they used to conclude a pact in a ritual way. This often consisted in mixing earth with drink, while adding some blood of the persons concluding the pact. They would then sip this drink, the *swéri*, (or *sweli*), while the underlying thought was that the *swéri* would prevent the treaty (the peace) from being violated. The *swéri* had mortal power. It was also drunk when the Ndjuka-Maroons concluded peace with the Surinamese government in 1760. Paramount chief Kofi Bosuman of the Saramaka Maroons drank *swéri* with the Maroons of Pasop, while offering them protection and promising that he would never hand them over. He would later explain to the Dutch that he could not hand over Pasop, due to the lethal power of the *swéri* (Hoeree and Hoogbergen 1984: 263).

The Economy of the Maroon Villages

The coastal environment is extremely varied. It consists of small creeks, quagmires, swamp forests, small savannahs on sandy ground and forests on steep hills. Fields had been laid out on the elevated grounds. The Maroons' agricultural system was similar to the one used by the slaves on the plantations and is still in use among the Amerindians and the Maroon tribes of Suriname. It is known as shifting cultivation. Every other year, part of the forest is cut down and burnt. The clearing is turned into provision grounds and planted with food crops. After a couple of years, the garden grounds are abandoned and the clearings grow thick. The advantage of this system is that it demands relatively little maintenance, as food crops tend to grow faster than weed. A disadavantage is that it requires a considerable plot of land. The coastal soil consists of either sand or clay, containing all sorts of mixtures. These mixtures (sulphurous soil) are most suitable for agriculture. This kind of soil is more fertile than sandy soil and tends to dry out less during the dry season than clay soil. One of the most important food crops for the Maroons was manioc, which grows both on sand and clay ground, whereas plantains and sugar cane, for example, can hardly be grown on sandy soil.

Cutting down the forest normally started at the beginning of the long dry season, in July and August. The chopped wood was usually left untouched for a while and when it was reasonably dry - which was mostly in the course of October - it was set on fire. The fire burnt the leaves and the twigs, while the large trunks which had not been cut down remained scorched in the provision grounds. The ground was then ready to receive crops. Some crops, such as tayers and yams were planted directly after the fire. Other crops, however, had to wait until the rainy season had begun: corn, rice, manioc, peas, pineapple, tobacco, okra, pepper, sugar cane, cotton and sweet potato. Another important food crop was plantain[12].

The men played an important role in the food production. They cut down and burnt the forest, planted and sowed the crops, spudded out the weeds and brought in the harvest, while the women assisted them. Division of agricultural labour, in the sense that there were specific men's and women's jobs, was probably unknown in the early days. This was related to the fact that the

men outnumbered the women by far. If the men did not grow their own food, they would starve, as the forest itself provided too little. The food expeditions were a typical man's job. The men roamed through the forests in search of food: honey, eggs, crabs, fish, game and fruit. There was not so much game to be found in the surroundings of the villages, but the quagmires and creeks of the coastal area were abundant with fish. The fish were shot by means of a bow and arrow, caught in a basket or poisoned and picked up afterwards. They were smoked on large wooden frameworks (*barbakotten*) for preservation. The villages were sometimes surrounded by fruit trees: *awara* (Astrocaryum Segregatum Palmae), *papaya* (Carica Papaya L.) and *lemki* (Citrus Aurantifiola Rutacae). Finally, it should be noted that the Maroons dedicated themselves to breeding poultry. Chickens were running freely through the villages or were locked in a special cage.

Whenever the harvest turned out to be a failure or had been destroyed, the Maroons had to rely on the slaves' gardens: especially during the dry season when there were too few crops growing in the forests to keep them alive. In these forests, they would mainly look for *kumbu*, a palm fruit, and *kabbes*, the palm heart. *Kabbes* is mostly understood to be the core of the *maripa*-palm (Attalea Maripa Palmae). When cutting off the top of the tree about half a meter under the place where the leaves start to bud and taking away the outer bark, one will find the leaves which have not yet sprouted and are folded together like a fan. Though *kabbes* is sometimes described in flowery terms - Van Coll (1903: 536) compares *kabbes* to artichoke - the Maroons did not consider it a delicacy. If one had to live on *kabbes*, this was considered to be *pina* (hardship, suffering). Maripa palms are only found in the coastal plain and the Maroons who took refuge in the hills, had to do without *kabbes*. It is simply not true that the natural products from the forest (edible crops and game) were sufficient to support the Maroons. There are, as a matter of fact, innumerable examples of runaway slaves who died from starvation in the forest.

Apart from food, the forests offered a lot of other valuable products for the Maroons' economy. Firstly, of course, wood for the houses. The Maroon houses were rectangular and had thick walls with openings to enter the house or to let in fresh air. The roof was generally covered with leaves from the *pina*-palm (Euterpe Oleracea Mart.). Sometimes, however, the Maroons used the smaller leaf of the *tas*-palm (Thrynax Perviflora). This *tas* provided a better roof-covering than the *pina*-leaf or the *truli* (Manicaria Saccifera Gaertn.), which was also used for this purpose though being a lot more time-consuming due to its small leaves. Apart from that, the *tas*-palm was also scarcer.

Some houses had a balcony at the front. They used to have one floor, although sometimes they consisted of two floors. The kitchen was mainly found under the first floor, although it frequently occurred that the kitchen was separated from the house. The houses contained wooden beds (called *barbakotten*) which were provided with a kind of straw mattress, but one also used to sleep in hammocks woven of fibres drawn from the Mauritius-palm (Mauritia Flexuosa L.). Many palms have a core which resembles a large belt

of rough and fairly strong yarn. If, in the case of the Mauritius-palm, this belt is immediately cooked, it will maintain its bright white colour. It can be made flexible by firstly crushing it (Van Coll 1903: 538). In 1758, linen made from the Mauritius-palm was found in the village of Maroon chief Kormantin Kodjo. The Maroons used the palm leaves for making baskets, brooms, mats and bags. The most commonly used basket was the so-called *pagara* or *warimbo*, a rectangular box of wickerwork made from the *warimbo* plant (Ischonosiphon Gracile), with a sliding lid on top. Both the box and the lid had double sides with leaves put inbetween so as to protect the contents against water. During their expeditions, the Maroons carried these *pagara* on their back. Ropes were made of fibre from the Eschweileria species; this type of rope was called *titey udu* (forest rope).

The trees also supplied material for the canoes. Various species are suitable for this, such as the *wana* (Ocota Rubra Lauraceae), the *tamaren* (Tamarindus Indica Caesalpiniaceae) and the *sedre* (Cedrela Odorata Meliceae). The canoes were (and are, for the same method is still in use) made as follows. A suitable tree was cut down and hollowed out. As soon as the sides had obtained the right thickness, a fire was made in the boat under construction. The heat made the wood more flexible, so that it could be enlarged by means of cross beams. As soon as the canoe had obtained the right width, the boat was completed. Canoes were built in various lengths. In the swamps, the Maroons preferred to use small pirogues which could be transported over land on the heads of one or two men. Bigger canoes were used for sailing larger rivers.

The Maroons used to steal their pots and pans from the plantations, but they also made clay pots themselves. They used calebashes (*godo*) for preserving food and drink, or to drink from. The Maroons also cooked without pots. They dug a hole in the ground, covered the sides with banana leaves (Heliconia Bihai L.) and poured water into it. The pressure from the water made the leaves join tightly. The addition of ingredients turned the water into a soup. The leaves were then folded together at the top and the hole was further filled with soil. A fire was made above this 'boiling pot' until the soup was ready. These banana leaves were also used for storing and transporting water.

The *maripa*-palm was the salt-supplier. The archives repeatedly make mention of the Maroons obtaining salt from burning tree-trunks, which they did as follows. A large amount of dry and firm firewood was collected and piled up. Palm-trees were cut in pieces and put on top of it; the amount commensurate with the desired amount of salt. A fire was made and maintained until all palm branches had turned into ashes. These ashes were left to cool down for two days and then gathered in baskets. After that, pure water was washed through the ashes two or three times. This water was then carefully collected, boiled and eventually evaporated and what was left, was salt (Van Coll 1903: 535).

The palm-trees contained worms which were eaten by the Maroons (and also by the slaves) with great appetite. This cabbage worms called *grugru* in Suriname had the size of a man's thumb. They were fried and eaten with

butter or grilled on a fire like a kebab (Price and Price 1988: 338). *Grugru* were also used for the production of butter. They contained so much fat that, once they were fried, they produced the so-called palm-butter. The fat was salted and stored in bottles. These palm-worms were more or less bred by the Maroons. They cut down Mauritius-palms for this purpose, in which they carved notches through to the core (Van Coll 1903: 536). Palm weevils would lay eggs in this core, which produced edible larvas after some six weeks.
Some notices in the archives lead to the conclusion that the Maroons used to make their own clothing: the *kamisa*, a loincloth worn by the men, and the *pangi*, a women's cloth draped around the thighs. They mainly used cotton as a raw material, which was either cultivated or stolen from the cotton fields near the plantations. They probably spun the threads in the same way as the Amerindians did. Crevaux (1983: 297) shows a picture of this. The spinning was done by hand, by means of a spindle at foot height. Winding up the threads was done by means of sticks which had been put into the ground. The threads were woven into cloth on a simple loom.

In spite of the many products supplied by the forest, the Maroons remained dependant on the coastal area. When, in 1759, a planters' delegation was negotiating for peace with the Ndjuka, these Maroons demanded compensation for the fact that, as a result of the peace agreement, they could no longer attack the plantations and had to look for other ways of obtaining the necessary goods. The government solved the problem by periodically providing them with the appropriate goods. Apart from that, the peace settlement allowed the 'pacified' Maroons to travel to Paramaribo to do some business. The following goods were transported from the coastal area to the interior: guns, gunpowder, lead, textiles, whale oil, candles, axes, adzes, machetes, pickaxes and small iron objects such as pins, needles, nails, scissors, knifes etc.[13]. It goes without saying that the Maroons who were not pacified did not receive any goods and had to steal them from the plantations or, which frequently occurred as well, swap them with friendly slaves. The Maroons and the slaves often developped a brisk barter trade. The non-pacified Maroons twined baskets and cut wood, which they traded via their relatives at the plantations. They also sold smoked fish. These Maroons not only conducted trade with the slaves, but with Amerindians and pacified Maroons as well.

The region to which the slaves fled was not uninhabited. Other Maroons and Amerindians lived there. The most important characteristic of the relationship between these people was the doubt about whether the other party could be trusted. There was no such thing as an overall solidarity between the victims of the colonial system. That was a mere myth. Maroons tended to be very suspicious towards newcomers. Everyone could be a traitor. As a result, there was a large turnover amongst the refugees and the smaller Maroon groups. It was common practice that the man who had been in the forest for the longest time was the leader of the group. Anyone who could not agree with that leadership moved on. The groups were constantly splitting up, joining other groups or moving on. In the early days, the leaders' natural authority was often the one and only binding force. Within the groups themselves, the men were often fighting over women. Women were in the minority and

apart from that, the men tended towards polygyny. It seems as if there was an unwritten law which laid down that a man who had brought a particular woman with him (captured, for example, during a raid on a plantation or persuaded to join the Maroons), could consider this woman as his property. It will be clear, however, that the woman in question had her preferences as well and powerful Maroons could easily infringe on this law at the expense of less influential men. Men often left the group on account of conflicts about women. Another confirmation of the fact that they were extremely suspicious towards one another lies in the innumerable references to the fear of being poisoned. The word *vergeeving* (poisoning) in the archives can either refer to real poisoning or to black magic (*wisi*).

Generally speaking, the Maroons and the Amerindians were not exactly on friendly terms with each other, which is not much of a surprise as the Maroons were behaving like desperados, stealing and robbing whatever they could lay their hands on. The Amerindians would therefore leave any region which was overcrowded with drifting Maroons. Only when the Maroons had more or less settled down permanently did the relationship with the Amerindians became more friendly. After their migration to French Guiana, the Boni settled peace with the Galibi-Amerindians on the Marowijne River. Since then, both groups have been living on quite friendly terms with each other. The Kwinti-Maroons (Kofimaka), however, were constantly waging war against the Amerindians in the Coppename area. Both parties tried hard to slaughter one another.

In short, one might say that life was a constant battle for the Maroons. They had to defend themselves against the planters' armies and were always anxious over famine, as the provision grounds could be destroyed and the crops could fail. The natural environment of the Suriname coastal area is hostile to man. The area is swampy and crawling with insects, while the climate is whimsical (often too wet, sometimes too dry). The Maroons had to keep relying on the plantations for a number of essential goods. Obscure groups, whose intentions could never be properly assessed, were roaming the jungle. In general, the Amerindians adopted a very hostile attitude towards runaway slaves and the Maroon groups themselves had to cope with the problem of creating unity amongst a group of individuals with such a traumatic background as the slave trade and slave labour.

Chapter 2

THE GENESIS OF THE BONI-TRIBE

The Boni-Maroon Wars until 1757

Hartsinck, the historian who wrote a classic in 1770 on Dutch possessions in Guiana, estimated that the number of runaways totalled some five or six thousand in 1702 (Hartsinck 1770: 757). This estimation, however, is more an indication of the fear for the Maroons than a real figure. A number of about 1,000 to 1,500 seems more plausible. Nevertheless, the number of Maroons increased rapidly in the eighteenth century. When the French pirate Cassard invaded the Colony in 1712, the planters sent many of their slaves into the jungle to evade paying tribute. After the retreat of the French, some 700 slaves did not return to the plantations.

In spite of regular patrols mounted by the planters, the Maroons soon formed their settlements in the Surinamese jungle. Some of these settlements were known to the planters, as can be gleaned from the *placaat* (decree) of 20 February 1717, which refers the villages of 'Claes and Pedro' on the Suriname River, the village of 'Negro Will' on the Commewijne River and other settlements in the Marowijne area (Schiltkamp and De Smidt 1973: 312).

Around 1730, the groups of runaways started to establish tribes in at least four different places in Suriname. In the region southwest of the plantations, on the tributaries of the Saramacca River, the Saramaka tribe was formed. It was here, that the villages of 'Claes and Pedro', which had already been mentioned in 1717, were located. The area southeast of the Commewijne River was inhabited by groups of Maroons who may be considered the antecedents of the Ndjuka tribe. In the swampy area between the Lower Saramacca River and the Atlantic Ocean, known as the *Duivelsbroekzwamp* lived the first Kwinti-Maroons, whereas the marshy territory east of the Cottica River housed a group of Maroons who are considered the first Boni-Maroons.

An archival note from 1769 leads us to conclude that Maroons had already settled in the Cottica area in 1712. Their chief Asikan-Silvester, was taken prisoner in 1769. He declared upon his arrest that he had fled to the jungle when the French invaded Suriname. That is about the only information available with regard to the very beginning of the Maroons in the Cottica area. It was only in 1730 that the archives made the first references to a Maroon village in Eastern Suriname. In April of the same year a runaway slave returned to his plantation on the Cottica River voluntarily and offered to show his master to the village where he had stayed. The Governor instructed Abraham Lemmers to mount an expedition to this village and well over a month later Lemmers returned with some women and children whom he had taken prisoner there. He had named the village 'Pinnenburg' because of the many sharp

pins which were hidden in pittfalls on the access roads. The captive women were put to death in Paramaribo[1]. As the reports of these prisoners have not survived, we have only little information about the inhabitants of this Maroon village so that it is not clear whether the inhabitants of 'Pinnenburg' were actually the antecedents of the Boni-Maroons.

Apart from the black slaves, the workforce of the Surinamese plantations also included 'red slaves'; mostly 'wild' Amerindians who had been transported to Paramaribo by the Carib and Arawak to be sold as slaves. It is common knowledge that the number of red slaves constituted only a fraction of the black slave contingent, but the exact figures are missing[2]. On 5 July 1730 a group of runaway Amerindian slaves launched an attack on a plantation in the Mot Creek during which they killed the owner[3]. Once again, it is not clear whether this attack was actually mounted by the 'early' Boni. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Amerindian Maroons were operating in an area which is known to be the later plundering area of the Boni-Maroons. Besides, the central figure of this book, the paramount chief Boni, must have been born in this same period around 1730, which makes the assumption that Boni's biological father was an Amerindian - something which was alleged by a Maroon taken prisoner in 1776 - all the more likely.

In May 1731 the archives make mention of an attack on the plantation Vinkenvries on the Cottica River, in which the owner Knöffel barely escaped death. The Maroons took away all the goods and arms they could find. One year later a patrol to the Cottica area failed because the guide - a captive Maroon - deceived the *burghers*, with the consequence that the Maroon village remained undiscovered[4].

But then the archives remain silent on the Boni for about ten years. It was only in 1744 that they refer to another large-scale expedition against the Maroons in the Cottica area, the direct cause of it being the desertion of sixteen slaves from the plantation Hamburg who had been persuaded by other runaway slaves to leave. The runaways sailed up the Cottica River in pirogues until they were beyond the last plantation, where they disembarked and started such an exuberant celebration that the noise could be heard at the neighboring plantations. But nobody had the courage to hunt them. It was only two months later that a patrol went searching for these runaways and found a village behind the plantation Vriesenburg, which was inhabited by about 25 Maroons. Fifteen people managed to escape, but the others were either killed or taken prisoner. A new patrol who pursued the fugitive Maroons two weeks later, caught another seven people[5].

In 1745 another patrol went searching for the Maroons in the Cottica area. In July of the same year Nicolas Freeher announced that sixteen of his slaves had fled in a canoe while taking away many goods. According to the planter, their escape had been instigated by a Maroon who had run away some years before and had recently visited his old plantation to incite the slaves. A *burgher* patrol under the leadership of Isaac Stolkert entered the jungle on 26 July. After about a week they returned with nine captive runaways[6]. Half a year later, a group of planters mounted another expedition against the Maroons in the Cottica area. A captive Maroon who had expressed his willing-

ness to show them to one of the Maroon villages was their guide. Early January 1746 this guide - called Coridon - brought the patrol to a considerably large Maroon settlement which consisted of sixteen large houses and four small ones, next to a number of warehouses which stored corn and other food. The village, which was situated inbetween the Cottica and the Marowijne River, was burnt down by the patrol. A large number of Maroons managed to escape but the patrol still took thirteen prisoners, most of whom were women. The defense of the village cost one man's life. His head was cut off and taken to Paramaribo, where the leader of the expedition - the *burgher vaandrig* (civilian reserve officer candidate) Knöffel declared that he had brought the head of the Maroons' paramount chief with him. He also showed the authorities the banner he had captured in the village.

After this succesfull expedition, Coridon was rewarded 'with the goods that are normally given to those Negroes, such as a shirt, a loincloth and a hat'. The captive women were allowed to return to their original plantations, with the exception of the slave Flora who had been Coridon's wife in the Maroon village. She was allowed to stay in Paramaribo[7]. The slave Sasibo of Nieuw-Timotibo received a special reward for the way in which he had behaved during this journey. Sasibo was the brother of the famous *lukuman* (diviner) Quassie (see Price 1979 and 1983b). Sasibo's journey to the Boni-Maroons is also mentioned in a report dating from 1776, which stated that long ago, about 30 years before, a patrol under the leadership of Sasibo had caught a brother and a sister of chief Boni (also see De Beet 1984: 229).

On 22 December 1751 a couple of Amerindians who lived in the vicinity of the Marowijne River arrived at Paramaribo with them the hands of twelve Maroons they had killed during a fight. The Amerindians alleged that they had killed another ten Maroons in this battle but that they had not been able to locate their corpses. The Maroons were said to be former slaves of the plantation Meulwijk. Subsequently, it came to a quarrel about the premium for the Amerindians. They wanted to receive the usual premium for each Maroon killed, fifty guilders, but the government only wanted to pay for the hands delivered. In the end, they reached a compromise. On 2 January 1752 the Amerindians left Paramaribo with a load of goods worth 850 guilders[8].

Slave resistance in Suriname during the period 1750-1759 has been analysed by M. Müller. He stated that fifteen revolts took place in this period, excluding the raids on the plantations conducted by the Maroons. In total, about 900 to 1000 slaves from 21 different plantations were involved in those revolts. It is quite striking that during the entire period of slavery the revolts were nearly always restricted to one plantation (Müller 1973: 30).

Rebellion was often the result of collaboration between the slaves who had run away before and the ones who had stayed behind at the same plantation. After every revolt, patrols were sent out after the runaway slaves, but whenever a revolt was the result of active interference by the Maroons, this tactic of pursuit was useless. It was impossible to trace the fugitives. In fact the patrols often had just the opposite effect as the mercenary slaves would learn to find the way to the Maroon villages. In the autumn of 1755, about 30 slaves of an expedition, consisting of nearly 300 slaves, ran away taking their guns with

them. During an expedition to the Saramaka-Maroons, in the spring of the subsequent year, no less than 200 slaves from a total of 345 deserted within a period of one month and a half. The patrol did not find the Maroons, nor did they discover any abandoned villages (Müller 1973: 31 and 43). Whereas Herlein (1718: 115) could still speak of some successes in the battles against Maroons, there is no doubt that the planters lost much ground after 1740. Hartsinck (1770: 757-767) made mention of more than 20 big and small bush patrols between 1730 and 1749. The results, however, were clearly negative. Müller (1973: 42) declares that only two out of all 28 expeditions which were carried out during the 1750s had been successful. The necessity to reach some sort of an agreement with the Maroons became more and more acute.

The Tempati Revolt and the Pacification of the Ndjuka, Saramaka and Matawai

It was February 22nd, 1757. At first sight, nothing was out of the ordinary at plantation La Paix on the Tempati Creek. At half past six in the evening, two *basias* (black overseers) came to report to manager Bruyere. They were somewhat later than usual, which made their master ask the reason why. He contented himself with their answer that the quantity of wood which had been gathered during the day would be sufficient for processing the following day. Bruyere thereupon sat down and started to play cards with the commanding officer of the military post Van Hertzbergen. Shortly afterwards they found themselves surrounded by about 50 slaves some of whom started striking them with machetes. Van Hertzbergen was slashed on the head and Bruyere lost one of his hands. At the same time, the slaves attacked the soldiers. Rebels opened fire on the military post from all sides. At 12 o'clock the following day, the soldiers had almost exhausted their ammunition. They decided to enter into negotiations. They were allowed to withdraw in peace and keep their arms. They were put in a boat, together with the wounded manager Bruyere and reserve officer candidate Van Hertzbergen and sailed down the Tempati Creek. The rebels even offered the travellers a glass of wine and some chickens as provisions for the journey[9].

The Surinamese planters soon learned that the revolt which had started at La Paix had spread to all seven plantations in the Tempati area. These plantations totalled some 250 slaves. The government called in military patrols to quell the rebels, but all attempts were in vain. Until July, the rebels continued to rule over the Tempati area. They then left the region and went southwards to join the Ndjuka-Maroons.

The suppressing of the Tempati-revolt had proven to be a failure. The plantations had been destroyed and the slaves would never return. They had sought permanent asylum among the Ndjuka. In March 1758 the Ndjuka together with the Tempati rebels, conducted a raid on the plantation of Palmeneribo. Most slaves, - about 80 in total - were willing to join them. After the attack, a note from the raiders was found. It was signed by 'Boston van Tampatij', himself one of the Tempati rebels. The only conclusion drawn from the note was that the raiders wanted to open up talks with the government.

The note was sent to Paramaribo. Governor Wigbold Crommelin received permission from the Court of Policy to enter into negotiations with the rebels[10]. As the Maroons were nowhere to be found, the negotiations were temporarily postponed.

In February and May 1759, the Ndjuka once again attacked. In February their target was Goed Accoord, nearby the Tempati area. The attack proved to be a failure. The manager managed to escape, the number of raiders was too small and the slaves did not fancy the idea of making common cause with the Maroons. In May the Maroons proved to be more successful when attacking the small plantation Onoribo located on the Cassewinica Creek. The raiders again left a sign: three letters from Boston, pinned on a stick, with the message that the rebels were still interested in settling peace[11].

Following the attack on Onoribo, the Court of Policy decided to take notice of Boston's letters and sent two slaves, Kofi and Charleston, with a letter on secret mission to the Maroons to sound them out about the chance of settling peace. On 30 July the two slaves left Paramaribo. Fourteen days later Kofi and Charleston arrived at a clearing in the jungle, where they found an abandoned village. The following day the two envoys noticed that they had been discovered by a number of Maroons. In answer to their questions Kofi and Charleston told them about their mission. Consequently, the men brought them to a village of about 100 houses were they announced that they were carrying a letter for Boston. The Maroon spokesman said that he would send for Boston and that the slaves had to stay in the village in the meantime. After a week, the Ndjuka *gaanman* (paramount chief), Arabi (or Labi) of the Dikan-clan, accompanied by Boston arrived with over 1000 men. Kofi and Charleston gave them the letter from governor Wigbold Crommelin. After having read the letter, Boston assured *gaanman* Arabi that the colonists' intentions were sincere and that this was the ideal moment for concluding peace. They immediately opened up elaborate talks. A peace agreement would mean the end of raids on the plantations with the consequence that the Maroons would loose their supply of foodstuffs, guns and utensils. Boston was one of the main supporters of a peace settlement. He referred to the peace settled between the English and the Maroons on Jamaica. In this case, the raids on the plantations had been, so to speak, bought off with tribute. If the planters would send tribute to the Maroons periodically, they were prepared to settle peace.

The two envoys promised to hand over a list of desired goods to the Court of Policy. Both parties agreed on a cease-fire. On 28 August 1759 Kofi and Charleston returned to Paramaribo. During its meeting of 10 September, the Court of Policy decided to continue the peace negotiations with the Ndjuka. Shortly afterwards a delegation of two planters, Rudolph Zobre and James Abercrombie - left for the Maroons. In early October the delegates talked with Boston and Djaki, the latter the brother of the important chief Pambu of the Otoo-clan. The following morning, the delegation talked with Djaki for some time. After the talks the Maroons left. Three days later they returned with several men to fetch their tribute. Others, 'dressed up in a most horrible way', brought the delegation to *gaanman* Arabi 'under dreadful yells, as

usual'. On 13 October 1759, the peace negotiations began. It appeared that not everyone in the Maroon delegation took a strong interest in a peace settlement, but all of them promised to accept it, provided that an agreement could be reached on some details. A new list of gifts was drawn up and both parties agreed to extend the cease-fire one year. The peace was planned to be concluded during the major dry season of 1760[12].

The governor and the councillors were very serious indeed about the efforts to settle peace. They consulted with the authorities in Amsterdam and asked for permission to continue peace negotiations. They received the necessary permission and the following year, on 24 September 1760, the 'peace patrol', consisting of 206 soldiers, two physicians and the necessary bearers under the leadership of the lieutenants C.E. Vieira and J. Collerus set off into the jungle. On 8 October, they arrived at the village of *gaanman* Arabi. The peace negotiations started the following day. Most articles of the treaty did not cause any problems, but the obligation to hand over new runaways to the whitemen gave rise to a heated discussion. The article obliged the Ndjuka to start an active policy of pursuit against unpacified Maroons. A compromise was found and the clause was reformulated in the sense that all the fugitives who had been living in the forest for a considerable time and slaves who had fled because of serious ill-treatment were exempted from this regulation.

The peace treaty also stipulated that the Ndjuka should stop attacking the plantations. The government agreed to send them tribute as a means of compensation for the goods they usually took from the plantations[13].

After the whole treaty had been reviewed to the satisfaction of the planters, the Ndjuka demanded that the peace treaty be confirmed in their way as well. They asked for a clean piece of white linen. When the linen arrived, a Maroon chief took a razor and cut the left arm of both the white negotiators and the Maroon chiefs to draw blood. 'When this was done, someone else came up with the linen cloth. After examining the arm to see whether the blood was dripping sufficiently, we had to wipe off our arms ourselves, and then a third man came with a gourd of clean water, in which the linen cloth was washed and rinsed, and he did the same and swore that peace had been settled with the white men, they would never ever bear grudge against nor do any harm to the white people. And that, if they ever did any such thing or if they did not comply with all that had been promised and signed, this mixture of blood would bring death and damnation upon them. Whereupon Arabie followed him and subsequently everyone who had signed and we did the same, every person for himself. When this was done, a man whom we believed to be their priest cried out: the earth cannot bear those who have sworn falsely and do not keep their promise. Thereupon, they all made an extraordinary noise and started to shout hooray'[14].

For the government this peace settlement with the Ndjuka implied that they would consider the Maroons their allies from then on. Two years later, through the mediation of the Ndjuka, peace was concluded with the off-spring of the villages of 'Pedro and Claes', the Saramaka, living between the Suriname and the Saramacca Rivers (De Beet and Price 1982, Price 1983b). A small group of Maroons (the Matawai) headed by the chiefs Beku and Musinga,

who had separated from the Saramaka, continued to offer some resistance before being pacified in 1767. From then on, the Ndjuka, the Saramaka and the Matawai tribes were called the *bevreedigde Boschneegers* ('pacified Bush Negroes').

No Pacification of the Boni-Maroons

The government expected the treaties with the major Maroon tribes to bring peace and quiet to the colony. All slaves who still had the courage to run away from the plantations, would be pursued vigourously. The government thought that it had double-locked the colony to the south by means of the free *Boschneegers* tribes. Fugitive slaves would have nowhere to go, as the pacified Maroons would hand them over, while regular patrols would prevent new runaway slaves from settling in this no man's land between the plantations and the living area of the free *Boschneegers*. These expectations, however, did not come true. Even after the peace settlement slaves continued to flee from the Surinamese plantations, while the pacified Maroons themselves avoided the extradition of new fugitives as much as possible. What is more, to the west and the east of the plantations, lived small groups of non-pacified Maroons who welcomed the new runaway slaves with all their hearts.

Around 1760, various groups of Boni-Maroons were living east and south-east of the plantations. As yet, there was no such thing as one single Boni-tribe. The oldest group of 'Boni' was the one living north of the Cottica River, in the neighborhood of the Cassipera Creek. (They will be designated the Cassipera-Maroons, after the Creek on which they were living). Around 1760, this group consisted of some 350 persons.

A second, though much smaller group ,was formed by the Maroons of Tesisi. Tesisi was situated between the Tempati Creek and the Marowijne River. The archives have not been very consistent in using the name Tesisi. Sometimes the name indicates a specific village, other times it designates a whole area. The Tesisi-Maroons consisted of about 80 to 100 people. The slaves who ran away to Tesisi came mostly from the Upper Commewijne area. In the 1760s they attacked plantations in the Commewijne and Perica area. The group broke up later: part of the Tesisi-Maroons went northwards and joined the Cassipera-Maroons, while another part went to the south and was received by the pacified Ndjuka.

The third group of 'proto-Boni' was formed around the person of Kormantin Kodjo. Even before 1757, a group of Maroons was living in the swampy area of the Surnau Creek, a tributary of the Suriname River. They were headed by Kormantin Kodjo. These people left their living area in 1772 and went eastwards. Via the region of Patamacca they arrived at the Cottica area, where they joined the Cassipera-Maroons. In the following sections we will discuss the history of these three, still separated Boni-groups, during the period from 1757 - the year of the Tempati Revolt - until 1768, the year of the First Boni-Maroon war.

The Cassipera-Maroons

As we saw before only little is known about the Maroons in the Cottica area in the period before 1757. We described patrols in eastern Suriname in 1730, 1731, 1744, 1745, 1746 and 1751. On 23 January 1758, some Maroons conducted a raid on Nieuw-Java, a largely abandoned plantation on the Cottica River. They killed one of the slaves, while driving the others into the forest. The master of the neighboring plantation of La Paix sent armed slaves to Nieuw-Java to find out what was going on. When they saw the Maroons, they halted at some distance and both groups started calling messages to each other. The Maroons shouted that only fearless people would be able to pursue them. They also shouted that they were 'Negroes of Jacobie', which meant that they originated from the plantation of Marceille. The raiders managed to hide their track so well that a small patrol, which had been sent after them, returned empty-handed after some days. Apparently, the pursuers were not of the fearless kind[15].

In November of 1758, Maroons burnt down some buildings of the plantation Eligondaasburg on the Parmarica Creek in the Matapica area. One patrol went after them, while a second departed from the Mot Creek in an attempt to surround the Maroons. None of them, however, discovered anything. Some weeks later, the same area was ransacked by not less than five *burgher* patrols, but neither the Maroons nor the path which they had followed were traced[16].

For over a year it remained quiet in the Cottica area. In January 1760, however, about twenty Maroons showed up at a plantation where they captured a woman and mistreated a man so badly that he later died from his wounds. In July 1760, two Maroons from the plantation of Du Perou were caught at a military post opposite the plantation of Bockensteyn; two other Maroons managed to escape. One month later, the plantation of Oostwaard on the Mot Creek was attacked by Maroons in the middle of the night. They set fire to the slaves' barracks and captured five women, one man and three children. Amerindians immediately went after the raiders, caught up with them and shot two men, and retrieved all of the captured slaves from the Maroons. The following day, a *burgher* patrol tried to catch the rest of the Maroons, but to no avail. Some months later, in March 1761, they discovered a small Maroon village to the north of the Parmarica Creek and a bigger one in the neighborhood of the Cottica River. In the small village, two men were captured and one was killed[17].

In February 1762, five Maroons were spotted at the plantation of Bockensteyn. One of them, called Hazard, was taken prisoner and brought to the manager. He told him that he came from a village three days' distance from the plantation, which was inhabited by 24 men, ten to twelve women and about eleven children. Their chief had sent them out to assess the strength of Bockensteyn. The poor results of the patrols against the Maroons were mainly due to the planters' lack of knowledge about the location of the Maroon villages. Accordingly, the capture of Hazard had been a piece of luck. Marronage was normally punished by death, but it frequently happened that the prisoner was granted mercy on the condition that he make himself useful by

tracing other Maroons. So Hazard was also asked to lead a patrol to his village in return for a reduction of his sentence. And he agreed.

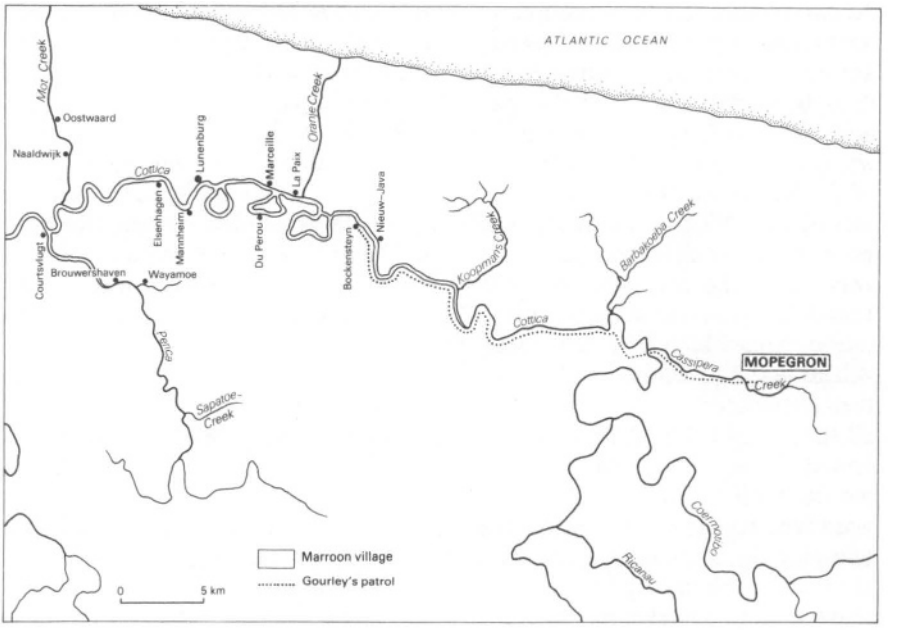
The *burgher* patrol was led by James Gourley. On 17 February 1762, six whitemen, four armed slaves and twelve bearers left from Bockensteyn with Hazard as a guide. By four o'clock, they reached the Cassipera. They rowed up this Creek for three hours. It was already dark when they pitched the camp for the night. The following morning, Gourley and his men canoed on. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the patrol discovered a boat which had been abandoned by an advance guard chasing after four runaway Maroons. The advance guard had meanwhile cut its way through the forest. The men left their boats and set off on this path. By the evening, they caught up with the advance guard. Part of the food stock was left behind, protected by a guard, while the men moved on. Hazard brought the *burghers* to a provision ground of the Maroons. He told them that the village to which the ground belonged was named 'Mopegron'. It lay on the other side of a broad swamp, two hours away. Gourley decided not to move on. The men spent the night, with arms and all, in the provision grounds. The whole night through, the command heard the Maroons making music. They also overheard fragments of a conversation, from which it became clear that the four runaways had returned to the village and had warned the others. The Maroons thereupon started to threathen the white men and shouted that they would be defending themselves with all their might. The following morning, the command found the village abandoned. It appeared that the Maroons had already left Mopegron the day before, with the exception of a guard of about three or four men who had been beating the drums and yelling the whole night through as a way of informing the others, who thereby knew that, as long as they heard the beating of the drums, the enemy had not yet entered the village.

As soon as James Gourley entered the village, this guard disappeared in an unpassable quagmire. One of the slaves of Gourley's patrol swam across the swamp. On his return he reported that he had seen a man climbing into a tree. He also alleged to have seen some smoke on the horizon. The patrol thereupon went through all fourteen houses of the village, but they did not find a single soul. The only living things left behind were some chickens, neatly stored away in small cages. The houses nevertheless contained a large quantity of conserved food (smoked, salted and fried) and earthen pots. The guide pointed at a canoe, which the Maroons had hidden in a nearby bush. Gourley used this boat to transport the remaining bearers through the quagmire to Mopegron.

The following morning, a small patrol inspected the other side of the swamp. They did not only find a garden and three houses, but a large stock of corn as well. On the path west of the village, which actually connected Mopegron to the Cassipera Creek, James Gourley himself discovered various pitfalls with sharp spikes stuck slantways into the ground. The patrol which had been inspecting the other side of the swamp returned in the afternoon. The commander reported that he had discovered a great many footprints of Maroons which, unfortunately, led into various directions. He had followed one track until he reached a second swamp. There he realized that the Maroons

had crossed this swamp as well, whereupon the patrol had turned back. The following day, Gourley ordered his men to set up a military post in Mopegron. He himself returned to Bockensteyn, where he arrived in the evening of 22 February. The soldiers remained in Mopegron until October, but the Maroons never showed up again[18].

Map 4: Patrol to Mopegron in February 1762



For some years, it remained considerably quiet in the Cottica area. The search for the Maroons from Mopegron was suspended and the Maroons, for their part, avoided the plantation area. In April 1765, five slaves from Lunenburg ran away. They later appeared to have joined the Maroons on the Cassipera Creek. One month later, the colony was shaken by the murder of Bocquillon, the manager of a timber plantation in the Patamacca region. He had been murdered by his own slaves. Neighboring plantations reported that the slaves had started to pack all their goods and food stock after the murder and were expected to desert. A small patrol from Bockensteyn left for the plantation of Bocquillon, but when they arrived it appeared that the slaves, seven men and two women, had already gone. Shortly afterwards, the pursuers ran into one of the female slaves, who was shot down as she ignored the order to surrender. The others appeared to have fled westwards in the direction of the Upper Commewijne, where two men and one woman were taken prisoner by slaves from Carawassibo some three weeks later[19].

In November 1765, the *burgher* captain C.M. Van den Oever sent another patrol to the Maroons hiding near the Cassipera Creek, but once again no

track was found[20]. They could only guess at the new destination of the Maroons after Mopegron had been discovered.

The Maroons of Tesisi: Turmoil at L'Espérance and Jukemombo

Around 1757, the region between the Upper Cottica River and the Marowijne River contained a Maroon village which was inhabited by about 50 men, five women and one child. The chief of this village was Fortuyn, a former slave from Brouwershaven. Flora of L'Esperance was said to be his wife. On 21 November 1757, these Maroons conducted a raid on the plantation of L'Espérance, situated on the Upper Commewijne River, in which they killed its manager Henschelius with lances and machetes. The two other white people who were living there fled to a nearby plantation together with part of the slaves. The Maroons took away three slaves, two rifles, some machetes and a couple of hammocks[21]. Half a year later, the Maroons once again tried to carry off some slaves from the same plantation, but this time their attempt failed.

On Sunday 30 April 1758, five Maroons showed up at the provision grounds of the slaves from L'Espérance. Three of the Maroons originally came from this plantation. They had also been present at the murder of Henschelius, half a year before. The Maroons asked some of the slaves working in the fields to follow them to their village in the forest. They told the slaves that they had planned a new attack on L'Espérance in the near future. Those questioned answered that they knew some slaves who intended to run away. They wanted to run away themselves as well, but they considered the moment too inconvenient. If they were granted a few days' delay, they would be able to make the necessary arrangements for their escape. Before they left, the Maroons gave the slaves some animal-bones and shells wrapped up in tayer-leaves as an *obia*. The slaves had to bury the *obia* in front of *basia* Kwamina's door, so that he could not hinder their future escape.

The slave Allert, who was among the men addressed by the Maroons, did not intend to leave the plantation. He told everything to *basia* Kwamina, who informed the manager. The latter called together some loyal slaves to talk about the measures to be taken. They decided to deceive the Maroons. On the agreed evening, a couple of women went to the path of the Maroons together with the slave Allert, while they were carrying their goods packed in a *pagara* (basket) on their head. They were secretly followed by 'loyal' slaves and soldiers. When they arrived near the agreed place, they split up in groups of three and surrounded the rendezvous spot. The Maroons were delighted when they saw the women. They shouted that they had been waiting so long for this moment of taking them to their village, whereupon the female slaves gave the agreed signal and the rear guard emerged. Nevertheless, they only caught two Maroons, while about ten other men managed to escape. The prisoners were Hercules of the plantation of Roosenbeek and Alexander of L'Espérance. Both of them had run away some years before[22].

The slave Allert was granted freedom in return for his loyalty towards the

white people. Hercules and Alexander were brought to Paramaribo to be interrogated. Their statement gives us a clear picture of the Maroon village in which they lived. Hercules and Alexander reported that the village was inhabited by 55 people, among whom were five women and one baby (for a list of these inhabitants, see Hoogbergen 1985b: 107). The chief of the village was Fortuyn, who came from the plantation of Brouwershaven. The village was composed of seven big houses, two of which belonged to the chief. The other houses belonged to Hercules and Alexander (one for each), as well as to Amsterdam, Interest and Caesar. It is a remarkable fact that Hercules and Alexander referred to the ownership of the houses. This indicates that the Maroons indeed made a distinction between 'mine and thine'. It also makes clear that there was a large group of non-proprietors who, apparently, lived with other people. The village was surrounded by rich gardens. The inhabitants also cultivated sugar cane. As far as their arms were concerned, they had lances, machetes and four flintlock rifles at their disposal, the latter of which could not be used as the Maroons did not have any gunpowder or lead.

Alexander of L'Espérance died some days after his interrogation, probably as a result of the questioning, which took place 'under torture' if the prisoner was unwilling to provide the desired information. Further humiliation followed. His corpse was dragged to the gallows-field by a horse, where it was quartered. The upper parts were burnt, whereas the lower parts were hammered onto the gallows. His head was put on a stake[23].

In May of the same year, the Maroons showed up again at L'Espérance. They met the female slave Juno in the gardens. One of the men who knew Juno, Jupiter a slave who had run away in 1757, asked her to walk along with him. When they came near the Bottels Creek, two Maroons, also former slaves of L'Espérance, suddenly emerged and took hold of Juno. The female slave begged and pleaded until the Maroons agreed to let her go, as she had still a child at the plantation. She promised to come back, provided that she was allowed to pick up her child. The Maroons agreed to that and Juno ran off to L'Espérance. Once there, she snatched her child from the arms of the *Creole mother*[24] and quickly disappeared. A group of slaves went after her, caught her and brought her back to the manager whom she told what had happened. The manager, thinking of last year's successful trick, let Juno and her child set off for the Bottels Creek the following morning, while a number of armed slaves followed her. But, the Maroons had sensed the danger and disappeared. The slaves followed their path and found the place where they had slept, but owing to the high water-level in the forest, they soon lost track[25].

On 20 March 1759, five slaves from Jukemombo, the most southern plantation of the Upper Commewijne area, deserted. They took along a female slave from the plantation Wayampibo on their flight. As a result of this marronage, governor Wigbold Crommelin sent the *burgher* captain A. Tielonius Kruythof to Jukemombo to investigate the situation. The latter reported that the slaves of Jukemombo were very dissatisfied with their owner J. Biertempel. They were never rewarded, they were always charged with too much work and they received far too little food. They were not even allowed the time to eat. The

slaves told Tielonius Kruythof that, if Biertempel was not removed from the plantation soon, they would follow the example set by the other five. Tielonius Kruythof went back to the governor and told him what the immediate cause of the slaves' desertion had been. Biertempel had ordered them to cut up an impossible number of trees, while threathening to cut off their heads or have them shot dead if they did not perform the work properly. As a result, the slaves had fled into the jungle.

Due to A. Tielonius Kruythof's report, the governor ordered J. Biertempel to leave his plantation. The owner of Jukemombo thereupon travelled to Paramaribo, where he informed the counsels of the Court of Policy about his intention to sell out his entire slave contingent to a plantation in the Lower Commewijne area for a sum of 10,000 guilders. The entire slave contingent of Jukemombo consisted of 54 slaves: 24 men and 30 women, including six men and eighteen women who were unfit for labor. Biertempel promised that he would temporarily keep away from his plantation. He proposed Jan Hendrik Branders as the new manager.

By the end of April 1759, A. Tielonius Kruythof went to Jukemombo again. He told the slaves that J. Biertempel would not return for some time and that Branders was to take over the managership. The slaves agreed to this. In the meantime, Biertempel directed a request to the Court of Policy, in which he confirmed his intention to sell out the slaves and have them transferred to another plantation. Considering the problems in the Tempati area of some two years before, where a planned transfer of slaves ended up in rebellion, Biertempel proposed to carry out the transfer in secrecy. The new manager Branders was to send three slaves with sugar to Paramaribo. Six others, who were known for being troublemakers, would be sent away by Biertempel himself on a fake journey. As a result, it would only be easy for the military force to arrest the remaining slaves and transport them to the Lower Commewijne. The Court of Policy agreed to this proposal.

The slaves of Jukemombo, however, saw through their manager's plan. This became clear by the middle of June. On June 10th, Branders wrote that four or five runaways had visited the plantation on the evening before. The soldiers who were billeted at the plantation had tried to catch them, though to no avail. Later in the evening, the commander stationed his soldiers at the four corners of the slaves' barracks and next to the cannons in the garden. The slaves of Jukemombo violently protested these measures. They alleged that the men sneaking around the plantation were not fugitives but slaves. But when the commander ordered them to introduce him to these people, the slaves refused to do so. They declared that they would rather be beaten to death than bring these people in.

The following day, a military patrol and some armed slaves searched for the Maroons in the neighborhood of Jukemombo, but they could not find them. Nevertheless, the Maroons were there, which became only too clear the day after. At a quarter past four in the afternoon, one of the guards was hit by an arrow. As a result, the soldiers started to shoot. Their shots were answered from all sides. It appeared that there were about 300 Maroons hiding in the *kapuweri* around Jukemombo, one out of two armed with a gun. Some time

later, the Maroons split up in four groups and proceeded to attack. All of these groups were commanded by former slaves from Jukemombo. Three Maroons, manager Branders, one soldier and a slave from Jukemombo were killed in the fight. The raiders left after one hour and a half and were joined by fifteen slaves from Jukemombo. A note from Boston of Tempati was found in the slaves' barracks[26]. Considering the large number of Maroons and the note from Boston, one might conclude that this attack was mainly set up by the Ndjuka (who were not yet pacified by that time). But there were a couple of Maroons taking part in the raid who, for some reason, never joined the Ndjuka. They turned up later among the Tesisi-Maroons.

The slaves from Jukemombo who had not disappeared into the forest with the raiders were arrested and brought to Paramaribo. Apparently, they did not oppose their being carried off. It is not clear what happened to them afterwards. They must have returned to Jukemombo after some time. Even Biertempel returned to his plantation, together with his wife and children. For six subsequent years, it remained quiet at Jukemombo. On 10 June 1765, however, the plantation was once again marauded. But more about this later on.

In February 1761, the delegation of planters, who had settled peace with the Ndjuka, returned to the Commewijne area. The journey led along the Tempati Creek and on 27 February some spies discovered a Maroon track. A patrol followed it and caught five Maroons, who told them that their little group consisted of eight persons and that they had their houses at three different places in the forest. They had only a few goods, some plantains and yams. The five prisoners were taken along, but one of them managed to escape during the night. Antoni of L'Espérance was among the prisoners. During his interrogation he admitted that he had assisted in the attempt to capture the female slave Juno in 1759[27].

One year and a half later, a small military patrol in the Tempati area encountered a group of ten Maroons, including three women. The Maroons were busy with some sort of transport, as they were carrying packs on their head. When the soldiers started to shoot at them, they threw down all their luggage and took to their heels, leaving behind iron pots, kettles, machetes, rifles, ammunition, loin clothes and coral[28].

The Free Negro Quassie in Pursuit of the Maroons of Tesisi

Until about 1850, the slaves in Suriname had only few possibilities of becoming 'freemen' through release by manumission. But it did occur every once in a while. In 1738, there were 598 'free' negroes and coloreds in the colony and by 1787, the number increased to about 650. From then on, the growth became nearly explosive: four years later, the number had tripled, which resulted in no less than 1760 manumitted people in Suriname (Van Lier 1949: 71). The socio-economic circumstances of these free people were, however, lamentable. In a colony where the whites remained in control of the executive powers and a middle class was practically nonexistent, this group had to face

the competition of craft slaves who could make products at lower costs. Most slaves who were manumitted were mulattos - children of white managers and black female slaves. In spite of all laws and prohibitions, the colony had been confronted with miscegenation black and white right from the start. The children born from these relationships were not always redeemed. In 1830, for example, there were 3947 'free mulattos' and 3033 'mulatto-slaves'. The number of 'free negroes' amounted to 1094 in the same year (Van Lier 1949: 71, Koulen 1973, Brana Shute 1985).

A freed slave named Quassie became the most famous of all the freemen in Suriname. Quassie, born in the coastal area of Guinea around 1690, had been transported to Suriname when he was still a child. Once there, he soon revealed himself as a *lukuman* (diviner), developing a good knowledge of the medicinal herbs present in Suriname. In cases of illness, theft and poisoning, or *wisi* (black magic), Quassie was called in to find out the causes or track down the offenders, in which he succeeded most of the time. Even the white people consulted Quassie, who was still a slave in those days. The Public Prosecutor often appealed for his help, especially when he had to deal with cases of *wisi*. Quassie gradually assumed the role of advisor of white people. He also started to take part in the forest patrols against Maroons. In 1730, the Court of Policy rewarded him for his services by granting him a golden plaque with the inscription 'Quassie, loyal to the whites' (Van Sijpenstein 1858: 92). It was in those days that Quassie discovered the healing qualities of a certain plant, which was called after him: the *kwasibita*. When the Swedish planter Dahlberg visited his native country in 1761, he offered a sample to Linnaeus, who gave the plant the Latin name of Quassia Amara (Price 1979).

In July 1744, governor Johan Jacob Mauricius (1742-51) bought Quassie from the owner of Nieuw-Timotibo, the plantation to which he belonged. It was Mauricius' intention to deploy Quassie in the negotiations with the Saramaka (See De Beet and Price 1982: 19, Price 1979 and Price 1983b). The governor also appointed him as a teacher to his son, whom he had to instruct in Sranan, as well as in the Carib and Arowak language. It was probably Mauricius who manumitted Quassie. From then on, the famous *obiaman* lived alternately in Paramaribo and on the Perica River, at the plantation of Nieuw-Timotibo.

In November 1762, Quassie suggested that he organize a patrol to the area east of the Perica. He had learned from the slaves that there was a Maroon village in this area. The Court of Policy gave the famous freeman permission to undertake the journey. Quassie took along a slave from plantation Corrisane as a guide, who was well acquainted with the paths through the jungle. During later talks with the governor, he revealed that his patrol had discovered a track which was most likely the escape route of the runaways from the Perica and Cottica areas. The governor thereupon decided to send a patrol to the path discovered by Quassie, though without success as the soldiers could not retrace the path[29].

Since peace had been settled with the Ndjuka in 1760 a white *posthouder* (resident administrator) was living with them. In August 1763 this man reported that a Maroon had come to the Ndjuka village of Bonkodoti, telling them

that he had been living with the Maroons for years in a village behind the abandoned plantation Bleyenburg in the Tempati area. The inhabitants of this village had attacked an Amerindian village some months before, whereupon the Amerindians had taken revenge: they had shown up in the Maroon village in the middle of the night, set fire to the village and killed a large number of Maroons. The newcomer, who was called Sansusi, had managed to escape the massacre. After his continous wanderings he had ended up with the Ndjuka[30].

In the same month of August, a fugitive slave who had run away long before, was arrested at the plantation of Capoerica. On receipt of the message, the Court of Policy decided to send Quassie on another patrol with the fugitive slave as a guide. Quassie agreed and exactly one month later, on 26 September 1763, he left for the Tempati area with a number of reliable slaves. On 26 October, the commander of the post of Maagdenburg in the Tempati area reported that Quassie had arrived there and that he had captured twelve Maroons: three women, two men and seven children. One of the prisoners had told him that eight Maroons had gone out to maraud a plantation in the Perica region shortly before Quassie had seized the village. One of the prisoners was Flora of L'Espérance. Her name had already been mentioned in 1758 as being the wife of Fortuyn of Brouwershaven, the chief of these Maroons. The prisoners now referred to a certain Juan as being their chief. The charges of this case were lost, so that only little information on the life of the Maroons in the village destroyed by Quassie has come to light[31]. Hardly two weeks later, the Maroons from 'Quassiegron' who had set off on an expedition to maraud a plantation, appeared to have staged a successful coup at 'Naccaruciba'[32]. In the middle of the night of 9 November, 25 people from this plantation and another three from the nearby plantation of Nieuw Java deserted, supposedly at the instigation of those eight Maroons. Nearly all of the fugitives were 'salt-water Negroes' (born in Africa). As the desertion had been discovered quickly and the alarm had been given immediately, the remaining slaves became frightened and decided not to flee. The runaways from Naccaruciba, however, did not get very far. Somewhat east of the Koopmans Creek, all women and children (17 in total) fell into the hands of a slave patrol. In the heat of the action, two men were shot. One man was taken prisoner, while the rest of the men and the Maroons managed to escape their pursuers. One of the men who was shot came from the village destroyed by Quassie, which explains the cooperation between these Maroons and the slaves from Naccaruciba[33].

On 14 December 1763, the judgements against the slaves who had taken part in the Naccaruciba desertion were pronounced. Five men were sentenced to death: two of them by breaking on the wheel and three of them by other torture[34]. One of the women was beheaded, while eight others were punished by the *Spaanse bok*. The children were left unpunished. The owner asked the Court whether the execution could take place at Naccaruciba. His request was granted, on the condition that he would reimburse the extra costs resulting herefrom[35].

In April 1765, L'Espérance was shaken by turmoil again. One night, three

Maroons appeared, who asked the slaves whether they fancied the idea of joining them. The following morning it became clear that three male and three female slaves had accepted the Maroons' offer and had disappeared. A slave patrol headed by a white overseer followed their track. They came across a big house in a swamp, where a fire was still burning. The traces revealed that a large number of Maroons had spent the night there, whereupon the men became frightened and returned to their plantation[36]. A couple of slaves from Nieuw-Roosenbeek had also followed the Maroon track and had also discovered a hiding-place. They estimated that about 40 Maroons had slept there. The planter Biertempel asked the Court of Policy for a number of soldiers, so that he and some volunteers could undertake an expedition against these Maroons. Even before this patrol had been formed, the Maroons conducted a raid on Jukemombo, Biertempel's plantation.

A Raid on Jukemombo by the Maroons of Tesisi

On the 10th June 1765, Jukemombo was attacked by Maroons again. It was exactly six years before that Jukemombo fell victim to the same fate. As we noticed before various sources of information have revealed that the owner of Jukemombo, J. Biertempel treated his slaves very badly. Biertempel himself was not at home when the Maroons attacked his plantation. He was spending the night at the plantation of Wayampibo. At six o'clock in the morning, he heard the alarm sounding there. He sent some slaves in a canoe to the plantation of Clarenbeek to find out what was happening. On their return, the slaves told him that his plantation had been attacked by Maroons the night before. His wife had been killed, all his slaves had run away and all goods had been taken. Biertempel left for Jukemombo immediately. While on his way, he stopped at the plantation of Goed Accoord, where people showed him the corpse of his wife. His three children were also there, two of whom were seriously wounded. His eldest daughter told him that she had seen the Maroons, but that they had not caused them any harm. It had been Biertempel's own slaves who had killed their mother in the gallery of the house. Biertempel thereupon hurried to Jukemombo, where the only white man present told him that the slaves had taken everything of value, including some rifles and ammunition. Only three sick slaves had remained behind. The other seventeen had disappeared[37].

One day after the attack on Jukemombo, two Ndjuka-Maroons were arrested at L'Espérance: Titus and Filander. The latter had formerly been a slave at L'Espérance and had run away some ten years before. After his marronage, he went to live in the Ndjuka village of Minofia. When it turned out that Filander had had an affair with the village chief's wife, he was forced to leave Minofia. He went northwards together with his wife, his child and a boy named Titus. Filander must have known that there was another Maroon settlement there. Somewhat south of Quassiegron, they came across a new Maroon village which was called Tesisi. The Ndjuka left Tesisi again after two months. For half a year, they lived near the Mapane Creek, from where they

regularly paddled up the Commewijne River. It was on one of those trips that Filander and Titus found themselves arrested at the plantation of L'Espérance. During his interrogation, Filander described the Maroons of Tesisi. He provided the name of 20 people he had seen there (Hoogbergen 1985b: 117). Filander's list corresponded with the statements made by the prisoners from Quassiegron in 1763. Filander mentioned the same Juan as being the chief of Tesisi. He added that Juan was a *Kormantin* Negro. After Filander and Titus had been interrogated by the Public Prosecutor in Paramaribo, the Court of Policy decided to send a patrol to their place of residence near the Mapane Creek. The Court suspected both men of being involved in the raid on Jukemombo, as the slaves from Jukemombo were thought to have fled to the Mapane Creek. Titus and Filander had to join the patrol as guides. When the militia came near his house on the Mapane Creek, Filander managed to escape and with his wife ran off to Tesisi.

In the meantime, there was no clue whatsoever of the raiders of Jukemombo and the slaves who had joined them. The situation in the Upper Commewijne area became worse when one week after the raid on Jukemombo the slaves of the neighboring plantation of Goed Accoord refused to take up their activities. The Court of Policy decided to restore peace and quiet in the Upper Commewijne area before sending out soldiers to chase after the Maroons. In order to keep other slaves from following the example of the slaves from Jukemombo, Biertempel ordered the destruction of all canoes owned by the slaves of Goed Accoord, Carawassibo and Clarenbeek, 35 in total[38].

Patrols Head for Tesisi

By the beginning of September 1765, peace and quiet had returned to the Upper Commewijne area. Apart from that, the water level in the jungle had decreased to such an extent that a successful expedition lay within reach. J. Biertempel was charged with the leadership of a combined patrol of soldiers and *burghers*, while Titus was appointed his guide. On 12 September, the patrol entered the jungle near Bleyenburg on the Tempati Creek and set off in southeastern direction with a command of about 60 riflemen and 40 bearers. During the following days, they continued towards the east or southeast. They covered about three miles per day. The journey was hindered by the many creeks and the mountainous territory. On 15 September, they discovered that the stream was flowing eastwards, which meant that they had passed the watershed between the Commewijne and the Marowijne River.

By the evening, Titus reported that Tesisi was only three to four hours away. J. Biertempel thereupon decided not to move on, but launch the attack on the village the following morning. The soldiers appeared to be anything but keen on attacking Tesisi. Biertempel poured all of them a *sopi* (an alcoholic drink) and held an encouraging speech in which he stressed the weakness of the Maroons and the strength of their own command. This did not prevent the soldiers and the bearers from hesitantly trudging along during the following day. It had almost turned dark again when the command arrived at new

provision grounds. Biertempel decided to mount the attack during the same night. After a short break, he ordered the command to seize the provision grounds. But then, a heavy thunderstorm broke. After a while it became clear that the Maroons had discovered the patrol, as blood-curdling screams from the village could be heard. The attackers paniced. The soldiers ran off in all directions and Biertempel himself lost touch with the others. He decided to go back to the point where he had mounted the attack, and there he found back most of the soldiers, who had hidden inside a shack instead of marching onwards. The attack was postponed until four o'clock at night, but even then the soldiers appeared to be slow movers. At the end of the provision ground, there was a path which led across a mountain. On the other side, there was a clearing and a creek, on the banks of which the village was located. As soon as the soldiers caught sight of the village, they started to shoot at random, in spite of the order not to do so. As a result, all inhabitants managed to get away in time. The patrol's only prey was a little girl[39].

It appeared that Tesisi was composed of a *gado-oso* (small temple) and seven houses, each of which was about twelve to fifteen meters long. The village lay in the curve of a creek, which was probably the Thomassie Creek, and on a hill. The surface area amounted to about half a hectare. The village was surrounded by a wall of stockades. The captured girl told J. Biertempel that there was another village, called Najubakondre, which was not far away from Tesisi. She also told him that the fugitive slaves from Jukemombo were staying with the Maroons and that they had even spent the night before in Tesisi.

J. Biertempel sent out a number of soldiers and slaves to find Najubakondre. The patrol, however, did not make it very far. The Maroons opened fire from a mountain on the other side of the creek, while another patrol, which had been sent out to protect the ammunition and the bearers on their way to the village, was also attacked. In the meantime, the Maroons also launched an offence on Tesisi itself. The village was undefendable, as it could be kept under fire from the surrounding mountains. The posted guards were abandoned to their fate. It was too dangerous to take refuge in the houses, as the Maroons were very likely to come near unnoticed. Biertempel and his patrol decided to get out of Tesisi as soon as possible. In the hurry, they destroyed as much food as possible, smashed all iron objects and set fire to the houses. While on their way back to the place where they had camped the day before, the expedition was once again attacked, at the very moment of crossing a creek. The Maroons had chosen their place of ambush well. They had dug holes and tunnels around the point of passage. It was from these holes that they shot at the command. The shots, however, were very badly aimed and no one was wounded. When the shooting stopped, Biertempel ordered his men to halt and consulted the military commander. They decided to march on to Quassiegron. A few days later, the command returned to the post of Maagdenburg.

In order to keep the Maroons from returning to Tesisi, the Court of Policy decided to station a military contingent there. On 9 October, the soldiers left from Paramaribo under the command of J.G. Fellmann. In the Commewijne

area, the command was completed with armed slaves. The soldiers followed the way which had been cut through the jungle by Biertempel's command.

On 20 October they arrived near Quassiegron, where between two trees in the *kapuweri*, the patrol found a path covered with sticks laying crosswise on each other. The soldiers considered this very strange. They proceeded on the path and saw a white skin spread over a wooden framework, which was very likely to be the skin of a soldier who was reported missing on Biertempel's patrol. Somewhat further on, they discovered a skeleton whose head had been cut off and put on a stake, which resembled the treatment of slaves after a death sentence, as their head was also cut off and put on a sharp pole. But that was not the only discovery, for another head on a stake was found some time later, which appeared to belong to an old Negro.

The following day, when the patrol arrived in the vicinity of Tesisi, Commander J.G. Fellmann heard a horn blown three times. It was the Maroons' warning signal, indicating that they knew of the approaching patrol, which became only too clear when the command crossed the same creek in which J. Biertempel had been attacked on his way back. The Maroons opened fire on the patrol from their 'foxholes'. Fellmann ordered to shoot back, whereupon the Maroons withdrew. When the men had crossed the creek, they found another head on a stake, which once again belonged to someone reported missing from Biertempels patrol. The Maroons attacked the command the whole evening through. One of the slaves got wounded, while one Maroon was killed. Around midnight the Maroons returned yet again. They shot, cursed and made music, but when it was all over, they disappeared in the night, whereupon the command took hold of Tesisi. Although the village was taken under fire from the hills until the following day, the patrol did not discover a single soul[40].

In Tesisi, the occupying forces discovered a neighboring village, which consisted of four big houses and a smithy. There was still a fire burning in the village, probably of the guards who had stayed to the bitter end. Yet a third village was discovered on that same day, containing 23 houses. A great number of chickens and a very large amount of food was found in this village. The food had, for the greater part, already been packed in *pagara* (baskets). It was beyond any doubt that the Maroons had been making arrangements for their departure but had been surprised by the quick discovery. They probably intended to scare off this new command as they had done with Biertempel's patrol. But when they failed to do so, there was not enough time left for safeguarding the food.

The villages lay not far away from each other. It took about 20 minutes' walking from the first village to the second one and yet another 25 minutes to reach the third one. One of the villages must have been the said Najubakondre, but it is not clear which one. Fellmann and his command stayed in Tesisi until 6 January 1766. In spite of the fact that he sent out patrols almost every day, he could not find the escape route of the Maroons[41]. Only later it appeared that a number of Maroons had fled to the Ndjuka, who arrested eight of them and handed them over to the Dutch.

More Raids by the Tesisi-Maroons

The Maroons were all but defeated after the seizure of Tesisi, which became only too clear at six o'clock in the evening of 22 October 1766, when they attacked the plantation of Rietwijk in the Perica area. The slaves recognized a certain Paay among the raiders, who had run away from this plantation some years before. The manager of Rietwijk was killed and half of the approximately 110 slaves working at the plantation joined the raiders, while taking rifles, linen and other goods with them. Two days later, a patrol of ten *burghers*, six soldiers and seven black riflemen, accompanied by sixteen bearers, entered the jungle behind Rietwijk. The patrol discovered some resting-places and caught up with two women and three little children who could not keep up with the hurried pace of the fugitives. But then the pursuers soon lost track[42].

Late October 1766, a new patrol headed towards Tesisi. Commander P.S. Stoelman had been ordered to find out whether the Maroons had returned to their villages and whether the slaves from Rietwijk were with them. Stoelman occupied the villages in the area of Tesisi, as J.G. Fellmann had done the year before. On 2 November, the soldiers arrived at Quassiegron. Stoelman noticed that the fruit of some plantains had been recently cut off. Behind these trees he discovered a path which led through the *kapuweri*, across a creek, then through the forest to a second creek. This creek was bordered by two houses and some people were standing outside. Stoelman and his men tried to cross the creek as quickly as possible, but they could not prevent that, by the time they arrived, all of the people had fled. In the houses they found yams, plantains, tobacco and knives, all neatly packed. They also discovered a path leading to another cluster of four houses. While the patrol was proceeding on this path, a shot was fired, but the Maroons were nowhere to be seen. The soldiers heard people running away but did not observe a single soul, whereas it appeared from the sleeping places in the four shacks that at least 40 people had spent the night there. In the hurry of their escape, they had left pots of vegetables and yams cooking on the fire[43].

For almost two weeks in a row, P.S. Stoelman ransacked the surroundings of Quassiegron and Tesisi in pursuit of the Maroons, but there was no sign of life. On one of their expeditions, the soldiers discovered a Maroon depot consisting of four houses, the major part of which was, however, empty. They only contained some cotton and some yams. On 14 November, a patrol ran into some Maroons. One man was shot, but the others managed to escape. Nobody knew the dead man; he had a black beard and a shaven crown. His hunting bag contained only a coin and a pipe.

One week later, another patrol discovered a path which led to an abandoned village of thirteen houses. The village lay at a distance of about one hour and a half from Quassiegron. Some days later, P.S. Stoelman discovered a man sitting by a fire on the provision grounds of Tesisi, whom he shot in the buttocks with buckshot. The man still jumped into the water to try and escape, but without success. It turned out to be Sela from Rietwijk. The man had fled together with the others on 22 October 1766, but he had lost contact with

them in the battle near Quassiegron. From then on, he had been wandering about on his own. Stoelman ordered the prisoner treated as well as possible, as he had offered to show them the new hiding-place of the Maroons. On 28 November, Sela had recovered to such a degree that he was able to join them as a guide. He led the patrol through the mountains to a swamp, where they arrived in the evening. They saw some Maroons who rapidly ran off in the direction of the mountain. When Stoelman finally arrived, they had all left and gone. After three days, the patrol found a sleeping-place and ten extinguished fires, where the Maroons had eaten *maka*-nuts[44]. This was, however, the one and only result achieved by the patrol, as Sela did not know his way in the jungle at all. Consequently, Stoelman sent him to Paramaribo[45].

P.S. Stoelman stationed a small garrison in all the villages he discovered, while settling his main post in Tesisi, as this village had the best provision grounds. The commander sent out patrols to the surroundings of Tesisi and Quassiegron almost every day. One day, when the soldiers were out patrolling and the village was undefended, the Maroons launched an attack. They burnt down the soldiers' barracks and carried off more than 100 bunches of bananas from gardens. They took all of it to Najubakondre, where Stoelman rediscovered them. The Maroons had to flee and leave all the food behind[46].

December 1766 went by without any particular events. New soldiers' barracks were built in Tesisi and Stoelman continued sending out patrols every once in a while. On 6 January 1767, it turned out that the Maroons had visited Quassiegron. The following day, P.S. Stoelman pursues the Maroons' trail, which brought him past two mountains into a small village, from where a narrow path led to an old garden which contained bananas and sugar cane. Then the path stopped. Stoelman rushed northeastwards past a large creek. He relocated the Maroons' trail on the following day and came across a little house near a swamp. The trail led the patrol northeastwards until the Wetiwatra Creek. On 9 January, the men followed the track which led them past a huge mountain. At ten o'clock, they discovered a fairly new camp, where the Maroons had slept two days before. The track went on past the mountains, where a man's skeleton was found along the path. One hour later, the patrol discovered a large and perfectly kept provision ground abundant with bananas, vegetables, yams, manioc and corn, but the crops were not full-grown yet. There was a path leading from the gardens to a village on the Witiwatra Creek. The houses were built on the slope of a high mountain which had been completely deforested. The lower part of the mountain had also been planted with food crops.

As the soldiers besieged the mountain, the inhabitants of the village took to their heels. They initially tried to carry their children along in their arms, but when they saw the soldiers approaching, the adults dropped the children and ran off without them. That was how nine children fell into the hands of the patrol: six little boys born in the forest and three children belonging to the slaves from Rietwijk. In the village, the patrol found two rifles, two pocket-pistols, ten adzes, one axe, four machetes, six iron pots, as well as gunpowder and clothing.

The children's stories revealed that the slaves from Rietwijk were indeed

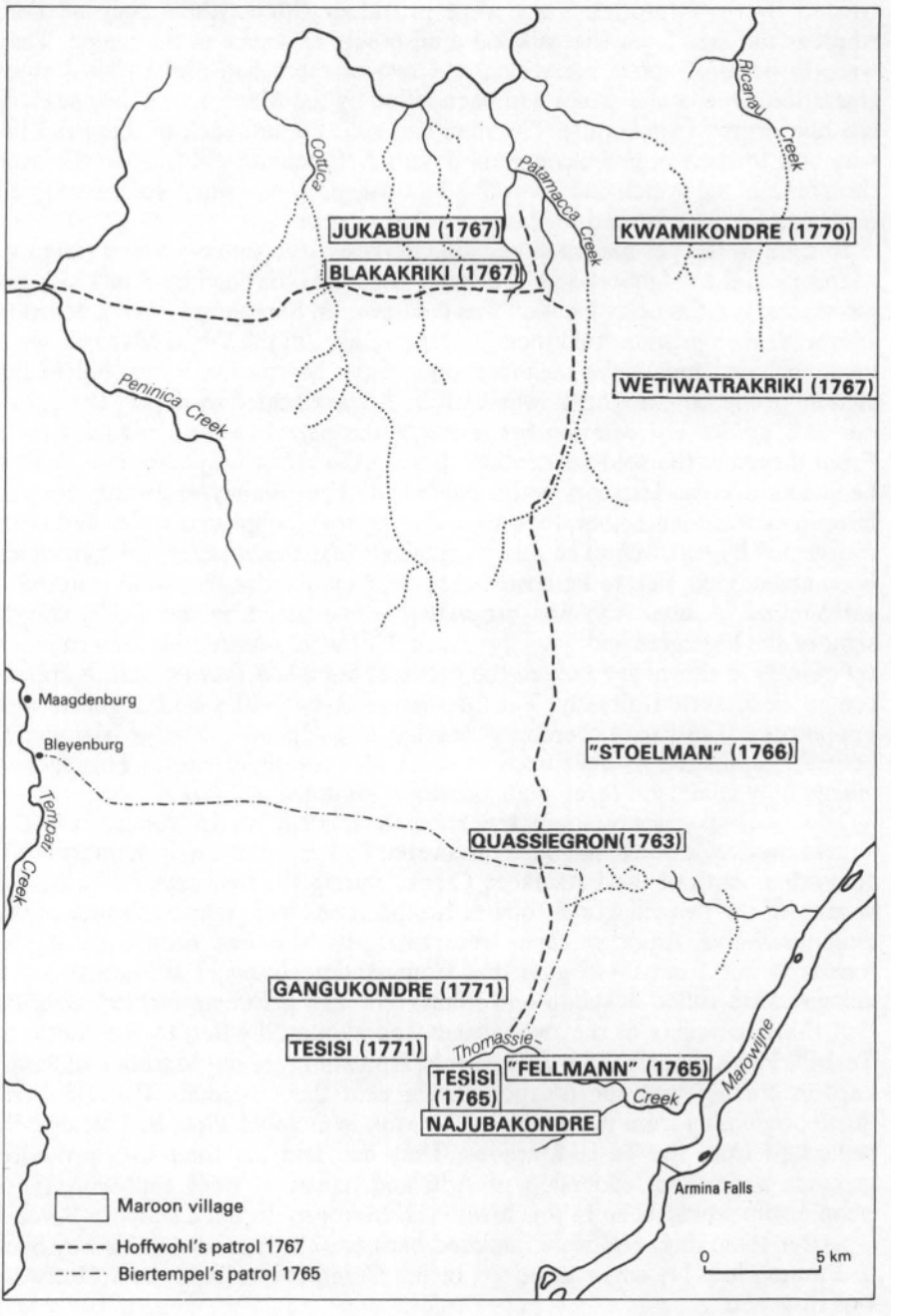
staying with the Maroons. It appeared that the women were relatively well treated by the Maroons. They were provided with anything they needed, whereas the men from Rietwijk led a miserable existence in the jungle. They were in need of about everything and two of them had already died from starvation. One of the slaves had been killed by the Maroons, as they suspected him of *wisi* (witchcraft). The men had split up and each of them did his very best to survive. For a couple of days, P.S. Stoelman still tried to discover the route along which the Maroons had escaped, but when such remained unsuccessful, he returned to Tesisi via Quassiegron[47].

In spite of the permanent occupation of Tesisi, the soldiers found traces of Maroons in the neighborhood. It became clear that they had built new villages elsewhere, but the exact location was unknown. In September 1767, a Maroon who was taken prisoner told them that the villages of the Tesisi-Maroons were no longer situated in the neighborhood of the Marowijne River, but in the vicinity of the Upper Commewijne River. It was decided to deploy the prisoner as a guide. The Maroon first brought the patrol to the Peninica Creek. From there on, the soldiers continued along the creek for some time, until it bent southwards. Thereupon the guide led them mainly eastwards. In the afternoon of 27 September, they arrived at a provision ground which had been overgrown by *kapuweri*. The guide explained that this ground had long since been abandoned, but, to be absolutely safe, Commander Hoffwohl ordered it surrounded. A man who was excavating young plants in the fields, caught sight of the besiegers and gave the alarm. Hoffwohl ordered his men to move up quickly to the village behind the gardens, but when they arrived, it appeared to be deserted already. The Maroons left two rifles and a gourd with gunpowder. The patrol thereupon hurried to a second village nearby which, however, appeared to have been abandoned a fortnight before. This second village only contained three poor provision grounds.

The two villages lay about ten kilometers north of the village near the Witiwatra Creek which had been discovered by P.S. Stoelman in January 1767, somewhat south of the Patamacca Creek. During the first days following the seizure of the two villages, a total of five Maroons were taken prisoner in the neighbourhood. Amongst them were two girls who had been born in the forest. It was from these girls that Commander Hoffwohl learned that the villages were called Jukabun and Blakakriki. The prisoners further reported that the inhabitants of the two villages had supposedly fled to the south, to Tesisi[48]. Furthermore, the prisoners told Hoffwohl that the Maroons of Tesisi kept in contact with the Maroons living near the Cassipera. Part of them, those originating from the attack on Rietwijk in October 1766, had meanwhile separated from the Tesisi-Maroons. They had laid out their own provision grounds under the leadership of Adu and Sansu. It were especially these people who would keep in touch with the Maroons on the Cassipera River.

After some days Hoffwohl marched back to Jukemombo. On his way back to Paramaribo, his canoe capsized in the Commewijne River and Hoffwohl was drowned[49].

Map 5: The Tesisi-Maroons



The Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo

Already before 1760, a group of Maroons headed by Kormantin Kodjo, a former slave from the plantation of St. Barbara on the Suriname River, settled on the elevated grounds in the quagmires along the Surnau Creek. Most of the Maroons came from the plantations along the Suriname River and the Orleane Creek (or Hoer Helenakreek, i.e. 'Whore Helena Creek', the name of this Creek in the eighteenth century, allegedly called after a beautiful, charming female slave). A large number of the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo originated from plantations owned by Jews, while their ethnic origin nearly always traced back to the Kormantin and Gangu peoples. Around 1760, these Maroons were living somewhat south of the plantation of St. Barbara. Ten years later, their village - which I will call 'Kodjokondre' - had moved to a place not far from the Cassewinica Creek. In the beginning, the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo kept considerably quiet and avoided any direct confrontation with the planters. The main reason for this restraint was their lack of arms. For a long time, the Maroons had only three guns at their disposal.

The oldest reference to Kormantin Kodjo dates back to January 1757. In the gardens of the plantation of La Campagne on the Orleane Creek, a Maroon was taken prisoner who, upon being interrogated, declared to have lived in the village of Kormantin Kodjo for some time. This village lay opposite a swamp and was inhabited by 28 men and four women. The Maroons kept in touch with the slaves; they used to buy liquor, for example, from an old female slave at a plantation on the Orleane Creek. The owner of La Campagne wrote to the Court of Policy that Kormantin Kodjo's camp was most probably situated between the Paulus Creek and the Orleane Creek, at about one day's journey away from his plantation. Owing to the rainy season it was decided to postpone any expedition to the Maroons. It is not clear whether they actually ever undertook this patrol[50].

Almost one year and a half later, in November 1758, a runaway from the plantation of Merveille was caught near Jodensavanne. He had spent some time with the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo. He offered to show the planters the way to the Maroon village in return for his life. On 14 November, a patrol under the command of lieutenant C.E. Vieira left Merveille to paddle up the Surnau Creek together with seventeen soldiers, six armed slaves and ten bearers who carried provisions for eight days. Sometimes they headed northeastwards or even eastwards, but mostly southwards. They more or less followed the Surnau basin. After some days, it became clear that the guide had totally lost his way. Lieutenant Vieira thereupon decided to let a couple of slaves climb into a tree to see whether there was any sign of life. In the afternoon of 21 November, the patrol arrived at a swampy forest with tall trees, which seemed familiar to the guide.

He alleged that Kormantin Kodjo's village lay in the middle of this forest. Some time later, the advance guard discovered an easily accessible path which led along the Surnau Creek. Part of the patrol followed this path and after one hour and a half they arrived at a rich garden abundant with plantains, vegetables, manioc, corn and yams. The ground had been laid out about three

years before and covered approximately fifteen acres. A depot had been built next to the provision ground and was filled with corn and pumpkin. Lieutenant Vieira divided his patrol in two. Soon they arrived at a second provision ground, where a rifleman who went ahead, suddenly caught sight of a house with a man sitting in front. He aimed his gun, but the Maroon pulled his machete and charged at him, whereupon both men started to fight. The soldiers who had come rushing by, did not dare to shoot for fear of hitting the rifleman. Then suddenly, the Maroon jumped up, threw off the rifleman and ran away. The soldiers started to shoot immediately. They hit the Maroon, though only with grazing shots so that he managed to escape. The house in front of which the Maroon had been found, appeared to be the first one of a whole village which was composed of seven considerably large houses. The houses, and the chief's house in particular, contained a large amount of earthen pots and saucers. Apart from that, the soldiers found a number of wooden boxes, tobacco leaves and earthen pipes with a wooden handle. They also came across some linen woven by the Maroons from the fibers of the Mauritius palm. The village included a garden which had been planted with the same crops as the first ground and, apart from that, also contained some tobacco plants, okra, two gourd-trees and two lime-trees. The guide revealed that there was another village four hours east of the Surnau Creek. It was decided to move up there on the following day.

The following morning, the patrol reached a large quagmire after one hour, and waded waist deep through the swamp. The Surnau Creek, which was about twenty meters broad here, flooded through the middle of the swamp so that the patrol had difficulties with reaching the other side, where the swamp continued. No sooner than three hours later, the soldiers reached the elevated grounds. The guide then brought the patrol to the gardens of the other village which were also abandoned. So was the neighboring village which consisted of seven houses. The soldiers discovered a *jachtgod* ('hunting-god') in one of the houses.

After making certain that there were no Maroons around, lieutenant C.E. Vieira ordered his men to destroy the provision grounds. When everything had been ravaged, the patrol set fire to the village and returned to the first village on the western bank of the Surnau. During the following three days, small patrols were sent out to find traces of the Maroons, but all attempts were in vain. In the meantime, the black riflemen had started to ruin the provision grounds there as well. They finished their job on 26 November. After having burnt down the houses, the patrol started off on its march home. They arrived at St. Barbara two days later[51].

During the following years, patrols were sent out every once in a while to look for the villages of Kormantin Kodjo. They were often successful, though the pursuers never caught a glimpse of the Maroons as these always managed to get away in time. By 1766, the Maroons fell victim to a food shortage as most of their gardens had been devastaded by forest patrols. There after they tried to get their food from the plantations. On 6 November, smoke was seen behind the Jewish plantations on the Suriname River. After an investigation on the spot, it turned out that the smoke came from a fireplace made by

Maroons who had stayed there overnight. Two paths started from there: one path went into the forest and the second one, which had only recently been cut open, led in the direction of the Suriname River. The people who had discovered this path were somewhat anxious to follow it, as they were afraid to run into the Maroons. They consequently returned to their plantation. At one o'clock at night, a terrible pandemonium started in one of the slaves' barracks, as the female slave Afiba had encountered three Maroons outside. She yelled, slaves came running outside, and the Maroons fled. The following morning, the slaves tried to find out where the Maroons had gone. A small patrol followed their trail, but when the men reached the savanna, they found out that it was on fire. The fire moved into the direction of the plantation and the slaves had to turn back in a hurry. Heavy rains extinguished the forest fire in the afternoon, but by then the Maroons had already fled.

Three days later, the *burgher* captain of the Jewish district, David D'Avilar, wrote to the Court that the Maroons had been spotted at various Jewish plantations. They had taken an ox and some poultry. They were followed by a small group of slaves until the Mapane Creek, a tributary of the Commewijne River. There, the slaves encountered a large group of Maroons who went on the offensive as soon as they caught sight of their pursuers. One of the slaves was shot in his knee and another one lost his way. The others returned to the plantation in a state of panic[52].

For some months, the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo gave no sign of life. In August 1767, however, a couple of Maroons were found wandering behind the plantations on the Orleane Creek and one of them was taken prisoner. He offered to show the way to the Maroons' hiding-place. Due to the high water-level in the forests and the swamps it was, for the time being, impossible to undertake a patrol to the former village of the captive. As a result, he was kept prisoner in Paramaribo in the fortress Zeelandia. It was only in December that the water-level had decreased to such a degree that a command could be sent out to the Maroons. On 7 December 1767, a patrol set off in southern direction under the leadership of Elie Arabel, the owner of the plantation of Montauban on the Orleane Creek. On 9 December, the guide announced that they had arrived near the Maroon village. The man became very cheerful and told Arabel that the village was inhabited by two paramount chiefs and over 50 men. There were also two Mulattos from a plantation in the Upper Commewijne area. The Maroons were not short of women, quite the contrary, there were more women than men in the villages. Excluding the children, the village contained more than 100 inhabitants. Most Maroons originated from the Jewish plantations on the Suriname River. They had called their village 'Pikin Juka' (Little Jew *ka*)(= excrement). The guide further revealed that Arabel would already reach the old Maroon village by the following morning and the new village on the day after. There was no drinking water to be found until they approached the new village. 'Pikin Juka' lay on a creek, across which the Maroons had built a wooden bridge. In the middle of the night, the guide stood up and alleged that he heard the Maroons banging their drums. Elie Arabel also went out to listen and thought that he heard music coming from the easterly direction. The following day

everyone got up early in the morning, cheerful and with fresh courage to reach 'Pikin Juka'. But even after four days of heavy marching, the patrol had still not reached its destination. It became clear that the guide had either lost his way or tried to deceive the patrol, so that Arabel decided to turn back to his plantation Montauban[53].

On 16 September 1768, the manager of the plantation of St. Barbara arrested a Maroon who had come at his plantation with two others to capture some slaves. The man was pressed into accompanying as a guide on an expedition to his place of residence. The command indeed found the village of Kormantin Kodjo, which consisted of thirteen houses and accommodated, according to the Maroon, 21 men, seven women and three girls. When the command arrived, the village was abandoned, but the Maroons had left an iron pot and some poultry behind. The village was situated in the middle of extensive provision grounds which covered at least 25 acres and contained with tayers, plantains, pineapples, yams, rice, cocoa, manioc, cotton and peppers[54].

The planters were convinced that, apart from this devastated village, there had to be other Maroon settlements close to the plantations, supposedly behind the plantations Rak-à-Rak and Berenlust. In those months, quite a few Maroons were found ransacking the slaves' gardens in search of food, which was obviously related to the fact that their own fields had been destroyed. These Maroons apparently kept in contact with the slaves, as a lot of plantations reported desertions: three from St. Eustatius, three from Gelderland, three from Petersburg, two from De Hoop. Apart from this, the Maroons were also suspected of having captured two female slaves from Berenlust[55].

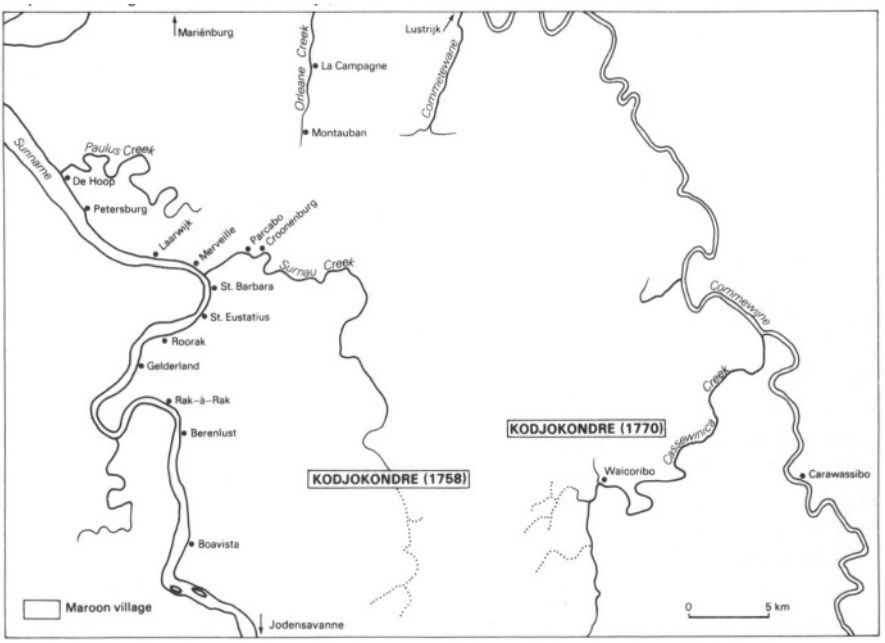
Half a year later, in March 1769, a slave from Parcabo offered his manager to undertake a forest patrol to the village of Kormantin Kodjo together with some other loyal slaves. He asked permission to leave without any white people, as the journey would lead across deep swamps which were, in his opinion, inaccessible to whites. His proposal was accepted but it still took some weeks before the slaves went on their way. They returned by the beginning of May. They brought along three prisoners: no Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo, however, but runaways. The slaves reported that the water-level was still so high that the swamps were still impassable. As a result, they had been unable to reach the villages of the Maroons[56].

One year later (1770), another Maroon from the village of Kormantin Kodjo was caught, this time at the plantation of Waicoribo on the Cassewinica Creek. The prisoner was called François. He appeared to have fled the plantation of Laarwijk about a year before. On his wanderings behind the plantations, he had met Kwami of St. Barbara, who had taken him to the village of Kormantin Kodjo. According to François, the village contained nine houses and each house was inhabited by two men.

The chief was the only one of the Maroons who had a gun at his disposal. Apart from the village of Kormantin Kodjo, they discovered some other villages in the swamps northeast of Jodensavanne. The villages were surrounded by large gardens, which had been planted with plantains, rice and tayer.

François furthermore revealed that the Maroons had heard someone cutting wood in the neighborhood of their village about two months before. As

Map 6: The living area of Kormantin Kodjo, 1757-1772



they were afraid of being discovered, they had decided to break camp and move to another place. The new village was now located south of the Commetewane Creek; six houses had already been finished and several provision grounds had been laid out. As François was not very familiar with the area, he had lost his way while collecting honey in the forests. On his roaming about, he ended up at Waicoribo, where he was arrested. During his interrogation, François recounted 29 names of inhabitants of 'Kodjokondre' (Hoogbergen 1985b: 177). It is striking that the list of names provided by François contained a large number of African names such as Kodjo, Kwasi, Kwaku, Kwami and Kwasiba, which were used by the Maroons, so that François could not tell their plantation of origin. This is probably an indication of the strong African impact on the community. A significant part of the villagers must have fled into the jungle shortly after their arrival in Suriname.

CHAPTER 3

THE FIRST BONI-MAROON WAR, PART ONE 1768-1772

Introduction

It is an arguable matter to say that the First Boni-Maroon War started in 1768, as there were frequent clashes between groups of Maroons and bush patrols before this date as well. One might submit, however, that the war reached a turning-point between 1768 and 1769. The first important event was the change of leadership within the group of the Cassipera-Maroons, with Boni and Aluku as the new leaders. Boni soon became the leader of the guerrillas who were fighting the Dutch, while Aluku looked after the women and children. It seemed that Boni was anything but afraid to fight. He was a good strategist, was more familiar with guerrilla-tactics than his opponents and loved spectacular actions.

A second cause may be found in the expansion of the group in the 1760s, which was related to the fact that the planters had settled peace with the Ndjuka, the Saramaka and the Matawai. At the time of the peace negotiations, these southern tribes had promised to hand over new runaways to the government. Although they did not always keep their promise, it did block the slaves' escape route to the south. As a result, the slaves fled to the east and to the west. They continued living near the plantations in small groups, but the planters refused to settle peace with them as well, which inevitably resulted in a conflict. The various raids on plantations and the destruction of Boni-villages in 1768 were the immediate cause of the war.

The First Boni-Maroon War can be divided into three periods. In the beginning, the battles were somewhat chaotic. The Maroons had not yet joined forces and the planters did not know exactly against whom they were fighting. The second period started in 1772. The planters had then discovered who their actual opponents were: Maroons hiding in the stronghold of Buku, a fortress over which flew a flag bearing the likeness of a lion. The planters formed a new military corps consisting of 300 freed slaves 'Black Rangers' or *Redimusu* (Red Berets or Red Caps) to drive these Maroons out of Buku. In addition, the Dutch government sent an extra contingent of about 1500 soldiers. Buku was seized in September 1772, which marked the beginning of the third epsiode in the First Boni-Maroon War. For another four years the Maroons, united under the leadership of Boni, tried to hold their ground in the Cottica area, while they were constantly hunted by the *Redimusu* and the Government troops. In the end, they fled to French Guiana.

Again: The Maroons of Tesisi

In the beginning of the First Boni-Maroon War, each of the Maroon groups

were fighting individually. On 10 March 1768, between ten and eleven in the evening, the Tesisi-Maroons attacked the small plantation of Capoerica which was owned by the influential planter Willem Bedlo, one of the councillors of the Court of Policy and the *burgher* captain of the district of the Upper-Cottica and Perica area, where many Tesisi-Maroons originally came from. They initially intended to carry off all the slaves, but failed to do so. The slaves of Capoerica offered fierce resistance, as a result of which the Maroons could only carry off four women, two of whom were pregnant. The *basia* of Capoerica and one of the slaves got wounded by an arrow. A small militia went after them but could not find a single trace of the Maroons. A military patrol marching from Tesisi to the village near the Wetiwatra Creek only discovered some abandoned provision grounds and a couple of empty houses[1].

On 5 March 1769, a patrol led by B.J.C. Jacot entered the jungle south of the Wane Creek. On the following day, Jacot found a hiding-shack with four sleeping-places, which obviously belonged to the Maroons. On 10 March, he located a small village with four cabins and nineteen fire-places. On that same day he even discovered another village, which was somewhat bigger and contained nineteen shacks. All the houses, however, had been abandoned long before. The last village also had a small provision ground. Jacot ordered the crops destroyed and rushed on in southern direction. On 12 March, the patrol discovered some more abandoned villages. Jacot even found a new track which made him arrive at a plantain-ground by three o'clock in the afternoon. A black man who was sitting there immediately took to his heels as soon as he caught sight of the patrol. Jacot ordered shots fired at this runaway, whereupon his troops came under fire. He noticed a number of cabins on an elevated ground and ordered them seized, but was astonished when he saw white people coming out of the cabins. They stopped shooting and soon discovered that the village under attack was Tesisi, which was occupied by military forces. The fighting had not caused any injuries. After a couple of days, Jacot left Tesisi and hurried towards the Marowijne River. From there on, he patrolled back northwards and arrived at the Wane Creek on 23 March without having discovered any further trail of the Maroons[2].

In October 1769, a patrol under the command of Von Sebach discovered a village of nineteen houses in the Upper-Cottica region and wiped it off the map, provision grounds and all. The inhabitants, however, were nowhere to be found. In November, a new Maroon track was found in the vicinity of Tesisi. Soldiers chasing after the runaways caught two men, one of whom, Profijt of Wayampibo, told them all about the Maroons from plantation Rietwijk who had separated from the Tesisi-Maroons.

Profijt declared that he had run away from Wayampibo about nine months before. He had encountered a group of Maroons in the forest who had blindfolded him and carried him in a hammock to their village, as he was wounded in the foot. This village was inhabited by not more than five men. The group had separated from the Tesisi-Maroons and had meanwhile lost some of its members. Adu from Rietwijk had initially been their chief, but he had been killed by Kofi of Sardam, who had killed another two Maroons from Rietwijk, Boy and Paay, shortly afterwards. Kofi in turn, was shot by Daniel of Sardam.

For fear of being killed himself, Profijt had fled the group he was staying with. The Maroons from this village still kept in touch with their children, who they had left behind at the plantation. The men would catch fish, smoke it on *barbakotten* (large wooden racks) and bring it to their children at the plantation. The village was not far away from the Patamacca Creek. Whenever the slaves on the plantations along this creek were beating drums or firing shots, the noise could be clearly heard in the Maroon village[3]. Around 1770, the Tesisi-Maroons were scattered over two living-areas. The southern living-area near the Thomassie Creek comprised the villages of Tesisi and Najuba-kondre next to a third one, the name of which remains unknown. Somewhat north of these three villages, there was another settlement which has become known by the name of Quassiegron. The second living-area of the Tesisi-Maroons lay much more to the north, northeast of the Peninica Creek in the hills surrounding the Patamacca Creek. It comprised the villages of Jukabun, Blakakriki and Wetiwatrakriki. This northern group maintained a good relationship with the Maroons of Boni and Aluku who were living near the Cassipera Creek. Sambokwasi from the plantation of Libanon was (most probably) the chief of the northern Tesisi-Maroons around 1770. It was around the same year that two groups of Tesisi-Maroons -probably part of the southern group and the majority of the northern group-separated from the rest and went to join Boni's tribe.

The separation of the southern Tesisi-group was based on African ethnicity. The Maroons who went to the north to join Boni and Aluku mainly belonged to the Luangu peoples. Their chief was a former slave from the plantation of Marceille, called Lemi or L'Ami but known amongst the Maroons by his bush name: Suku. The group staying behind was largely constituted by Gangus. Their chief was Kwamina, a former slave from Rietwijk. Another group, led by a certain Gembi, remained living in the south. Their ethnic background is unknown[4].

In December 1770, the Maroons who had joined Boni and Aluku attacked the occupying forces of Tesisi by secretly sneaking into the soldiers' barracks. The soldiers only noticed the Maroons' presence when they began removing guns and kit bags from the wall. The soldiers woke with a start, jumped up and tried to prevent the Maroons from taking hold of their guns. The Maroons managed to lay their hands on five rifles, but by then some soldiers started to shoot, which made the Maroons retreat. They soon returned, however, firing shots at the soldiers. Two soldiers were killed and two severely wounded. The sergeant and the remaining soldiers returned fire until they were out of ammunition, whereupon they fled Tesisi, leaving all their goods behind for the Maroons[5].

As we noticed before, since the peace of 1760, a *posthouder* lived among the Ndjuka. He was sometimes accompanied by *bijleggers* (assistants). In 1771 the *posthouder* was a military man called Z.G. Thies. On the occasion of the peace treaty the Ndjuka had promised to help track down new runaways. Between 1760-1770, this assistance was limited to handing over the odd runaway who had come to seek refuge. In September 1771, however, *posthouder* Thies persuaded a number of *jonkuman* (men between 18 and 40) to

undertake an expedition against the Tesisi-Maroons. The patrol discovered a village which the Ndjuka alleged to be Tesisi, though it was entirely different from the Tesisi we have seen so far.

Three Maroons were killed in the attack on the village, while eleven women and children were taken prisoner. They told the Ndjuka that there was another village called Gangukondre at half an hour's distance. When the Ndjuka arrived at the village, the inhabitants had already fled. Upon their return, the Ndjuka told the *posthouder* that the chief of 'their' Tesisi was a man called Gembi, who was also believed to be the leader of the raid on the Jukemombo plantation in 1765. Nine of the captive women and children came from Jukemombo, while two of them originated from the plantation of Capoerica. Gangukondre comprised eight houses. The two villages had more than ten large provision grounds all together. For three days in a row, the Ndjuka busied themselves destroying the crops and they had not yet finished the job when they left. The Ndjuka took home the hands of three dead Maroons and eleven prisoners from Tesisi. After having received the tribute and a reward of 1400 guilders, the Ndjuka handed over most of the captured Tesisi-Maroons to the authorities in Paramaribo. A female Mulatto from Jukemombo and her two children, were provided as a present for the tribe's priestess, Ma Dona, at the instigation of whom, and with whose help, the ever so important *obia* with which they had started the expedition, had become a great success[6].

It is impossible to find out where the remaining Tesisi-Maroons went after the destruction of their two new villages. They must have found shelter somewhere else. One year after the Ndjuka patrol, four Maroons from the devastated villages came to visit the Ndjuka. They declared to be sent by their chief to seek asylum, which they were granted. The delegates and the Ndjuka vowed loyalty to one another by means of the *swéri*-(oath)ritual. The pacified Maroons promised not to hand over the Tesisi-Maroons to the Dutch authorities, after which the delegates left again to fetch the others. Early October they returned, bringing along 36 men, women and children.

The Court of Policy lashed out at the behavior of the Ndjuka for it considered the assimilation of the Tesisi-Maroons an infringement on the peace treaty of 1760 which stipulated that the pacified Maroons had to hand over all new runaway slaves to the government. *Posthouder* Z.G. Thies was instructed to call together the clan chiefs and demand the immediate delivery of the Tesisi-Maroons. By way of compromise, the Ndjuka could keep the women and children if only they handed over the men. But they bluntly refused and argued that the inhabitants of Tesisi were not runaways but fellow-Maroons who had fled from their plantations before 1760. Apart from that, they had sworn an oath with these people, which they would never break. For years to come, the *posthouders* continued to press them to deliver the Tesisi-Maroons but all their efforts were in vain[7].

Again: The Cassipera-Maroons

On 22 March 1768, ten slaves deserted from two lumber plantations in the Upper-Cottica area, taking away eleven axes, shovels, wooden articles and pots. One of the owners, J.D. Germano, went after them with a patrol of twelve men, though to no avail. Seven days later, the Maroons attacked the small plantation of 's-Haagenbosch opposite Bockensteyn. Only few people were present, as the manager and most of the slaves were out. The Maroons killed one slave and carried off one woman and four girls. They also took two rifles, a lot of provision and clothes. A patrol chasing after them caught up with the raiders after some days, but the Maroon chief shouted at the manager of the plantation De Alyda, who was in command of the patrol, that he and his men had better return home, for if they continued to follow them, they would soon be surrounded and killed by the Maroons. They enforced their arguments by firing three shots at the patrol. The manager ordered return fire, but his men did not manage to capture a single Maroon, either dead or alive. What they found instead were blood stains.

Immediately after the attack on 's-Haagenbosch, a patrol left for the old Maroon village of Mopegron where the leader of the patrol, B.J.C. Jacot, found new trails and two new cabins. He wrote to the Court of Policy that he would try to follow the track and, if possible, cut off the 's-Haagenbosch raiders' escape, as they appeared to be still on the run. The Maroons, however, were not on their way back to their village, but had gone to the plantation of Rustlust about six miles westwards. On April 8th, a group of ten to twelve Maroons conducted a raid on this plantation. The slaves, however, did not want to make common cause with the raiders and offered fierce resistance, as a result of which the raid remained unsuccessful: one Maroon got wounded and some of their *obia* had to be left behind. As soon as the news of the attack on Rustlust had spread, a patrol went to occupy the eastward ridge behind the plantation to prevent the Maroons from retreating, while another command followed their trail. The raiders, however, did not return by the expected route but disappeared in the swamp between the ridge and the coast where the pursuers lost track[8].

In the meantime, B.J.C. Jacot and his patrol had thoroughly examined the new marks from the Maroons at Mopegron, although to no avail, as all the trails disappeared into the large *birbiri* (grass marsh). On 7 April Jacot decided to leave the village and proceed northwards. After three days, he found an old resting-place. The following day, the men arrived at a ridge where they discovered many trails. They followed the trails and found two resting-places along the way. On closer inspection of the trails, however, it turned out that the Maroons had returned walking backwards leaving deceptive tracks. Jacot therefore went back to the swamp which the patrol had passed the day before, crossed it and rediscovered the right trails on another ridge. In the afternoon, the patrol arrived at a couple of provision grounds of about 45 acres, some of which were planted with corn, rice, yams and manioc, others with plantains, sweet potatoes, peanuts, water melons and beans. The gardens bordered on a village of about fourteen abandoned

houses. In the houses, Jacot found pepper jars, salt[9], dried peanuts, corn and some stolen articles from 's-Haagenbosch, such as blue-striped cloths, a china bowl and a saucer. The village backed on to a path which had been neatly cut open and led into northeastern direction. On 12 April, the patrol crossed three swamps and two savannahs. At half-past-five in the evening, they arrived at a second village which comprised eleven houses and some provision grounds of about 40 acres. Once again, there was no one present. In the morning, part of the troops started to destroy the fields, while another part went looking for the escape route of the Maroons which appeared to go off in a southwesternly direction. At half-past-two, Jacot ordered the village set a fire. The entire command set off on the path which led through two small swamps and two large savannahs. Once they arrived at the savannah, the path broadened out to about three meters wide, as if a patrol of hundreds of men had marched over it.

On the other side of the savannah, B.J.C. Jacot discerned a clearing in the forest which looked like a garden bordering on a village. He left his goods behind, protected by some guards, and approched the clearing together with the rest of the command. When they came near, one of the soldiers could no longer wait and fired a shot, whereupon Jacot ordered to mount the attack. The men charged at the clearing but when they arrived, they discovered that their target was not a Maroon settlement but a fake village made out of chopped trees in the middle of an open swamp. Jacot realized that he had fallen into a trap and the pandemonium caused by the patrol when attacking this 'stronghold' had warned the Maroons at a distance of many miles. The patrol took a rest near the swamp, so that the bearers who had stayed behind could catch up with them. An advance guard discovered that the broad path continued on the other side of the swamp. When Jacot set off on this path the following day, he saw some Maroons in the distance who, having caught sight of the patrol, descended from trees and disappeared into the forest. The troops marched on and when they arrived at the forest, they discerned a village amongst the trees. The soldiers had hardly entered the forest when they were harassed by arrows from all sides. Apart from that, the Maroons had guns as well, for some ten to twelve consecutive shots were fired. The shooting was accompanied by the sound of horns and terrible yelling and cursing.

The shooting, however, did not prevent B.J.C. Jacot's troops from rushing towards the village. The access route to the village was strewn with chopped trees piled up by the Maroons. But when the Maroons realized that it was impossible to keep the patrol from entering the village, they made a run for it. Some of them must have been wounded, as Jacot could see five men carrying another man and there were blood stains all over the place. The patrol only lost one of his soldiers, while six got wounded. There were several paths leading to a small creek southwest of the village, along which the Maroons had escaped in their canoes. It was beyond any doubt that they had already evacuated their women and children the day before, as all the fireplaces in the houses were cold, with the exception of one very big house where large pots of chickens were boiling over the fire.

This village discovered was called Kosay, though it is also referred to as 'Luku' in the archives. It contained 32 houses, some of which were huge according to B.J.C. Jacot. The village had a smithy which contained not less than 200 pounds of iron objects, among them large bars, iron hooks and nine dozen nails. Apart from that, the patrol also found brass lamps, irons, 200 big waterpots, earthen pipes, hammocks and nearly 700 chickens. The neighboring provision grounds were planted with plantains and manioc and covered a surface of about 30 acres. The command consumed nothing less than 180 chickens and the men stuffed themselves so full that they could no longer bear the sight of the remaining 500 chickens and set fire to the place where these animals were kept. The other houses fell victim to the same fate, while the gardens were also largely devastated. All the iron objects were destroyed and thrown into the creek. Behind the ruins of the houses, they discovered a fairly new grave with two cotton flags flying on top. Upon request of the mercenary slaves, Jacot gave permission to dig up the coffin, which appeared to be made out of new boards. The slaves threw the coffin with the corpse amongst the burning houses. In the afternoon of April 16th, the patrol left Kosay[10].

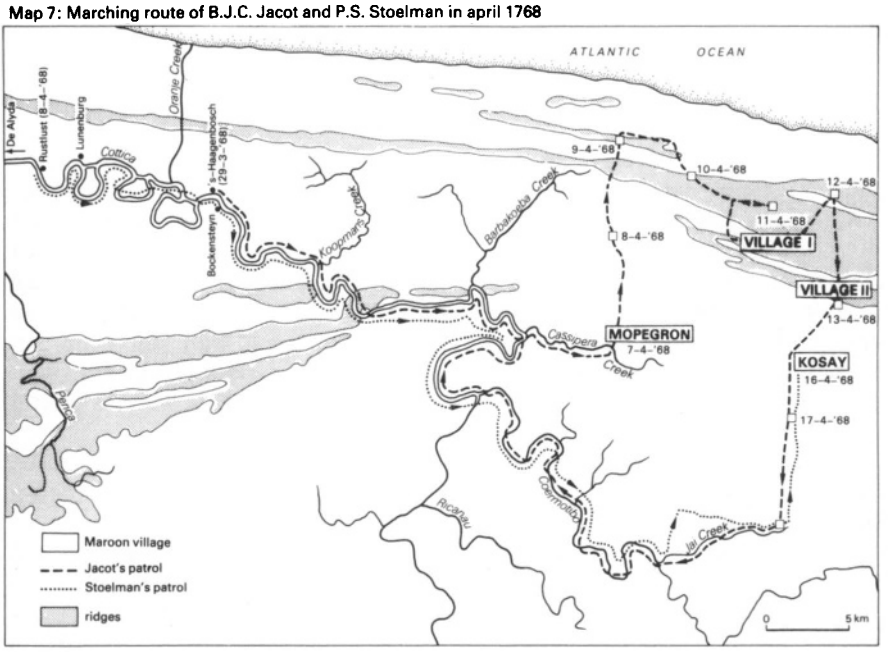
There was another patrol, under the command of P.S. Stoelman, that set off eastwards to try and cut off the Maroons who had attacked 's Haagenbosch and Rustlust. On April 17th this patrol ran into B.J.C. Jacot, who was rowing down the river with his men. Jacot told Stoelman all about the destruction of the three Maroon villages. Stoelman proceeded to the mouth of the Jai Creek, which he paddled up the following morning until he came across a new track near a savannah. Some time later, a Maroon in a pirogue was spotted who jumped out of his boat and escaped into the jungle. The soldiers went after him and after half an hour, they reached a small encampment which the Maroons had abandoned shortly before, leaving behind a lot of goods. A man who had stayed behind was taken prisoner. While Stoelman was looking for more people around this camp, the Maroons attacked the three men who had stayed behind with the boats and wounded one soldier. The following day, Stoelman and the prisoner set off on the escape route of the Maroons which led into the direction of the Wane Creek. But after a while the pursuers lost track and turned back.

On 22 April 1768, P.S. Stoelman followed the path that B.J.C. Jacot had cleared when leaving Kosay. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the patrol arrived at the burnt village. There was no sign of life whatsoever. The prisoner told them that the Maroons had not fled by boat but by foot. They had not been able to defend themselves against Jacot for long, as they had only three guns and hardly any ammunition at their disposal. Just as in the Maroon villages Mopegron and Tesisi, the patrol occupied Kosay to prevent the Maroons from returning to consume their crops once the patrol had left[11]. (Also see map nr. 7).

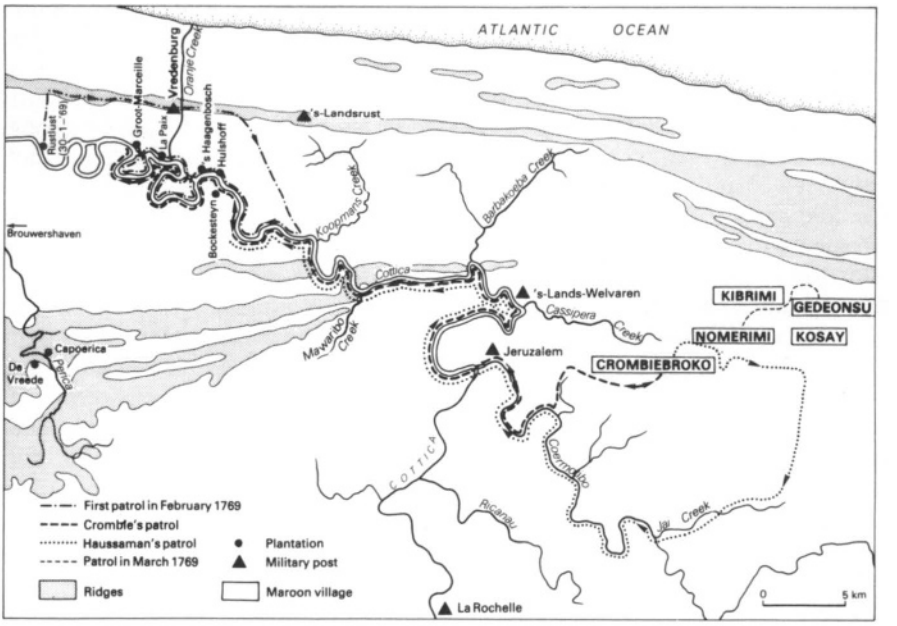
Gaanman Asikan-Silvester taken Prisoner.

On 30 january 1769, Maroons attacked the plantation of Rustlust for the

Map 7: Marching route of B.J.C. Jacot and P.S. Stoelman in april 1768



Map 8: The attack on Rustlust and patrols to the Cassipera-Maroons in 1769



second time. The manager was not present, which probably saved his life, for the Maroons were definitely stronger this time and drove the slaves, who once again offered fierce resistance, back to their barracks. After having plundered the manager's house, the Maroons attacked the slaves' huts and captured thirteen women and one man. They also carried off anything they could use from the huts, while smashing the rest to pieces. Their booty comprised six guns and some gunpowder.

A military patrol chased after the raiders and discovered a resting-place with no less than 25 fire places on the following day, which pointed to a large number of raiders. One day later, another resting-place was found, this time comprising 31 fireplaces. The patrol had meanwhile followed the Maroons until the Koopmans Creek. When the soldiers wanted to pitch the camp for the night, they suddenly found themselves surrounded by Maroons, who killed one man and wounded six others. The critical condition of the victims forced the patrol to return to Marceille[12].

James Abercrombie, the *burgher* captain of the Cottica area, sent three patrols to the Coermotibo region to avenge the Maroons after the attack on Rustlust. Two of the patrols returned with empty hands, but the third one, under the command of Abercrombie himself, discovered a village near the Coermotibo River comprising 30 houses[13]. The village was surrounded by gardens, which were abundant with ripe corn and other 'slaves food'. Abercrombie went back to his plantation after the discovery of this village, leaving a small garrison under the command of lieutenant J.G. Haussaman behind[14]. On 20 February 1769, Haussaman's guide, a Maroon called Koridon, drew his attention to a path leading in east-southeastern direction. Haussaman decided to follow it.

The patrol left early the following morning, just after sunrise. By eleven o'clock, they arrived at three huts where they found about 40 to 50 baskets full of corn. At half-past-three in the afternoon, the patrol came across a provision ground abundant with plantains, tayers, manioc and peanuts. The ground was at least half-an-hour's walking broad and one hour's walking long and some huts had been built alongside. It became clear that the fields had only been abandoned some two to three days before. On the following day, the soldiers discovered some clothes, a *kamisa* (men's loincloth) and a *pangi* (women's loincloth), which had been left to soak in the creek. Some time later, they detected three people: a man, a woman and a child, who easily surrendered. The captive woman, who was called Animba, came from the plantation of Nieuw-Java. She told J.G. Haussaman that this region comprised a number of villages which were inhabited by a total of 265 men and a large number of women and children. Animba herself came from Nomerimi, a village nearby. The Maroons who had attacked the Rustlust plantation had returned to Nomerimi some days before with the women they captured, but had left again shortly afterwards, as they wanted to bring the captives to a safer place. The Maroons expected that patrols would soon discover Nomerimi and therefore decided to move to the region south of the Amerindians' villages. According to Animba, it was impossible for the colonists to reach this territory, as they had to cross a number of very deep swamps.

Animba had stayed behind at the provision ground together with her husband and child and yet another man to look after the old *gaanman* (paramount chief), Asikan-Silvester, who was ill and could not endure the journey. They had agreed on staying there until the Maroons returned to take them to the new villages. The two men who had not been taken prisoner, had left Nomerimi in the morning to go fishing. They had probably fled when they heard the noise of the approaching patrol. Animba further revealed that the Maroons had a group of 80 fighting men constantly searching through the jungle to track down the colonist patrols.

After he had heard Animba's story, J.G. Haussaman interrogated Asikan-Silvester, who told him that he was the first Maroon to have settled in this area and that he had been a chief of the village for over 50 years. He had only recently transferred power, because he had become too old. That was all he wanted to tell, apart from the fact that he had never expected to fall back in the colonist' hands at his age. God had always been favorably disposed towards him, but seemed to have left him now. After the interrogation Haussaman went to Nomerimi, which lay in the middle of a forest and consisted of about 50 houses. It appeared to be totally abandoned. The following day, the patrol marched towards Kosay and proceeded from there to the Cottica River. Asikan-Silvester's situation gradually deteriorated and in the end, the soldiers had to carry him along on a stretcher[15].

Gaanman Asikan-Silvester was transported to Paramaribo, where he was interrogated by the Court of Criminal Justice. He did not tell much more than he had told J.G. Haussaman before, apart from the names of the Maroons to whom he had transferred his power as a paramount chief: Askaan of Marceille (Aluku) and Boni. They were said to have left for the area between the Wane Creek and the Coermotibo River together with some 100 men plus women and children, taking along sowing-seeds from Nomerimi to lay out new garden plots there. Finally, Asikan-Silvester revealed that the Maroons intended to contact the Tesisi-Maroons on collectively fighting the colonists.

Asikan-Silvester died on 7 March 1769 in Fort Zeelandia. The Court of Policy still wanted to punish him for his former desertion and decided to drag his corpse to the gallows execute the final sentence. Consequently, Asikan's head was cut off and put on a stake. Animba appeared to be suffering from the horrible disease of leprosy, so that she could not be locked up with the other prisoners. The Court of Policy therefore decided to give her back to her former owner so as to get rid of her in Paramaribo[16].

In the month of March, J.G. Haussaman organized various expeditions starting from Nomerimi. It was on one of these journeys, after three days of marching, that the guide Koridon showed him two Maroon villages, an old one and a new one, which contained a total of 51 huts. When Haussaman arrived, the Maroons had already left the villages and set fire to the houses. Koridon told the lieutenant that the villages were called Kibrimi (Hide Me) and Gedeonsu. The villages were surrounded by two new provision grounds, one of which had already been planted, whereas the other one was vacant of crops. Haussaman tried to follow the escape route of the Maroons from Kibrimi but he did not succeed. He lost his way and ended up in a very deep

swamp, after which he decided to go back to Nomerimi[17].

The Triumvirate Baron, Boni and Jolicoeur

For a long time, John Gabriel Stedman was the most important writer on the Boni-Maroons. Stedman (1744-1797) arrived in Suriname in 1773. He was an officer under the command of Louis Henri Fourgeoud, the chief of an army of about 1500 soldiers, who had been sent on a special expedition from Holland to Suriname to fight the (Boni-) Maroons. J.G. Stedman stayed in Suriname for four years, a period during which he applied himself to keeping a diary. In 1796, he published a book based on these very notes on Suriname and the fight against 'the revolted Negroes'[18]. According to J.G. Stedman, the Maroons were headed by Baron, Boni and Jolicoeur (in this order). As far as Boni is concerned, J.G. Stedman tells us that his father was a white who had begot a child by one of his slaves. Already during the pregnancy, the planter's love, if it had ever existed, turned into profound aversion. Boni's mother was mistreated and beaten, which made her flee into the wilderness. There she gave birth to a son, whom she named Boni. A very dramatic story indeed, because of its touch of tragedy, but probably not very reliable.

The first time Boni's name ever appeared in the records is 1769. It was on 30 January of this very year that the Maroons attacked the plantation of Rustlust, as we read in the previous section. Both soldiers and *burghers* set off in pursuit. Next to a hut on a creek, they found the woman Animba and the grey-haired Asikan-Silvester who told Haussaman that he had already transferred his power to Askaan of Marceille and to Boni. According to the archives Boni was born in a Maroon village. The archives call him a *bosch Creool* (Bush Creole = born in the forest). Boni's mother had fled from the plantation Barbakoeba, also called Annaszorg. Therefore, by 1769, it must have been known in Paramaribo that the Maroons in the Cottica region were being headed by Aluku (Askaan of Marceille) and the *bosch Creool* Boni. Why then was J.G. Stedman talking about the triumvirate Baron, Boni and Jolicoeur? In 1773, when this Scottish officer arrived at the colony, both Baron and Jolicoeur belonged to the group of Maroons gathered around Aluku and Boni, but they were far from being the leaders. Jolicoeur was even a fairly new Maroon. He had been a slave at Fauquemberg in the Upper Commewijne region and on New Year's Day 1772 he fled from that plantation together with eight other people. These runaways managed to reach the villages of Boni and Aluku. On 28 May 1772, as we will see below, the Boni-Maroons attacked the plantation of Nieuw-Roosenbeek, which was situated next to Fauquemberg. They were instigated and helped by the slaves who had escaped on that particular New Year's Day. The manager of Fauquemberg and Nieuw-Roosenbeek, fell into their hands. They decided to shoot him. According to J.G. Stedman, the manager turned to Jolicoeur whom he had recognized among the raiders. He begged for mercy, but Jolicoeur did not feel sorry for his former master who had raped his mother and tortured his father. He thereupon took an axe and killed him. The Maroons who were questioned

about this murder after their arrest in 1773 and 1776, told a somewhat less prosaic story. They affirmed that the manager had been shot by Boni, because he refused to tell where the gunpowder stock was hidden (Hoogbergen 1985b: 85). Jolicoeur was killed in 1773. There is no reason to believe that he was the Maroons' chief during his relatively short stay with them.

Baron was more important. He was one of Boni's subchiefs for some time. Baron had been the slave of the planter Gustav Dahlberg. The exact date of his running away to the group of Aluku and Boni is not known, but just like the names of these two, Baron's name appears in the archives after the attack on Rustlust in 1769. Baron was taking part in that attack and got wounded. Apart from that, we learn from the sources that Baron frequently entered into conflict with Boni, because he had some difficulty with submitting himself to the authority of the latter. As a result of these conflicts, Baron and some of his supporters usually stayed at some distance from the villages where Aluku and Boni were living. In the event of attacking plantations, however, both groups would join forces. An attack on the lumber plantation of Winne in July 1774 proved fatal to Baron. He was shot by slaves (Hoogbergen 1985b: 82-3). Hence both Baron and Jolicoeur had been killed before J.G. Stedman left Suriname in 1777. As we can see, this Scottish captain neither knew all the ins and outs of his enemies - which is of course not uncommon for a soldier - nor did he have a clear understanding of the internal structure of the Boni-Maroons' tribe.

There were a number of people who were more important for the Boni society than Baron and Jolicoeur. First of all there was, of course, Aluku, who was so important that his present offspring still prefer to call themselves 'Aluku' (Ajax 1961, Price 1976, Givens 1984). But also men like Kormantin Kodjo, Puja (of La Paix), Sambokwasi and Basa (of Clemensburg) were of greater importance than Baron and Jolicoeur. Even the importance of Boni himself has never actually been well assessed by J.G. Stedman. This is largely due to the fact that Stedman, in fact, does not tell us anything more than what he experienced himself or what he had heard people say. Apparently, he has never seen any of the reports made up by commanders of the army, nor any of the testimonies of Maroons in prison. The testimony of Jonas of 's-Haagenbosch especially, dating from 1776, provides a great deal of information on the life of the Maroons living in the Cottica region during this period[19].

Jonas, a little boy, was carried away in February 1771, when the Boni attacked the small plantation of 's Haagenbosch. For five years, he lived in the village of Boni, who was very fond of him and appointed him as his *futuboy* (helper). Boni took the boy with him on his wanderings across the savannah and had him looking after his wife when he went out fishing. As far as Boni's parents are concerned, Jonas declared that Boni had told him that his mother came from Barbakoeba, but that both his mother and father were dead. Considering Boni's age, his mother must have run away around 1730. It is very unlikely that the planter Van der Mey, the owner of Barbakoeba, was Boni's father, as J.G. Stedman maintained. At least two brothers and one sister of Boni were among the Maroons, the sister being probably elder than Boni. A female Maroon taken prisoner in 1771 alleged that Boni's father was an

Amerindian (De Beet 1984: 94). Another prisoner spoke about Boni 'the mulatto' (i.e. child of a black and a white person). A third one flatly denied this and said that Boni was a *kaboeger* (i.e. the child of an Amerindian and a black person). A son of Boni's sister was killed in 1772 (Hoogbergen 1985b: 79).

Boni must have been born around 1730. The first references to two of his wives appear no sooner than 1771: Lena (of Lunenburg) and Lucretia (of Capoerica). In October 1775, the Boni village of Busikrey was discovered by Louis Henry Fourgeoud's troops, an event in which J.G. Stedman also took part. In his book, Stedman describes that Boni's house was surrounded by various bathing places where his wives used to take a bath in the mornings and in the evenings (Price and Price 1988: 445). In 1784, Flora (of Du Perou) was described as being Boni's wife, in 1791 it was Madam (of Killenstein Nova) and Swaantje (of Poelwijk), whereas in 1792 it was Maria, the daughter of the (later) *gaanman* of the Ndjuka, Bambi of the Otoo-clan, and, finally, in 1793, the name of Lukresi (of Remoncourt) was mentioned (Hoogbergen 1985b: 421). We only know the names of four of Boni's children. Agosu was to become the most famous one as he was Boni's successor. During the Second Boni-Maroon War (1789-1793), Agosu would be the most important guerrilla-leader.

Boni's people called him *krutu*, which means 'jurisdiction' or even 'gathering'. This honorary name proves that, above all, Boni was honoured as a spokesman and a judge. This was a very important function in the early stages of a Maroon tribe indeed. Most runaways from the plantations were *zoutwater neegers* ('Salt-water Negroes': slaves who had been born in Africa) with a different ethnic background; but, there were also *Creolen* (slaves born in Suriname) among the Maroons. Apart from that, the Maroons originated from different plantations. Most of them did not even know each other. It was then extremely difficult to make a coherent society out of this melting pot of desperados. For the rest, it is known that Boni was an excellent blacksmith. He could repair the locks of guns and forge axes and picks.

Baron leaves Boni

Animba had told the truth: the Maroons had indeed brought the captive women to Nomerimi after the attack on Rustlust. Shortly afterwards - probably even the day after their arrival - all of them, with the exception of *gaanman* Asikan-Silvester and those who were looking after him, had left for Gedeonsu, a new living area in the east. Hardly had they arrived there when Boni and Baron started to quarrel. The latter, who had been wounded in the attack on Rustlust, did not consider Gedeonsu a strategically well-located point, so he was afraid that the planters would soon discover it. Apart from that, Baron clashed with Boni about the size of the Maroon group. He found the group too large and not mobile enough to wage a successful war against the colony. Baron wanted to reopen the fight, using the arms they had stolen from Rustlust, but Boni would not allow him and claimed the weapons for himself. Baron refused to hand in the arms. The result of the conflict was that

Baron left the group of Boni. Together with his wife Manu and about 20 other Maroons, both men and women, he left for the Patamacca region[20].

By May 1769, Baron had settled in his new village near the Patamacca Creek, from where he plundered the plantations. The target of his first marauding expedition was the territory of Nieuw-Timotibo, where the freedman Quassie was living, but the raid failed. Quassie, together with the slaves and Amerindians who were living with him, defended themselves so fiercely that Baron and his companions had to return to their village without success. Two months later, on 12 July 1769 when these Maroons attacked the house of the planter Balantier on the Patamacca Creek, they were more successful, they took away all provisions, three guns, two pistols and much ammunition[21].

Shortly after the raid on Balantier's house, two new Maroons arrived at the village of Baron: Cartouche (of Meulwijk) and Adam (of Halle-in-Saxen). Both men had been living in a hut behind the plantation of Poelwijk together with another runaway, Kotika (of Du Perou). They had started to quarrel, however, whereupon Adam had killed the sleeping Kotika. After the murder, Cartouche and Adam had left the hut, heading towards the Patamacca Creek, where they had encountered Baron's group. At that time Baron's village was inhabited by thirteen men and ten women and contained five houses and a large storage bin. The village was surrounded by provision grounds, the crops of which were not yet full-grown by the time that Cartouche and Adam arrived[22].

In November 1769, Baron decided to attack another plantation. He had chosen Yvershoop, situated between the Perica and the Cottica River and known for its wealth of rifles. While on their way to this plantation, however, the Maroons were discovered and Baron changed his plans. He decided to conduct a raid on Gustaafsdaal instead, a smaller lumber plantation owned by his former master Gustav Dahlberg. On 13 November, shortly after sunset, the Maroons attacked Dahlberg's territory. A small contingent of six soldiers, who were quartered at the plantation, offered fierce resistance but they could not prevent the Maroons from killing one slave and slightly wounding another one. Apart from that, Baron's expedition was not very successful and he quickly returned to his village together with his ten companions[23].

Hardly two weeks later, Baron's group was surprised by a bush patrol under the leadership of Lieutenant Von Sebach, who had followed their trail and consequently discovered their village. The village was surrounded by stockades and when the patrol came near, the Maroons took cover behind the wooden palisades and fired at the soldiers. They were, however, clearly the minor party and did not have any other choice but flee, leaving all their goods behind, except for their rifles[24].

The Maroons rushed off into the direction of the Commewijne River to a forest abundant with *kabbes* (palmheart), where they built some huts backing on to a savannah. On one of his marauding expeditions in the surroundings, Baron detected some Ndjuka near a creek, whom he drove off, while taking away a rifle and two pick-axes. Shortly afterwards, there was a power struggle between Baron and some other Maroons in his band, which resulted in Baron leaving the group and going back to Boni together with his wife Manu and

their son Apollo.

The others did not stay in the Commewijne area for long. They went back to the Patamacca region to a place called Tamaru, where a new struggle for power began. The Kormantin Benbonwa, one of the men with whom Baron had been quarreling as well, was accused of *wisi* (witchcraft) and was killed. The village of Tamaru appeared to be so near the plantations that the Maroons could even hear the laborers chopping the wood, not to mention the soldiers and slaves beating drums. As a result, the inhabitants did not feel safe and left for another place in the Patamacca region, where they found other Maroons under the leadership of a man named Kwami. The two groups decided to stay together[25].

When the remaining part of Baron's group, twelve men and ten women, went to join Kwami - in a community that bore his namesake - Kwamikondre was inhabited by ten men, all of them Kormantin. This extended group of Maroons under the leadership of Kwami conducted a raid on a lumber plantation in the Patamacca region on 28 February 1771. They killed a white overseer and took away a female slave and a child. But then a contingent of soldiers, who had been sent after the Maroons, discovered Kwamikondre. While attacking the village, they shot some Maroons and captured a woman and a child. The others managed to escape, though had to leave all their goods behind[26]. It was not until 1773 that there was any more news about the Maroons of Kwami.

Escalation of the War in the Cottica area

As they had done the years before, it was in the major dry season that the planters went looking for Maroon settlements in the marshland and swampy forests. On 21 October, a military patrol under the leadership of Lieutenant J. Kremer discovered a new Boni-village near the Cassipera Creek which consisted of 30 houses, two large corn depots and a smithy. The village, whose name was unknown, was designated as Kromotibo by J. Kremer. It was surrounded by extensive provision grounds. There was, however, not a single soul around. A small garrison stayed behind.

The Maroons took revenge some two weeks later. On 8 November 1770, they conducted a raid on the plantation of Mon Désir on the Mot Creek shortly after sunset, in which they killed its manager De Clercq and the white overseer, and took away sixteen slaves and nine guns. During the raid, they shouted at their enemies that this was the final answer to the never-ceasing destruction of their villages by the colonists. The Maroons stayed in De Clercq's house for more than three hours, drinking exuberantly, howling and provoking the whites and slaves who were watching the scene from the other side of the narrow Mot Creek. No sooner than the morning afterwards, a patrol of ten colonists and some black gunmen went in pursuit of the Maroons but they could not catch up with them anymore[27].

In January 1771, the Maroons recovered Kromotibo from the fourteen soldiers who had been billeted there since October 1770. They killed four

soldiers and wounded another two in the fury of the battle. The remaining soldiers fled in terror, as a result of which the Maroons could easily take hold of five rifles. Sergeant L.A. Sebulo and a contingent of men was sent to Kromotibo to drive away the Maroons, but when he arrived on the spot, there was nobody present. The only thing he found was a couple of smouldering ruins and the torn corpses of three soldiers. Sebulo discovered a village under construction not far away from Kromotibo, but he did not even catch a glimpse of the Maroons[28].

The raids on Mon Désir and on Kromotibo showed that the guerrillas in the Cottica area became a real threat to the planters. In 1771 the Maroons took the offensive. On 19 February, at five o'clock in the evening, they launched an attack on the lumber plantations of 's-Haagenbosch and Hulshoff, killed a white overseer and attacked the only soldier present. This man fiercely defended himself, wounded several Maroons and even killed one of them, but finally he had to taste defeat and got killed. The Maroons set fire to all the buildings of 's-Haagenbosch, captured two young slaves and stole three rifles, two pistols and a lot of gunpowder. A patrol of 25 *burghers*, six soldiers, 26 black gunmen and 40 bearers went after the Maroons, but as the water-level in the jungle was very high and the Maroons had escaped through the swamps, the patrol was unable to find any sign of the raiders[29]. The planters retaliated against the successful attack on 's-Haagenbosch by sending a bush patrol to the Cottica area. This patrol under a certain sergeant Siegel (also called Ziegler) discovered a village, thought to be Libia of about 40 houses between the Cassipera Creek and the Coermotibo River on 5 March 1771. It appeared that the Maroons had left this village only shortly before, for most of the fireplaces were still warm. They had taken along most of their goods, as Sergeant Siegel found nothing but empty houses. The only thing he found were three pick-axes, three iron pots and a couple of hammocks in some old and remote shacks. On that same day, they even spotted a Maroon who had apparently broken away from the main group. When they shot at him, he managed to escape, though he had to leave his arms behind.

On the following day, the Maroons - under the leadership of Baron of Dahlberg - launched an attack on Sergeant Siegel's patrol. They surrounded the patrol and made it impossible for them to escape. This command of 20 *burghers*, twelve soldiers and 24 black gunmen was thoroughly defeated. Four men were killed and another ten severely wounded. The bearers got shed their loads and fled. After an hour or two, Siegel ceased fighting as he realized that they would all be killed if they continued to fight. The escape route, however, had been blocked by the Maroons. It was via a roundabout way that the survivors arrived at the post of 's-Landsrust some days later, starved nearly to death and their clothes torn to pieces[30].

With regard to this attack, De Groot (1975: 34) refers to Baron and Sergeant Siegel entering into talks with each other. From behind a tree, Baron shouted that he would agree to a definite cease-fire if Siegel offered him bullets and gunpowder. He had been following the patrol for days, but he had only decided to launch an attack after Siegel had conquered and destroyed the Maroon village. Siegel answered that he could not give him bullets nor

gunpowder without permission from the authorities. He asked Baron why he remained marauding the plantations, whereupon Baron replied that he did so by order of Gaanman Boni. With total disregard of his delicate position, Siegel thereupon insisted on Baron's surrender, which nipped the cease-fire in the bud.

Sergeant Siegel later reported to have killed three Maroons, though he could not submit any evidence, allegedly because the constant shooting by the enemy had prevented him from cutting off each one's right hand and presenting it as evidence of a kill. Captive Maroons later affirmed that they had indeed lost three of their companions. One month later, two military patrols once again tried to conquer the village of Libia, which had been discovered by Siegel. As a result of the heavy rainfall, however, their mission became impossible. The water-level in the forests was so extremely high that both patrols returned before they had even reached the Maroon village[31].

On 9 June 1771, the Maroons launched another attack, this time on the plantation of Bockensteyn on the Cottica River. When the military 'force' of this plantation, which was constituted by four soldiers and one corporal, caught sight of the raiders, they immediately ran off to a boat, paddled across the Cottica River and remained hidden in the bush. The slaves of Bockensteyn, however, behaved more bravely. One of them, Fidel, put the plantation's manager, who had nearly turned mad with fear, in a boat together with some children and an old woman and ordered a couple of slaves to bring them to a safer place. Then he ran off to the residential building where he arrived just before the charging Maroons. He took a gun and a box of cartridges from the house and gave it to the other slaves. Their fire drove off the Maroons who were unable to defeat the slaves of Bockensteyn. Five women and one man who were working on the fields were their only prey.

The Maroons stayed at Bockensteyn for more than four hours, and set fire to all the buildings. In the meantime, a small military patrol from 's-Haagenbosch rowed up to the Maroons' landing point near Bockensteyn and tried to seize it. When the Maroons saw them approaching, they started to shoot and wounded one of the rowers, whereupon the other ones let go of their oars and jumped into the water. The soldiers, who probably could not swim, tried to reach the other side of the river with the boat. After the raid, the Maroons took the women and the man they had captured and disappeared in the boats, belonging to Bockensteyn, via the Cottica River to the Koopmans Creek. They paddled up this creek for some time and then continued their journey over land until they reached the new village of Buku, the location of which was yet unknown to the planters. A patrol of 24 *burghers*, eleven soldiers, 23 black gunmen and twelve bearers immediately went after them, but they soon lost track and had to return without success. The slaves of Bockensteyn were collectively granted a reward of 400 guilders because of their loyalty towards the colonists. Four slaves: Fidel, Adam, Bockensteyn and Present even received a rifle each[32].

After the attack on Bockensteyn, the Court of Policy decided to reorganize the military posts in the Cottica area. The main post of 's-Lands-Welvaren (The Country's Well-being) at the junction of the Cassipera Creek and the

Cottica River was, owing to its eccentric location, moved downstream to the Mawaribo Creek. The raid on Bockensteyn had made clear that the Maroons approached the Cottica area via the Koopmans Creek, thus bypassing 's-Lands-Welvaren by far. The new location of this post was, from a strategical point of view, much better. The post was only four kilometers east of the Koopmans Creek whose estuary could, in case of an emergency, be occupied in no time. Apart from that, there were large sand ridges somewhat north of the Mawaribo Creek which led into western direction, along which the Maroons had formerly escaped to the Perica region. The new location of 's-Lands-Welvaren enabled the planters to watch over this route. This reorganization resulted in the removal of the post of 's-Landsrust (Country Peace), located on a sand ridge about three hours east of the post Vredenburg. How strategically well-chosen this new post of 's-Lands-Welvaren may have been, it was not altogether a healthy place to stay. The military encampment next to the fort soon received the nickname of *Devels Harware* (Devil's Harbour).

Hardly three weeks after the attack on 's-Haagenbosch, the Maroons, this time under the command of Boni and Baron, conducted a successful raid on the lumber plantation of Germano in the Patamacca region. Both the colonists and the slaves managed to escape, but the raiders took away everything they could use, such as gunpowder, 20 cartridges and three guns, while setting fire to the houses. On that same day, they also attacked a boat of the Jew Baesa, who was sailing up the Patamacca Creek with a load of goods. Baesa and his three slaves jumped into the water. Baesa was drowned, but the three slaves managed to escape[33].

The water-level in the jungle was still so high that the Court of Policy decided not to send any new patrols into the jungle to look for the Maroon villages. By way of encouraging the slaves to defend themselves fiercely against the raiders, the Court of Policy decided to double the premium for killing and capturing Maroons.

The Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo in the Period 1771-1772

In 1771, the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo were still living in the marshy territory along the Surnau Creek. Before sunrise on 5 July 1771, they attacked Montauban, a small plantation south of the Orleane Creek. The owner, Elie Arabel, who as the commander of a bush patrol in 1767 had been desperately looking for the village of Kormantin Kodjo, was soon taken prisoner and killed. The Maroons, who had only two rifles at their disposal, tried to talk the slaves into joining them, but they refused. They even proceeded to counterattack under the command of their *basia* and killed one Maroon. The raiders thereupon left the plantation quickly, while taking along three male and three female slaves, Elie Arabel's gun and three gourds filled with gunpowder. It was only after some hours that the overseer of a neighboring plantation came to have a look at what was happening at Montauban. He sent a patrol of sixteen slaves - and no colonists - under the leadership of the *basia* chasing after the Maroons, but the patrol returned without success after three days

because they had lost track of the raiders[34].

In December 1771 the labourers of the lumber plantation Waicoribo caught one of the slaves of Montauban, taken by the Maroons in July. The prisoner declared that he had arrived in the Maroon village three days after the raid. It was quite a large village and was inhabited by 60 men, 20 women and six children. Early January 1772, the planters from the Orleane region mounted a bush patrol of loyal slaves whom they ordered to go searching for the village of Kormantin Kodjo. The slaves indeed found the village, which consisted of 22 houses, but it was deserted[35].

It later turned out that the Maroons had left for the Tempati area. They were discovered by three Ndjuka-Maroons who came from the plantation of Carawassibo and were out hunting in this area. When the Ndjuka went back to inform the owner of Carawassibo about it, he mounted a large bush patrol of black gunmen accompanied by seven Ndjuka and some colonists, and sent them to the Tempati area. The command managed to track down the Maroons and disperse them. A pregnant woman (coming from Montauban) and four Bush Creole children were taken prisoner. The Maroons, in turn, killed one Ndjuka during the fight[36].

After the fight in the Tempati area, the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo went back to their old villages between the Suriname and the Upper-Commewijne River, where they were reinforced by nineteen slaves from the plantation of Lustrijk in February 1772. The runaways were headed by Mei, who had been a bearer in the patrol which one month before had discovered the village of Kormantin Kodjo. Mei now showed his fellow-slaves the way to the Maroon village[37]. He led his companions along the Commetewane Creek, across the path by which the command had passed at the time, into the direction of the village of Kormantin Kodjo. After some days, they were stopped by a couple of Maroons, all of them Kormantin, who asked Mei whether he was the man who had brought the patrol to the village at the time. Mei denied this and said that the colonists had found the path on the directions of the Luangu slaves. The Maroons thereupon took the runaways from Lustrijk to their village and ordered them to help laying out gardens[38].

The First Seizure of Buku in September 1771

On 12 September 1771, a military command of 50 soldiers and some bearers under the reserve officer candidate L.A. Sebulo left the new post of 's-Lands-Welvaren in an attempt to discover the new Maroon villages in the Cottica area. For three straight days Sebulo marched in a northeastern direction. On the fourth day, at nine o'clock in the morning, some spies who had climbed into a tall tree detected a village towards the southeastern, on an elevated ground in the middle of a swamp. It rose like an island above the water. It appeared to be impossible to attack the village from the place where Sebulo was staying, so that the commander decided to leave the bearers and some 20 soldiers behind and proceed with the others in an enveloping movement. Although it was already September and far into the dry season, the water-

level in the swamps was still so high that the men had to carry their cartridge boxes above their heads to keep the gunpowder dry. After two hours of plodding along, the command arrived at the Maroon village. Sebulo ordered his men to open fire, but he soon noticed that it was all in vain, as the village was surrounded by a wooden stockade at least three meters high, which contained loopholes through which the Maroons could fire at them. The access route towards the village was so narrow that the men could only pass one after the other. Apart from that, the Maroons had also installed two stolen *draaibassen* (small swivelling cannons) on this path, which were very well located indeed. In spite of all this, the soldiers did not come under heavy fire from this village, which later was known to be Buku, as the majority of the fighting men was absent. (The Maroons were out marauding in the Perica area, where they attacked the plantation of Capoerica on 13 September). Sebulo soon realized that there was hardly anyone to defend Buku and therefore ordered his men to charge at the gateway to the village. Victory lay within reach, as the Maroons hardly returned the shooting. The seizure of this strategically well-located village was therefore fortuitous.

The soldiers found the corpses of three Maroons in front of the gateway. There must have been more corpses which had already been dragged away across the swamps by the other Maroons. As L.A. Sebulo had taken hold of the village so quickly, many women and children had not managed to escape, as a result of which the soldiers captured fifteen women and seven children (see Hoogbergen 1985b: 143). L.A. Sebulo ordered all utensils found in the village destroyed and thrown into the water. The patrol only took away the two swivel cannons and another two *donderbussen* (small bronze cannons) which they had found in the meantime. Sebulo evacuated shortly after the seizure of Buku, apparently afraid that the Maroons were scheming a trick or a counterattack. In the haste of his flight, he left the houses untouched and did not even pull down the stockade. He pitched a camp outside the village and set off on his way back early in the morning[39].

As mentioned, the warriors of Buku were absent. About 40 of them had left the village in early September to mount an attack on the plantation of Capoerica in the Perica area. A lot of Tesisi-Maroons came from Capoerica and they had already attacked the plantation in March 1768. Part of the Tesisi-Maroons had meanwhile joined the group of Boni and it was probably these Maroons who showed Boni and his men the way to Capoerica. Boni was the leader of the expedition to the Perica area, while Baron and Jasmin (of Lunenburg) were second in command. The expedition also included some women, which was very uncommon. Boni was accompanied by two of his wives, Lena (of Lunenburg) and Lukretia (of Capoerica), while Baron's daughter Tamara and the wife of Suku (of Marceille) were also present. The remaining women and children stayed behind in Buku, protected by Aluku and five other men.

The Maroons pitched a camp behind the Capoerica plantation. They stayed there for several days, while sending out spies to size up the situation. Lukretia, who came from Capoerica, provided some very useful information. After some days of close observation, the Boni attacked in the morning of 13 Sep-

tember 1771. The women did not take part in the charge, but stayed behind in the camp. Capoerica contained a small military contingent of about six to eight men. Two soldiers were killed, two wounded and two others captured. The neighboring plantations also contained some small military posts, but even though the soldiers tried to reach Capoerica via the Perica River, they could not come near as the Maroons' shooting prevented them from crossing the river. Apart from the two soldiers, the Maroons also captured the manager of Capoerica, whom they treated well. They sent him to Paramaribo, together with one of the soldiers, to carry a letter demanding that the Court of Policy be prepared to conclude a peace agreement with the Boni. Boni threathened to destroy all the plantations in the Upper-Cottica area if the authorities refused to sign a peace treaty.

The planters in the Capoerica region kept trying to chase away the Maroons, but all their attempts were in vain. It was only in the evening that a number of soldiers from the plantation De Vreede on the other side of the river managed to reach Capoerica and drive off the Maroons. Later in the evening, however, the pursuers were caught in a Maroon trap, which claimed the lives of at least five people and wounded some others. The Maroons took away seven guns, gunpowder and twelve slaves, one of whom, a sick woman, was left behind in the jungle as she would not be of any use[40].

While on their way back from Capoerica, the Boni encountered the commando of L.A. Sebulo who were returning after the seizure of Buku. At that moment, Sebulo was staying in an old and abandoned Maroon village together with the 20 captive women and children. At eleven o'clock in the morning, the Maroons opened fire on the soldiers. Five men were killed and seven soldiers severely wounded in this sudden attack. The Maroons, who had become overconfident by their first success, then charged the rest of Sebulo's patrol while yelling tremendously and threateningly pointing their pick-axes at their enemies. The patrol, however, was well prepared this time and managed to withstand the charges, whereupon the prisoners started to scream and implored the Maroons to release them. The Boni returned and launched another attack on Sebulo, but once again to no avail. For another four times, the Maroons tried to release the women and children until they had used up all of their ammunition and had to stand by and watch Sebulo move on with the prisoners (De Beet 1984: 90).

On 22 September 1771, L.A. Sebulo arrived in Paramaribo with the prisoners and handed them over to the Public Prosecutor who was to interrogate them[41]. Although the Public Prosecutor, Bernard Texier, found them not guilty - with the exception of Dora (of Marceille) who had stayed with the Maroons for over 25 years - and, in principle, allowed them to return to their plantation, he did not dare take the risk of letting them go, as he was afraid that they would keep in contact with the Maroons. The administrators of Rustlust later complained about the fact that they did not get their slaves back. They wrote a letter in which they stated that they had hoped to see the prisoners back after the interrogation. After the raid on Rustlust in 1769, the administrators had immediately gone to this plantation to see whether their slaves were possibly involved in the attack. Once there, they heard that all the

slaves had proven their total loyalty towards the colonists and had, even without any arms, defended themselves with all their might against the Maroons. They had also released several women who had already been tied up by the attackers. The slaves had remained true and faithful workers ever since and were very much depressed by the attack. Some had seen their children being carried off, others had lost their wife or sister. The administrators further wrote in their letter of protest that they had always tried to comfort the slaves with the idea that the colonists would not rest before they had eliminated this 'bunch of runaways'. The slaves had therefore always nursed the hope that they would see their loved ones again one day. The letter clearly illustrates that the administrators were very eager to get their slaves back, but it is unknown if they had success[42].

The patrols which had been sent after the raiders of Capoerica returned empty handed. Early November, reserve officer candidate F.E. Kraft was sent to Buku to destroy the fortifications around the village, something which L.A. Sebulo had failed to do. After five days Kraft was attacked and found himself surrounded by a group of about 70 to 80 armed Maroons. The fighting took the whole afternoon and even went on until far into the night. No sooner than the following morning did Kraft manage to break the siege. The only thing he could do was return. On 14 November the command arrived at the military post Vredenburg, carrying two corpses and ten wounded soldiers, while they had lost 26 slaves, mainly bearers, on the way. Three of these missing slaves are known to have joined the Maroons.

When F.E. Kraft's command left Vredenburg, yet another two patrols under the leadership of L.A. Sebulo and Von Sebach set off in the direction of Buku. The latter did not find any trail at all, whereas Sebulo fell ill and returned with his entire command. The army leadership was obviously less pleased with Sebulo than they had been in September, when they had honored him with a silver sword and a silver-plated flintlock, both adorned with the colony's emblem. In the meantime they had discovered that he had left Buku too quickly and now they even suspected him of feigning this sudden illness.

Late November 1771, another patrol, which comprised 73 soldiers and 81 bearers, entered the jungle between the Barbakoeba and the Cassipera Creek. After six days, they discovered a group of about ten Maroons, who fled quickly. The soldiers chased after them, but after a while they arrived at an unpassable swamp, on the other side of which they discerned the stronghold of Buku. The following morning, a fight opened between this command and the Maroons, which lasted for about two days until the soldiers had used up all of their ammunition and decided to beat a retreat. Even during their flight, the soldiers were repeatedly attacked by the Maroons. When the patrol returned, they had lost seven soldiers, two men were reported missing and four were wounded (Hoogbergen 1985b: 148-152).

On New Year's Day 1772, the Fauquemberg plantation was in a state of panic when it turned out that nine of the most important slaves, both craftsmen and Creoles, had run away. Amongst them was the slave Jolicoeur. About one week later, the freeman Quassie asked for an interview with the

governor. Quassie, whose hair was 'yet as white as snow', offered to make an end to the extreme atrocities of the Cassipera-Maroons. He referred to the fact that this group of Maroons had attacked his house near Nieuw-Timotibo in May 1769. Quassie proposed that the governor select the most competent slaves from the colony and send them on an expedition to the stronghold of Buku, an offer which was accepted by Governor Jean Nepveu[43].

Early January 1772 the soldiers caught an inhabitant from Boni's village in the surroundings of the Wane Creek, who told them that the Maroons had changed their battle strategy. They had reinforced their village to such an extent that they were not afraid to face the colonists. It would be a matter of kill or cure: either the Maroons or the enemy would die on the battlefield. The Maroon further revealed that Baron had been severely wounded in the shoulder during the latest fights, whereupon the Maroons had promised him to avenge this by raiding the plantations of La Paix and Marceille, but these raids had to be postponed due to a shortage of ammunition. They would first try to steal some ammunition from the La Rue plantation in the Mot Creek. On account of this prisoner's report, the governor decided to reinforce the military posts near the Mot Creek[44].

At ten o'clock in the evening, on 21 January 1772, fifteen of La Paix's best slaves deserted. The soldiers who went after them hardly achieved any results for it was constantly pouring rain. Rifles were useless. One wandering runaway was taken prisoner, whereas the others appeared to have moved to the east across the Koopmans Creek and were assumed to have joined the Maroons. Another group of runaways from the Acconoribo plantation also tried to reach the Maroons, but they were less successful and after one month, five out of nine were caught behind La Paix[45].

The planters were deeply concernced about the fact that so many slaves fled the plantations (Fauquemberg, La Paix, Acconoribo). They could hardly do anything about it, as the water-level in the jungle was so high that it was impossible to track down the runaways. Apart from that, it was largely the Creoles who tried to escape and they had always generally been assumed to be the more reliable slaves. They were the ones who had been provided with guns by the planters in order to beat back the Maroons. But now they appeared to go over to the Maroons, while taking their guns with them. As a result, Governor Jean Nepveu ordered the entire slave contingent disarmed, which only increased the turmoil on the plantations. Many planters ignored the order[46].

On 18 February 1772, the Maroons attacked the Vrijdenburg post on the Marowijne River. They mounted the attack at four o'clock in the morning, somewhat before the light of dawn. The Maroons were led by Suriname (of Lunenburg) and Boni's nephew Menu, a Bush Creole. The post comprised 35 men. Five of them got wounded in the first attack, but once they got over the initial shock the soldiers proved to be the stronger party. Many Maroons got wounded as well, but none of them fell into the hands of the soldiers, as the raiders had posted a couple of unarmed Maroons next to each gunman, who, in the event of the latter being wounded, had to drag the wounded warrior off the field and take over his rifle. The Maroons had to cease fighting after three

hours, for they had almost run out of ammunition and their leader Menu had been lethally wounded. In spite of their frenetic attempts, they did not manage to save the dead bodies of Menu and another man and had to retreat leaving the corpses behind. A total of fifteen Maroons got wounded, two of whom later died[47].

Raids on the Plantations of Nieuw-Roosenbeek and Poelwijk

It was only by April 1772 that the planters made another attempt to recover Buku. A considerable military force of 150 soldiers and 150 bearers under the leadership of Captain J.H. Oorsinga sailed up the Cottica River and the Barbakoeba Creek to finally arrive at the swamps near Buku. Even though this bush patrol was repeatedly attacked by the Maroons while winding their way through the swamps, they managed to arrive at the place opposite Buku. The distance between the army and the Maroons in Buku was so small that they could easily shout at one another. But they did not do more than that, as the swamp leading towards the village was unpassable. The village appeared to be significantly reinforced since September. The stockades were almost five meters high, while a yellow and black flag, bearing a black and a white lion, flew over the fortress. A great amount of cursing and shouting ensued. The Maroons accused the soldiers of doing dirty work and that they should leave the fighting to the owners and managers of the plantations[48].

J.H. Oorsinga had indeed reached Buku, but that was about all, for the village seemed to be invincible. The water-level in the swamps was increasing day by day, as a result of the pouring rain. Apart from that, the Boni did not show concern about the commando bivouack in front of their village. They even went out on an expedition to the plantation area, where they invaded the plantation of Nieuw-Roosenbeek on the Commewijne River on 28 May 1772. At half past six in the evening, the Maroons, who had split up in three groups, showed up. The invasion appeared to be well-organized and everything went according to plan. One group occupied the slaves' barracks, a second group surrounded the manager's house, whereas a third group rounded up the slaves who were not in the barracks. Jolicoeur (of Fauquemberg) captured manager Schültz and brought him to Boni. There are two different stories about what happened then. The first version is taken from J.G. Stedman (1796), the second one, which is probably more reliable, was drawn up on account of the minutes of captive Boni-Maroons. J.G. Stedman's version goes as follows: "Here one Mr. Schults, a Jew, being the Manager at that time, who formerly was the Manager of Fauquembergh, the Rebels suddenly appeared and took possession of the whole plantation - Having tied his hands and plundered the house, they next began to feasting and dancing, before they thought it proper yet, to end his miserable existance - In this deplorable Situation now lay the victime, only waiting Barons Signal for Death, when his Eyes chancing to fall on the *above* Captain, he adress'd him nearly in the following words. '-O Joly Coeur, now remember *Mr. Schults* who was once your Deputy-Master, remember the Dainties I gave you from my own table when you was but a child,

and my favourite, my darling amongst so many others, remember this and now Spare my Life by your powerful intercession-' To which Jolly Ceur, 'I remember it perfectly well, but you O Tirant, recollect how you ravished my poor Mother, and flog'd my father for coming to her assistance, recollect the Shameful Act was perpetrated in my infant presence, recollect this then die by my hands, and next be damn'd, 'Saying which he severed his head from his Body with a Hatchet at one blow, and with which having play'd at bowls upon the beech, he next cut the Skin with a knyfe from his back, which he spread over one of the Cannon to Stop the firing" (Price and Price 1988: 271).

The Maroon Toni (of Nieuw-Roosenbeek), however, who had been a witness of the murder, declared that manager Schültz had been shot by Boni because he refused to tell him where the gunpowder was kept; following which Boni had taken an axe and cut off part of Schültz' leg and put it on top of the cannon. This story was later affirmed by others[49].

When the Maroons mounted their attack by the evening twilight, the alarm was given at the surrounding plantations. Armed *burghers* and soldiers from the plantations north and south of Nieuw-Roosenbeek came hurrying on, but as soon as they heard the Maroons yelling and banging drums, they felt too weak to attack them. Only by midnight had this armed force become so large that they finally had the courage to try and recover the plantation. The Maroons, however, avoided a fight and vanished again leaving behind the major part of the goods which they had already packed. The following morning, a commando of 22 soldiers went after the raiders, but the Maroons had disguised their escape route so well that the soldiers lost track[50].

The attack on the Nieuw-Roosenbeek plantation is a clear illustration of the fact that the Maroons preferred spectacular actions to safety. The raid would have been more successful if they had started carrying off the slaves and packing the goods immediately after the invasion. They only started to make the necessary preparations for their escape when they saw an armed force approaching from the neighboring plantations, as a result of which large part of the booty fell back into the hands of the pursuers. On the other hand, one might conclude that it was exactly the fact that the Maroons stayed at the plantation for a couple of hours and caused a terrible pandemonium which could be heard for miles around, that deeply impressed the colonists and the slaves. In this way, Boni inspired both dread and awe in his enemies. How ill-considered this spectacular action at the plantation may seem, it did have psychological effects.

The Maroons soon transported their booty to Buku. J.H. Oorsinga's commando was still stationed in front of their village, but the soldiers had hardly come into action, as most of them lay wounded in huts built for the occasion. Some of the soldiers had got wounded by falling into the traps lined with sharpened stakes[51].

After the attack on the plantation of Nieuw-Roosenbeek, the planters realized that they would never beat the Boni if they continued in this fashion. It was true that Governor Jean Nepveu had asked the Dutch authorities to send him more troops, but it was not yet sure whether his request would be granted. It would also take at least half a year for the troops to arrive. The

planters therefore decided at a meeting of the Court of Policy on 7 June 1772 to purchase about 300 slaves and convert them into soldiers. The councillors Willem Bedlo and Dirk W. de Mey were held responsible for this operation. On 15 July 1772, the first contingent of 116 slaves for the *Neeger Vrijcorps* Black Rangers or *Redimusu* as they were called in the Creole language (Red Bonnets), was recruted. The governor immediately sent them to the Cottica area to fight the Boni. Some weeks later, they were reinforced by another 180 freed slaves, which completed the Corps (Hoogbergen 1985b: 25-28 and 156).

The raid on the Nieuw-Roosenbeek plantation was primarily aimed at obtaining the necessary gunpowder and rifles to defeat the besiegers of Buku, but Boni was not satisfied with the results. As soon as he had transferred the captive slaves to Buku, he decided to undertake another expedition to the plantation area. The Poelwijk plantation was supposed to have a lot of ammunition in stock. On 27 June, the Maroons showed up at Poelwijk in broad daylight. The slave Animba was the first one to discover them. While loudly screaming *Businenge doro* ("the Bush Negroes are coming"), she ran past the plantation buildings to the Perica River and jumped in a boat. Her yelling had caused the greatest commotion, as a result of which everyone was running about. At that moment, the manager of the plantation, Gerhardts, was smoking a pipe in the gallery of his residence, together with a carpenter and the manager of plantation Corrisane who paid him a visit. The latter jumped off the gallery and ran to the boat in which Animba had jumped, while the manager of Poelwijk was still in doubt about whether to fetch his rifle from the hall or flee as well. But he could not hesitate for long, as three Maroons came charging at him, which made Gerhardt decide to rush off to the riverside. The boat had already floated off some twelve meters, but the manager jumped into the water and tried to catch up with the vessel. The three Maroons had also come rushing to the riverside and arrived almost at the same time. One of them pointed his gun at Gerhardts and tried to shoot him but the rifle misfired three times, whereupon the other two tried to open fire. To their great surprise their guns misfired as well. In the meantime the carpenter had arrived at the riverside. The Maroons levelled their rifle at him and this time the weapon worked. The carpenter was hit by the bullet, the Maroons jumped at him and beat him to death with the butts of their rifle.

There was yet another white man at the plantation, Hendrik Müller, a groom who had only recently arrived from Holland. When Hendrik Müller heard from some women that the Maroons were plundering the plantation, he rushed off to the residence as he had promised the manager he would do in case of an emergency, for a large stock of gunpowder was kept in the attic. When he got to the attic, he saw both managers leaving in a boat. Only a moment afterwards two Maroons entered the manager's residence and when they arrived upstairs and saw Hendrik Müller standing there, one Maroon said to the other: 'Another white man, it's your turn to shoot for I have run out of ammunition.' But the other Maroon also had run out of ammunition, so they decided to take Hendrik Müller to Boni[52]. The slaves from Poelwijk told Boni that Hendrik Müller had only recently come to work at the plantation and that he had never harmed the slaves. Boni thereupon decided to let him

go and he gave Hendrik Müller some slaves who were contaminated with *yaws*[53] and no longer wanted by the Maroons. Hendrik Müller returned to the plantation and on his way back he ran into some Maroons who stole his clothes. Other Maroons refused to believe that Boni had let him go and arrested him once again. So the groom was taken before Boni for the second time. When the Maroon leader saw that they had taken all Hendrik Müller's belongings, he took his own hat and gave it to him as a cover against the rain. He ordered his fellowmen to let him go and Hendrik Müller himself was ordered to go back to Paramaribo and tell the Court of Policy that Boni wanted peace[54].

It was only a small group of Maroons who had marauded plantation Poelwijk: probably only Boni himself and some twenty warriors. Their booty was yet quite substantial: 21 rifles, among which some brandnew specimen, a box of cartridges for the swivel cannon and a chest full of ammunition and gunpowder. The slaves were very willing to follow the Maroons. A total of about 70 slaves disappeared from Poelwijk, while another group was reported to be missing from the neighboring plantation of Altona. On account of Hendrik Müller's story, the Court of Policy started talks about settling peace with the Boni-Maroons. It was already the second time that Boni asked for peace. But once again, the Court of Policy decided to decline Boni's request. It was true that Governor Wigbold Crommelin had settled peace with Maroons ten years ago, but Governor Jean Nepveu was not in favor of such a policy. He considered all peace settlements with runaways a dishonorable matter and tried to convince the Court's Councillors of the fact that the pacified Maroons only wanted to dictate the laws of the colony. Jean Nepveu thought that settling peace with new groups of runaways was not the right way to solve the problem of marronage, as it would encourage new groups of slaves to desert from their plantation and they in turn could always ask for a peace settlement. The main reason for turning down Boni's proposal, however, was the fact that the *Redimusu* (Black Rangers) had just become operational. The planters wanted to await the results of this new armed force which had cost them such a large amount of money[55].

Early July 1772, Captain J.H. Oorsinga returned to Paramaribo because he was ill. He reported that he had not really made any headway in conquering Buku. His men were busy building a wooden pier across the swamp but he did not know if it would work as the piles threatened to come loose because of the constant movement of the tides in the swamp. Apart from that, the soldiers were watched by the Maroons on the other side of the swamp and came under fire as soon as they even tried to begin their activities. J.H. Oorsinga was replaced by J.C. Halthaus, who was sent to Buku to offer amnesty to the Maroons. Every runaway who returned to his master's plantation within three weeks' time or reported himself to a military post, would be readopted as a slave without being punished. None of the Maroons, however, accepted this offer. On the contrary the Boni opened fire on their besiegers with the rifles they had stolen from Poelwijk. On the 16 July, they even mounted a massive attack on the military encampment. At half-past-four in the morning, Halthaus found his camp surrounded by Maroons, who wanted to take it by

assault. It was only in the afternoon that the soldiers managed to force back the Maroons. But the soldiers found themselves in an awkward situation, as they had almost used up all their ammunition and would never survive a second attack[56].

In the meantime, the Black Rangers had arrived at 's-Lands-Welvaren. The commander of the post proceeded as follows: a patrol of white soldiers under the leadership of Major Scholts would re-supply ammunition and join J.C. Halthaus in attacking Buku from the west, while the Black Rangers would approach the village from the east. On 21 July, Major Scholts left 's-Lands-Welvaren. The weather was extremely bad and it poured rain for a whole day. The water in the swamps came up to the patrol's shoulders. Then, suddenly, the soldiers and bearers were taken under fire. The bearers got rid of their load and made a run for it. The soldiers tried to shoot at the Maroons from the water, but a heavy thunderstorm broke and all the gunpowder got wet. Fifteen soldiers were hit by Maroons' bullets or killed. In order to avoid that they would all perish, the soldiers fled. Now that the provisioning had failed, the siege of Buku had to be given up. J.C. Halthaus and his soldiers retreated in silence[57].

On 22 July, the Black Rangers continued on their way, unaware of Major Scholts' and J.C. Halthaus' defeat and retreat. Their first objective was finding the path which connected Buku to the plantation area for the Maroons had twice managed to break away unnoticed and maraud the plantations during the soldiers' presence in front of the village. On 24 July, the Black Rangers found a Maroon path along the Coermotibo River which they followed for days. It led across ridges, carried on underwater in the swamps and wound its way in several directions. It eventually led the black soldiers to a creek which had been made navigable by the Maroons. On July 27 the soldiers set off on this underwater path. One day later, they found themselves right behind Buku. They heard the Maroons firing shots and making music. At night, they tried to approach the village which turned out to be impossible for the water was too deep. Unaware of the fact that the military camp in front of Buku had already been broken up, the Black Rangers decided to cross the quagmire leading towards this camp to join the soldiers[58].

Some days after J.C. Halthaus' camp had been broken up, the Boni discovered that the siege of Buku had come to an end. One morning they noticed that there was no more cock-crow in the camp of the enemy. Boni sent a spy who came back reporting that indeed all the soldiers had left, whereupon Boni ordered a couple of men to destroy what was left of the camp. While they were doing that, the Maroons caught sight of the Black Rangers wading through the grass marsh. A fight erupted which did not claim any lives but the Black Rangers got scattered, whereupon the Maroons went hunting them down in their pirogues. The Maroon Pasop (of Poelwijk) was the smartest one; he posed as a black gunman of J.C. Halthaus' commando and told the Black Rangers that Buku had been conquered some days before. The black bearers of Major Scholts' commando were busy tearing down the military camp to move the materials to Buku. Seven Rangers believed Pasop's story and went with him to Buku. Pasop's mates caught another four soldiers. All

prisoners were brought before Boni, who asked them whether they wanted to join his group or whether they would rather die. The eleven prisoners, however, preferred to die. Then the Maroons took the Rangers to their *gadu oso* (Holy Shrine; literally 'God House'), where they prayed forgiveness for breaking the oath they had sworn not to kill any Negroes. They advanced as a reason that the Black Rangers had let themselves be bribed to chase after their fellowmen. The Boni vowed that they would kill any Ranger who crossed their path.

After the prayer, the eleven prisoners were taken outside. Boni shot one of them and had the others killed by the machete. One Ranger was left alive as the gun pointed at him twice misfired. The soldier was tortured and a piece of his right ear was cut off. By order of Boni, his hair was cut in the 'Kormantin way'. When all was done, Boni ordered the Ranger to go back to the colonists and tell them that they had to conclude peace immediately, but if the planters did not like that and really wanted to wage war, they would need at least three shiploads of Black Rangers to match the Boni[59].

More dead than alive the Ranger came back at 's-Lands-Welvaren, where he reported what had happened in Buku. The Court of Policy also rejected Boni's third request for peace. The planters were pleased with the valiant efforts of the Rangers and were flattered that the black soldiers would rather die than join the Maroons.

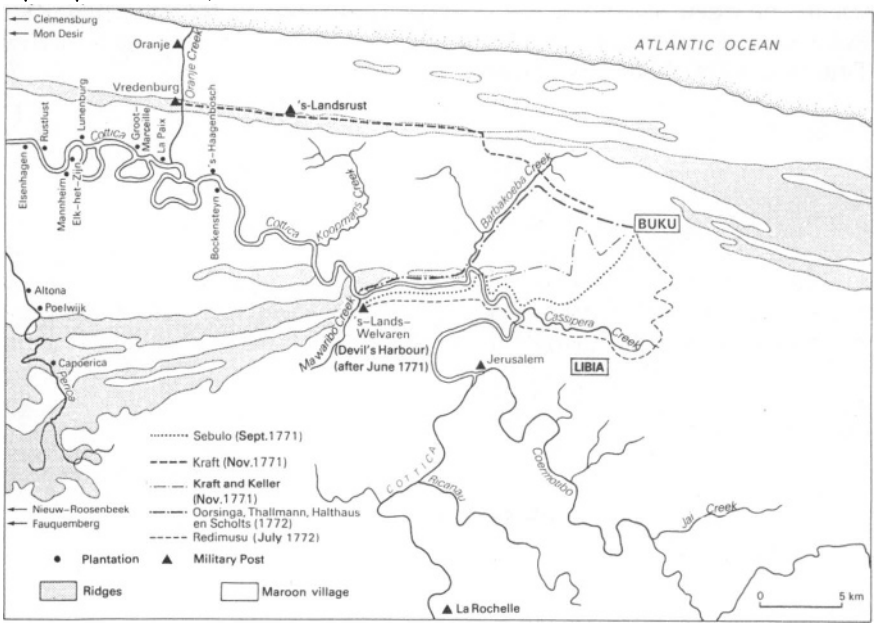
On 15 August 1772, the Boni invaded the plantation of La Paix on the Cottica River, probably to add weight to their request for peace, but certainly to obtain some new ammunition. The Boni had informed the slaves of La Paix in advance, who were very willing to join them. A small military contingent was billeted at the plantation, which offered fierce resistance and prevented the Boni from seizing the plantation and stealing the military stock. After two hours of heavy fighting the Maroons retreated taking 58 slaves with them. Five days later the Boni attacked two plantations on the Mot Creek, namely Mon Désir and Clemensburg. The raid on Clemensburg turned out to be a success, but the people of Mon Désir - including the slaves - defended themselves violently. After they had lost one warrior, the Boni decided to cease fighting. A military patrol went after them but returned empty handed[60].

Early September, the water-level in the swamps of the Cottica area had significantly decreased owing to the dry season. The authorities in Paramaribo considered it the right time for another attack on Buku and followed the same tactics as in July. A group of 173 Black Rangers would approach the Maroon village from the west, while a mixed commando of both Rangers and European troops would pass the Barbakoeba Creek and make an enveloping movement via the path found in July. The soldiers were led by Captain Jurriaan François Frederici, the later governor of the colony (Hoogbergen 1985b: 165).

Shortly after the soldiers' arrival at the Barbakoeba Creek hostilities started. After heavy fighting the Maroons were driven off the banks of this creek. After three days of skirmishing the troops arrived in the surroundings of Buku, where the Black Rangers, who had taken the other route, had already arrived. The first attack on Buku failed and five soldiers lost their lives. The second attack, however, was more successful. On 19 September 1772, 180

Rangers silently turned the flank of Buku. On 20 September, two hours before sunrise, a fake attack was mounted by a number of soldiers who had stayed behind. At half-past-four, Buku was besieged from the other side by the Rangers. The surprised Maroons defended themselves fiercely, but they were gradually driven back. Even the stockades could not stop the raiders. Half an hour after the attack had been mounted, the fight was over. Nine Maroons had been killed, while three men, 23 women, seventeen children and a quantity of goods had fallen into the hands of the troops. The village was abundant with arms: two iron swivel cannons, two brass mortars, 20 rifles, some machetes, two pistols, two double-barreled shotguns, gunpowder, lead and bullets. The soldiers also found a large variety of tools, such as spades and axes (Hoogbergen 1985b: 166-168)[61].

Map 9: Expeditions to Buku, 1771-1772



The seizure of Buku was not only a strategic setback for the Maroons, but it was also of psychological importance. The Maroons had pledged not to bend before the colonists. For months in a row they had been sneering at the troops opposite the swamp, which had not only frustrated the troops but the planters in the colony as well. A village of free Maroons nearby was a source of hope for the slaves, and many slaves ran off to Buku in the months before the seizure. Late July, however, the Maroons became aware of the fact that Buku would soon be indefensible, as its strategic location was mainly assured by the high water-level in the swamps, which would be steadily decreasing in the dry season. The flood of many new runaway-slaves and the successful

raids on the plantations of Nieuw-Roosenbeek, Poelwijk, Clemensburg and La Paix, as a result of which the number of Maroons had probably doubled, also meant that twice the number of mouths had to be fed. The provision grounds, however, did not yield enough food for the whole group. Boni had meanwhile ordered his men to lay out new garden plots a couple of miles eastwards. In August he and Aluku had transferred most women and children to the new gardens. When the troops mounted the attack on Buku on 20 September 1772, the village had already been abandoned for the greater part. The besiegers merely found the women and children captured during the most recent attacks on the plantations. Apart from that, there was only a small group of warriors in the village, who were headed by Boni himself and the chief Puja (of La Paix). Prisoners affirmed that Baron was not amongst the people defending the village. He had left Buku some weeks before and had not even joined Aluku on his trip to the new provision grounds. In the weeks after the seizure of Buku about ten Maroons were arrested in the surroundings of Buku, while another couple of them voluntarily went back to their plantation. Thus, a total of about fifty Maroons were recovered.

CHAPTER 4

THE FIRST BONI-MAROON WAR, PART TWO 1773-1777

Kormantin Kodjo joins Boni

After the seizure of Buku, the Maroons fled eastward to the area of Locusboom between the Wane Creek and the Atlantic, about fifteen kilometers west of the Marowijne River. Most of the women, elderly and children had already been evacuated to Locusboom during the siege of Buku. The Maroons had meanwhile transferred the crops from the surroundings of Buku to Locusboom and under the leadership of Aluku cleared trees and increased the number of fields. After the conquest of Buku, more and more Maroons went to live near Locusboom, but as most of the crops were not yet fully grown, the group was stricken by famine and split up.

A small group followed *kapiten* (chief) Ariko (of Oostwaard) and moved to the east of Locusboom near the Marowijne River, where they built two villages: Lukubun and Fisiolo. Even though the Maroons of Ariko kept in touch with Boni's group in the years following the seizure of Buku, Ariko never went back to Boni. Lukubun was discovered by a military patrol in December 1775, as a result of which the Ariko-Maroons fled to Fisiolo, the location of which had always remained unknown to the planters.

Kapiten Puja (of La Paix) moved from Locusboom to the south and built a large village of about 60 houses near the Wane Creek together with the people who had followed him. Boni went to the southwest with several people, to the hills near the Patamacca Creek, where he hoped to find some food in the old gardens of the Tesisi-Maroons. Aluku and the *kapitens* Sambokwasi, Bonga and Suku (Lemi of Marceille) stayed at the provision grounds of Locusboom.

Kormantin Kodjo had not yet joined the group of Boni at the time of the fight for Buku. Some months after the seizure of Buku, the *Neeger Vrijcorps* (Black Rangers), were sent to the Cassewinica region to look for these Maroons. On 11 December 1772, a contingent of *Redimusu* who were patrolling in the surroundings of the Cassewinica Creek under the command of Lieutenant A. Vinsaque arrived near the village of Kormantin Kodjo. Maroon spies discovered the oncoming patrol and warned their chief, who decided to take to the field against the Rangers. The Maroons waited until the soldiers were wading through the swamp before they attacked them. As soon as they opened fire, the bearers dropped their loads and fled. When, shortly afterwards, one of the Rangers got wounded, the soldiers panicked and left quickly. One Maroon was killed in the fight: it was Kormantin Kodjo's brother Kwaw. Another Maroon, Kodjo Amboi, was seriously wounded and died some time later.

After this fight, the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo feared that the Black Rangers would come back and mount another attack. Most of them decided to leave for the Patamacca region and settle in an old Maroon village called

Pinnenburg, which had been abandoned long ago. Part of them, however, stayed at the provision grounds of the Cassewinica Creek. The Maroons who had left for the Patamacca region regularly went back to their former garden plots to fetch sowing-seeds for their new fields. Kormantin Kodjo had only recently arrived in the Patamacca region when a couple of his men discovered a track in the bushes which appeared to belong to a group of Boni. The men arranged a meeting between Boni and Kormantin Kodjo, in which the two Maroon chiefs decided to band together and fight the planters collectively. As Kormantin Kodjo had a larger food stock at his disposal, part of the Boni stayed with him. Together they built the village Alésikondre (Rice Village) in the Patamacca region[1].

For some time, the authorities in Paramaribo were under the impression that the Maroons had crossed the Marowijne River after the seizure of Buku, as two prisoners had told them. In March 1773, a contingent of Black Rangers under the command of Carl Gottlieb Mangold searched along the French side of the river, but to no avail. The prisoner who had gone with them as a guide was interrogated and finally confessed that he had been lying because his oath of loyalty to the Maroons prohibited him from telling the truth. Another illustration of the fact that the Maroons were afraid of breaking the oath they had sworn, we find in the story of Jankoni. After his arrest in Buku, Jankoni presented himself as a guide for the Black Rangers. Once freed from his chains, he showed a patrol the way. Shortly afterwards, Jankoni dropped dead of an unknown cause. The Black Rangers were convinced that his mysterious death was caused by the fact that he had sworn faith to the Maroons. Now that he had broken the oath, he had to die[2].

Shortly after his meeting with Kormantin Kodjo, Boni sent a messenger to Aluku in Locusboom to tell him all about recent developments. Boni also suggested moving to the Patamacca region with the majority of the Maroons. The old provision grounds of Kormantin Kodjo between the Suriname and the Commewijne River would, at least for the time being, provide enough food for all of them. It is not clear whether Aluku accepted Boni's offer. Part of the Boni-Maroons probably moved to the Patamacca region, whereas another part stayed near Locusboom. Anyhow, the Maroons under the command of Ariko and Puja (of La Paix), who had left Boni, did not go to Alésikondre.

When, in early 1772, the colonial troops did not manage to conquer Buku, Governor Jean Nepveu asked the Directors of the *Societeit van Suriname* in Amsterdam to send more mercenary soldiers from Europe to fight the Maroons. The Directors had promised him an extra contingent of 1200 soldiers. When news of the seizure of Buku arrived in The Netherlands, the first group of 500 soldiers was already on its way to Suriname. Early 1773, the troops sailed into the harbour of Paramaribo under the command of the Swiss Colonel Louis Henry Fourgeoud. Governor Jean Nepveu actually wanted them to return to Europe as soon as possible and the soldiers were not sent to the battle field.

While the government troops lingered in Paramaribo, the Black Rangers were patrolling in the swamps of the Cottica area. In April 1773, a patrol led by Carl G. Mangold discovered one of the new Boni-villages near Locusboom.

It was the village Sambokondre, called after its *kapiten* Sambokwasi. Five Maroons were killed in the fight for the village, while one man, one woman and one child were taken prisoner. The village consisted of 65 houses and was surrounded by large gardens planted with corn and tayers. In the village, Carl G. Mangold found some baskets packed with the belongings of the Maroons, which seemed to indicate that they were making preparations to leave the village. Some prisoners later affirmed this and declared that Boni, who had left for the Patamacca region, had sent rice and other food products to Sambokondre and had also ordered the Maroons near Locusboom to strike the camp and join Boni in Alésikondre. Apart from that, the prisoners revealed that a number of important chiefs were present in the village at the moment of the attack by Carl G. Mangold. They referred to Baron, Jolicoeur, Sambokwasi, Bongo and Suku (of Marceille). Although the Maroons had about 20 rifles at their disposal, they could not keep up the fight for long as they were short of ammunition[3].

The discovery of the village near Locusboom indeed resulted in most of the inhabitants moving to Alésikondre. Apart from that, the Boni were reinforced by another small Maroon group under the leadership of Askaan, who came from the plantation Ephrata. Askaan had built a village south of the Commewijne River, but the group, which consisted of ten men and some women, no longer felt safe there and came to join the Boni-Maroons. Askaan was the only one who had a rifle, the rest of them were unarmed[4].

Askaan (of Ephrata) would later play the role of traitor. In 1789, during the Second Boni-Maroon War, he defected to the Dutch colonists and helped the soldiers conquer the Boni village of Aroku on the Marowijne River. But more about that in Chapter 6.

The Battle Resumed

On 19 May 1773, we hear again of the Maroons of Kwami. That day they conducted a raid on Martenszorg, a small lumber plantation in the Patamacca region. The commander of the military post of La Rochelle, Lieutenant Lepper, heard the alarm but, as the plantation Martenszorg was one hour away, he arrived too late at the scene of the fighting. The following morning Lieutenant Lepper went searching through the jungle with his patrol and discovered the village of Kwami, which consisted of ten houses. The inhabitants made a run for it as soon as they saw the patrol approaching, but Lieutenant Lepper ordered his troops to fire at them and one Maroon got killed. The houses in the village contained a large number of useful objects, among which were goods stolen from Martenszorg and two hammocks. Lieutenant Lepper ordered everything be smashed to pieces and set the houses on fire. When the command set off on the journey home, however, the Maroons opened fire on the soldiers. The Maroons continued to follow the patrol for the whole day and finally launched a massive attack when the men were crossing a creek. On the very moment that the soldiers were standing on a tree-trunk in the middle of the water, the Maroons began shooting and hit five men, among

whom Lieutenant Lepper. Most of the soldiers, however, were not very seriously wounded and the whole contingent managed to reach La Rochelle by the evening[5].

The discovery of Kwamikondre had made Lieutenant Lepper over-confident. From the number of sleeping-places in Kwami's village he had concluded that the enemy was no more than a small group of Maroons of about 25 to 30 persons. The lieutenant therefore decided to mount another patrol in search of the fugitive Maroons. On 8 June 1773 he entered the jungle together with Sergeant Nieman and 30 soldiers, taking along provisions for about four days. The patrol did not include any bearers nor spies who were usually sent ahead to check whether the path was clear. After two days the patrol was ambushed by Maroons. Hardly had the fight started when Lieutenant Lepper was shot by a Maroon who jumped up and shouted that his time was up, whereupon he levelled his gun and shot the commander. That was about half past eight in the morning. Lieutenant Lepper's death put fresh heart into the Maroons. They shouted with joy that the commander was dead and that the others would soon fall victim to the same fate. Sergeant Nieman took over the command and ordered the cartridge boxes opened. The fight which followed took the whole day. The Maroons did not shoot continuously but intermittently and from different sides. They changed places all the time and the soldiers could hear the chiefs commanding which group to open fire on the patrol. During the scarce lulls on the battle the Maroons hurled threats against the soldiers.

The Maroons encountered by Lieutenant Lepper did not belong to Kwami's group but were part of the allied Maroons of Boni and Kormantin Kodjo. The assailants not only included people from Alésikondre but also Maroons from the group which had moved to the Patamacca region after the discovery of Locusboom. Maroons guarding the forest spotted the patrol, whereupon Boni and Kormantin Kodjo decided to attack with a group of 30 armed men. They took up their position on the higher terrain and charged the soldiers while they were wading through a swamp. By eight o'clock in the evening the patrol had used up all of its ammunition, which convinced Sergeant Nieman to retreat. The journey home, however, was constantly disturbed by the Maroons' regular attacks. The soldiers lost track of each other and many of them got lost in the dark. It turned out later that, apart from Lieutenant Lepper, another six soldiers had been killed and another seven had been taken prisoner by the Maroons. The Maroons lost six of their men, among whom was Jolicoeur[6].

The prisoners were taken to Boni's house in Alésikondre. *Gaanman* Boni let the soldiers sit down on a bench beside his house and asked them why the colonists were pursuing him all the time. They had already taken hold of Buku and still they were not satisfied. The soldiers' arrest was God's punishment for the constant torment of his people. The prisoners thereupon declared that they had been sent on a patrol because the Boni were continuously marauding the plantations. They had been ordered to go and fight the Maroons. When the prisoners realized that they would not be granted mercy, they begged to be killed without torture. Boni agreed to that and he gave five

soldiers to Baron and Askaan (of Ephrata) and two to Kormantin Kodjo. Baron and Askaan shot their prisoners, whereas Kormantin Kodjo had by his son Arili chop off their heads[7].

After the attack on Lieutenant Lepper the Maroons decided to leave Alesikondre, as they were afraid that this strategically ill-situated village would soon be discovered. Part of them went back to the old Tesisi-villages Jukabun and Blakakriki under the leadership of Sambokwasi. Others were condemned to a wandering existence in the savannahs near the Patamacca Creek. The major group consisted of about 250 persons and was commanded by Boni, assisted by his *kapitens* Suriname (of Lunenburg), Adjami (of Stolkwijk) and Suku (of Marceille). Baron went his own way again, taking along some 50 Maroons. Kormantin Kodjo, who was accompanied by about 80 people, also separated from the others, but only temporarily. Finally, there was still the small group of Kwami. It is estimated that the number of Maroons present in the Patamacca area by the middle of 1773 totalled some 450 to 500 persons[8].

The news about Lieutenant Lepper's defeat caused a row between the enraged planters and the Court of Policy in Paramaribo. It was the first battle in the Boni-Maroon War which had claimed so many white victims. The planters were particularly furious that Louis H. Fourgeoud's troops remained idle in Paramaribo while the Maroons were still a serious threat to the colony. After a series diplomatic manoeuvres Governor Jean Nepveu and Colonel Fourgeoud finally reached an agreement about the way to fight the Maroons. As the major rainy season had meanwhile set in, it was decided to postpone Colonel Fourgeoud's offensive actions until September. In the meantime the troops would be transported to inland posts (Wolbers 1861: 337).

In mid-June 1773 the Maroons attacked a lumber plantation in the Patamacca region. Boni, Baron and Kormantin Kodjo were among the raiders, which proved that the Maroons, even though they had split up, still kept in touch with each other and operated in close collaboration. The raid, however, was not very successful as the plantation did not have many people to take away nor goods to plunder. The only 'prey' was the slave Theresa with her baby, but she escaped within a month's time and went back to her master. Upon her return Theresa told that the Maroons had not brought her to a village but that they continued to roam about in the jungle, feeding on palmheart. In spite of the fact that everyone had a rifle, they did not accomplish much for lack of gunpowder. Boni and Baron had once again started to quarrel as the latter accused the *gaanman* of marauding plantations without achieving any results. Allegedly, Baron had enough of fighting the colonists and intended to move to a safer place to lay out large provision grounds. Kormantin Kodjo had chosen the side of Boni in this dispute[9]. Shortly after this attack the Maroons clashed with a *burgher* patrol resulting in a heavy gunfight. At that moment, the Maroons seemed to have plenty of ammunition at their disposal but in the end they had to withdraw because many of them were wounded (Theresa told that six men and six women got injured in the fight, all of whom later died from their wounds.) While on their way back, the Maroons attacked another lumber plantation in the Patamacca region. They burnt down all the buildings, with the exception of the living quarters. When

the fighting was over, Boni and his people went to Kwamikondre. The fields surrounding this village, however, did not yield enough food to feed all of them, so most of the Boni soon left again. Only a handful of people stayed behind in the village but they were discovered by a patrol of the Black Rangers under Carl G. Mangold. One man and one woman were taken prisoner[10].

On 29 August 1773 the Boni conducted one of the most successful raids during the First Boni-Maroon War. That day they attacked three neighbouring plantations on the Cottica River: De Suynigheid, Du Perou and Nouvel-Espérance. All adult Boni, both men and women took part in the raid. Only Aluku and Boni's mother stayed behind to look after the children. Two former slaves from Du Perou had shown the Maroons the way to these plantations. The Boni had been watching the plantations for four days in a row to size up the strength of the armed force which was, as it turned out, not very impressive. The planters were under the impression that the Maroons were wandering about the Patamacca region and did not expect them to attack plantations in the Cottica area, as a result of which they had not taken any additional safety measures.

The Maroons plundered the buildings and set them on fire, while taking along 47 slaves. After the attack they returned to Locusboom where they built three villages next to each other. The first village belonged to the Tesisi-Maroons under the leadership of *kapiten* Suku and was called Nieuw-Tesisi. The second village, which was the largest one, was Boni's village. It was called Gado-sabi (God knows) and consisted of 45 houses. The last village belonged to Kormantin Kodjo and was designated as Makamaka. The three villages were surrounded by twelve large garden plots, the surface area of which totalled up to more than 80 acres. North of Buku they built a fourth village called Holimi. Baron, who had meanwhile formed his own group of about 50 Maroons, stayed in the Patamacca region. He had not been involved in the raids in the Cottica area (Hoogbergen 1985b: 192-196).

After the raids on the three plantations on the Cottica River a couple of Maroons stayed behind in the Patamacca region. On 9 September 1773, these Maroons plundered a lumber plantation, while setting fire to all the buildings. The planter Nieboer, who was at home when the Maroons struck, suffered burns because he did not dare leave his house. The raiders carried off an ill man and one woman. They did not seem to be interested in the goods, as they carelessly threw away many objects, among which a brandnew gun. It was only ten days afterwards that a patrol under J.H. Oorsinga went in pursuit of the Maroons. Oorsinga discovered their escape route and also found the path which the Boni had followed on their marauding expedition to the three plantations on the Cottica River, but he did not dare proceed along the path for fear that the Maroons would ambush his small patrol[11].

The accounts given by captive Maroons made the Court of Policy conclude that the dispute between Boni and Baron had resulted in the latter not taking part in the attacks on Du Perou, De Suynigheid and Nouvel-Espérance nor being involved in the plundering raids in the Patamacca region. Governor Jean Nepveu suggested that the Court of Policy send a reliable slave to Baron to ask him whether he would consider defecting to the colonists. In the event

Baron accepted the offer, he would be liberated provided that he joined the Black Rangers. The Appecappe plantation was said to have the right slave for contacting Baron. The counsels Willem Bedlo and Dirk W. De Mey were charged with making the necessary arrangements for the expedition, but after two weeks they declared that it was impossible to find a slave fit for this mission. It was therefore decided to wait until Louis H. Fourgeoud, who was about to enter the jungle of the Cottica area, had finished his full-scale military expedition. When Colonel Fourgeoud returned empty-handed, as will be explained later on, Willem Bedlo and Dirk W. De Mey still sent three slaves to Baron. They could not find the Maroon leader but were nevertheless released and incorporated in the Ranger Corps[12].

In early October Louis H. Fourgeoud took to the field against the Maroons. Until April 1774 his troops were almost permanently out on patrol. The only result of these six months of useless expeditions was total exhaustion of the soldiers. There were in fact hardly any results to be expected as Colonel Fourgeoud had his men marching in straight lines without paying any attention to the natural circumstances of the district nor to any traces or signs of the Maroons. Apart from that, the soldiers marched to the roll of drums so that the patrol could be heard for miles around. The only thing they found were abandoned villages and garden plots. Fourgeoud did not call in the Black Rangers, as their way of fighting did not fit in his strategy[13].

The Villages near Locusboom

In early December 1773 a Maroon was caught at the Vriesenburg plantation. His name was Kupido Abo and he came from Poelwijk. He had joined the Maroons when they raided this plantation on 27 June 1772. The only thing he initially wanted to reveal during his interrogation was that both Boni and Baron had moved to the Marowijne area and had built new villages at a distance of two days from each other but, that their contacts were nevertheless infrequent. After being tortured, however, Kupido Abo confessed that he had only recently left the village near Locusboom together with Boni and four other Maroons to go and spy on the plantations in the Cottica and the Perica area. He further told the Public Prosecutor that Boni and the others had secretly visited the plantations of La Paix, Groot-Marceille, Mocha, Vriesenburg, De Eendragt and Brouwershaven and had consulted with the slaves and the *basias* about the colony's affairs. At La Paix, Boni had been invited to the *basia's* house for further talks, whereupon they had discussed the situation on the plantation. Boni had asked for information about the armed force at the neighbouring post, as well as about the amount of gunpowder and rifles available at the plantation. After having spoken to the *basia*, Boni went to the hut of Kwasiba, a woman who had been living with the Maroons for a while but had recently returned to the plantation. When Boni and his men had obtained enough information, they left for the neighboring plantation of Groot-Marceille, where they had a meal with a Kormantin slave. During the meal, several slaves came to bring them presents, after which the Maroons left again. They

took a pirogue from the plantation, crossed the Cottica River and went ashore near Mocha, where they visited *basia* Kwaw. They intended to continue their journey to Poelwijk and Altona to consult with the slaves about a possible attack on these plantations, but once they arrived at the Wayamoe Creek, they were spotted by a military patrol and had to change course. Due to their hasty escape, they had to leave their gifts behind. The group of Maroons then headed towards Vriesenburg, where they were welcomed by the slave Paay who offered them a meal and called a number of trusted slaves together. The Maroons had a conversation with the slaves, at which time Paay promised the Maroons to provide them with gunpowder and rifles if they eventually would attack. During the following days, Boni and his men also consulted with the slaves from De Eendragt and Brouwershaven.

These fragments from Kupido Abo's testimony illustrate that the *basia* cannot simply be considered to be follower of the colonists. The archives consulted depict the *basia* rather as a mediator in the slave community rather than the right arm of the colonist power. It was not the white master who appointed the *basia*, it was the slaves who nominated him. The *basia* was first of all the leader of the slave force. He was mainly responsible for the organization of the work, but he also decided which slave had to perform which job and at what place. Apart from that he also determined whether a slave was too ill to work or not and he was also the one who did the talking in case of complaints. These functions may still be considered in line with the planters' intentions, but the fact that the *basia* also kept in contact with the runaway slaves definitely proves a more complex role. The *basia* usually knew where the fugitives were staying. He turned a blind eye to their visiting the plantation and allowed the slaves to bring them food. He often traded with runaways, exchanging fish and game caught by the Maroons for products from the slave gardens. Generally the *basia* was also the one who set up the plans for massive desertions and ensured that the necessary goods and provisions for the escape were packed.

When Kupido Abo visited the plantation of Vriesenburg for the second time, he was trapped by a couple of slaves. After interrogating him in the Fort Zeelandia, the Court of Policy handed him over as a guide to Colonel Fourgeoud. Kupido Abo managed to escape, however, but he did not dare return to the Boni as he was afraid that the *gaanman* would blame him for being captured. He then joined a group of runaways hiding in the Perica area who had originated mainly from the plantation of Nieuw-Timotibo[14].

Although the Boni had built their new villages in the zone north of the Wane Creek, they regularly went patrolling in the Patamacca region. It was there that they attacked the troops under the command of Captain Jurriaan F. Frederici in the middle of January 1774. This happened not far from the place where Lieutenant Lepper had been taken by surprise, but this time the soldiers had exited the swamp so they could properly defend themselves. The shots fired by the Maroons, however, were very well aimed. Captain Friderici himself got wounded in three places, while three of his men suffered very serious injuries. The Maroons, however, did not go ahead with their attack and disappeared in a swamp that was too deep for the soldiers to follow

them[15].

In March 1774, Colonel Louis H. Fourgeoud left his camp on the Wane Creek and mounted a large patrol to the Marowijne River in the hope of finding the new villages of Boni and Kormantin Kodjo near Locusboom. This effort was unsuccessful. During that same month two Maroons were caught at the plantation of Hamburg who had been sent by Boni to gather intelligence on the situation in the Cottica area. By the end of March 1774 another Boni-spy was captured. Captain von Sebach, who returned from the Cottica area in Paramaribo, brought him to Fort Zeelandia. Captain von Sebach reported that Colonel Fourgeoud was still camping on the banks of the Wane Creek and intended to move to the Commewijne area via Tesisi on 1 April 1774. He further related that two of Fourgeoud's soldiers had recently lost contact with their patrol and had been discovered by the Maroons. One of them had been killed, while the other one was taken prisoner. Fourgeoud's journey to the Commewijne area was also a failure. On 27 April 1774, Governor Jean Nepveu wrote in his journal that if the Colonel Fourgeoud continued waging war as he had done over the past six months, he could well be roaming about the jungle and the swamps for years without achieving any success. The only result of Fourgeoud's patrols was total exhaustion of his soldiers - all of whom were stark naked while on patrol - because of the difficult expeditions[16].

In early April 1774 eight runaways, armed with nothing but a lance, attacked the Kortenduur plantation on the Perica River. They stole four guns and a bottle of gunpowder from the hall of the residential building. The manager and a white carpenter fled upstairs in a panic. The Maroons, however, did not do them any harm and disappeared with the stolen guns. The raiders belonged to a group of runaways under the command of Kwasi (of Meulwijk) who had settled behind the Kortenduur plantation since 1769. In 1774, the group was composed of ten men and one woman, Kwasi's wife. After the raid on Kortenduur the armament of the Kwasi-Maroons consisted of gunpowder, three guns, three pistols, six machetes and three lances. Some months after the plundering raid on Kortenduur Kwasi's village was discovered by Boni who invited the Maroons to join his tribe, an offer they could not resist[17].

On 4 May 1774 the Boni attacked the plantation of Groot-Marceille. There was a special relationship between this plantation and part of the Boni. Many slaves who had joined the Boni-Maroons, among whom were the chiefs Aluku and Suku, originally came from Groot-Marceille. Thus, the Boni partly descend from the fugitive slaves from Groot-Marceille[18]. Nevertheless, solidarity was hard to find on the evening of May 4th. The slaves grabbed their guns and started to shoot at the invaders. They shouted at the Boni that sacking their plantation would be no simple task. After a quarter of an hour the Maroons realized that the fight was bound to end up in failure and started their journey back home. They took advantage of the confusion to carry off twelve slaves.

Boni, Kormantin Kodjo and Suku, who had all taken part in the raid on Groot-Marceille, ordered the prisoners tied up behind the plantation. Some women were carrying their babies, but when the Maroons wanted them to leave the babies behind, as they would slow down the marching pace, they

started to cry and refused to hand over their little children. Finally, Boni allowed them to keep the children. The way back first led to the north until the coastline and then carried on eastwards. The Maroons marched the whole night through as they were afraid of being followed or driven into a corner by the soldiers of the Vredenburg post. But they passed this military post unnoticed at seven o'clock in the morning. After a couple of days the Maroons arrived at their villages near Locusboom, which were abandoned as Boni had advised Aluku to bring the women and children to a new place of refuge near the Barbakoeba Creek, called Holimi. The Boni decided not to bring back the women and children immediately, for they first wanted to see whether they had indeed misled their pursuers[19].

No sooner than one month and a half later did a contingent of Black Rangers under the command of Lieutenant P.S. Stoelman go searching for the raiders. The Rangers were attacked somewhere halfway the path which connected Holimi to the villages near Locusboom. The Boni retreated after a fight of about five hours, leaving behind two corpses and a large quantity of goods. Stoelman's commando patrol lost four soldiers with six wounded. As 30 guns failed to work and most of the gunpowder had been used up, Stoelman decided to turn back as well[20].

When the Maroons returned to Locusboom after the attack on P.S. Stoelman's patrol, they organized a big feast during which they beat drums and blew horns. The slaves who had only recently joined the Maroons, the slaves from Groot-Marceille in particular, were called together by Boni who briefed them on the code of conduct in the jungle. Then Boni sent a message to Aluku, telling him to keep the elderly, the women and children in Holimi for the time being. Apart from that he called together all men from the three villages to discuss the next move, given the fact that they had used up all of their gunpowder in the attack on Stoelman. They decided to maraud the plantations again and repeatedly referred to the plantations of Dirk W. De Mey and Willem Bedlo as a possible target, for they considered these planters the worst opponents of the Maroons[21].

In July 1774, a woman from the village of Kwami informed Colonel Louis H. Fourgeoud about the location of her village. Fourgeoud thereupon tried to approach Kwamikondre unnoticed, though without success as one of the soldiers, suddenly started to fire shots in the air when the advance guard was wading through the swamp around the village. The colonel was foaming with rage and called the soldier to account, who declared that in Suriname the colonial troops always fired pot shots when they approached a Maroon village[22]. If the troops really went about like this, it is obvious why they hardly ever caught a Maroon!

After the seizure of their village, the Maroons of Kwamikondre fled to the savannah, where they once again encountered Boni. They joined the Maroons of Boni and Kormantin Kodjo, though not for long as Kwami and part of his group broke away from Boni and built a new village on their own. But Kwami's group was doomed to fall apart, not as a result of the planters' actions but owing to Kwami himself. He was convinced of the fact that everyone was conspiring against him, which drove him insane. Almost every inhabitant of

the village was accused of *wisi* and within a short period of time he had 28 persons killed, leaving only eight Maroons, who desperately called in Boni's help. When Boni heard the news about this massacre, he decided to leave for the Patamacca region and to kill Kwami. All men left the villages near Locusboom as Boni considered it too dangerous to divide the group, given the fact that the Black Rangers under the command of P.S. Stoelman had not left the area after their fight in July but continued to patrol in the surroundings. Boni killed Kwami with the help of the fugitives who later joined his group[23].

On 11 July 1774, P.S. Stoelman discovered the three villages near Locusboom (Nieuw-Tesisi, Gado-sabi and Makamaka which had been abandoned. The villages were surrounded by large gardens plots. It took the commando five days to destroy all of the crops, such as corn, manioc, rice, peanuts and peas, most of which full-grown. There was a path from the fields which led to a large pond abundant with fish and used by the Maroons for swamp fishing. The path continued through a grass marsh swamp until it reached the coast. Stoelman ordered the villages of Suku and Kormantin Kodjo destroyed. The village of Boni, Gado-sabi, was left untouched and was turned into a temporary military post[24].

Baron's Death

By the end of July 1774, Aluku still found himself in the new village Holimi near the Barbakoeba Creek together with the sick persons and part of the women and children. Boni, Kormantin Kodjo and Suku had left the villages near Locusboom and were heading towards the Patamacca region with a number of armed men and some women and children. Two weeks after the destruction of their villages by P.S. Stoelman, the Maroons plundered the lumber plantation of the planter Winne. On the day of the attack, Winne's slaves had left early in the morning to go and work in the forest together with the slaves of other plantations. Upon arrival they noticed that the Maroons had passed there and had taken away their equipment, whereupon they decided to return to their plantation. They paddled down the Patamacca Creek in their pirogues, all seventeen of them and armed with guns. When they came near the plantation, they could hear shots fired but owing to the many bends in the Patamacca Creek they could not exactly tell where the shooting came from. Eleven slaves got out of the pirogues and continued by land. Soon they arrived at the plantation where they saw a large crowd of Maroons, including women and children, beating drums and singing Kormantin songs. The buildings were on fire and huge clouds of smoke hung above the plantation. Thanks to the clouds, the slaves could sneak up behind the Maroons, who were hardly visible but audible. When the slaves were near enough they started to shoot at the merrymakers. Two Maroons were killed, one of whom was Baron[25].

Before his departure to the Patamacca region, Boni had ordered the transfer of number of Maroons who could not accompany the rest of the

group to another village. The slaves who had been captured at Groot-Marceille shortly before were also taken to that village. Some of them however, took advantage of the situation and fled. A man (called Sultan) and three women (Kandasi, Klarinda and Amba) with their little daughters (Beti and Marietje) ran off to the south until they reached the Wane Creek, where they built a raft and paddled towards the west. By the end of July 1774, they arrived at 's-Lands-Welvaren. Sultan told the soldiers about the attack on Groot-Marceille and his stay in Locusboom. He told them that he remembered one of the Boni-leaders, namely Suku, from his childhood at the Groot-Marceille plantation where Suku was a slave. Boni had 20 good rifles at his disposal and the other two chiefs had sixteen rifles each, but the main problem was their lack of gunpowder. There were a lot of women and children in the village and there was plenty of food.

Sultan and the others were taken back from 's-Lands-Welvaren to the Groot-Marceille plantation, where they would resume their activities as a slave without being punished. Hardly had they arrived at the plantation when a conflict erupted between Sultan and the *basia*. The slaves of Groot-Marceille must have had very divergent views on their relationship with the Boni. Remember that when Boni, Kupido Abo and others visited Groot-Marceille in December 1773, they were given a hearty welcome by a number of slaves, but when the Boni attacked this plantation in May 1774, most of the slaves offered fierce resistance. The dispute between Sultan and the *basia* ended in tragedy: Sultan killed the *basia* and took his own life afterwards[26].

When the Maroons came back and discovered that six slaves from Groot-Marceille had disappeared, they were afraid that the other male slave captured at Groot-Marceille, Kokora, would also flee and betray them, whereupon Boni took the preventive measure of killing Kokora.

On 11 September 1774, Louis H. Fourgeoud marched into the jungle with 100 soldiers from the Maagdenburg post on the Tempati Creek. The patrol sped to the north and after three days it arrived north of the Peninica Creek, where the soldiers found an abandoned village belonging to Sambokwasi. Colonel Fourgeoud continued to march northwards and after a couple of days discovered another village of Sambokwasi which appeared to have been abandoned some three to four months before. Then Fourgeoud rushed headlong towards the west, where he found yet another Maroon village consisting of 52 houses, each of which was provided with sleeping-places and hammocks for about two to four persons. The following day, the patrol marched northwards again and came across a fourth village which only contained some houses and a provision ground. Hardly had Fourgeoud left the village when he was attacked. There was only a brief gunfight and the Colonel did not even catch a glimpse of the attackers. He continued his journey and arrived at a fifth village on that same day. It was a large village comprising about 56 houses. Louis H. Fourgeoud wrote in his journal that it had to be the village of Kwami and Sambokwasi. He encountered a group of ten Maroons near the village and he forbade his soldiers to shoot at them, ordering some bearers to go and talk with them. Fourgeoud tried to talk the Maroons into surrendering, but they refused to do so. By the following morning they had disappeared. The

Colonel sent his soldiers in pursuit but the Maroons were nowhere to be found. The troops marched on and ended up at the military post of La Rochelle[27].

In November 1774 Boni sent a group of men under the leadership of Askaan (of Ephrata) from Holimi to the plantations on the Suriname River to size up the situation. On the upper course of the Surnau Creek, Askaan discovered a small Maroon village. The Maroons, whose chief was called Maandag (Monday), offered to show Askaan the way to the De Verwagting plantation. They declared to be willing to help the Boni band plunder this plantation, although they did not have any guns at their disposal. By the middle of November, Askaan and his men arrived behind the said plantation, from where they carried off ten slaves.

The local planters thought that this raid was organized by other runaway slaves hiding in the neighbourhood, not aware of the fact that there was a whole cluster of armed Boni just behind their plantations. The patrol sent after the raiders was thus much too small, for it only comprised a mere twelve armed *burghers* and slaves. On 21 November 1774, the commando was surprised by Askaan and his men. The Maroons mounted their attack under the sound of horns and the roll of drums. When the slaves saw the Maroons approaching they abandoned their ground. The manager of La Simplicité and a soldier were killed, and a couple of others wounded. Nevertheless, it was only by half past five that the survivors ceased fire and fled to De Verwagting.

When all was done, the Maroons set off on their journey back to Holimi via the route south and east of the plantations. On their way, they also attacked Copie, a lumber plantation near the Cassewinica Creek. They burnt down the buildings and stole four rifles and some gunpowder. A large contingent of Black Rangers under the command of Jurriaan F. Friderici set off in pursuit of the raiders, though without success. About a month later, two slaves from De Verwagting returned at their plantation, nearly starved to death. The Maroons had left them behind in the jungle while on their way home[28].

Holimi and Kofihay

By the end of 1774, Louis H. Fourgeoud suspended his military operations and went to Paramaribo. The Boni built a second village in the neighbourhood of Holimi, called Kofihay. In early June 1775, Captain Mayland discovered new provision grounds and some Maroon paths during one of his regular patrols in the Cottica area. The Maroons, however, attacked F.L. Mayland in their traditional way: while the troops were wading through a swamp. Two soldiers were killed in the fight. Captain Mayland went back to the Jeruzalem post on the Cottica River where he reported on his discovery of the Maroon path. A military force was recruited at Jeruzalem, but - for reasons unknown - Louis H. Fourgeoud decided to postpone the expedition for another two months. It was not until August that the Colonel started to make the necessary preparations for the expedition to Holimi and Kofihay, in which he invol-

ved the Black Rangers for the first time. It was also for the first time that the soldiers no longer marched to the roll of drums. After two years Fourgeoud finally realized that the Maroons could not possibly be beaten by European tactics[29].

John G. Stedman (Price and Price 1988: 389-424) reported in great detail about this expedition and even included a plan of the marching route. On 19 August 1775 his troops discovered the provision grounds of Holimi, the village which has been - incorrectly - designated as 'Gado-Saby' by Stedman. It was on the following day that Louis H. Fourgeoud mounted the attack. The Maroons present at the provision grounds defended themselves violently: they opened fire on the soldiers from behind the felled trees, but Holimi was indefensible against the 300 soldiers of Colonel Fourgeoud's patrol. The Boni-Maroons' only possibility was setting fire to the village and taking advantage of the towering flames to escape via a groyne. When, after a couple of hours, the fire had finally gone out, the Colonel and his troops marched on. Holimi appeared to consist of 87 houses, most of which had more than one room and two floors. From the afternoon till the evening, the Maroons mounted up to three counter attacks. Later in the evening, when darkness set in the Boni and the Black Rangers started to curse one another through the night. At a certain moment Fourgeoud intervened in the dispute and ordered his soldiers, to shout at the Maroons that they would get food and liberty if they surrendered. The Boni, however, responded with howls of derision and started to sing songs of victory and blow their horns (Hoogbergen 1985b: 213-214).

On the day following this nerve-racking night, Louis H. Fourgeoud had his troops search for a path leading through the swamps. They discovered a sort of floating bridge of tree trunks hidden between the bushes, but this 'path' was so narrow that they could not possibly use it. Besides, as the path was constantly kept under fire by the Maroons, many of them would be killed while passing. The day afterwards, however, the Maroons seemed to have disappeared and the soldiers headed by John G. Stedman finally had the courage to cross the bridge which led them to Kofihay, a village of about 50 houses and surrounded by the same sort of extensive provision grounds as in Holimi. But there was not a single Maroon around. It then became clear why the Boni had been making such a terrible lot of noise two nights before: it had given them the opportunity to evacuate their women and children (Hoogbergen 1985b: 215).

When Louis H. Fourgeoud and his troops besieged Holimi, Aluku, Boni and Kormantin Kodjo had brought their women and children to Kofihay and the neighbouring Busikrey or the 'Woods Lament' as John G. Stedman translates it (Price and Price 1988: 445). After the seizure of Holimi, Boni told the women that they would have to surrender Kofihay as well because the enemy was too strong. That was why the Maroon leaders brought the members of their tribe to the marshy territory near the Cottica River. Part of them was temporarily lodged in Ariko's village Lukubun[30]. As Louis H. Fourgeoud's commando had not nearly discovered - let alone destroyed - all the provision grounds, most of the Maroons remained living in the surroundings of Kofihay and Holimi. A new village was built near the Cassipera Creek, i.e.

Adamkondre, probably named after captain Adam (of Twijfelagtig).

Shortly after the seizure of their two major villages, the Boni tried to take revenge. Boni sent his son Agosu and about 40 men to the southwest to attack the Schoonauen plantation in the Perica area, while he himself moved to the west together with Suku to conduct a raid in the Matapica region. Both operations, however, failed. Agosu did not pay heed to his father's instructions and, apart from Schoonauen, he also attacked the neighbouring plantation of Altona. As his commando only had 17 guns at its disposal and the plantations' slaves were not willing to join them, Agosu had to beat a hasty retreat. Four Maroons were killed in the fight. Boni and Suku did not dare penetrate further into the Matapica region, as a great number of soldiers were stationed on the banks of the Oranje Creek. They changed their plans and attacked the post of 's-Haagenbosch in the hope of plundering the ammunition warehouse. But the soldiers there did not give ground[31].

In October 1775, Louis H. Fourgeoud came across large provision grounds near the village Busikrey, which consisted of 116 houses and was located in the surroundings of the Cassipera Creek. Some days later he found the path which connected Busikrey to Holimi and Kofihay. The conquest of Busikrey meant that Fourgeoud had discovered all the important Maroon villages in the Cassipera region. As after the seizure of Buku, the Maroons were forced to disperse, which did not prevent them from keeping in touch with each other. Suku (of Marceille), moved to a place unknown together with his wife Tamara (Baron's daughter), her mother Marti (of Roosenbeek) and six other Maroons. Two of Suku's *kapitens*, Basa (of Clemensburg) and April (of Twijfelagtig) joined Kormantin Kodjo. After Suku had left, Boni and Kormantin Kodjo decided to attack the plantation of Sinabo together before splitting up. Boni wanted to stay in the familiar surroundings of the Cassipera Creek, but Kormantin Kodjo thought the region to be too dangerous and told Boni that he would be heading towards the south to build a new village between the Patamacca Creek and the Marowijne River after the raid. By the middle of November 1775, Boni and Kormantin Kodjo started to make the necessary preparations for their expedition to the Sinabo plantation on the Commetewane Creek. Once again, Aluku stayed behind with the women and children, this time on a higher terrain in the Cassipera region not far from Holimi.

Boni and Kormantin Kodjo went on their way with 80 men and 25 bearers, including some women. After having spied on the Commetewane region, it appeared that there were too many soldiers around the Sinabo plantation. Both chiefs then accepted a proposal from former slaves of the plantation Fauquemberg, who advised them to maraud the plantation of Killenstein-Nova on the Commewijne River. In early December, the Maroons found themselves behind this plantation and on December 6th, at five o'clock in the morning, they mounted the attack. They conducted their raid according to their ever so famous strategy: they charged at the buildings while loudly blowing horns and yelling furiously. The manager of Killenstein-Nova was killed but his secretary managed to escape, the buildings were burnt down and the slaves captured. The Maroons caught a total of 33 women and children, whereas the men were left untouched. The raiders did not stay for long: by

the time that the reinforcements from post L'Espérance arrived, they had already gone. The soldiers who chased after them recovered two women and a child, as well as a considerable amount of goods[32].

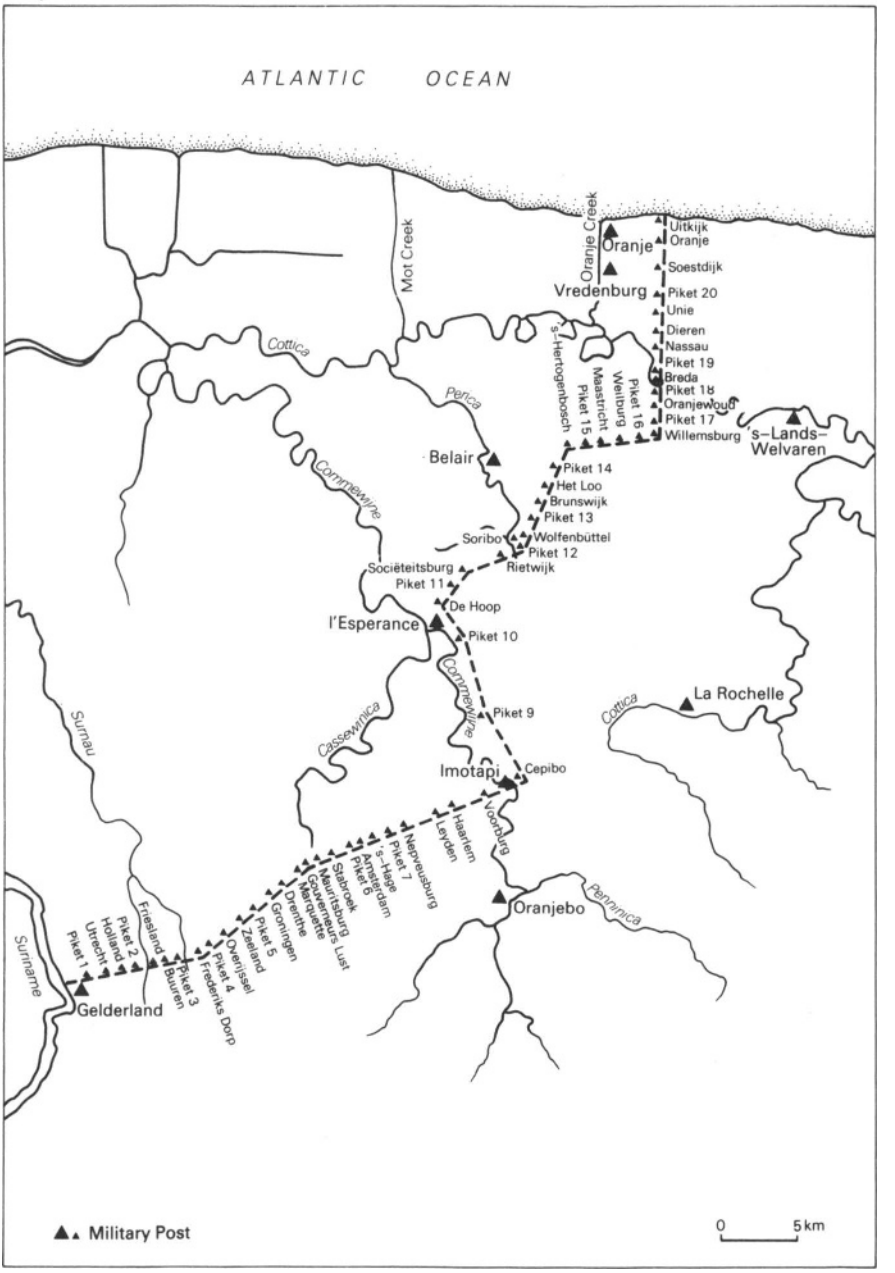
It took the Boni quite a while to retreat. For over a month, they roamed about the south and southeast of the plantation area before finally arriving at the Wane Creek with the captive women and children. During the journey, various disputes broke out with these women. Kormantin Kodjo's son Arili cut one of the women in the leg with a machete and left her behind in the jungle. She was found dead by the pursuers. Other women were mistreated as well because they refused to come along. Boni and Kormantin Kodjo split up near the Wane Creek. Most of the men followed Kormantin Kodjo.

Governor Jean Nepveu had concluded from the raid on Killenstein-Nova that the offensive strategy followed by Louis H. Fourgeoud for two and a half years was not the right way to protect the plantations against the attacks by the Maroons. By the middle of September, he received permission from the Councillors of Policy to station a military Cordon along the eastern border of the plantations. He had also received the necessary permission from the Dutch authorities to start building the protective Cordon immediately. In 1778 the job was near completion. The Cordon formed a line of about 94 kilometers in total, starting near the Atlantic, somewhat east of the Oranje Creek, and running southwards to the Upper-Commewijne area, before bending to the west. The finishing point was post Gelderland on the Suriname River (See Hoogbergen 1985b: 28-32). See map 10 for the location of the Cordon.

In early February 1776, a message from The Netherlands arrived, instructing that the departure of Louis H. Fourgeoud's troops had been set for 1 August 1776. Many planters still considered this date to be too early, so they wrote the Directors of the *Sociëteit of Suriname* and the Prince of Orange (Prince William V) to postpone the departure of the troops until the Maroons were defeated. As a matter of fact, Colonel Fourgeoud's troops hardly came into action during the first months of 1776. By the middle of April, the beginning of the major rainy season, Fourgeoud resumed his military operations but he did not achieve any success against the Maroons during the subsequent months (Price and Price 1988: 469-493).

The Black Rangers, however, were more successful (at least according to the planters). On 18 April 1776, while they were patrolling in the surroundings of the Barbakoeba Creek, the young Maroon Jonas (who appeared on in chapter 3), approached Conductor A. Vinsaque. Jonas had been staying with the Maroons since the attack on 's-Haagenbosch in 1771. He offered to lead the Rangers to the new Boni-village of Mokomokobusi,

Map 10: Location of the Cordon



which was only two hours away. Jonas said that Boni was out hunting with some of his men, so they stood a fair chance of seizing the village without too much resistance. The Rangers decided to follow Jonas immediately and moved quickly towards Mokomokobusi. The Maroons soon caught sight of the charging soldiers, but they did not have enough time to set up a proper defense. As a matter of fact, the village lay just behind a swamp and the best place for defense was the elevated ground in front of the swamp. Vinsaque's troops, however, moved up so quickly that the Maroons could not reach this place in time, as a result of which their village of about 50 houses was easily conquered. The Black Rangers even caught ten Maroons in the provision grounds: six women and four children. The women came from the plantations of Roosenbeek and Killenstein-Nova. In the pandemonium of the attack, they had hidden themselves and only surrendered to Vinsaque when the village was seized[33]. Mokomokobusi was located in the same area as the Boni-villages Kofihay and Holimi.

In May 1776 the Rangers set off on another bush patrol under the leadership of Conductor A. Vinsaque, departing from the Barbakoeba Creek. Jonas (of 's-Haagenbosch) was once again their guide. Vinsaque left the post of Vredenburg and marched towards the east past the ridge which also lodged the military post. After four days the patrol arrived at a Maroon path which had only recently been used. The Black Rangers followed this path for two days before they arrived in a village of 60 houses. As a result of the enormous rainfall of the preceding weeks, the water-level in the village, which was built on a groyne, was about 20 centimeters deep. The path ended up in an unpassable grass marsh near the Wiawia Creek. The guide Jonas alleged never to have been there. Vinsaque asked Jonas whether he could bring him to the village of *kapiten* Puja (of la Paix), but he answered the commander that it was impossible to reach the village without a pirogue. Jonas said that he could show them a number of garden plots instead. During the following days, he brought the Rangers to 21 different provision grounds, all of which contained full-grown crops, especially rice and corn. It took Vinsaque's troops five days to destroy the fields. In the end, Jonas brought them back to Mokomokobusi near the Barbakoeba Creek[34].

By the middle of July 1776, Louis H. Fourgeoud's troops returned to Paramaribo to prepare themselves for the journey back to The Netherlands. In late July, the men embarked for their departure on 1 August. At that moment, only 366 out of 900 soldiers who had been sent from The Netherlands (500 in February 1773 and about 400 during January and February 1775) were still alive, 80 of that number were seriously ill and 100 had been declared unfit for military service. Some days before their departure, a letter from The Netherlands arrived with the message that the request for postponement had been granted and that the soldiers would not leave until further notice. Apart from that, an extra contingent of 750 soldiers would be sent to Suriname to reinforce the depleted forces. The soldiers, however, were very displeased with this news but they were ordered nevertheless to shout hurray in approval. Most of them could hardly utter the word, but after a dose of alcohol followed by some strokes of the cane the commander convinced them

to comply[35].

The Boni's Crossing of the Marowijne River

After the destruction of Holimi and Kofihay in August 1775, most of the Boni remained living near the provision grounds of the Barbakoeba and the Cassipera Creek. Some of them moved to *kapiten* Ariko's village of Lukubun, other's to the village of Puja (of La Paix) near the Wane Creek. A small group of Luangu-people roamed with Suku (of Marceille), while Kormantin Kodjo migrated to the south as the leader of the Kormantin. After the seizure of Mokomokobusi in April and the destruction of the provision grounds in June 1776, Boni decided to leave eastern Suriname and move across the Marowijne River into French Guiana.

The first indications about the Boni-Maroons' crossing the Marowijne River reached Paramaribo in September 1776. A large group of Maroons was reported to be paddling down the river in their pirogues to an Amerindian village somewhat south of the estuary of the Wane Creek. The inhabitants of the village were cautious and made a run for it. The Boni took away anything they could use, set the huts on fire and caught a woman and a child who had not been able to escape in time. Undoubtedly, this raid was only an attempt at intimidation. The Maroons were afraid that the Amerindians, who hunted all over the country, would discover their new settlements and betray them to the colonists. The Boni therefore attacked and drove the inhabitants off the territory which they considered to be their future living area[36].

The French officer in command of the post on the Marowijne River affirmed the Boni's crossing. During one of his patrols along the river, the officer had spotted some Maroons in large pirogues. As the Boni outnumbered his patrol by far, he soon turned round. When Governor Jean Nepveu heard the news, he decided to send a patrol to the Marowijne River to look for the place where the Boni had crossed this river. The patrol was constituted of a total of 315 soldiers, under Commander Bernard Texier. He departed from the Wane Creek and marched south to Tesisi, where he found a path near the old Maroon village, which had recently been tread upon. The patrol followed the path and first arrived at an abandoned camp of about eight huts. Later the soldiers found 35 huts which appeared about six to seven weeks old. The following day the patrol had to cross a steep mountain before they arrived at a Maroon resting-place which contained 41 shacks. From there, the twisting path continued in east-northeasterly direction. On 7 October 1776, two shots were fired, probably by a Maroon guard who wanted to warn his mates. Bernard Texier ordered his men to march on quickly, but they did not spot a soul. The only thing they found was an abandoned basket with fresh fish, which proved that there had indeed been people around them. A quarter of an hour later, the soldiers came across a resting-place of about 74 huts, once again about six to seven weeks old. Another camp was found in the neighbourhood, which consisted only of sixteen huts, some of which still had cooking fires burning. It was the hiding-place of about ten to twelve Maroons who

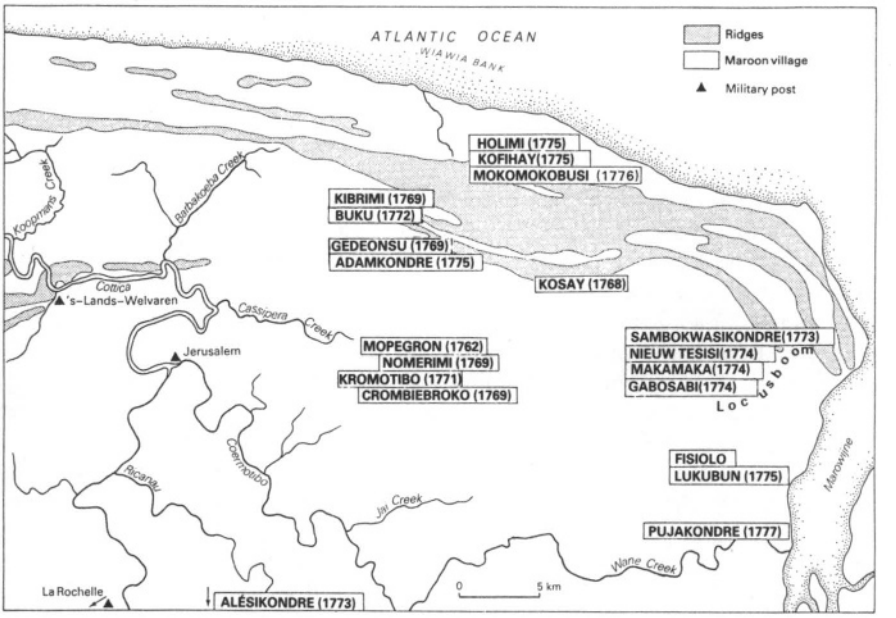
had fled after they had heard the gunshot. The soldiers searched through the surroundings, but they could not find out where the Maroons had gone. By midday, the patrol arrived at a large path along which the Maroons had apparently been dragging their pirogues. They later found four cut *kwari*-trees (Vochysiaceae), which had served as a basic material for the seven meter long boats. A camp of 74 huts had been pitched next to the trees. Later on, Bernard Texier even found the place where the Maroons had launched their pirogues on a tributary of the Marowijne River. It was exactly at the junction of this creek and the Marowijne River that the Boni had crossed to French Guiana[37]. Since that time this creek is named Boni Creek.

Almost one month later, one of the Black Rangers encountered a woman who was living all on her own in the surroundings of Tesisi. Her name was Esther and she had joined the Maroons on the occasion of the attack on Clemensburg in August 1772. Esther affirmed the Boni's crossing. She told Bernard Texier that, apart from Boni, Suku and Kormantin Kodjo had also moved into French Guiana with their people some two months before. Adding this to Bernard Texier's own findings, one might conclude that the Boni crossed the eastern part of the Marowijne River by the end of August 1776[38].

Although Louis H. Fourgeoud was pleased with the Boni's escape to French Guiana, Governor Jean Nepveu was not at all delighted. He believed that the Boni's crossing of the Marowijne River would do the colony no good. He thought that he could no longer search for and destroy Maroon villages whereas the Maroons could enter Suriname whenever they wanted to. This confirmed the governor's opinion about the quick completion of the Cordon as the one and only way to stop the Boni. If Jean Nepveu had considered the events of the latest years more seriously, he would have noticed that the major attacks on the plantations had been carried out just after the destruction of the Maroon villages and during the siege of Buku. Boni first of all wanted his people to live in peace and quiet. It was only in case of an emergency, if the provision grounds had been destroyed or if they were short of guns and ammunition, which they needed for their defense, that he proceeded to an attack. But the authorities in Paramaribo were not familiar with the motives underlying the Maroon attacks. Their fear of the slaves taking over power was probably the main reason for the colonial patrols against the Maroons. It was mainly the fact that the planters refused to recognize the Boni as free people which caused this long-lasting war.

In November 1776, Louis H. Fourgeoud's troops mounted a bush patrol to the surroundings of the Cassipera Creek to see whether there were any Maroons left in Kofihay and Holimi. John G. Stedman, who was the leader of this patrol, wrote in his 'Narrative' that, on 23 November, his troops discovered an old man with a long white beard and a broken cutlass in his hand. He forbade his men to shoot at this Maroon and motioned the man to come near, while shouting that nobody would hurt him. But the old man refused to do so and ran away. In spite of John G. Stedman's order, two soldiers opened fire at the man but missed him (Price and Price 1988: 562). Apart from this man, there was nobody to be found in the whole region.

Map 11: The villages of the Boni-Maroons, 1762-1777



It took a long while before the troops had destroyed all of the crops which had turned ripe since their last expedition. They cut down cotton plants and plantain and destroyed the fields which were planted with corn, rice, peas and pineapple.

In December 1776, the promised reinforcement of 750 soldiers arrived from The Netherlands. Most of the soldiers, however, were in a bad condition. Nevertheless, most of them were sent to the Cottica area immediately. It was with these sick men that Louis H. Fourgeoud mounted a new patrol in January 1777. After some days of marching, the patrol arrived at a path which appeared to have been used that same morning. The commander of the advance guard even reported that he had seen a couple of men, who had run off as soon as they caught sight of the soldiers. Fourgeoud ordered his troops to give chase. Half an hour later, the patrol arrived at some provision grounds about ten acres, planted with plantains, manioc, tayers, peanuts, okra and tobacco. These grounds were estimated to have been laid out some fourteen months before, as many of the bananas had already been picked and, in some places, the manioc had been harvested for the second time. The patrol paused for a while at the garden plots to give the bearers the opportunity to rest. Fourgeoud left the bearers and some 30 soldiers behind and searched through the provision grounds with the rest of the troops. They discovered a broad path which led to the west, to a grass marsh which had almost dried up. On the other side of this large and open space, the Maroons had lined up behind a parapet. Fourgeoud ordered his troops to charge at the middle of this

barricade. The soldiers crossed the mud and fired at the Maroons, who were no match as they were hardly armed. They still tried to set fire to their village before they surrendered but the soldiers moved up so quickly that they failed to do so. Nevertheless, the troops did not manage to capture any inhabitants, who disappeared in the large swamp behind the village.

The village belonged to Puja (of La Paix), was 59 houses large, and was from a strategical point of view, very well located. It lay, so to speak, like an island in the middle of the grass marshes. Thanks to the extreme dryness over the preceding weeks, Louis H. Fourgeoud had been able to reach it without pirogues. The village lay at about one hour from the Wane Creek, between the Jai Creek and the Marowijne River[39]. After the destruction of their village, *kapiten* Puja's Maroons also crossed the Marowijne River and joined the group of Boni and Kormantin Kodjo. The discovery of Puja's village was the last important achievement of Colonel Fourgeoud. In April 1777 part of his troops set off for the journey back. John G. Stedman also returned to Europe. In his Narrative' (Price and Price 1988: 607) he makes mention of the fact that only 100 out of 1200 soldiers who had come to Suriname embarked on the trip home: the rest had died in Suriname, most of them from exhaustion or illness. Stedman's information, however, is not altogether true as the total number of soldiers who had come to Suriname was 1650 instead of 1200.

During 1777 Louis H. Fourgeoud still mounted some patrols together with the remaining troops but he did not find a single Maroon. By the end of December, he called off all military operations in the Cottica area. He told Governor Jean Nepveu that it was useless to organize more expeditions, as the colony had been cleared of Maroons so that there was not any reason for him to stay in Suriname longer. A couple of months afterwards, he left Paramaribo with the remaining troops and sailed back to The Netherlands, where he died shortly after his arrival.

CHAPTER 5

THE BONI IN FRENCH GUIANA

The Boni on the Crique Sparouine

When Governor Fiedmont of French Guiana returned to Cayenne from a visit to the Marowijne region in January 1777, he entered into correspondence with his colleague in Paramaribo in which he gave vent to his disappointment about the Dutch officer on the Marowijne River who had not prevented the Boni from crossing the border. The French were not pleased with the Maroons' arrival, yet their military means were inadequate to drive them away. On the other hand, they did not allow the Dutch troops to cross the river and pursue the Boni on French territory. The French thought that there was no point in trying to eliminate the Maroons. Their attitude towards the Boni was rather ambivalent. They were not sure about the number of Maroons who had fled to Guiana. Initially they thought that not less than 10,000 Maroons had come to their colony and, even later, they still estimated the number of runaways at about 3,000, whereas they only numbered some 450 persons.

Some years before, le Baron de Bessner, the later Governor, had already been thinking about convincing all Surinamese Maroons to emigrate to French Guiana in the hope that they would hire themselves out as laborers on the plantations. As he had also made a wrong estimate of the number of Maroons, his plans were soon revealed to be impracticable. Now that a large group of Maroons crossed the French border, the idea of deploying the Boni as work force in the colonial economy rekindled, but the French finally decided to watch how things developed. Some sketchy plans about pacification and missionary work were made instead. The Governor wrote to the authorities in Paramaribo that he intended to send some missionaries to the Boni to convert them to Catholicism and find out what their plans for the future were. If the Maroons wanted to return to Suriname, the French would help them to the best of their ability, but if they desired to become subjects of the French Government, they would be granted freedom and a place to live, provided that they would stop their marauding expeditions. The Governor concluded his letter with the assurance that if the Boni resumed their war against the Dutch, the French would provide military forces to assist the Dutch in fighting the rebels[1].

About a month later, the French delegate V.P. Malouet visited Suriname but his trip failed to provide any fresh insight. The report which he sent to Versailles, however, made clear that the French had meanwhile changed their ideas about the number of pacified and warring Maroons. Malouet (1802: 31 et seq.) estimated the number of pacified Maroons (Ndjuka, Saramaka and Matawai) at a mere 3,000, whereas he assessed the number of Boni at some 400 to 500, an estimate which is most likely to be correct.

The archives refer to the Rowawona Creek (the Boni Creek) as the place

where the Boni crossed the Marowijne River in 1776. This creek empties into the Marowijne near Jaimeskondre, about 20 kilometers south of Albina. For years it remained unknown to what place the Boni had escaped. In 1779 the authorities in Suriname finally learn from the Ndjuka that the new Boni-villages were located on the Crique Sparouine. About 225 adult Maroons, spread over four villages, had settled in the same region. Most of the people, about a hundred in total and mainly women and youngsters, lived in Gadogron (God's territory) the village of Aluku, Boni and Agosu. The one but largest village was led by Kormantin Kodjo and was inhabited only by Kormantin: 40 women and 25 men. The third village was ruled by chief Puja (of La Paix). After he had been ousted from the surroundings of the Wane Creek in January 1777, he and his men had joined Boni again. Puja's village counted eight men and 20 women. *Kapiten* Basa (of Clemensburg) was in charge of the fourth village, which was inhabited by nine men and nineteen women. The most striking feature of this information, which was provided by a Maroon who was taken prisoner in 1782, is the relatively large number of women[2].

In October 1777, a contingent of Black Rangers was on patrol in some former Maroon settlements in the Cottica area, but there was no evidence that the Boni had returned there after their escape to French Guiana. One year later, during the major dry season in August and September 1778, the Black Rangers mounted several patrols to former Maroon settlements, such as Kofihay, Holimi, Busikrey and Ariko's Lukubun, where commander Seiffart found various fresh marks of the Maroons' presence. It seemed that the place had been visited by people who had dried plantains there and taken food from the garden plots. At a certain moment, the Rangers even caught sight of some Maroons carrying food in baskets. A basket was found on the way, which appeared to contain plantains, *pingo*-meat (bush pig), cord and a hammock. The trails found in the 35 huts made clear that about 45 Maroons, probably Boni from French Guiana who had come to gather food from their old provision grounds, had been staying there for a couple of days. Conductor Seiffart followed their path which led to the old village of Sambokwasi. Many of the Mauritius palms surrounding the village had been chopped down for the extraction of palmheart. The patrol proceeded on the path which finally brought Seiffart and his men to the Rowawona Creek, where footprints in the mud pointed to four pirogues which had been towed in and out of the water. Due to their hasty escape, the Maroons had left one pirogue full with baskets of rice behind[3].

In November 1778, another contingent of the Black Rangers was patrolling along the Marowijne River. Conductor A. Vinsaque had been ordered to go and check whether the Boni were still staying on the French side of the border. It was in the surroundings of the Akoli Creek that the patrol caught sight of a Maroon. They shot at him, but he managed to escape. Near the crossing-place on the Rowawona Creek, they found an old Kormantin-sanctuary: a skull and a small mast. The patrol marched further southwards on the following day and found an abandoned village of 36 houses by the afternoon. They also spotted a pirogue on the other side of the Marowijne

River and a large house built on an island in the middle of the river. As the Marowijne River is quite broad at that point, Vinsaque could not identify what kind of house it was, nor who was in the pirogue. During the subsequent days, the patrol hardly found anything of value. The Boni had apparently moved to French Guiana for good and, except for the odd plundering raid on their former provision grounds, they seemed to avoid Suriname territory.

The Maroon Village of Koki

The Sparouine region was not exactly uninhabited when the Boni came to settle. For example, there was another Maroon village, called Mapika, within two days walk to the south, at the confluence of the Crique Sparouine and the Crique Salua. The chief of this village was a man named Koki. Koki fled from his plantation to the Ndjuka-Maroons in the early 1760. In 1768 the Ndjuka, communicated to the *posthouder* that they were willing to hand over six runaways, including Koki, who were staying in their villages. But Koki and the other five soon sensed these plans and fled. Some weeks later they returned at night and called the Ndjuka chief Kwaku outside. As the man was not at home, Koki and his mates decided to kidnap his wife. There was yet another runaway in Kwaku's house, who had refused to flee with Koki at the time. Koki now ordered him to join them, but when he refused to do so, the Maroons shot him. Koki and his men dragged everything out of the house and set it on fire. When Kwaku's wife started to scream and shout that she would rather die than join the Maroons, Koki decided to leave her behind. Koki's impudence resulted in a large *krutu* (palaver) being held in the village of Ansu-plantation[4] on the Djuka Creek about one week later. *Kapiten* Kwaku appeared to be merciful and argued for leaving the Koki-Maroons in peace. But the Ndjuka paramount chief Pambu and most of the other Ndjuka chiefs wanted to take revenge on Koki and decided to send a patrol to Koki's village[5]. It is not known, however, whether this patrol was ever mounted.

One year later, the Maroons of Koki showed up again in the Ndjuka living area, this time with the intention of abducting women. Their attempt to capture some women who were fishing on a riverbank failed because the women's cries for help brought men to rescue them and prevent an abduction. As revenge, the Ndjuka sent a commando of 30 men to Koki's village near the Crique Beiman. The Ndjuka patrol soon found Koki's village and caught two men who had been wounded in the attack. The other inhabitants of the village fled, whereupon the Ndjuka set fire to the village and destroyed the garden plots. Koki and his men moved northeastwards and built a new village called Mapika in the mountains bordering the upper course of the Sparouine[6].

After this attack, the Maroons of Koki decided to stop attacking the Ndjuka and to steal food, utensils and women from the Surinamese plantations instead. In July 1773, they showed up near Jodensavanne (Jew's Savannah). The slave Cesar (of Isaak Nassy) and one of his fellow-slaves were cutting wood in the forest when they found themselves surrounded by six Maroons armed with knives and lances, who ordered them to come along.

Cesar pretended to leap for joy at this order and suggested that they attack his master's plantation together, which could be easily done because Isaak Nassy was not at home and there were no other colonists around. It would be worth their while for there were a lot of women and goods at the plantation. The Maroons agreed and sent Cesar ahead to find out whether the situation had not changed in the meantime and everything was clear. When he arrived at Isaak Nassy's house, Cesar urged a couple of slaves to go and warn the Black Rangers who were stationed at Jodensavanne. He himself went back to the Maroons with a bottle of rum. The Maroons all drank and accompanied Cesar to his hut at the plantation to eat and drink some more. In the meantime, they started to pack up the booty. While they were doing this, about ten black soldiers sneaked up to the hut. But they made so much noise that the Maroons scented danger and disappeared quickly. Cesar tried to stop them, but he did not succeed and got severely wounded in the belly. Two runaways were shot by the Rangers and some Ndjuka recognized them as the members of Koki's group. Cesar received a reward of 25 guilders and a silver bracelet engraved with his name and the words *Trouw aan de Blanken* (Loyal to the Whites)[7].

Mapika counted thirteen inhabitants in 1775: ten men and three women. In the same year, the Maroons set off on another plundering expedition to Jodensavanne. They caught two female slaves who belonged to Gomez Tonsera and who were collecting firewood in the bushes. Koki took both women to his village via a roundabout route. The journey home to Mapika took them almost a whole month.

In July 1776, Koki mounted a third expedition to the Suriname River, together with fourteen of his men. Their target was the Bergendaal plantation, where they captured eleven women and five children on August 8th. The slaves from Bergendaal pursued the Maroons, but after a fortnight they came back reporting that they had failed to recover the abducted women[8]. Even a patrol of Black Rangers was unable to find the Maroons, who had not even tried to cover up their escape route. It is quite likely that they left so many tracks leading to the Ndjuka area on purpose, so that these pacified Maroons could be accused of fomenting the raid. After a journey of twelve days, Koki and his men arrived at the Marowijne River with their female prisoners. They crossed the river in the pirogues which they had previously hidden in the underbrush and marched on to Mapika on the Crique Sparouine.

Shortly after this incident, a new Maroon named Moor (of La Simplicité) settled at Mapika. He had hardly arrived when six men from the village decided to go to the Suriname River again to hunt for women. This fourth journey once again brought the Maroons to Jodensavanne. One day, while searching through the jungle, they encountered two women who were cutting wood: Diana (of Isaak Messias) and Lucretia (of Pinto). The men quickly surrounded Diana and Lucretia and gagged them. The journey back home to Mapika did not take them a month this time as they reached their village within five days[9]. Shortly after this kidnapping expedition, Koki and Moor had a serious argument, which resulted in Moor and his supporters leaving Mapika. They built a new village called Minokrey (I won't cry) not far away,

where Moor became the chief.

Such was the situation by the middle of 1777: four Boni-villages on the lower course of the Crique Sparouine, the village Mapika on the upper course at about two days walking from the first four and Moor's settlement slightly further on. The Ndjuka villages were located along the Sara Creek, the Djuka Creek, the Marowijne River, the Crique Beiman and the Tapanahoni River. In 1775, a large part of the Ndjuka were still living along the Djuka Creek, but by 1790 this region was almost completely abandoned.

Koki meets Boni

The Ndjuka were justifiably accused of kidnapping the women and children from the Bergendaal plantation, as all signs left by Koki seemed to point in their direction. They were suspected of hiding their prey in the surroundings of their villages. *Posthouder* Z.G. Thies repeatedly insisted on their handing over the prisoners, but the Maroons denied every involvement in the raid. They said that Koki, who had been living among them some ten years before, was the one to blame. The Court of Policy finally believed them, and insisted on a patrol against these Koki-Maroons. The Ndjuka, however, did not comply with the idea at all.

Shortly after the attack on Bergendaal, the Koki-Maroons discovered the Boni-villages, whereupon Koki sent some delegates to negotiate about a possible union between the two groups. Although the archives do not contain any references to this effect, one might assume that the talks were celebrated by the *swéri*-ritual. Some weeks after this pact, Boni and an entourage of 100 men and 50 women paid an official visit to Mapika. Almost all of the Boni-men and part of the women stayed in the village of Koki for over four weeks. The kidnapped women from Bergendaal were also present in Mapika then. As a gesture of friendship, Boni gave two young women from his village to the inhabitants of Mapika: Jannetje and Adjuba. Jannetje was the daughter of Boni's sister, which proves that Boni considered the cooperation with the Koki-Maroons very important. She was given in marriage to February, the subchief of Mapika. The second woman, called Adjuba was still a young girl.

Following Boni's visit to Mapika, the Koki-Maroons paid a return visit to Gadogron, the village of Boni. The captive women from Bergendaal, who were members of the delegation, noticed that, in spite of their recent settlement on the Sparouine, Boni and Kormantin Kodjo had a lot of food at their disposal, for the villages held large stocks of plantains and rice. The Bergendaal slaves estimated the number of Maroons in Gadogron and in Kormantin Kodjo's village at about 150 persons. Koki's return visit was followed by a second call on Mapika by Boni. From then on, both groups continued to visit each other regularly. Several Boni stayed in Koki's village for a while and they brought women as presents for the inhabitants of Mapika. The Koki-Maroons, for their turn, offered the Boni part of the kidnapped women from Bergendaal[10].

By mid-1779, *posthouder* Z.G. Thies convinced some young Ndjuka to

mount a patrol to the village of Koki. On 19 September 1779, Z.G. Thies, his *bijlegger* (assistant) J. van der Wiel, five Black Rangers and 43 Ndjuka paddled down the Marowijne River in thirteen canoes. By two o'clock in the afternoon the men pitched their camp on the Dutch side of the river. They did not continue their journey on the following day, but sent a small patrol ahead to evaluate the situation. On 21 September, the group moved on and entered a creek on the French side of the border, where they made camp. The canoes were hauled ashore and hidden. After this day of rest, the patrol continued by land in an easterly direction and they camped at the foot of a mountain before continuing their journey northwards on the following day. At 10 o'clock they crossed the Crique Beiman.

On 26 September 1779, the Ndjuka arrived at the place where they had fought Koki ten years before. They fixed their attention on finding fresh Maroon spoors, but it was only after four days that they found the first trail, which led to a small camp. It was abandoned, but backed on to a relatively new path. The advance guard, who followed this path came back after two days reporting that they had come across a banana field and had even heard some men talking, but that they had not been able to see any huts for fear of being discovered. In spite of the discovery of the village, the Ndjuka stayed in their camp and did not move on. One of them, Bambi, the later paramount chief, had fallen ill. *Posthouder* Z.G. Thies was afraid that the Koki-Maroons would discover them, but the Ndjuka assured him that their *obia* would protect them against being observed, even if they stayed there for over a month.

By 6 October, Bambi had recovered and the patrol could move on. On the day afterwards some spies discovered Mapika. The patrol decided to sneak up to the village at night and mount the attack by the following morning, shortly before sunrise. The Ndjuka invaded the village at cocks-crow, while shouting that the Bergendaal slaves had nothing to fear. The Maroons, whose only arms were some lances and machetes, were totally stupified by this sudden attack. Only a handful of Maroons, amongst them Koki, managed to escape. When the raid was over, seven Maroons had been killed. The number of prisoners totalled 23: eight women, three boys and three girls from Bergendaal and four women, two boys and one girl from Pinto at Jodensavanne. To their great surprise, the Ndjuka also found two Boni-girls in Mapika. The prisoners told the Ndjuka that Koki had united with Boni and Kormantin Kodjo. They also revealed that the villages of these two Maroon leaders lay about one day's travelling from Mapika. When the Ndjuka heard this, they got frightened and left the region after setting fire to Mapika.

On 14 October 1779, the patrol returned to the Ndjuka living area, bringing along the prisoners and the several hands of seven victims. In the evening of the same day, the Black Rangers and the Ndjuka started to quarrel about the fate of the two Boni-girls. The Rangers locked up one of the girls whom they had caught themselves. The Ndjuka were furious and insisted on the girl's immediate release, as they considered anyone who was born in the jungle a free person and not a slave. The Ndjuka chiefs told the Rangers that the girls would be given back to Boni and that they, in return, would try to recover the

Bergendaal women who were still staying with Boni. The *ostagier* Jeboa Djaki[11] explained the chiefs' point of view to *posthouder* Z.G. Thies, who was foaming with rage but could not do anything about it.

Z.G. Thies wanted to leave for Paramaribo immediately to inform the Councillors of the Court of Policy about the patrol's success, but Jeboa Djaki tried to dissuade him from doing so. He considered it better to solve the problem of the two Boni-women first and send a courier to report on the seizure of Mapika. But Thies could not be stopped and left for Paramaribo after a couple of days. He did not take any prisoners with him, however, for the Ndjuka would only hand them over upon receipt of their premium. In addition to the daily allowance of one guilder per person per day and the normal premium of 150 guilders per Maroon captured or killed, the Maroons demanded that Thies should spend the money on goods in Paramaribo, which then had to be transported to their living area at the expense of the Government.

Alliance between the Ndjuka and the Boni

While Z.G. Thies was staying in Paramaribo, six Boni including Agosu and a *kapiten* called Askaan (of Enkhuizen) arrived at gaanman Pambu's village Animbaw[12]. They alleged to be expelled by Boni and asked for asylum, which was granted by the Ndjuka. After some days it turned out that Agosu and his companions had sailed up the Tapanahoni River for other reasons. They told gaanman Pambu that they were delegates sent by Boni with an important message. They asked Pambu to call together the clan chiefs for a *krutu* (palaver). Once the clan chiefs had gathered, one of the delegates stood up and said that he had been sent by Boni to find out why the Ndjuka had mounted a patrol to Mapika. The Ndjuka had attacked one of their villages, killed three Boni and captured two girls, whereas the Boni had never bothered neither them nor the Saramaka. The Ndjuka clan chief Djaki[13] told the Boni that his fellow- tribesmen had not been aware of the fact that there were Boni living in Koki's village. They had destroyed Mapika because its inhabitants had abducted slaves from Bergendaal. The raiders had escaped via a route which had created the impression that the Ndjuka were guilty of the raid. Attacking Koki's village was the only way to prove their innocence. But why were the Boni on such friendly terms with Koki, why did they share everything with him[14]? After a long discussion, the Ndjuka finally agreed to hand over the two Boni-girls captured at Mapika and even they offered their apologies for the consequences of the attack on Koki's village. When Agosu and his companions left a couple of days later, they took Jannetje and Adjuba with them. Agosu's first visit was followed by many other calls. The Ndjuka and the Boni drank *swéri* and regularly visited each other's villages. They exchanged goods, made friends and concluded marriages. For over eleven years (until 1790), the relationship between the two tribes was nearly ideal.

When *posthouder* Z.G. Thies arrived in Paramaribo with the message that the Ndjuka had destroyed Koki's village and had caught 23 prisoners, he was

lauded. The Court of Policy was delighted to hear that the Ndjuka were not guilty of abducting the women from Bergendaal. The Governor and the Councillors decided to grant the high premiums demanded by the Ndjuka and they even gave Thies some extra money to buy tribute. The *posthouder* received a total amount of 5,662 guilders as a reward and a daily allowance for the Ndjuka (Hoogbergen 1984: 38). He spent the money on meat, gunpowder, rifles, flints, rum, wine, molasses, soap, cotton cloth and jewelry. He hired 48 bearers to transport the goods to the Djuka Creek at the expense of the Government.

On 15 December 1779, Z.G. Thies returned at Bakabun on the Djuka Creek. The place was deserted as all inhabitants of the village had gone to Animbaw to attend the funeral of Ma Dona, the mother of paramount chief Pambu. Two days later, chief Djaki arrived at Bakabun and told Thies that, during his absence, delegates sent by Boni had visited Pambu's village. He did not tell him that the Boni had taken the two women with them. While Thies was waiting for the Ndjuka to come back, another Boni-delegation under the command of Agosu arrived at Animbaw. This time, the delegation was constituted of 23 men and also included Jannetje and Adjuba[15].

When, on 21 December, the Ndjuka were back in Bakabun, Z.G. Thies called all together who were entitled to the gifts. The *posthouder* told the men about the Court of Policy's joyful reaction and showed them the materials he had brought. But hardly had he finished his speech when a conflict erupted. Thies wrote in his journal (Hoogbergen 1984: 41) that he had told the Ndjuka that they would only receive the presents if they handed over all the prisoners, including the two Boni-women, but the Maroons did not even listen to him and had stolen the tribute. Others, however, both black soldiers and Ndjuka present on the occasion, declared that Thies had given the presents to the men without being threatened at all[16].

In the afternoon of 27 December 1779, several Boni, who were staying at Animbaw, arrived at Bakabun. They were followed by the Ndjuka chiefs Titus (of Amsing) and Chocolati one hour later, who brought the Boni to Z.G. Thies' house. There are, once again, conflicting stories on the development of this visit. According to Thies' journal, the Boni entered his house together with the clan-chiefs. When they were announced as 'the Negroes of Aboni's gang' by Chocolati, Thies had answered that he did not want to meet these people and that the Ndjuka could better lock them up and hand them over to the colonists instead of living with them in one and the same village. The Ndjuka allegedly walked off in high dudgeon, taking the Boni with them. Some Black Rangers, however, declared that Thies had ordered three soldiers to salute his guests when they entered his house. Hardly had they sat down when the *posthouder* offered them a drink. He himself was the first one to gulp down half of his drink in order to prove - as he explained to the Boni - that his intentions were sincere and that the rum had not been poisoned. During this meeting, Thies and the Boni told each other old stories of war. Apart from that, the *posthouder* promised to say a good word for them to the Government in an attempt to accomplish a peace settlement. After this lively meeting, the Boni left again in their boats and fired two shots in the air as a

salute to the *posthouder*. Thies answered this salute by three shots, as a means of proving the superiority of his men in the field of combat[17].

On 7 January 1780, all Ndjuka chiefs gathered in Bakabun asked Z.G. Thies to write a letter to the Governor and the Court of Policy in their name. The chiefs wanted him to communicate that a Boni-delegation was staying in Animbaw on the Tapanahoni River to talk about the return of the two women. Boni was apparently prepared to hand over the female slaves and children from Bergendaal who were staying in his village, in return for the two girls. Furthermore, Boni asked for a peace settlement with the Dutch colonists through the Ndjuka.

The following day, the Ndjuka gave Z.G. Thies seven women and eight children whom they held captured in the village of Koki. On 9 January 1780, the *posthouder* left for Paramaribo together with the five Rangers, bearers and the fifteen prisoners from Bakabun. There he received an audience with the new Governor Bernard Texier. Thies told him that assistant J. van der Wiel and *ostagier* Jeboa Djaki would bring the remaining women and children from Koki's village to Paramaribo. But when both men arrived in the capital by the end of January, they did not have any prisoners with them. Van der Wiel told Bernard Texier that the chiefs Beiman, Kodjo Mastiki and Kwamina Adjubi had prevented him from taking the remaining Bergendaal women. The Ndjuka argued that they had received too low a reward and demanded an extra amount of gunpowder, a gun and some linen. Van der Wiel explained further that the prisoners were living in Animbaw, Pambu's village, where the two Boni-women were also staying. The paramount chief, however, was said to be a weak old man and senile. He had been overruled by the chiefs Beiman, Kodjo Mastiki and Kwamina Adjubi, who determined the Ndjuka policy and intended to drink the *swéri* with Boni.

Jeboa Djaki confirmed that the Ndjuka and the Boni had sworn an oath together, but, he said, this oath only held good during the Boni-delegation's visit. The statements of J. van der Wiel and Jeboa Djaki made Governor Bernard Texier conclude that Z.G. Thies had not paid heed to his instructions and had distributed the presents without having received the prisoners. If the *posthouder* would have demanded the extradition of the prisoners first, the Ndjuka would certainly have handed over the Boni-girls. As a result, Thies was accused of neglecting his duty and was locked up. The Court of Policy was eager for the extradition of the two women, as the daughter of Boni's sister would be an ideal hostage and could be used as a means of putting pressure on the Maroons.

The authorities in Paramaribo had meanwhile learnt from some Saramaka that the Boni and the Ndjuka had drunk the *swéri* indeed. Governor Bernard Texier sent Sergeant J. van der Wiel back to the Djuka Creek with the order of instructing the Ndjuka chiefs to immediately hand over the two Boni-women and the remaining female slaves from the Bergendaal plantation. If the Ndjuka refused to obey these instructions, the Government would consider their refusal a violation of the 1760 Peace Treaty and would no longer send them tribute goods, nor would they be allowed to ever travel to Paramaribo again[18].

On 20 March 1780, two Ndjuka chiefs arrived in Paramaribo with the remaining women and children from Bergendaal, though without the two Boni-girls who appeared to have returned to Gadogron together with the Boni-delegation. One of the chiefs declared that Pambu had concluded a pact with the Maroons, but in the event of the Dutch attacking the Boni, the Ndjuka would not assist them, neither would they help the Boni if they wanted to resume their battle against the colonists. Pambu had stressed his tribe's oath of loyalty towards the colony and had assured the Boni that they would never break their promise. As a token of friendship he had sent presents for Boni with Agosu.

Governor Bernard Texier was so upset about this news, that he had one Ndjuka chief arrested and the other one sent to Bakabun with a letter for J. van der Wiel. The *'bijlegger'* (assistent) had to call all the Ndjuka chiefs together and tell them that the Court of Policy was so concerned about the pact with Boni, the return of the two women and the distribution of the tribute goods amongst the Maroons, that Pambu was to be dismissed. If the chiefs refused to do so, the Court would take 'very unpleasant measures'. Van der Wiel's meeting with the chiefs, however, was useless. The Boni-women were not handed over, the pact between the Ndjuka and the Boni was not revoked and Pambu was not dismissed. As Bernard Texier did not see the use of detaining the Ndjuka chief any longer, he set him free[19].

These first contacts between the Ndjuka and the Boni have lived on in the oral tradition as well. In the autumn of 1961, the Moravian 'brother' Axwijk published a series of articles on the earliest years of the Boni-tribe[20]. His report on the first meeting between the Boni and the Ndjuka goes as follows: Boni was depicted as a cruel tyrant who was killed by the young Agosu. After the murder, Agosu grew into a fine, handsome and determined young man who was very eager to enter into hostilities against the Ndjuka, those betrayers who settled peace with the colonists. His fellow-tribesmen, who wanted nothing but peace and quiet, repeatedly tried to dissuade Agosu from challenging the Ndjuka for they aimed to settle peace with this tribe. For a long time, Agosu opposed their peace aspirations, but in the end he gave in and sent his son, who was his private emissary of arms and *obeah*, on a peace mission to the Ndjuka. However, Agosu only wished an illusory peace, as he considered a real peace settlement out of the question.

In the beginning, the Ndjuka were very suspicious of the Boni's intentions but after a while they gained more confidence. Gaanman Pambu called together his fellow-tribesmen to tell them all about the reason of the Boni's visit and to ask the chiefs' advice, who granted him permission to act according to his own judgement. Pambu thereupon went back to the delegates sent by Agosu and asked them whether they wanted to stay with him for a while. The Boni were treated grandly until the day of the peace settlement between the two tribes. On that day, people got up early in the morning to clean the entire village. They paid special attention to the *krutuoso* (meeting-house) and got everything ready around the *fragatiki* (prayer pole). The men installed the seats, while the basias took care of the *swéri* (oath) and the gourds filled with the drink for the ceremony. Agosu's son had his leading

man fetch the goods which had been brought especially for the occasion. As soon as the Ndjuka had received their presents, everyone sat down and Gaanman Pambu, accompanied by his major chiefs, joined the group. When Pambu gave the signal, a *pikiman* (spokesman) opened the meeting and explained the purpose of their gathering, i.e. the conclusion of a pact between the Ndjuka and the Boni, so as to keep the two tribes from fighting one another.

When this was said, the first assistant of Agosu's son stood up to speak and held a similar speech, after which Pambu ordered the *swéri* brought in and the gourd to be drunk in celebration of the peace settlement. He himself took the first sip, followed by Agosu's son and the other chiefs. Strangely enough, Agosu's son became very quiet after this drink. Then, suddenly, he got up and started stamping the ground, uttering inarticulate words. He threw his machete in the air, caught it in his right hand and threw it in the air one more time, after which he caught it in his left hand and said: *Gado plesi mi, mi Okilifu Balua! Kontrabani! Blakamimba*[21] (May God bless my soul, me Boni! Death! Blood!) Most of the attendants were paralyzed with fear and amazement. They first thought that Agosu's son was entranced, but that was not true. It was mainly the words *kontrabani* (death) and *blakamimba* (blood) which made clear that Agosu was clearly threatening them.

The Ndjuka soon recovered from their stupefacation and realized that they had to deal with this strange behavior. The major *obiaman* of the village, Kisai, grabbed a machete and imitated the man's act, while quivering with emotion. But he threw his machete in the air yet a third time and caught it in his teeth, saying: *Gado plesi mi, mi a njan taki kosongo!* (May God bless my soul...). *Ala piri tifi a no lafu* (All smiles are not pleasantries). He also said: *Kéba dede no de téli dei. Ala dei na fu dede, ala dei na fu libi* (You do not know when your time is up. You may die any moment. Live for the moment.) Agosu's son then realized that the Ndjuka were not joking and that he had evoked spirits whom he could not exorcise. He soon assured his hosts that he had only been provoking their reaction and apologized. His apologies were accepted but the ceremony was thoroughly disturbed and the pact was dropped.

This performance of Agosu's son and the Ndjuka obeahmen was, according to Thoden van Velzen and Van Wetering (1988), typical for the Kumanti-obeahmen: bluff, big talk, challenge, self-confidence and authoritarianism. Another striking feature of Axwijk's story is the fact that Boni was already dead when the tribe came into contact with the Ndjuka. The archives, however, contradict this. Axwijk's reproduction of the oral tradition speaks about the son of Agosu going to the Ndjuka, whereas the archives refer to Agosu himself, Boni's son. Both versions, however, undoubtedly refer to the son of the paramount chief. One might assume that the description of the peace ceremony, especially the proceedings before and after the *krutu*, as well as the function of the *pikiman*, was consistent with the facts. But from the moment that 'the son' drinks the *swéri*, the story changes course. The archives refer to an impeccable peace settlement which lasted until 1792 and was only violated by the Ndjuka finally siding with the Boni when the latter resumed

their war against the Dutch. Axwijk's version, however, keeps silent about the peace which nearly lasted for twelve years, whereas the description of the son's behavior anticipates the events of 1792 and 1793.

Da Kasiayeki, a Ndjuka of the Ndju-clan, told another story about the first contacts between the Ndjuka and the Boni, which was registered by H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen on 14 May 1982. Boni regularly visited the Ndjuka in Animbaw. There he made friends with Pambu (*A kon teke Pambu fu mati*), drank the *swéri ('njan buulu)* and settled peace (*fii makandi*), whereupon Pambu sent for a white chicken. He cut the chicken in two and said, holding both halfs in his hand: 'may the be my death, if I ever cause Boni any harm' (*Meke a Swéli kii mi*). Boni answered: 'Oh, my dear friend Pambu. May death be thrown upon me, if I ever break this oath' (*Efu mi misi Swéli, dan mi mu dede*). Da Kasiayeki interrupted his story here to add his own comments: 'My dear friend Pambu! *Mama Pima*! (an obscene expression and swearword). Hardly had Boni reached the Gonini River when he threw away part of the chicken. He continued to call on Pambu, but he kept silent about his real intentions: to await the right moment to attack the Ndjuka.

Alliance with the French and a Peace Settlement with the Amerindians

Around 1780, the French Government sent an inhabitant of Iracoubo, called Cadet, to the Boni to gather intelligence and open peace talks. Cadet's report has not survived, but some of his findings can be found in the report drawn up by Mallevault, a military commander and a fierce opponent of the Boni's presence in French Guiana. Cadet was guided to Boni's village by several Amerindians, but upon arrival he discovered that Boni was not ready for opening peace talks with the French. The paramount chief brandished his machete at Cadet and repeatedly threatened to attack the trembling messenger. He sneered at him and asked him how he could ascertain that Cadet had really been sent on a peace mission for he might as well be an ordinary spy. 'You don't fly the French flag and you don't even have any insignia', Boni said. Cadet, who was intimidated by Boni's strong language and terrible threats, got a piece of paper out of his pocket (most probably his mandate) and gave it to Boni, who scornfully threw it away and said: 'You fool, you don't even know that I can't read. So you must be a spy. But it wouldn't be fair to kill you. Go back to your Governor and tell him that he has to furnish clear evidence of your reliability if he really wants to settle peace'[22].

Later, Boni was prepared to listen to Cadet and accepted a flag and some presents from him. He also accepted the peace offer made by Cadet. He sent for his *drésiman* (medicine man), who pricked Boni's arm and foot and caught his blood in a bowl, after which Cadet was submitted to the same ceremony. Boni mixed his own blood with Cadet's blood and after having drunk from the bowl, he offered it to Cadet who also had a sip of it. This sealed the peace between the Boni and the French. After the ceremony, Cadet suggested that Boni send some of his most important chiefs to Cayenne to conclude the

negotiations, but Boni refused to do so. If the Governor wanted to see him, he was invited to visit Boni himself. And if he felt too important to pay him a visit, the same argument would go for Boni. The paramount chief bade Cadet farewell with the words: 'May disaster strike each Frenchman who dares break this pact' (Hurault 1960: 92). Cadet returned to Iracoubo and never went back.

In January 1781, the 'posthouder's assistent who was staying with the Ndjuka reported to Paramaribo that a son of Pambu, Gembi, had died. This death had disturbed the Ndjuka, who blamed a Boni-Maroon for it. Gembi's wife accused the man of using *wisi* (black magic). Shortly before his death, Gembi had been quarreling with the Maroon, who now had taken revenge. Gaanman Pambu immediately sent delegates to Gadogron to demand the delivery of the criminal and threatened to arrest all Boni staying with the Ndjuka at that moment, if Boni ignored his demand[23]. The archives, however, keep silent about the outcome of this conflict.

In 1782, there were still some female slaves from Bergendaal living with the Boni. Koki had given some of them to Boni before the attack on Mapika, while Moor had brought another couple of them to Minokrey. As a token of good will, Boni sent three women and three children from Bergendaal to the Ndjuka with the message that the pacified Maroons could hand them over to the colonists. By the middle of March, they were indeed delivered to Major Jurriaan Friderici, the commander-in-chief of the Black Rangers, for which the Ndjuka received a premium. The latter also came up with some runaways, some of whom had been living with them for quite a while. It was from one of these runaways that the Court of Policy learnt that Boni had settled peace with the Carib Indians on the Marowijne River.

When the Boni had first settled on the Crique Sparouine, they burnt down a Carib village, but Boni later realized that it would be more sensible to make friends with these Amerindians. One day, a group of Carib under the leadership of chief Frans van Bertholff[24] returned from a marauding expedition in the Marowijne area, where they had been hunting for Akuri-Indians in the hope of capturing some of them and turn them into slaves. When paddling down the Marowijne River, they encountered a couple of Boni who offered them peace in the name of their leader. The Carib accepted the offer but did not keep in touch, neither did they show up in Gadogron to celebrate the peace settlement. Some time after this incident, Boni had a couple of Caribs detained and brought to his village. They were given a hearty welcome and sent back with presents for their leaders, as a result of which a delegation led by Frans van Bertholff visited Boni's village and consented to a peace agreement. The Carib chief promised to keep Boni informed of the Dutch authorities' plans.

The peace settlement with Boni initiated a close cooperation between the Carib-Indians and the Maroons in many fields. They fished together and the Carib provided the Boni with gunpowder and rifles. When a Portuguese ship was stranded in the estuary of the Marowijne River in 1781, they plundered the ship completely. They also ransacked the 'Nanne Hofker' together, a ship which had run aground in the Marowijne River early 1783. When Frans van

Bertholff visited Paramaribo in July 1783, he was arrested and locked up in the Fort Zeelandia on account of illegal plundering raids and conspiracy[25].

The oral tradition also reports on Boni's piracy. The Ndjuka Da Asawooko told the following story to Thoden van Velzen in 1978. Boni tried to impress the Ndjuka with sensational acts before he attacked them in 1792. He prepared himself with *obia* until he felt invincible. One day, he suddenly disappeared in the direction of the Ocean and the Ndjuka lost sight of him. When Boni arrived at the seaside, he went to a *tsjon-tsjon* (a cape) and climbed into a tall tree from where he could overlook the Ocean. Suddenly he caught sight of a sailing-boat, jumped into the water with his machete and yelled at the crew: *besalieee!* The ship started to tremble and its sideboards came loose. Then Boni crossed over the water. The crew shot at him, though without success. He got hold of the ship's prow, while the crew kept beating him on the head and attacking him with machetes and axes. Boni could not be stopped and killed the entire crew of the ship.

In December 1782, another French delegate was sent to the Boni settlement on the Crique Sparouine. This delegate had to find out if the Boni wished to collaborate with the French. The leader of the delegation was a priest, Jacquemin, who came from the village of Sinnamary and was well acquainted with the Carib living along the Marowijne River. Father Jacquemin left Sinnamary on 8 December 1782 and arrived at the Amerindian village Marakaré, which was located on an island in the middle of the Marowijne River about 45 kilometers from its estuary, by the afternoon of the 15th of the same month[26]. The captain of this village sent notice to the Boni to inform them about the arrival of the French delegation. Three days later, the messengers came back reporting that Boni was eager to meet the French and that he would come to the estuary of the Crique Sparouine to welcome them. The Amerindians had brought along five Boni-Maroons, amongst whom was Agosu. Boni's son headed the group together with another leader, both presenting their arms. They were followed by a man flying the French flag, who was, in his turn, followed by another two Maroons who held their machetes crossed as a means of saluting the priest. After more ceremony, Agosu invited the priest to follow him to Boni directly, but as it was already late and the weather was very bad, they decided to postpone the journey for one day.

The following day, the delegation crossed the Marowijne River and rowed up to the estuary of the Crique Sparouine, where Jacquemin discovered about fifty huts. As soon as the priest set foot ashore, Agosu took him by the arm and brought him to a cupola, where he found Boni sitting on a platform, sided by the French flag on the right and a several *kapiten* on the left. A small orchestra composed of some drums, a trumpet and a 'jeu d'épinette'[27] was positioned behind Boni. A sort of senate, constituted by five men, one of whom was very tall and had a thick white beard, was sitting by the side of the *kapitens*. Boni was wearing a hat trimmed with yellow ribbon, a fine embroidered shirt and a blue-and-white jacket. The *kapitens* had made hats from old gourds with brightly coloured feathers stuck on top. When they arrived at the cupola, Agosu introduced the priest to *kapiten* Basa, who was

sitting next to Boni. Basa brought Jacquemin to Boni, who greeted the priest by snapping his fingers three times. It had struck Jacquemin that Agosu had done the same when they were in the village of the Amerindian captain. Then Boni begged the French delegates to sit down in front of him. The delegation was surrounded by guards who were well armed and constantly patrolling the bushes. There were about 80 men and five or six women in total. Father Jacquemin offered Boni some presents: two large bottles of *sopi* (strong alcoholic drink), two bottles of wine, biscuits, two silver bracelets, a mirror and some beads. Boni's *kapitens* also received brandy, a mirror and a couple of beads. Then the conference began.

After having told the Boni about God who had created heaven and earth and black and white, Jacquemin asked the Boni whether he could baptize their children and whether they wanted to have a priest in their community. The Maroons answered that they were hoping for an alliance with the French, but that it was already the second time that the French came to visit them and they were still waiting for the presents promised by Cadet. Jacquemin explained that he was sent on a mission to the Carib and did not have an authorization from the Government to negotiate peace with the Boni. Apart from that, the connections between the Boni and the French could not possibly be compared with the relationship between the Ndjuka and Saramaka and the Dutch Government. The Ndjuka and Saramaka were very powerful groups indeed and the Dutch colonists had been, so to speak, forced to 'buy' a peace settlement. The Boni, however, were only few in number and would be easily defeated by the French, who therefore considered it unnecessary to offer the Boni all sorts of tributes by way of compensation. They could live undisturbed in French Guiana, provided that they would leave the colonists and Amerindians alone. The Boni answered that they understood the French motives for not paying them a yearly tribute, but that they would appreciate it if the French provided them with certain goods because of their shortages. They did not have any money, nor did they have any objects of exchange, but they would reimburse the French for the goods in due time, for they had very competent carpenters amongst them, who had built two-storied houses in Suriname, sugar mills, water mills and pirogues. They would be prepared to go and work in Cayenne to cover the costs.

After a while, the Boni retired to confer on the matter. When they came back, they requested Jacquemin to ask the French Governor a favor. As their tribe was constituted of twelve clans led by twelve chiefs, they would like to have twelve batons (*fii pau*)[28] and twelve hats, coats and swords. Besides, they also asked for a large number of utensils: 45 guns, gunpowder, lead, machetes, adzes, pots of different sizes, textiles, handkerchiefs, soap, knives, needles, fish hooks, combs, mirrors, earrings, soup tureens, casseroles, salt, pipes, graters, grindstones, plates, or, to put it briefly, about anything the Dutch had given to the Saramaka and the Ndjuka[29]. Jacquemin promised the Boni to forward their request to the French Governor, after which the Boni told Jacquemin that they wanted to clinch the peace settlement in the usual way. In spite of his reluctance, the priest could not escape this 'heathen' ritual. A man poured water in a bowl and lightly pricked his hand and foot with the tip of a knife,

while collecting his blood in the bowl. One of the *kapitens* was submitted to the same ritual and the blood of both men was mixed with earth and ashes. When this was done, Boni stood up to speak and explained that this blood-ritual symbolized the consanguinity between the two groups, who were henceforth considered brothers. Anyone breaking this relationship would be cursed. After that, *kapiten* Basa and Jacquemin's companion entered the circle, knelt down and had the blood-mixture sprinkled on their backs. During this ceremony, Jacquemin had to put his arm on his companion's shoulder, while Boni did the same with his *kapiten*. After the rites, Boni sent for the gourds of liquor. The entire ceremony lasted for about four hours. When the ceremony was over, Jacquemin returned to the Amerindian village on the Marowijne River[30].

Jacquemin's report refers to the names of Boni ('Aboni'), Agosu ('Acossou'), Basa ('Passea'), the second *kapiten* Arigani (yet unknown) and third *kapiten* Kwami. The place of ceremony was called 'Camaraty' (Comrade). Once he had returned in Sinnamary, Jacquemin sent his travel report to Cayenne, where it was determined that the presents for the Boni would cost too much which made the authorities decide to refuse the Boni's request[31].

Some weeks after Jacquemin's visit to the Boni, a couple of Ndjuka told the Court in Paramaribo everything about the event. They declared that a Boni-delegation had arrived in the village of paramount chief Pambu, who had told the Ndjuka that Boni had settled peace with the French. The story told by the Ndjuka is rather different from Jacquemin's report and goes as follows.

One day, a couple of months before, a French officer sailed up the Marowijne River, accompanied by some men including a missionary. They were transporting cannons in their boats. They built a large house for the officer on an island close to the estuary of the Crique Sparouine and some smaller huts for the others. When the big house was ready, the officer ordered his soldiers to hoist a white flag by way of indicating that the French wanted to open peace talks with the Boni. When Boni received this message, he sent a delegation to the French to find out what they were up to. The officer thereupon answered that he had come to negotiate peace with Boni. When Boni heard this, he sailed down the Crique Sparouine with a large number of fellow-tribesmen and built a number of huts on the other side of the huge island as a temporary accomodation for the Boni during the peace talks. The officer, who alleged to be speaking in the name of the Governor of Cayenne, had brought a number of presents for Boni, some of which had a symbolic meaning, such as, for example, a skirt and a hat adorned with gold braiding, as well as several flags, among which a white-and-red one, i.e. the Surinamese flag[32]. In addition, Boni was given an official letter from the Governor of Cayenne, declaring that Boni's presence on the French territory was recognized and tolerated. In the event of Boni running into Dutch soldiers in future, he only had to show them the letter in order to be left in peace. According to the Ndjuka, Boni was very pleased with this peace offer, especially because he was convinced of the fact that the French had consulted the Dutch in advance and the Surinamese Government had subsequently

approved of the French initiative. The archives, however, do not refer to any consultation with the Surinamese Government and the Dutch colonists were amazed when they heard about this 'peace settlement'.

In January 1782, the new Governor of Cayenne, le Baron de Bessner, wrote to his Surinamese colleague that a missionary who had been sent for by an Amerindian community on the Marowijne River had encountered a couple of Boni who had persuaded him to come to their village. Upon his return, he had declared that the Maroons were of a peaceful disposition. Governor De Bessner further told his colleague that the missionary had looked at the Boni through the eyes of a priest and had not paid any attention to their number or their living conditions. He had only revealed that Boni, who was by then of a ripe old age, had been born in the forest and that the Boni had been very submissive when he had spoken about God and religion[33].

The Boni's Relocation to the Marowijne River

Some time after Jacquemin's visit, the Boni moved to the Marowijne River. They settled somewhat south of Armina, near the Lamaké Falls. They called the area 'Aroku', after Aluku. It is not known how they actually organized this relocation operation. They must have laid out new garden plots on the Marowijne River before they gradually moved to their new area of settlement. Jacquemin, who visited the Boni for the second time in February 1784, probably found them in the place where he had encountered them in 1782, but the place of conference was not Boni's actual place of residence.

During the 1780s, the Boni built eleven villages in Aroku, the most important of them being: Aroku (the village of Aluku, Boni and Agosu), Bakamongo, Basakondre (of Basa of Clemensburg), Askaankondre (of Askaan of Ephrata), Kokikondre (of Koki) and Mapriari. Both Kormantin Kodjo and Puja (of La Paix) built their villages on an island south of Aroku, on Langatabbetje and Asalobitabbetje respectively. Aroku was, from a strategical point of view, much better located than the villages on the Crique Sparouine. Situated upstream from the falls, in a curve of the Marowijne River, Aroku could hardly be attacked from the Dutch side. Thanks to its location on the broad Marowijne River, the Boni could easily flee southwards in case of an emergency and reach the Ndjuka in no time. A journal written by the *posthouder's* assistant A. Ahrends from Bakabun on the Djuka Creek, covering the period from October 1783 till April 1784, reveals that the Boni frequently visited the Ndjuka, while the latter returned the calls by regularly travelling to Aroku to talk and trade with the Maroons.

Many of these talks concerned slaves who had only recently run away. As a matter of fact, a whole group of new runaways had come to join the Ndjuka, but when the latter wanted to deliver them to the *posthouder* (in return of a premium, of course), they had sought refuge among the Boni instead. The Ndjuka demanded that the Boni hand over these people but Kormantin Kodjo preferred to give them a couple of female slaves who were staying with him, probably on the condition that he would reap half of the premium when the

Ndjuka handed them over to the *posthouder*.

As said before, it was early 1784 that Jacquemin visited the Boni for the second time. The priest had been given the ungrateful task of informing the Boni of the French authorities' refusal to give them goods, let alone guns and ammunition. Jacquemin suggested that the Boni move to the region between the Mana and the Iracoubo River, but the Boni did not fancy the idea for they did not trust the French and were afraid of being slaughtered in a surprise attack once they had settled in the coastal zone (Hurault 1960: 102-104).

In April 1784, some Boni-Maroons arrived at the Ndjuka villages on the Djuka Creek. They asked the chief to convoke a meeting for they had important news to tell. During the *krutu*, they told that Boni and Kormantin Kodjo had clashed with one another and that Boni intended to attack the latter. Boni expected the Ndjuka to keep out of this internal vendetta. The conflict had been caused by the fact that a Maroon from Kormantin Kodjo's village was having an affair with one of Boni's women. When Gaanman Boni found out about it, he had killed the lover with a cutlass. Kormantin Kodjo had fallen into a rage and had abducted eleven inhabitants from Boni's village when they passed Langatabbetje. Their pirogue was destroyed and all of their goods were thrown into the water. Kormantin Kodjo had set most of the hostages free after a while, with the exception of Flora (of Du Perou), one of Boni's women. A son of Boni, who had been ordered to look after Flora, had stayed behind as well. When the hostages returned to Aroku and related their adventures, Boni foamed with rage and decided to fight Kormantin Kodjo. The delegation had been sent to inform the Ndjuka of Boni's decision, which was nothing but idle threat, for the dispute was settled soon afterwards[34].

The *posthouders* and their assistents had a very ungrateful task, as the villages were crowded with runaways and Boni-Maroons. Although they continued to write to Paramaribo that they really insisted on these people being handed over, they were probably less persistent in reality. The fact that the *posthouders* had to remain begging for the delivery of the runaways, while they did not have a means of lending force to their demands, discouraged them and cast a cloud upon their relationship with the Ndjuka. The Court of Policy's minutes make clear that whenever the *posthouders* were on leave in Paramaribo, they were accused of striking a bargain with the Ndjuka and being on friendly terms with the Boni. Z.G. Thies had already been imprisoned for this and one of his successors, Sergeant Fritz, had also been locked up because he had accompanied the Ndjuka on a visit to the Boni-villages. Sergeant Fritz denied this and alleged that he had been a prisoner of the Boni, but the Court did not believe his lame excuse and dismissed him from his position as a *posthouder*[35].

In 1785, the Boni mounted two marauding expeditions to Surinamese plantations. In October, they plundered the 's-Haagenbosch plantation on the Cottica River. The Boni were well acquainted with this plantation, as they had already attacked it in 1768, 1771 and 1775. The protective Cordon, built by Jean Nepveu in 1778 did not guard this plantation from plundering raids, for the defense line passed west of 's-Haagenbosch. After Colonel Louis H.

Fourgeoud's departure from the region, the military posts of 's-Lands-Welvaren and Jeruzalem had been removed, so that 's-Haagenbosch lay totally unprotected. A group of Boni had been aiming to attack this unprotected plantation for a long time, but Gaanman Boni remained very reluctant for he did not want to mar the relationship with the French. Boni had promised the French to call an end to all plundering raids because he had understood that the French would try to establish a peace settlement between the Boni and the Surinamese Government. The contacts with the French, however, did not yield the desired results, peace and presents, which made Boni decide to break his promise. He said to some younger Boni: 'If you want to try your luck, well, good luck to you, but don't count on me'[36]. He did not give them any gunpowder or lead however.

When Boni had more or less granted his permission, a group of about fifty Boni under the leadership of Sambokwasi decided to attack the plantation. The raiders obtained the necessary gunpowder and lead by exchanging goods with the Amerindians and Ndjuka. During their expedition to 's-Haagenbosch, the Maroons sailed down the Marowijne River in their pirogues until they arrived at the Akoli Creek, south of the present Albina, where they hid their pirogues and proceeded by foot until they arrived behind the 's-Haagenbosch plantation. They stayed behind the plantation for two days to size up the situation. On the third day, between four and five in the morning, all fifty men surrounded the manager's residence. They mounted the attack with so many people because they had not determined if there was a military force present at the plantation. As soon as the Boni had surrounded the manager's house, they knocked open the door with their rifle-butts. The Maroon Korboi (of La Paix) entered the bedroom of manager Jacobs and killed him. The Boni dragged all of the goods from the house, including five guns, while another group invaded the slaves' barracks and stole anything they could lay their hands on. Five slaves joined the Boni-group, while the others stayed at the plantation and were left unharmed by the Maroons. Just before they left, the Boni set fire to the manager's residence. They saved the slaves' barracks to avoid arousing the slaves' animosity.

Shortly after the attack, a contingent of Black Rangers pursued the Maroons and managed to catch up with them on the fourth day. It came to a fight in which one of the raiders, Pichot (of Roosenbeek) was wounded and arrested. The other Maroons, however, escaped. Pichot told his interrogators that he had been carried off as a child in 1772, during the Boni's attack on the plantation of Roosenbeek, and had been brought up by Agosu. He had joined the Boni on their many wanderings, had witnessed the seizure of Buku and had lived in Alésikondre, Gadosabi and Kofihay. The Boni obtained most of their guns, gunpowder and lead from the Amerindians who, in turn, bought the goods in Cayenne. The damaged guns were repaired by Boni, who was a master at forging, or otherwise smuggled to Paramaribo by the Ndjuka or to Cayenne by the Amerindians for repairs. The Boni used to weave their clothes themselves from cotton spun into yarn by the women. They were on very friendly terms with the Ndjuka and frequently exchanged women. The Ndjuka Gaanman Pambu had recently been promised a young girl from

Boni's village for whom he had asked. Of all Ndjuka chiefs, Kwamina Adjubi was the one closest to the Boni. The slaves continued to flee in large numbers to the Boni-villages, especially from the plantations Cuilenburg and Bellevue in the Cottica area. At the end of the interrogation Pichot declared that the Boni were living in perfect harmony and had about 200 guns at their disposal[37].

By the end of 1785, six Maroons from Koki's village attacked the Auka plantation and abducted five slaves, while killing a sixth one who refused to join them. When the Ndjuka heard the news, Gaanman Pambu sent for the clan chiefs and consulted with them on the matter. The chiefs decided to send a delegation to Boni to find out who the raiders were and ask for the delivery of the captive slaves. Boni, however, told the delegates that he did not know anything about the raid because Koki had gone marauding without informing him in advance. If Boni had been acquainted with Koki's malicious plans beforehand, he would have stopped him, but now he could not help the Ndjuka. Boni thereupon sent for Koki, who told the Ndjuka that he had only abducted the slaves belonging to his former master. These people henceforth belonged to him and it was nobody's business what his further intentions were. After having spoken these words, Koki went back to his village[38].

The delegation of Ndjuka went back to the Tapanahoni River with the message that Boni was once again hosting a couple of French. When these men had come to visit Boni for the first time, they had brought all sorts of presents, such as tools, gunpowder and rifles. They had then demanded that Boni send two of his sons with them as a token of peace, whereupon Boni had given them his own son Beeman and his sister's son. After a while, the French and the two Boni-Maroons returned with more presents: rifles, gunpowder, lead, axes, knives, hats trimmed with gold, about everything the Boni desired. Shortly afterwards, one of the Frenchmen left with the two boys, whereas the other one stayed with Boni and remained living with him in one and the same house. That man had offered the Ndjuka-Maroons some wine, which, they said, they had refused. One of the Frenchmen was accompanied by three slave-soldiers and had all kinds of food products with him.

The new *posthouder* A. Ahrends moved the *posthouder's* residence from Bakabun on the Djuka Creek to Animbaw on the Tapanahoni River in early 1786. When the Ndjuka asked him for more details about the French living with Boni, he could not give them a satisfactory answer. The French archives refer to several Frenchmen, amongst whom was the missionary Rebours and the doctor Rougier, who stayed with the Boni for some time; about ten to eleven months in the period 1786-1787. Their journals, however, have not survived.

The testimony given by Pichot (of Roosenbeek) about the attack on 's-Haagenbosch revealed that the Boni and the Ndjuka maintained a close cooperation. This had, of course, already become clear from the *posthouder's* reports but the new attacks had made the Court of Policy face the facts again: the Boni were still a group of hostile Maroons, who could resume their battle against Suriname at any moment. Besides, there was a risk that the pacified Ndjuka would get involved in this war and would side with the Boni. As a

result, *posthouder* A. Ahrends was instructed to call the Ndjuka to account and make them understand that their cooperation with the Boni was inadvisable. Upon his arrival in Animbaw, the *posthouder* notified the chiefs that he had to speak to them immediately.

It was a stirring meeting indeed, on 18 January 1786. *Posthouder* A. Ahrends read the Court of Policy's letter which referred to the testimony given by Pichot (of Roosenbeek). The Government wrote that it considered the cooperation between the Ndjuka and the Boni a violation of their peace agreement and demanded that the Ndjuka declare war upon the Boni. When Ahrends was finished, no one spoke, which made the *posthouder* ask the chiefs whether they had actually understood him. They said 'yes', but further remained quiet. Ahrends read the letter again, after which the chiefs wanted to know more about this Boni prisoner called Pichot. Ahrends told them more about him and declared that he had spoken to this man in Paramaribo. Then the chiefs started to mumble and told Ahrends that this man Pichot wanted to clear himself by spreading all sorts of lies, once he had fallen into the colonists' hands. The chiefs thereupon left to further confer on the matter without Ahrends. Two hours later did they come back and declared that Pichot had been telling a pack of lies. The Ndjuka did not even have enough lead and gunpowder for their own use and apart from that, the story about the guns being repaired in Paramaribo was a gross lie for the Boni would never be able to pay for it. The chiefs could hardly believe that the Government was so easily deceived. They ostentatiously started to count the rifles used by their own clan members. This turned out to be an impossible job, however, as their people were scattered all over the region, and no accurate tally could be given. Nevertheless, they swore to A. Ahrends that they had never ever given any guns to the Boni.

But then the Ndjuka made a riposte. They told the *posthouder* that they were convinced of the fact that the colonists were conspiring against them. They began to speculate. First there was the presence of the whites in Boni's village. Boni had settled peace with the colonist authorities. As a result of this peace agreement, he had received gunpowder, lead and rifles, as well as all sorts of goods and tools. The Ndjuka were expected to fight Boni and as soon as they set off on the war-path, the colonists from Paramaribo would surely come and destroy everything. It had dawned upon them indeed, they were being tricked! A. Ahrends denied this and declared that the Government did not need cunning and guile. If they were really out for the Ndjuka's blood, they could easily defeat the Maroons into knots without any tricks. When the chiefs heard this, they left in high dudgeon and did not show up again.

When the meeting was over, A. Ahrends asked *kapiten* Bambi and a number of *jonkuman* (young men) what they thought of this whole affair. The *jonkuman* were altogether more favorably disposed towards the Dutch than the (old) clan chiefs and they were loath of violating the pact with the Government for Boni's sake. *Kapiten* Bambi, however, refused to give any comments and said that he would give his view on the matter the following day. Gaanman Pambu and the chiefs came back to Ahrends on the following day and told him that he could write to the Government that the Ndjuka had

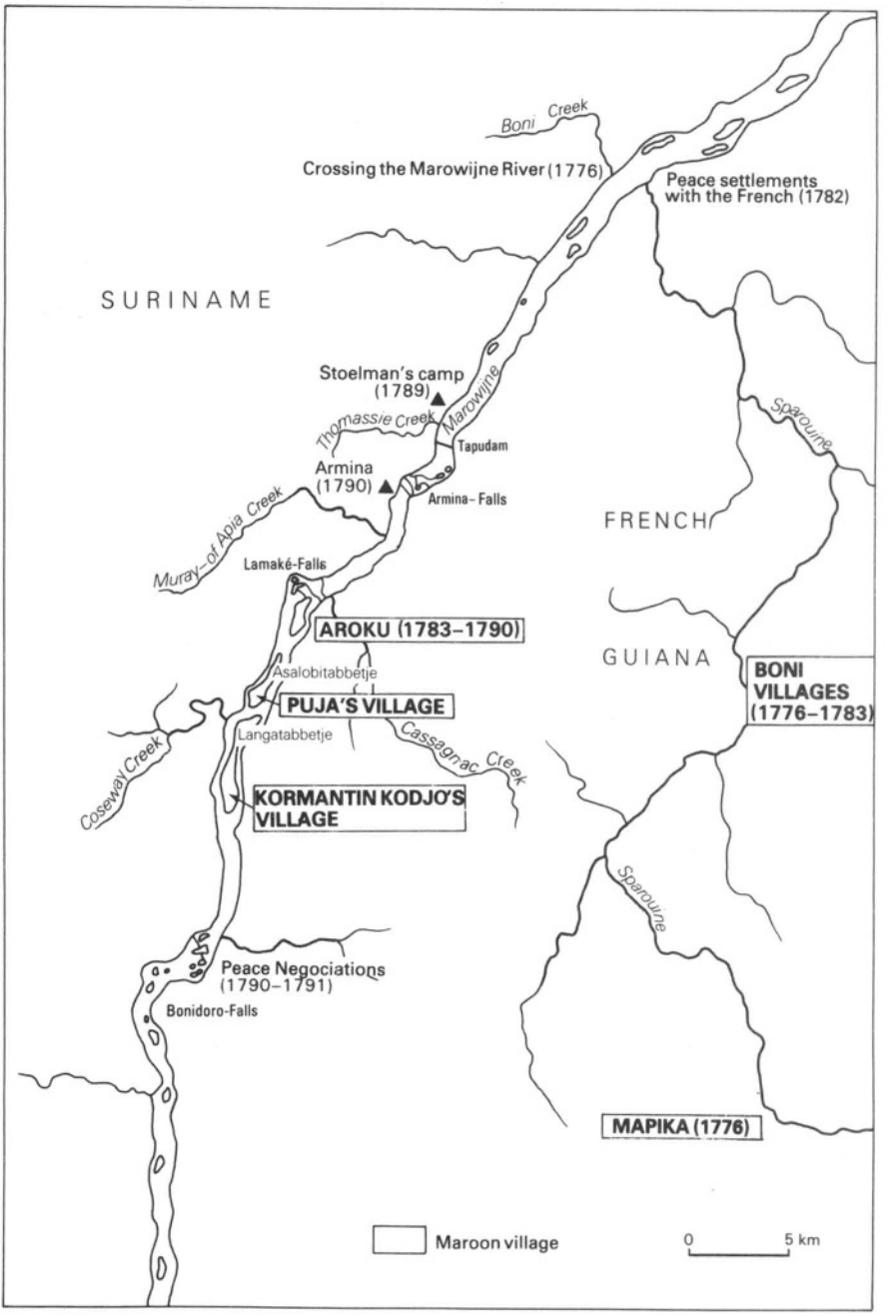
taken note of the situation and had thoroughly understood everything. The false stories told by Pichot, however, had made them angry. Nevertheless, Gaanman Pambu promised to have all Boni expelled from the Ndjuka villages. When all was said and done, the chiefs left the *posthouder's* house. Some time later, the *jonkuman* came to knock at Ahrends' door. Their spokesman Bambi said that they had organized a meeting of their own, in which they had decided to comply with the Government's orders. He recalled the fact that the *jonkuman* had accorded the colonists a great many favors so far but had never received any credit for it because the tribute had always been distributed among the clan chiefs. Bambi therefore requested to let the *jonkuman* have their rightful share in any tribute goods[39].

The development of the relationship between the Boni and the French between 1785 and 1789 remains vague. Some reports from the early days of 1786 indicate that the Frenchman living with the Boni was not a missionary but a civil servant called Sipra. A French document dating to June 1786 leads us to believe that a delegation of ten Boni had travelled to Iracoubo to negotiate with the French. The exact date of this event is unknown. The French Government had ordered the priest Farjon to go and make inquiries about the Boni's motives. The latter had asked for cattle to build a live stock supply. In April 1786, a message from Versailles arrived, saying that the Boni had been manumitted by the French king and thus had obtained the same rights as the free Negroes in the colony (Hurault 1960: 107). In September 1786, Agosu and Askaan (of Ephrata) travelled to Cayenne, where they were received by a committee of several members from the *Conseil Supérieur* (the French equivalent of the Court of Policy). The priests Farjon and Rebours were also present. The members of the *Conseil Supérieur* were most impressed by Askaan (of Ephrata) and submitted the articles of a peace treaty for Agosu's and Askaan's approval. According to the articles, the Boni were to move to the Mana River and be put under French protection. But Boni refused to migrate, as a result of which the peace treaty was never ratified (Hurault 1960: 107). As a matter of fact, Boni never trusted the colonists' intentions. He only wanted to sign a peace treaty which provided that the Boni live at a safe distance from the colonists.

In May 1787, Jurriaan F. Friderici, who had meanwhile been promoted to the rank of commander of the Colonial Troops, wrote that all sorts of signals pointed to the fact that a large number of slaves fled to the Boni via the Marowijne River. In order to help the runaways, the Boni kept a number of manned pirogues ready in the Marowijne River to transport the fugitives to their villages[40].

In August 1787, Boni himself led an expedition of 60 persons to the Ndjuka villages where he had talks with some chiefs. Boni promised to see to it that the slaves abducted from the Auka plantation by Koki in 1785 would be handed over to the Ndjuka. The Maroon leader, however, kept silent about the slaves captured from 's-Haagenbosch. He told the Ndjuka chiefs that he would discuss that matter during another visit which was to take place as soon as the Ndjuka had received their gifts from the Dutch[41].

Map 12: The living area of the Boni-Maroons, 1776-1790



In December 1787, a bloody incident between the Amerindians and the Boni occurred. A group of Amanabo-Amerindians, fishing near the estuary of the Marowijne River spotted a pirogue with Maroons sailing down the river. They ceased their activities, sailed back to their villages and warned their captain Alǫwaya, who decided to chase the Maroons. The following morning, the Amerindians searched but did not discover any Maroons that day. The next day they found a pirogue hidden under branches in a small creek. The Amerindians went ashore and soon found a trail. After one hour, they arrived at a hut where five men were smoking fish. Owing to the smoke, they had not noticed their attackers. The Amerindians surrounded the hut and killed the men who turned out to be Boni-Maroons. Apart from the odd bow and arrow they did not have any arms. The Amerindians cut off the dead Maroons' right hands in order to reap the premium for killing runaway slaves[42].

In 1788, there were rumors circulating round in Paramaribo that the Boni and the French had severed their ties. On 11 August, *posthouder* A. Ahrends reported that three Boni had arrived in a Ndjuka village some weeks before and had told that Boni had ousted the French from his village because they were double-crossing him and refused to give him any presents. The Maroons further revealed that Boni had decided to maraud a couple of plantations in the Cottica and Perica area in due time. The Court of Policy, however, deemed Ahrends' report to be based on false rumors and decided to wait for further news[43].

CHAPTER 6
THE SECOND BONI-MAROON WAR

The Boni-Maroon War Resumed

After twelve years of calm, the Boni resumed their battle against the Dutch in 1789 by attacking for no apparent reason the Clarenbeek plantation in the Commewijne area and several plantations on the Suriname River. The new belligerent actions may have been the result of the alienation felt between the Boni and the French. The Boni had been trying for years to come to a peace settlement with the French, which would have provided for them to stay on the Marowijne River and receive tribute from time to time. The French, however, had always insisted on the Boni's relocation to the coastal area as a condition for a definite peace settlement. The arrival of new runaways may also have influenced Boni's decision to resume the war against the Surinamese planters. The newcomers included many slaves who bore an enormous hatred against their former masters and appeared to be far more eager to wage a guerrilla-war against the planters than the Maroons who had settled down in the interior long before. One of the new Maroons who played an important part in the raids of 1789 was the Kormantin slave Jaw from the plantation of Meerzorg.

On 11 March 1789, about 150 Maroons, commanded by Agosu and Jaw of Meerzorg, attacked the Clarenbeek plantation between five and six o'clock in the morning. They split up in three groups. One group set upon the sugar factory, another group invaded the manager's residence, while a third one charged the soldiers stationed at this plantation. This military 'force' was only constituted by five soldiers and one sergeant. The Boni killed four soldiers, while the remaining two fled. The Maroons robbed the soldiers' guns and a quantity of salted meat. The group charging at the factory ran into a white overseer, whom they killed. The invaders of the residence shot manager J. Merle from the front doorway, while he was lying in bed. They did not kill him, but bound and abducted him[1].

Half an hour after the attack had been launched, the manager of the Wayampibo plantation on the other side of the Commewijne River arrived at Clarenbeek together with a couple of loyal slaves. The Boni, however, avoided a fight and disappeared behind the plantation with 33 slaves (four men, eleven women and eighteen children) and manager J. Merle. The Maroons took away few goods, but it is not clear whether they had intended to do this or were prevented from stealing more by the early arrival of the slaves from Wayampibo. The fact that they were initially out for the slaves of Clarenbeek leads us to conclude that a demographic decline of their tribe was the Maroons' main concern. The *basia* and a little boy, who were amongst the captive slaves, returned to the plantation after a short time. Hardly had the old *basia* returned when he shot himself. The same afternoon two patrols entered the jungle behind Clarenbeek plantation in the hope of catching up with the Maroons, but this turned out to be impossible. Two weeks later, a

combined patrol of Black Rangers and colonial troops, constituted by 84 men, went searching for the raiders. After two days, the patrol found various Maroon paths which they followed. One of the paths led to the place where the Maroons had obviously spent the night on their escape from Clarenbeek, as a note was found in a hollow tree-trunk. It was written in charcoal by J. Merle and said: *Augoesse Boni visiteert het Kordon. J. Merle. Samen 121* (Agosu visites the Cordon. Merle. Together 121 (Boni). The camp was composed of fourteen huts, but that was about all they found, for the patrol could not discover the route to the Boni-villages[2].

On 5 April 1789, Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler mounted another patrol. After six days, the patrol arrived at the Marowijne River, where it discovered a village on an island to the south and some landing-points used by the Maroons on the other side of the river. At night, the patrol could hear the guards on the other side talking to each other and blowing their horns. It seemed that the patrol had been discovered. The sound of the horn was answered from another side and Kübeler could hear a pirogue sailing by. The following day, shots were fired from the other bank, which made the sub-lieutenent decide to draw back. On 13 April, the patrol was taken under fire from the other side of the Marowijne River. Kübeler instructed a slave to reply with his horn and ordered his men to shout at the Boni that they would have to cross the river, if they really wanted to enter into a fight. Yet the Boni kept quiet and the patrol returned to the Commewijne area after a couple of days[3].

Following the attack on Clarenbeek Commander-in-Chief, Jurriaan Friderici wrote to Governor Jan Wichers that he suspected the Boni of having mounted the attack without the Ndjuka's help. The raiders of Clarenbeek had 30 guns and plenty of ammunition at their disposal, which they had not bought from the Ndjuka but obtained by exchanging goods with the Amerindians from the Mana Region[4]. A number of Ndjuka had been informed about the planned raid on the Clarenbeek plantation in advance. The *posthouder's* assistent J. Basschal had also heard about the plans. On 5 March 1789 he wrote a letter of warning to Paramaribo. However, owing to the low water-level prohibiting speedy transport, the letter only reached the capital by 16 April[5].

Ten days after the raid, the warriors returned to Aroku. The captive manager Jean Merle was given a house of his own; he was well-provided with food and was allowed to walk about freely, albeit under constant supervision. When Merle arrived in Aroku, he found several Ndjuka there. One of them, a certain Ajapa, almost immediately claimed a captive female slave called Monki. As he had given a woman to Jaw of Meerzorg some time before, he considered it fair that he would receive a woman from Clarenbeek in return. Boni agreed with him but the other chiefs found that Ajapa had to show more patience, as a result of which the Ndjuka went home empty-handed. After about a week, Boni allowed Merle to write letters to Paramaribo. The Maroon leader declared that he would have these letters brought to Gaanman Pambu, who could give them to the *posthouder*. Boni also informed Pambu about his plans to attack the plantations near Jodensavanne in the same month. In April 1789, the messengers returned from their visit to the Ndjuka,

carrying a letter for Merle from the *posthouder's* assistent J. Basschal and two guns which had been sent to Paramaribo for repair by Kwamina Adjubi. They also brought some presents for Boni, a new cutlass and some flints, while *kapiten* Basa received a repaired gun. Pambu and the chiefs, however, had not given their view on Boni's planned attack on Jodensavanne. They had, instead, insisted on Merle being well-treated.

It remained quiet in Aroku for a couple of months. In September, the Ndjuka chiefs Bambi, Pikin Djaki and Tobi arrived with a letter for Jean Merle from the *posthouder's* assistent, J. Basschal, telling that the Governor refused to discuss the affair of the captived Merle. Basschal had given the chiefs some goods for Merle: a hammock, a shirt, shoes and some writing-paper. Merle asked Bambi whether he could plead for his being transferred to the Ndjuka, but Bambi refused and argued that Merle was very well treated by the Boni. Besides, his captivity served him right for he had always bullied the slaves at Clarenbeek.

Plundering Raids along the Suriname River

In June 1789, P.S. Stoelman succeeded the deceased Captain A. Vinsaque as the conductor of the Black Rangers, without ever having held a position within the corps before. Early in September 1789, Governor Jan Wichers ordered him to leave for the Marowijne River with a contingent of colonial troops and Black Rangers to go and build a military post north of the Boni-villages. Stoelman was to leave from the Oranjebo Post on the Commewijne River and proceed to the Marowijne River via a new path. On 9 September, the patrol started to work its way through the jungle. From time to time, Stoelman sent out small patrols to search for Maroons and runaways in the surroundings of the Oranjebo Post for he was afraid that the slaves who were cutting open the path to the Marowijne River would be surprised by a sudden attack[6].

On 24 September, the Imotapi Post received a message telling that a group of about 60 armed Boni and ten bearers had left Aroku some weeks before to maraud the plantations in the upper-Suriname area. This had been told by David (of Clarenbeek) one of the 33 slaves who had been abducted by the Boni on 11 March. David had separated from the others and fled. He provided interesting information about the Boni and revealed that the Maroons had some 100 guns and gunpowder at their disposal, which they had obtained by exchanging pirogues with the Amerindians, who in turn, had received these goods from the French. The new Amerindian *kapiten* Ariabiana was one of Boni's best friends[7].

As a result of David's testimony, the troops were kept on standby. P.S. Stoelman immediately sent Sergeant C.G. Mangold and 23 men to the Mapane Creek, while he ordered another group of soldiers to leave for the Marowijne River to search for the Boni's pirogues and destroy them. The following day, it was reported that the Boni had been spotted somewhere between the Mapane Creek and the Suriname River, whereupon Stoelman immediately sent a patrol of 37 soldiers to this region. None of the patrols,

however, managed to track down the Boni[8].

On Saturday 26 September 1789, between four and five in the morning, the Boni conducted raids on the lumber plantations of Remoncourt, La Solitude, Auka and Welgevonden; all of them located on the eastern bank of the upper-Suriname River. The raiders had split up in four groups and launched their attack on the four plantations simultaneously. The manager of the plantation Weltevreden on the other side of the Suriname River woke up because of the noise at Remoncourt. He ran to the riverside and saw a large group of Maroons plundering the plantation. The Boni shouted: 'We are here, we are here', fired a couple of shots and took all valuable goods from the slaves' barracks and the manager's residence, after which they set fire to the buildings. As there were fires all over the region, it soon became clear to the whites and slaves that the Maroons had attacked more than one plantation. No sooner had the Boni left Remoncourt when several slaves of Bergendaal and Weltevreden crossed the river to size up the situation. They found the plantation's manager still alive. He had managed to escape by throwing himself into the river. The owner, however, had been killed and was found on a path, with both hands and head cut off. Two slaves who had offered resistance had also been killed. All houses had been burnt to the ground and some oxen had been abused.

The situation at the other plantations was simular. The owner of La Solitude, Hardeegen, had been killed and all of the buildings had been burnt to the ground, with the exception of the corn warehouse. Nothing had been burnt at the Welgevonden plantation, but the owner's son, Meyers, had been murdered. The buildings of Auka had been saved as well, but the cattle had been butchered. Almost all the slaves from the plantations, about a hundred in total, had disappeared and had probably been abducted by the Boni. The Maroons had not taken the rifles from the plantation but had destroyed them instead. The ceaseless shooting by the raiders suggested that they have had plenty of ammunition[9].

It later appeared that the Boni had attacked the plantation of La Solitude at the instigation of its *basia*, Dorothem. The Maroons intended to go ravage the plantations Beaumont and Auka, but Agosu, Jaw and the others who had gone ahead to size up the situation, ran into Dorothem who had taken his two dogs out hunting in the bushes behind the plantation. Dorothem then suggested that the Boni attack the plantation of his master, Hardeegen, which had more slaves than Beaumont, so that they would acquire a bigger catch. Dorothem showed the Maroons the way to La Solitude. The Boni charged Hardeegen's house before sunrise, while the planter was still in bed. The female slaves present in the house hid their master in a cellar under the floor, but the slave Christina, who was less favorably disposed towards her master, got an axe from the kitchen and gave it to the Maroons who forced open the trapdoor, took out Hardeegen and brought him to Agosu. Christina suggested that they punish Hardeegen with the *Spaanse bok* for that was the punishment he preferred to impose on the slaves. The Maroons, however, told her that their methods were different, whereupon Agosu ordered his men to shoot him. Hardeegen's corpse was subsequently brought to the yard in front of his

house. Some time later, the Maroons who had fought at Remoncourt arrived with *basia* Dorothem, who thereupon cut off Hardeegen's hands and feet, put them inside a slaughtered pig and covered the bloody mass with feathers. Shortly afterwards, the Boni left La Solitude with all of the slaves in chains[10].

After a couple of days, the Boni arrived in Aroku. The Ndjuka chiefs Bambi and Pikin Djaki, who were still there, congratulated Boni on his success. Some time later, Bambi asked Jaw (of Meerzorg) whether he was prepared to hand over the five slaves abducted from the Auka plantation but Jaw refused. Shortly afterwards, the two Ndjuka chiefs left Aroku. The Boni and the Ndjuka were on very friendly terms with each other, which was illustrated by the fact that one of Pikin Djaki's wives was a Boni-woman called Beti (of Roosenbeek), who accompanied Djaki to his village this time.

Early October 1789, Boni sent two men with a couple of golden rings and chintz garments[11] to paramount chief Pambu. He also sent the beautiful slave Aba with them, who had recently been abducted from Auka. The rings and clothes had also been taken from the plantations on the Suriname River. One of the men, however, soon returned with Aba, as paramount chief Pambu had rejected her for fear of causing problems with the Dutch. Yet he was most grateful for the other presents, for which he sent Boni a tankard of rum and a flask of gunpowder in return[12].

P.S. Stoelman moves to the Marowijne River

The attack on Clarenbeek had made Governor Jan Wichers decide to install a military post on the Marowijne River. Stoelman was ordered to take the Black Rangers and some white soldiers to the Armina Falls south of the Boni-villages. P.S. Stoelman's journal (Hoogbergen 1984: 49-75) reports that the troops arrived at the Marowijne River on 25 October 1789.

On 3 November 1789, it became clear that the Boni were out for P.S. Stoelman and his troops. They opened fire on the encampment from all sides and managed to break through to the middle of the soldier's temporary accommodation, but were repulsed after fierce fighting. The Boni made no less than ten attempts to seize the camp, but without success. Finally, they fled across the Marowijne River in their pirogues, taking their dead and wounded fellow-warriors with them. It remained quiet in Stoelman's camp for a day or two. Some Boni sailed along the French side of the river from time to time, but as Stoelman did not have any pirogues at his disposal, he was forced only to watch.

This nerve-wrecking situation culminated on 12 November, when a pirogue full of Boni headed towards P.S. Stoelman's camp some hours after sunrise. They made a terrible noise, as they were banging drums and blowing the *tutu* (horns)[13]. Once they arrived at a sand bank, the Boni disembarked and lined up. As soon as Boni had taken his place at the head of the line, the Maroons started to dance. Although Stoelman had obtained two small pirogues in the meantime, he stayed clear from his enemies. When the tide came in, the Maroons left in southern direction.

Some days later, a patrol reported that the Boni were hiding upstream near the Armina Falls. P.S. Stoelman himself rowed down the river with three pirogues until he came near the old Maroon village of Tesisi. On his way back, he called on the Amerindian village Arowij, where he asked for the Maroon Nero (of Roosenbeek) who had fled the Boni and had been living in the Amerindian village ever since. He wanted to persuade this Maroon to join the Black Rangers and hoped to get useful information about the Boni from him. But Nero (of Roosenbeek) was not there, for he was out fishing. P.S. Stoelman asked the Amerindians to sell him a pirogue but they refused. Upon his departure from Arowijkondre, however, the commander had his men steal one instead.

P.S. Stoelman's camp was situated amidst the Boni-villages which themselves bordered onto important provision grounds to the north. It only took Stoelman's carpenters a couple of weeks to build a number of pirogues. As soon as the soldiers had obtained their boats, they tried to prevent the Maroons from paddling to their garden plots. The commander sent a number of soldiers to these fields to find out whether there were actually Boni living there, but the men returned without having discovered any sign of a settlement. They had, however, taken a large amount of yams from the fields.

On 18 November, P.S. Stoelman poled up the Marowijne River with his soldiers, benefitting from the tidal flow which was very strong in this part of the river. After two hours, the patrol arrived at the rapids of the Tapu Dam and one hour later they struck upon a chain of rocks running through the river: the Armina Falls, which made it impossible to pole on. The only way of passing the falls would be by dragging the pirogues across. Stoelman considered this the ideal place for installing his new post. On 27 November, 50 soldiers poled up the river in an attempt to take hold of the region surrounding the Armina Falls. But hardly had they passed the curve in the river when they were brought under fire by Maroons stationed on the riverbank. The soldiers fled in panic and lost control over their boats. The strong current drove them back across the falls, but, by a miracle, nobody was hurt. Sub-Commander Hoffman could not persuade the Black Rangers to mount an attack: they considered themselves too easy a prey for the Maroons, who were hiding behind the trees on the riverbank. When Hoffman returned to the post with this painful message, Stoelman fell into a rage, but as it was almost dark, it was useless to undertake any action[14].

In the meantime, a new delegation of Ndjuka had arrived in Aroku. Kwamina Adjubi had sent four confidants with rum and gunpowder to Boni to ask for the delivery of the slaves who had recently been abducted from the plantations in the upper-Suriname region and once again claimed Jaw (of Meerzorg). But Boni did not feel like talking to the Ndjuka and told them that he did not have time to listen to their complaints because Captain P.S. Stoelman had pitched a camp downstream from the Armina Falls. He urged the delegation to hurry back and summoned all fighting Boni who stayed with the Ndjuka to return to Aroku. In order to conciliate Pambu, Boni gave him the much sought after female slave abducted by Jaw; Monki from Clarenbeek and her child. Boni did require, however, that Pambu should keep the woman

for himself and refrain from handing her over to the colonists[15].

On 2 December, P.S. Stoelman sailed to the Armina Falls together with 50 men, with the intention of building a military post upstream from the falls. An equal number of men would try to reach the shoals over land. When the troops arrived at the rapids and Stoelman ordered them to bring the pirogues ashore and unload them, the men suddenly found themselves surrounded by Maroons. They went ashore to seek cover, while a number of them took an empty pirogue and sailed to the mid-stream rocks to attack the Boni. P.S. Stoelman took his place on a high rock, from where he could overlook the battle and give his men instructions. Part of the Boni counter-attacked from the rocks and proceeded to fight overland, all the while banging drums, blowing horns and yelling ferociously. Stoelman withstood the attack overland, but he could not ward off the Maroons coming across the rocks, who continued to harass the soldiers until three o'clock in the afternoon, when they finally withdrew and settled exactly at the place which P.S. Stoelman had chosen for the installation of his post. The commander then realized that he would have to sacrify many lives to recover this place, which made him decide to give up his plan and order the soldiers to return to the base camp. It is not known how many Boni were killed or wounded in this fight. Stoelman's troops only counted one wounded soldier, as the Boni had been hiding behind the rocks for fear of being hit and therefore missed the soldiers[16].

During the subsequent weeks, Stoelman regularly sent patrols to the Armina Falls to spy on the Boni. They came back reporting that the Maroons had built a stronghold on the island upstream from the falls. Another patrol was sent to the Crique Sparouine to look for any remaining Boni-Maroons. Upon their return the soldiers reported that they had not found the old Boni-villages. It was only on 24 December 1789 that a third expedition discovered the former Boni-villages, which appeared to have been abandoned long since, for the provision grounds had already grown into *kapuweri* (secondary forest)[17].

By the middle of December, another delegation of Ndjuka arrived in Aroku, this time led by Kwamina Adjubi himself. Boni received them with great respect because one of his wives was Kwamina's daughter. Boni's father-in-law brought a letter from the *posthouder's* assistent J. Basschal for Jean Merle, who was still kept prisoner in the Boni-village. Kwamina Adjubi thanked Boni in the name of paramount chief Pambu for the female slave he had received. He also made a proposal concerning the slaves abducted from Clarenbeek and the upper-Suriname region: if the Boni handed over these people to the Ndjuka, they would receive one third of the reward. This proposal, however, caused a clash of opinions amongst the Boni. Kormantin Kodjo would have none of it, but Boni decided to accept the Ndjuka's proposal and ordered some of his people to go after the captive slaves. He also promised Kwamina Adjubi that he would hand over Jaw of Meerzorg and immediately sent a couple of men chasing after this Maroon. In the event of not being able to arrest him, the pursuers were ordered to shoot him, but after a couple of days they returned with the message that Jaw was nowhere to be found. In fact, it was subterfuge, for they surely knew that Jaw was

staying with Kormantin Kodjo. Boni therefore gave Kwamina Adjubi a child and five slaves abducted from Auka instead, but Kwamina was not satisfied and claimed more slaves. After a heated discussion, Boni decided to give him another four slaves, but Kwamina Adjubi did not want the slaves who had been caught at the plantation of Remoncourt, for they were Government slaves and the Government did not pay a premium for the delivery of their own property. After a long debate, Kwamina Adjubi finally accepted two slaves from Boni, one from Basa and another one from Agosu. Boni further gave Kwamina Adjubi a French rifle to have it repaired and he offered him Merle's silver sword as a present. By the middle of January 1790, Kwamina Adjubi left Aroku[18].

On 30 December 1789, Captain P.S. Stoelman sailed back to the Armina Falls with a contingent of soldiers to see whether he could find a place to safely cross the falls with loaded pirogues. As soon as he reached the rocks, the Boni started to shoot at him, but Stoelman did not answer the shooting for the Boni were too far away to be hit and he returned to his post on that same day. The Boni appeared to be still on their guard which made it impossible to occupy the region around the Armina Falls[19].

For the time being, P.S. Stoelman avoided a confrontation with the Boni who, in turn, left the soldiers in peace. On 2 February 1790, a couple of soldiers patrolling near the falls found a note written by Jean Merle, which the Boni had dropped in a conspicuous place. The note said that Boni was prepared to set Jean Merle free for a ransom of four barrels of gunpowder and 24 guns. The following day, Stoelman sent Sub-Lieutenant Baltzer to the Armina Falls with a letter from him and some clothes for Merle who was said to be walking around naked in Aroku. Stoelman wrote that his mandate did not allow him to intervene, but that he was willing to help Jean Merle in his capacity as a citizen and a human being. If Boni had not demanded guns and gunpowder for a ransom, Jean Merle would have more chance of being redeemed.

When the soldiers arrived at the rocks, they saw a number of Boni waving a white flag on the French side of the river. Their gestures seemed to indicate that they wanted to talk to Sub-Lieutenant Baltzer. The commander, however, did not have a white cloth to wave back with, but one of the soldiers had a white handkerchief with a red edging, which was tied around a pirogue mast. Baltzer crossed the river in his pirogue with this 'flag' flying on top. He found Agosu and twelve fellow-tribesmen standing on the other side. Boni's son started to talk about peace immediately and said that the Boni had been set up by the Ndjuka to launch an attack on the soldiers. They had tried to make the Boni believe that the colonists had sent a powerful commando in chase of the Boni. The Maroons had believed this deceitful story and had therefore attacked P.S. Stoelman early November. The Boni declared that they now realized that the colonists were not out for their lives, which had made them decide to ask for a peace settlement. Baltzer answered that he was not allowed to open peace talks, but he promised to forward their request to Stoelman. The sub-lieutenant further inquired after the condition of the captive manager from Clarenbeek, whereupon Agosu told him that Jean

Merle was doing well, considering the circumstances. After this, both parties went their own way and Baltzer returned to the military camp[20].

Owing to the turbulent water, one of the pirogues capsized on 5 February 1790 and three soldiers were drowned. The day afterwards, another group of soldiers set off for the Armina Falls with a letter for Jean Merle and three bunches of bananas which they left on the rocks. On 11 February, Sub-Lieutenant Baltzer went back to the falls and found Merle's answer to P.S. Stoelman's letter. Apart from the letter, the Boni had also left a barrel of rice and five bunches of bananas for the soldiers. In his letter[21], Merle thanked Stoelman for the clothes he had received and wrote that the Boni had initially been reluctant to accept the box of clothes because the transporting vessel was not flying a white flag and they were afraid that it was some sort of trick. As for the release of Merle, Boni had changed the ransom, though he was very discontent with the fact that the colonists refused to give him any gunpowder, which he considered a sign of mistrust. Besides, Boni had used up quite some ammunition when hunting for game to feed J. Merle. Boni would therefore appreciate it if they gave him a small amount of gunpowder, especially because he had significantly lowered the ransom to 100 French Piasters, 25 tankards of rum, two pieces of cotton and a dozen handkerchiefs. And, if Stoelman did not protest, Boni would like to have a box of soap as well. Stoelman forwarded Merle's letters to the Court of Policy with the message that he hoped that the friends of Merle would supply the desired goods as soon as possible. He further added that the Ndjuka had told him that the Boni were struck by famine, as a result of which two Maroons had already died. The Court of Policy, however, decided not to accept Boni's conditions[22].

The Seizure of Aroku

By the middle of February 1790, a number of important Ndjuka arrived at Aroku, including Boko, the son of paramount chief Pambu. They came to tell Boni that the *ostagier* Jeboa Djaki, during a visit to Pambu's village, had talked one of his most reliable chiefs and brother in arms for many years, namely Askaan of Ephrata, into moving to Paramaribo to be manumitted by the government in exchange for cooperation with the colonists. Shortly afterwards, Askaan had returned to the Ndjuka wearing shoes and socks (a symbol of freedom, for the slaves were not allowed to wear shoes) and brought three tankards of rum as a present for Gaanman Pambu. Boni was outraged about Askaan's desertion and told Boko that Pambu had to incarcerate this traitor immediately to prevent Askaan from going back to Paramaribo.

Boko had more unpleasant news to tell. First, there was Monki (of Clarenbeek), the woman whom Boni had offered to Gaanman Pambu in November 1790. The paramount chief would have liked to keep the woman for himself, but some chiefs had demanded that she be delivered to the colonists. Pambu, who was old and sick, had not been able to prevent it. Boni

felt sorry for Pambu and promised to find him another woman. Apart from that, Boko warned the Boni that the colonists had built new stone prisons in which to lock up all of them. These prisons were said to have grids on the floor, under which a fire could be made, so that the Boni would be guilled alive. Before they left the Ndjuka chiefs exchanged goods with the Boni. They bought tobacco and hammocks and paid with gunpowder and buckshot. Boni gave Boko a girl for Gaanman Pambu, who was called Akuba and came from Remoncourt. Boni expressly forbade to deliver Akuba to the colonists, on which Boko gave his hand in the name of Pambu[23].

On 21 February 1790, the soldiers managed to drive the Boni away from the Armina Falls. This was an important victory for Captain P.S. Stoelman because it finally allowed him to install his post upstream from the falls, from where he could launch an attack on the Boni villages. On 1 March, Stoelman vainly attempted to cross the Muray Creek to arrive opposite the Maroon villages. Early in the morning, he sent a group of soldiers sailing along the riverside to the Lamaké Falls, while he himself marched overland with the rest of the troops. About ten o'clock, the troops arrived at the Muray Creek, a small river about one-third of the distance between Armina and the Maroon villages. There was, however, not a single tree to be found on the bank of this creek that could be used as a bridge. Stoelman took a large pirogue and crossed the river with 20 Black Rangers, as he had seen suitable tamarind trees growing on the other side, which could serve as a bridge. Two slaves cut down the trees immediately, while the Black Rangers monitored the forest as the Boni could launch an attack at any moment. Nothing happened.

P.S. Stoelman had two pirogues rowed further up the river to gather intelligence. One of the pirogues, under the command of the Black Ranger Hanibal, headed towards an island which lay at half the shooting distance from the riverside. But still the Maroons were nowhere to be found. Then, exactly at the moment that Hanibal passed inbetween the island and the riverbank, the Boni suddenly opened fire at him from the island. It was as if the entire military force of the Maroons were stationed on this strategically located island. The pirogue's coxswain got severely wounded in the leg and the crew barely managed to get the boat ashore. The Black Rangers immediately hid behind the trees and tried to shoot back, while P.S. Stoelman's troops, insofar as they had meanwhile crossed the creek, also answered the shooting. A heavy fight resulted that lasted for hours. Each time that the shooting ceased for a moment, Kormantin Kodjo shouted at Stoelman that he (Stoelman) had indeed driven the Maroons away from the Armina Falls but that it would take him a lifetime to dislodge them from these outposts. Stoelman was surprised to find that the Maroons had such a large amount of ammunition at their disposal. Never before had he experienced such a long fight with so fierce a shoot-out. He assumed that Boni had given his men an extra amount of gunpowder to flush the soldiers out of the Armina Post and that the Boni had subsequently gathered on this island to launch an attack on his troops. When evening fell, the soldiers had almost used up all of their ammunition, as a result of which P.S. Stoelman had to turn back to the Armina Falls.

On 5 March 1790, P.S. Stoelman made a second attempt to conquer the Boni villages and left with two contingents of soldiers in eight pirogues. Once he arrived at the falls before the Muray Creek, the commander once again realized how strategically well-situated the Boni's post was. Shoals and islands wound their way across the river. It was only near the western bank, where Stoelman had been attacked four days before, that a passage was possible. But in order to do so, the pirogues had to pass between two islands which lay frightfully close to one another. Hardly had Stoelman set off to try his luck when the Boni opened fire. Sub-Commander Berg instructed the Black Rangers to answer the shooting with a *draaibas* (small swivel cannon), while he sent a pirogue with another *draaibas* to the other side, in an attempt to encircle the Maroons. The Boni, however, continued to shoot at the pirogues and finally hit their target. One of the Black Rangers was hit in the hand exactly at the moment that he was holding a burning fuse. Horrified, he dropped the fuse in the box of cartridges for the *draaibas*. An explosion followed and some of the soldiers suffered severe burns, whereas the pirogue became useless and floated away with the current. Simultaneously the 'draaibas' in the other pirogue ceased to function. Stoelman realized that it was impossible to sail on with these pirogues and decided to beat a retreat. Two hours later, the colonial troops returned at the Armina Post, all of them in shreds. On 7 March 1790, Stoelman transferred his power over Armina to Commander C.G. Mangold and marched via Oranjebo to Paramaribo, where he arrived on 15 March, together with the soldiers who were to be relieved[24].

By the end of March 1790, another delegation of Ndjuka arrived at Aroku to report, in the name of Gaanman Pambu, that Askaan of Ephrata had left for Paramaribo. Gaanman Pambu warned the Boni that he had heard that Askaan would guide a huge military expedition to the Boni-villages on the Marowijne River. Pambu said that he did not expect the Dutch to succeed in conquering Aroku, but if they did, the Boni could flee to the Tapanahoni River to seek asylum in the Ndjuka villages. The Boni-chiefs unanimously accepted Pambu's offer and asked the delegation to tell the Boni living in the Tapanahoni area not to come to Aroku but stay with the Ndjuka. They further decided to make the necessary preparations for their evacuation from Aroku. Boni announced this important news to all of his tribe's members by sounding the alarm on drums. As soon as the Ndjuka delegation had left, the Boni started to prepare themselves for their departure by hiding their best goods in the jungle. Boni himself left for the Muray Creek to assume command over the warriors who occupied the post there[25].

While Gaanman Pambu's delegation was staying with the Boni, another group of Ndjuka led by the *ostagier* Jeboa Djaki and including the *posthouder's* assistent J. Basschal, and Askaan of Ephrata arrived in Paramaribo to deliver twelve slaves whom the Boni had abducted from Clarenbeek and other plantations in the upper-Suriname region. The Court of Policy was very pleased with the activities of both the *ostagier* and the *posthouder's* assistent. J. Basschal was promoted to *posthouder* and Jeboa Djaki received an extra reward of 100 guilders. Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler was in charge of the new troops heading towards the Marowijne

River. On 18 April 1790, he and his men arrived in Armina, thereby increasing the garrison at this post to 165 soldiers. On 26 April 1790, Beutler mounted the attack on Aroku. The first days he did not make much headway, for the Boni offered fierce resistance, but on 30 April 1790, the Maroons had been pushed back so far that the soldiers arrived opposite Aroku. At nine o'clock in the morning, Sub-Commander Kübeler ordered his men to cross the Marowijne River. The Boni used up their last ammunition in trying to keep the enemy at bay. The battle lasted for two hours, but then the Maroons were forced to give ground. Kübeler's troops landed in Aroku and found that not all of the inhabitants had managed to escape in time. Six women and two men were caught by the soldiers. The women, three of whom were born in the forest, were taken prisoner but the men were killed. It was in the swampy forests bordering on the waterside that the soldiers found manager Jean Merle, who had been left unharmed by the Boni and had hidden there since the beginning of the fight. The raiders further discovered some 24 guns, 66 axes and other tools in the houses.

The fact that the soldiers laid their hands on eight Boni and such a large amount of guns and axes leads us to believe that the Maroons were rather surprised by Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler's troops and had not succeeded in evacuating in time. The Maroons, however, had not given in yet; for the day after the seizure of Aroku they launched a counter-attack with the intention of driving back the occupying forces. But the enemy was by far the stronger party and the Boni were forced to withdraw amidst loud cursing and swearing. Three days later, they made another attempt to recover their village. One hour and a half before sunrise, they charged at Aroku. It came to a heavy fight, but after three hours, the Boni ceased fighting for it was impossible to recapture Aroku. The colonists lost one Black Ranger and four soldiers wounded, whereas it was unclear how many Maroons had been killed or wounded[26].

Apart from Aroku, Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler also conquered the neighbouring villages of Bakamango, Basakondre (of Basa of Clemensburg), Askaankondre (of Askaan of Ephrata, the defector), Sambokwasikondre and Kokikondre. The lieutenant also occupied the settlement of Mapriari, which lay somewhat more to the south and had been abandoned by the Boni. The Maroons only kept hold of two villages; the villages of the chiefs Puja and Kormantin Kodjo, both located on an island. But in the end, these last two Maroon strongholds were also conquered by Kübeler on 14 and 15 May. It is not known whether it actually came to a fight, which is most probable though, for the lieutenant later reported that he had pursued the Boni until past the Gran Creek. The soldiers, however, had not been able to catch up with the Maroons and Kübeler had returned to the island of Kormantin Kodjo where he installed a military post called Nassau. Fifty soldiers, both white troops and Black Rangers under the command of C.G. Mangold, stayed at this post. The remaining ones returned to Armina in seven pirogues. Kübeler reported to Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler that he had carried out his task successfully; from 26 April till 16 May, his troops had conquered a total of fourteen Boni-villages and discovered 22 provision grounds, seventeen of which were on an

island. The soldiers had burnt down the villages and had destroyed those cultivated fields which could not provide the troops with food[27].

The authorities in Paramaribo were as pleased with the defeat of the Boni in Aroku as they had been with the seizure of Buku some eighteen years before. The planter-poet Paul François Roos wrote a narrative poem *De overwinning van Aroukou, 30 april 1790* ('The seizure of Aroku on 30 April 1790') (Roos 1804: 187-192) on the occasion of this joyful event. Shortly after the conquest of Aroku, Governor Jan Wichers sent a triumphant letter to Gaanman Pambu and the other Ndjuka chiefs. The Governor told them that the colonial troops and the Black Rangers had finally accomplished what the Ndjuka had, in fact, promised to do: seize Aroku and drive away the Boni. 'The villages of Boni and Kormantin Kodjo now belong to us', thus Jan Wichers, 'and we now reap the fruits of what they have sown. The God of all Christians is fed up with their bloodlust and rapacity and has now brought them to justice!' The Governor also demanded that all of the Boni who had fled to the Ndjuka be delivered, while threatening that he would attack the Ndjuka as well if they did not obey this order[28].

By the middle of June 1790, Jan Wichers reported to the Court of Policy that he would soon go on leave to the mother country and that the Directors of the *Sociëteit van Suriname* had appointed Jurriaan François F. Friderici, councillor of the Court of Policy and commander of the colonial troops, as his deputy. Jan Wichers embarked shortly thereafter and never returned to Suriname.

The Villages near the Pedrosungu Falls

After the seizure of Aroku and its neighboring villages, the Boni fled to the surroundings of the Pedrosungu Falls; a new living area which they called Ingi Pule Seton. The circumstances were bad indeed as the existing gardens near the falls only yielded little food. After the defeat, they had found out also that the Ndjuka were worthless allies for their so-called help was nothing but rhetoric; they did not allow the Boni to seek refuge amongst them. They did provide a little food aid, but that was far from being enough. Apart from that, the Boni were struck by famine and a smallpox epidemic in the second half of 1790, as a result of which more than 100 Maroons died. Boni therefore decided to open negotiations with the Dutch, allegedly to talk about a possible surrender. It is not clear to what extent Boni only wanted to start negotiations to delay things, but the colonists surely benefitted from the talks as well, because they were still afraid that the Boni and the Ndjuka would join forces and had not yet persuaded themselves that the latter actually held a neutral position.

It was through the defector Askaan of Ephrata that the Boni sounded out the commander on the Marowijne River on the conditions of a complete surrender. F.M. Beutler himself could not take any decisions and there upon sent Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler and Askaan of Ephrata with a Boni-delegation of three persons Kwasi, Favorite and Profit, Boni's youngest son to

Paramaribo. There they told the Court of Policy, in the name of Boni, that their paramount chief Boni was born in the forest and had been forced to cross the Marowijne River because of the constant persecutions by the colonial troops. The attack on 's-Haagenbosch in 1785 had been launched without his knowledge, while the attack on Clarenbeek had partly been the result of the persistant incitement of the Ndjuka, who had shared in the booty. The Ndjuka had also been acquainted with the raids on the plantations in the upper-Suriname area, and also shared in that loot. Boni and his people were in a very bad condition since the seizure of Aroku, therefore they had decided to ask for the colonists' mercy. Boni asked the Governor to give him a plot of land where he could settle with his people. The delegates finally declared that Boni had never given the order to murder people or burn down buildings. On the contrary, he had often punished the people who committed such acts[29].

After a ten day stay in Paramaribo, the three Boni-delegates went back to their settlement on the Marowijne River. Governor Jurriaan Friderici wrote to F.M. Beutler that he could tell Boni that he, Jurriaan Friderici, the chief in command of the whole country, was not unwilling to accept Boni's surrender, in spite of the fact that the Boni did not really deserve it, considering the massacres and the arson of which they were guilty. The surrender, however, would be subject to certain conditions: the Boni had to deliver all the slaves who had come to seek refuge amongst them since their settlement in French Guiana, in particular the slaves who had been captured during the raids on the Clarenbeek and the upper-Suriname plantations. Governor Friderici, for his turn, promised to treat the runaways and the prisoners well.

The Boni were given three days to consider the proposal but once the time for reflection was over, the fighting would start again and the Boni would not get another chance of obtaining mercy. In the event of the Maroons accepting the Governor's conditions, the peace negotiations could begin and a cease-fire would become effective. The Boni were further required to break off all their relations with the Ndjuka and stay in their present living area near the Pedrosungu Falls. As soon as they have handed over the slaves from Clarenbeek and the upper-Suriname plantations, they would be allowed to fetch food from the provision grounds which were currently occupied by the military forces.

Governor Jurriaan Friderici further wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler that the new military post on Langatabbetje, the Post Nassau, had to remain well-defended. He expected that the famine-stricken Boni-Maroons would soon make a decision. As Boni was said to be partial to drink, the Governor sent him a big tankard of rum. Kormantin Kodjo received a smaller one. *Kapiten* Basa also received his share of rum, for he had been the permanent protector of manager Jean Merle[30].

On 27 July 1790, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler sailed from the Armina Post to the new Post Nassau together with Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler, Askaan of Ephrata, Kwasi and Favorite. Boni's son Profit was kept hostage at Post Armina. The remaining two Boni left Post Nassau soon and went back to their tribe to report on the talks in Paramaribo. Four days later, Kwasi and

Favorite returned to Nassau with another two Boni, who gave Beutler Boni's kind regards and thanked him in the name of their paramount chief for the warm welcome of the delegation. They told him that Boni still mistrusted the colonists, as a result of which he had not come to the post of Nassau in person to take part in the negotiations himself. Beutler told the four men that he was not prepared to negotiate with them for he only wanted to talk with Boni, Basa or Kormantin Kodjo. Consequently, the Boni left again.

Two days later, three Boni arrived at Post Nassau with the message that Boni was prepared to comply with the colonists' wishes, but he regretted the fact that he had not seen his son Profit yet. He was willing to open talks with the colonists on the condition that his son was present. Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler promised to meet his demand and on 7 August 1790, the Boni-delegation returned to Post Nassau, reporting that Boni would leave his village Ingi Pule Seton near the Pedrosungu Falls to participate in the talks himself. Beutler sent the Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler and Sergeant C.G. Mangold off with the Boni. The soldiers poled up to the Bonidoro Falls[31], at about one fifth of the distance to Ingi Pule Seton. After about half an hour, they spotted a pirogue with four men who were reluctant to come near and stayed beyond rifle range. Askaan of Ephrata, who was with Mangold and Kübeler, approached them. He soon found out that the Boni still mistrusted the Dutch. For, in the first place, there was still no sign from Profit and, secondly, not one of the authorities in Paramaribo had been willing to drink the *swéri* with the delegation. Neither had the Governor offered Boni a gun and gunpowder, which would have given proof of the colonists' trust in the Maroons. The fourth annoyance was Askaan's staying with the Dutch. He was the traitor who had brought the troops to Aroku. And who could assure Boni that Askaan would not be sailing to Ingi Pule Seton with an armed commando soon? The Boni concluded this conversation with the message that Boni would only come down to negotiate if his son was released.

One day later, about thirteen Boni showed up at the Bonidoro-Falls, flying white flags and firing shots in the air. Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler, however, ordered his men to ignore them. When the Boni found that they were being ignored, they paddled one pirogue down to the Nassau Post. Once there, they told Beutler the same story as the others had told him on the previous day. They also said that Boni had come to Bonidoro the day before but that he had decided not to open talks because his son Profit was not with the delegation[32].

On 16 August 1790, the authorities in Paramaribo learnt from *posthouder* J. Basschal that the Ndjuka Gaanman Pambu had died. The story was circulating that his death had given rise to a flaming row over his succession. The differing opinions on this matter were connected to the various views on the cooperation with the Boni. Part of the tribe, with Kwamina Adjubi as its major spokesman, wanted to unite with the Boni and fight the Dutch collectively. The majority of the Ndjuka indeed supported the Boni's battle, but they refused to sacrifice their own peace agreement with the Dutch to a cooperation pact with the Boni.

When Governor Jurriaan Friderici heard about the plans of the important

chief Kwamina Adjubi, he decided to resume the battle against the Boni. He wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler that, if the Boni did not live up to their promises about the delivery of the slaves, he had to stay quiet and feign friendship until he found the right moment of capturing Boni, Kormantin Kodjo, Basa and Agosu. Then he would have to pursue the remaining Boni to the very territory of the Ndjuka[33].

It remains unclear, however, what exactly happened between the Boni and the troops on the Marowijne River in the second half of August 1790. On 14 and 17 August, there were some clashes in which a couple of Boni were killed, as the soldiers opened fire at their pirogues. At about the same time, Sergeant C.G. Mangold settled peace with Boni, to the great dismay of Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler and Governor Jurriaan Friderici. On 20 August 1790, Beutler wrote to Friderici that he had received a letter from Mangold the evening before, telling him that he had settled peace with Boni at nine o'clock in the morning while drinking *swéri* (an oath) with him. Gaanman Boni had told Mangold that he did not want to have any dealings with Askaan of Ephrata, as he did not want to get his freedom from a Negro, but from the colonists only. Beutler added that he did not know what sort of conference Mangold and Boni had actually held, but he was sure that Mangold had been acting only on his own initiative.

Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler's letter reached Paramaribo within three days and Governor Jurriaan Friderici immediately wrote back that Sergeant C.G. Mangold's behavior was incomprehensible. He had never sent him a letter or anything of the kind with the order to settle peace with Boni and if even Beutler was not allowed to conclude a pact, how could a subordinate officer have the right to do a thing like that? On 2 September 1790, Beutler wrote back that the word 'peace' had been unjustly used by Mangold and he forwarded the Governor a letter from Mangold dated 29 August 1790, which proved that C.G. Mangold had not really sworn an oath with Boni. He had only sworn an oath (sic!) to deceive Boni and he would not be obliged to redeem this oath if Boni handed over the slaves in the near future. A very confusing letter indeed. Mangold's accompanying letter did not prove that he had not concluded an agreement, for he only wrote that he had again 'performed' the oath with Boni. Boni had further told Mangold that he would 'most humbly' submit to Jurriaan F. Friderici and thanked him for the three tankards of rum which he had distributed and consumed with pleasure. Boni had given Mangold eight slaves as the first delivery in compliance with Governor Friderici's requirements for a definite peace settlement. He had also given Mangold an Amerindian boy as a present for Friderici. In short, all of Boni's deeds pointed in the direction of (some sort of) peace agreement[34].

Early September, a Boni-delegation led by Basa, Daniel of Roosenbeek and the *bosch Creool* Djaki arrived at Post Nassau. They brought eleven slaves and the Amerindian boy. Seven of the eleven slaves had been abducted from the plantations in the upper-Suriname region and three of Clarenbeek. Basa declared that more slaves would be delivered, as soon as the negotiations made progress. Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler decided to send the delegation away to Paramaribo, guided by a couple of soldiers. The

soldier Dijke was packed off to the Boni as a hostage for Basa[35]. Upon the delegation's arrival in Paramaribo, Governor Jurriaan Friderici and Basa had a conversation, in which the Boni-*kapiten* declared that Boni had always recognized the colonists as his superiors and was not ill-disposed towards them. Many of the recent events had been caused by sheer necessity or were the result of the Ndjuka's incitement. The Boni would be prepared to surrender completely, provided that they would not be put to death.

During this conversation, Governor Jurriaan Friderici blamed Basa for the ongoing alliance between the Boni and the Ndjuka, whereupon Basa replied that the Boni needed these contacts, for the soldiers on the Marowijne River did not allow them to fetch food from their fields, with the consequence that many children and elderly people died from starvation. Besides, they were being struck by a smallpox epidemic and this terrible disease took its toll from the famine-stricken tribe. As for the delivery of the other slaves from the plantations of Clarenbeek and the upper-Suriname region, Basa declared that, if Boni and Kormantin Kodjo could have had their way, these people would have been handed over long ago. But several lesser chiefs refused to obey the paramount chiefs' orders. They would have to catch the slaves by force, which would be impossible, as they were well-protected. Besides, many of the female slaves had meanwhile married Boni-men and had children.

Governor Jurriaan Friderici replied that, if the Boni really wanted peace, they would have to hand over the remaining captive slaves as soon as possible. He particularly insisted on the delivery of Dorothem of La Solitude, the *basia* who had shown the Maroons the way to the plantation in the upper-Suriname region; Kodjo of La Parra, a Maroon of the Auka plantation, who had shot a slave who refused to join them during the raid of 1789; and Jaw of Meerzorg. Basa agreed to the delivery of the first two men but said that it was impossible to hand over Jaw, for he was no longer staying with them and was assumed to have fled to the Ndjuka[36].

Negotiations on the Marowijne River

On 16 September 1790, the Boni-delegates left Paramaribo. Governor Jurriaan Friderici wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler that he wished to be spared such troublesome delegations in the future. He suspected the Maroons of merely having come to Paramaribo to satisfy their curiosity about life in the capital and to delay things. Beutler was instructed to give presents to Puja, Koki, Kormantin Kodjo and Agosu, as soon as the delegation arrived at the Marowijne River. He had to sound them out on their possible willingness to join the Dutch in fighting the Ndjuka. Boni was to be kept out of this, for he would certainly oppose to this plan. As a matter of fact, he had only recently reaffirmed his loyalty towards the Ndjuka[37].

Even before the delegation returned to the Marowijne River, Boni tried to enter into contact with Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler. On 18 September, two Boni arrived at the Nassau Post to tell Beutler that Boni would come to the islet south of Post Nassau at half past eight to talk with him. Shortly

afterwards, two other Maroons came reporting that Boni had indeed arrived and that he would like to come to Post Nassau to drink the *swéri* with Beutler, but that he actually did not dare take the risk, for he still mistrusted the Dutch. Beutler thereupon told the delegates that Boni had nothing to fear and sent Commander C.G. Mangold away with the delegation to fetch Boni. But after a while, Mangold came back reporting that Boni refused to come down to Post Nassau and asked Beutler to come to the place of negotiation 'for God's sake'. The Maroon-chief assured him that his avoiding the post was not a sign of mistrust but that his chiefs wanted the negotiations to take place on neutral territory between Post Nassau and the Boni-villages. Beutler decided to go to the meeting place after all and sent Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler and Mangold to Boni to inform him about his decision. At half past three, Beutler arrived at the shoals of the Bonidoro-Falls together with Boni's son Profit. Agosu came to meet Beutler, helped him out of the pirogue and brought him to Boni, Kormantin Kodjo, Puja and Koki, who were waiting on the shore. When they sat down together, Boni seemed to be surprised about the presence of his son Profit and he was impressed by his beautiful red costume. He asked Beutler whether he could not take Profit to his mother for a couple of days, but Beutler bluntly refused. He explained to Boni that he had to content himself with the confirmation that his son was in good health, as Profit had to stay with him for the time being.

Then Boni and Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler started to negotiate. They could not make any concrete decisions, however, for Basa had not yet returned from Paramaribo. Boni assured Beutler that he would truly live up to what he had sworn to C.G. Mangold. Beutler concluded the conference with the message that, if Boni met with Governor Jurriaan Friderici's wishes, peace would be on its way. On 25 September 1790, Basa, Daniel and Djaki arrived from Paramaribo with presents from Jurriaan Friderici for the Boni-chiefs. Boni received a gold-trimmed hat, a silk dressing gown and bolts of patterned cotton. The chiefs Puja, Agosu, Koki and the old Aluku also received some cotton cloth. Lieutenant Bauer, who had travelled with the Boni-delegation, gave Beutler Jurriaan Friderici's letter of 16 September 1790, whereupon Beutler informed the Boni that the delegation had arrived and asked for a meeting near the Bonidoro Falls[38].

Two days later, the Boni *kapiten* Leander sailed to Post Nassau to tell Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler that Boni was ill and had a fever. They were afraid that he was also struck by smallpox, a disease from which he had been spared so far. As a result, Kormantin Kodjo would be heading the peace delegation instead of Boni. This was the moment that Beutler had been waiting for; now that Boni himself was absent, he could consult with the Boni-chiefs about a possible war against the Ndjuka, as proposed by Governor Jurriaan Friderici. On 28 September 1790, at eight o'clock in the morning, Kormantin Kodjo had three shots fired from the rocks to announce his arrival. Beutler sent C.G. Mangold and Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler off to Bonidoro with Basa, Daniel and Djaki to exchange the latter two for the hostage Dijke. Before they left, Beutler advised Basa to tell Boni that an extensive delivery of slaves was really a precondition for making peace. Basa,

in turn, asked Beutler to urge his commanders not to mention the names of Kodjo of La Parra, Dorothem of La Solitude and Jaw of Meerzorg, for there would certainly be Maroons who would pass this on, thus spoiling their plan of delivering these people.

Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler and Sergeant C.G. Mangold returned with the soldier Dijke after a couple of hours. The latter told Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler that the new Boni-villages, in which he had been living over the past few weeks, were not far away from Ingi Pule Seton and lay at about four hours' sailing south of 'Trobietabbetje'[39]. The village of Boni himself was located on a high mountain in the middle of the Marowijne River and was surrounded by various islands. It consisted of approximately 70 houses, some of which were surrounded by stockades and covered with palm leaves. The islands were separated by high falls which made passage impossible, especially in that time of the year. The villages were bordered by provision grounds which were planted with corn and rice and had just started to yield. The Maroons had also planted banana-trees, but these were not full-grown yet. The village of Boni was inhabited by a hundred Maroons or more[40].

On 8 October 1790, at five o'clock in the morning, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler, Lieutenant Barde, Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler and Sergeant C.G. Mangold left for Bonidoro to talk with the Boni. The Boni-delegation was headed by Kormantin Kodjo, but Agosu was his spokesman, as the delegation leader did not speak the Surinamese Creole language[41]. Agosu started off by conveying his father's kind regards, who could not attend the meeting because he suffered from smallpox. He had appointed Kormantin Kodjo to declare in his name that he was prepared to meet all of the Governor's requirements, which had been communicated to him through Basa. Kodjo from La Parra and Dorothem from La Solitude would be handed over, but it was impossible to deliver Jaw from Meerzorg as they had drunk the *swéri* with him. By the end of the meeting, Beutler divided the presents, which had been brought from Paramaribo by Basa, among Kormantin Kodjo, Koki, Agosu, Puja and Aluku[42].

The following evening, Basa arrived at Post Nassau with the message that the chiefs would return to Bonidoro the next day to continue the negotiations. As Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler did not feel like resuming the negotiations, he told Basa that the chiefs had to come to Nassau. Basa left again and, after a while, sent *kapiten* Leander to tell that a number of *kapitens*, such as Kwasi, September, Hendrik, Afri, Kwamina and himself, were very dissatisfied with the fact that they had not received any gifts. Beutler brushed their arguments aside and acidly declared that he did not have a list of all the *kapitens*, so that he did not know amongst whom exactly the goods were to be distributed. His opinion was that Leander was only stalling the process. As a result, Beutler demanded that the promised slaves be delivered immediately, whereupon Leander answered that Kodjo from La Parra was out hunting, so that they had not been able to catch him yet[43].

Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler was satisfied with the developments on the Marowijne River. On 19 October 1790, he wrote to Governor Jurriaan Friderici that Agosu, Kormantin Kodjo, Basa, Puja and Koki were willing to

make peace and deliver the slaves demanded. The minor chiefs, however, opposed the plan. Beutler's letter also made clear that he kept the Boni in suspense (by order of the Governor), while awaiting the right moment to arrest a large number of chiefs by surprise. He wrote: 'They are convinced that we will not do them any harm, but we are still waiting for the right moment to hit the mark, for a mere ten to twelve Maroons without a single chief is not worth our while'[44].

Hardly had the letter been sent to Paramaribo by courier when the *kapitens* Basa, Leander and Daniel arrived at Post Nassau with four captive slaves from La Solitude, amongst whom the much sought-after *basia* Dorothem. They had also brought Kodjo of La Parra, who was under the impression that he had only come to Paramaribo to accompany the slaves. Once he had arrived in the capital, the Dutch would have to arrest him. The *kapitens* reported in the name of Boni that Jaw of Meerzorg was not yet available, but that the three slaves from La Solitude stood in for him[45]. Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler sent the Boni and the four prisoners to Paramaribo, where they arrived early November 1790 and where Basa was again received by Governor Jurriaan Friderici. It was only on 15 December 1790 that Friderici told the members of the Court of Policy what he had actually been discussing with Basa. He did give away, in a meeting on 4 November 1790, that Boni had once again delivered some slaves and declared that his plan to attack the Boni by surprise and install a post between their settlements and the Ndjuka villages had not been carried out yet. Although the Boni were unsuspecting and were thoroughly convinced that they would soon achieve a peace agreemeent with the Dutch, the dry season had prevented the colonists' actual coup so far. More than 100 Boni were said to have died from smallpox in the meantime, a disease which mainly affected young children and elderly people[46].

When the *kapitens* Basa, Leander and Daniel left Paramaribo after a couple of days, Governor Jurriaan Friderici gave the accompanying troops a letter with new orders for Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler. Once the Boni-delegation had returned, Beutler had to summon Boni and his chiefs to Boni-doro or Nassau and sing the praises of Governor Friderici's kindness. Beutler had to pretend that he was amazed at Friderici's accepting the meagre delivery of slaves and that he was even more surprised that Basa, Leander and Daniel had not been locked up in the fortress of Zeelandia. Friderici's benevolence must be attributed to the fact that he expected this delivery to be followed by a more extensive one soon. After having stressed this, Beutler had to urge the Boni to hand over more slaves in the near future. Beutler had to be kind and polite towards the Maroons, for it was not sure yet whether the Boni really wanted to make peace or only wanted to feign negotiation in order to recover from their defeat. Friderici further wrote that, if the Maroons indeed handed over the slaves demanded, he would redeem his promise about the peace settlement, but if they indefinitely postponed the delivery, Beutler's kindness would evaporate and perhaps eventuate a military operation[47].

While *kapiten* Basa was paying a visit to Paramaribo, F.M. Beutler's

subcommander, Von Sidow, had a conversation with Boni, who had meanwhile recovered from smallpox. First of all, Boni asked Von Sidow why he did not get any food from the colonists and how was he supposed to feed his people while the colonists even prevented him from entering into contact with the Ndjuka. Von Sidow promised that Boni would receive food as soon as he started delivering the slaves, but Boni answered that his people needed the food immediately or else they would starve, for their present living area did not have any palmheart trees. Von Sidow asked Boni how many chiefs he had in his tribe, whereupon the latter listed the following names: Askaan (Boni's 'father' Aluku), Boni, Kodjo (Kormantin), Basa of Clemensburg, Agosu (Boni's son), Aferi (also called 'Affaire' elsewhere in the archives), September, Puja from La Paix, Kwamina, Hendrik, Koki, Sambokwasi, Leander from Contentement and Daniel of Roosenbeek[48].

The information about the Boni' way of life during their stay near Ingi Pule Seton comes from a journal written by the soldier Stanbach, who was kept hostage in the Boni-villages at the time of Basa's visit to Paramaribo. His journal covers the period 25 October to 25 November 1790. Stanbach wrote that he left the post of Nassau on 25 October 1790 at five o'clock in the morning and poled up to Trobietabbetje on that same day. The following day, he reached Ingi Pule Seton, the Boni's residential area near the Pedrosungu Falls. The first thing that he saw were three islands adjacent to one another, which were surrounded by water-falls. Behind the falls, there was a fourth island which harbored Boni's village. Stanbach reached the landing-point of Boni's island by four o'clock in the afternoon. Boni came to meet him together with his 'father' Aluku and some other *kapitens*. He took everyone to his house, where he offered Stanbach an alcoholic drink. After that, he brought Stanbach to the house where he was to pass the subsequent weeks. During this reception ceremony, the Maroons fired a fullicade shots in the air. At Boni's request, Stanbach also fired some shots in the air. After that, Boni began his men blowing horns to call his people together to welcome Stanbach. When most of them had assembled, Boni held a speech in which he explained that this white man had come to stay with them while Basa was in Paramaribo. He kindly requested everyone to treat Stanbach well. After the paramount chief's speech, the Boni resumed their daily activities. Stanbach was more or less left alone, although he was constantly watched by a guard. The following day, a little boy came to ask Stanbach whether he fancied a swim in the river. As Stanbach thought that the Boni just wanted to find out whether he could swim or not, he pretended that he did not understand the boy.

The Boni suffered from a most dreadful famine indeed. Stanbach wrote to F.M. Beutler that it would be sensible to provide the Maroons with some food, for it would produce more effect than a constant refusal. He also mentioned in his letter that he suspected the Boni of planning to leave Ingi Pule Seton as soon as Basa returned from Paramaribo. After a couple of days, Stanbach discovered that there were more Boni, who lived elsewhere. It was true that Kormantin Kodjo lived at Boni's island, but his people and his *kapitens* stayed at another island. There was yet a third island which was

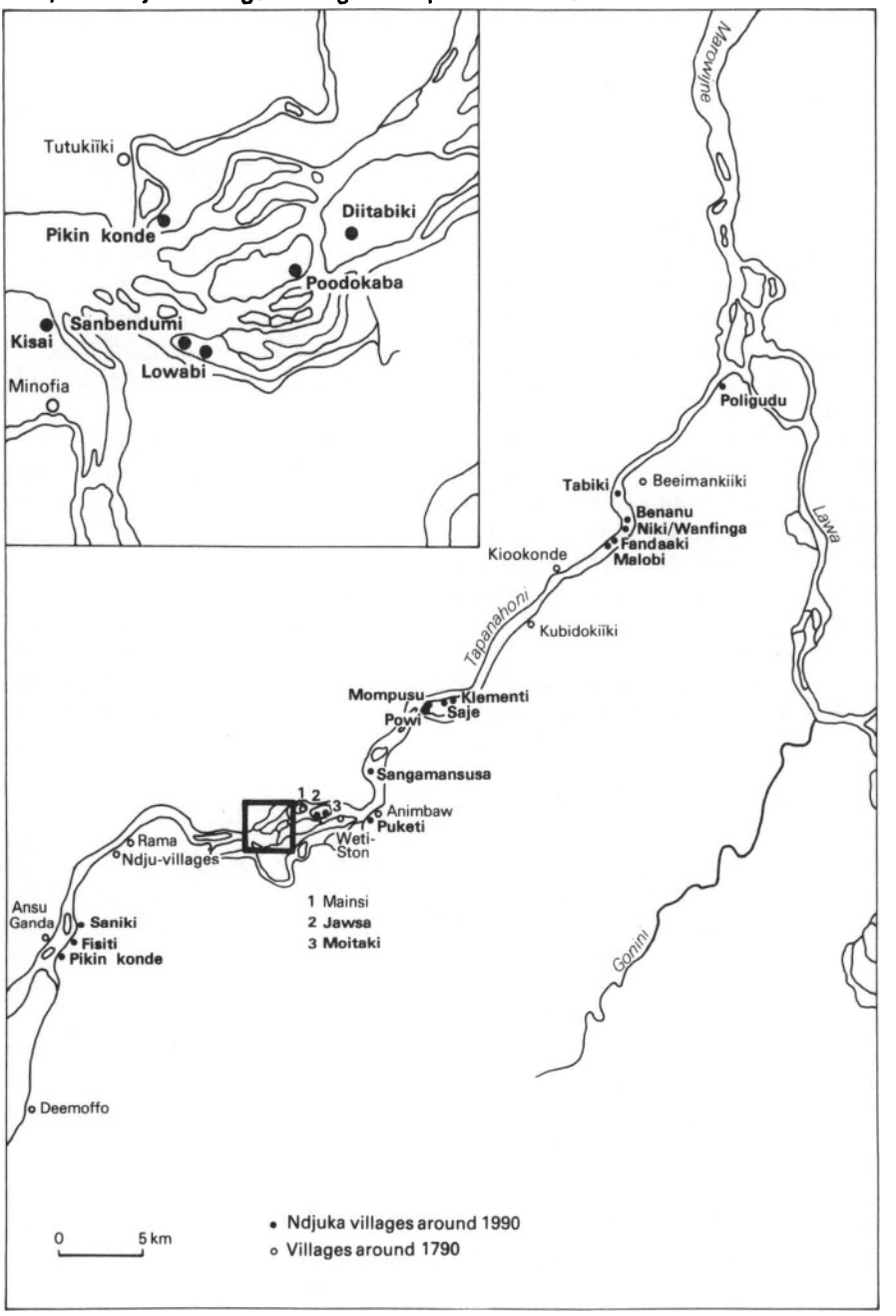
inhabited by Maroons - Kwasi Island. Boni's island was located in the left part of the river, the island of Kodjo lay right, whilst Kwasi's Island was situated south of these two. All three of them were bordered by huge water-falls on both sides.

Hardly had Stanbach spent two weeks in Boni's village when he began to feel so at home that he started to lecture Boni. When Boni again complained about the fact that his people were not allowed to fetch food from their gardens near Aroku, Stanbach drew his attention to the fact that he had received food from the colonists, but Boni replied that it was not enough, for he himself had nine wives. Stanbach first of all blamed Boni for not having told this to the colonists, but he also gave him to understand that it was a ridiculous thing to have nine wives. If the colonists had so much time to spare that they could occupy themselves with so many wives, they would also have to face the consequences and support all of them. Apart from that, Stanbach deemed Boni's complaint to be unjust, for he had noticed that Boni's wives took care of the meals every day. Stanbach commented on another incident: 'I've lectured Boni, whereupon he fell down on his knees and whined: O God, how humble a creature a Negro is in comparison to a white man. I am convinced that I have done wrong and I will do my best to live in peace with the colonists'[49].

Some days after this incident, Boni left in a pirogue to look for food. Stanbach asked him whether he could join him, but Boni refused. As Boni would stay away for some time, Stanbach poled southwards with a couple of Boni, allegedly to go fishing but in reality to size up the situation south of the Pedrosungu Falls. In his journal, he mentioned that it was practically impossible to pass these falls, for even the Boni hardly succeeded in doing so. The Maroons had laid out provision grounds upstream from the falls. They must have had a secret village there as well, where they hid all the slaves from the upper-Suriname region and a lot of other Maroons[50].

On 25 November 1790, the soldier Stanbach turned back to Post Nassau, where he was exchanged for *kapiten* Basa, who had returned from Paramaribo. On 4 December 1790, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler had a conference with Boni and his chiefs at Bonidoro. He was welcomed by the chiefs Boni, Kormantin Kodjo, Agosu, Aferi, Koki, Puja, Kwamina, Hendrik, Kwasi, Leander and Daniel, who were waiting for him at the landing-point. Basa was absent because he was ill. In accordance with Governor Jurriaan Friderici's orders, Beutler started off by complaining about the small number of slaves who had been brought to Paramaribo by Basa. But Boni did not agree with him and referred to the conditions on which the Ndjuka had obtained a peace agreement at the time of Governor Wigbold Crommelin. Just as the Ndjuka, Boni had handed over some slaves before the peace settlement, but the Ndjuka had thereupon received an enormous amount of recompense, much more than the Boni had ever been given. And it was only after the peace settlement that the Ndjuka had delivered more slaves[51].

Map 13: Ndjuka villages along the Tapanahoni river



However, the dispute between the Boni and the Dutch could not be settled. The negotiations dragged along for another six months, but, in fact, they could already be considered a failure by the end of 1790. The Dutch demanded that a considerable part - if not all - of the slaves abducted from Clarenbeek and the upper-Suriname region be delivered as a prerequisite for making peace. Their ideas about peace also differed from the Boni's views. Governor Jurriaan F. Friderici was convinced that the Boni had been defeated, so that the peace agreement would be some sort of favor and did not have to be reconfirmed by yearly presents, as in the case of the Ndjuka, Saramaka and Matawai. The Boni, however, did not consider themselves defeated. They had indeed suffered a defeat at Aroku, but this had happened before and they had always recovered. The Dutch had only taken their villages, but had not caught many members of their tribe. Besides, they aimed to reach a peace settlement as had been concluded with the Ndjuka. They wanted an honorable peace and not a fiat.

By the time the Boni asked for peace, in June 1790, Governor Jurriaan F. Friderici had already sent a pacification proposal to the Directors of the *Sociëteit van Suriname*, who gave him permission to make peace with the Maroons. The peace, however, had to include the complete submission of the tribe. The Boni had to settle on the Surinamese side of the Marowijne River, north of Armina, preferably between this post and the Coermotibo River. They would receive some presents each year, which would be a favor rather than an obligation. The Boni, in turn, had to pay a yearly contribution in the form of a number of pirogues. In addition, they had to follow the pacified Bush Negroes' example and help the colony catch fresh runaway slaves[52].

The Tides turn

Things were changing for the worse for the Boni. It became clear that the Ndjuka would remain neutral in any battle between the Boni and the Dutch. Shortly after the death of Gaanman Pambu, another important clan-chief, Kwamina Adjubi, died. Both were very favorably disposed towards the Boni. Although the new paramount chief Toni also had a great deal of sympathy for Boni, he seemed to have hardly any authority. It was in this period that the generation who grew up after 1760 gained more influence. Their most important spokesman was Bambi, a son of Pambu's sister, Ma Cato, the major priestess of the tribe.

The division amongst the Ndjuka was clearly illustrated by an event which occurred in December 1790. During the conference on 4 December 1790, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler had asked Boni whether he could see to forwarding a letter to the *posthouder* staying with the Ndjuka, whereupon Boni sent a delegation of sixteen fellow-tribesmen headed by Koki to the Tapanahoni River. When the Boni went ashore in the Ndjuka village Kubidokiiki (see map 13), they were taken prisoner by *kapiten* Bambi and brought to *posthouder* J. Basschal. *Kapiten* Bambi urged Basschal to release Koki under no circumstances whatsoever. If the worst came to the worst, he

could even kill him. Bambi told Basschal Koki's life story and reported on his staying with the Ndjuka, his separation, their infighting, Koki's flight to Boni and his plundering raids.

Shortly after *kapiten* Bambi had left the village Kubidokiiki, some Ndjuka liberated the captive Boni-Maroons by force, with the exception of Koki, who remained in the hands of J. Basschal. The *posthouder* hired five Ndjuka and ordered them to bring Koki to his residence in Animbaw upon payment of 26 guilders. Two days later, Bambi and another chief arrived at Animbaw. This time, it was Bambi who asked for Koki's release, but the *posthouder* refused, whereupon Bambi left again. Basschal heard from the other Ndjuka that the freed Boni were still in a Ndjuka village. They had a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler which they would deliver only upon Koki's release. But once again, Basschal refused to set Koki free. The following day, Gaanman Toni, *kapiten* Bambi and other chiefs arrived in Animbaw with axes and ropes. They used the ropes to tie up the *posthouder* and his assistent W. Bakker, who were beaten up as soon as they tried to offer resistance. After that, the chiefs broke Koki's chains with their axes and sailed down the river with him.

Two days later, *kapiten* Bambi came back to offer *posthouder* J. Basschal his apologies. He alleged that the other chiefs had forced him to undertake this action. The following day, Gaanman Toni arrived with Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler's letter, but he refused to give it to Basschal. Toni sailed back to Animbaw the day afterwards to ask Basschal whether he was not interested in the letter. When the *posthouder* told him that he was interested indeed, Toni said that the chiefs insisted on the Boni being present when the letter was read. But when Basschal did not agree to this, the Boni refused to give him the letter and sailed back to Ingi Pule Seton with the unopened letter[53].

On 9 January 1791, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler sailed to Bonidoro to reopen talks with the Boni. After the three men had been given a warm and hearty reception, Boni opened the meeting. He held a long speech ('interspersed with a lot of old histories...useless to add', thus F.M. Beutler), in which he reported on the adventures of the Boni-delegation who had gone to the Ndjuka with Beutler's letter. The events in the Ndjuka villages had persuaded Boni that the Ndjuka were 'a bunch of rogues'. Boni had drunk the *swéri* with them no less than eight times but in spite of this, they still tried to capture Boni-Maroons and hand them over to the colonists. He was finally convinced that the colonists' allegations about the Ndjuka were right and he wanted to take revenge. If the Dutch provided him with ammunition, he would strike them a heavy blow. Beutler hastened to say that Boni rightly mistrusted the Ndjuka and that he had known all along that the Boni were given the dirty jobs. Shortly afterwards, the meeting was called off. Later that same day, Beutler seized the opportunity to talk to Boni in private. He promised Boni that the Dutch would support them in their battle against the Ndjuka. As soon as Boni would have delivered a large number of slaves, they would provide him with ammunition[54].

One day after the conference, Boni left Bonidoro and returned to Ingi Pule Seton with his chiefs, where everyone was waiting for the delegation to

come back so that they could celebrate the turn of the year. The celebration lasted for about ten days and the chiefs passed large part of these days intoxicated by drink. On 21 January 1791, the feast came to an end and Boni had a long conversation with his *kapitens*, during which they decided to continue the negotiations and deliver more slaves[55].

In February 1791 Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler fell ill, so that he could not take part in the new conference with the Boni-chiefs. He had his under-officers J. Schmidt and C.G. Mangold ask Boni whether he was prepared to pole down to Post Armina, but the paramount chief refused, for he mistrusted Beutler's intentions and rightly so. As a matter of fact, Beutler still had to obey Governor Jurriaan Friderici's orders; arrest a large number of Boni-chiefs by surprise, if possible, and transfer them to Paramaribo. However, Boni only wanted to hold a meeting on the shoals near Bonidoro, so they started the talks without Beutler. Schmidt and Mangold were speaking in the name of the Government. Boni said that he wanted to know, once and for all, where he stood, for the colonists only tightened their conditions. Besides, he could no longer put up with the Ndjuka's sneering at him every day; who thought him so terribly stupid to hand over such a large amount of people to the Dutch. Apart from that, the Ndjuka jeered the Boni for having to redeem a peace settlement by handing over people and they proudly referred to the conditions on which they had obtained peace. Thirdly, Boni raised that, during Basa's negotiations with Friderici in Paramaribo, the Governor had promised to sign a peace treaty immediately after the delivery of the three slaves demanded. Two of them had already been handed over and another two had been added to compensate for Jaw of Meerzorg. But instead of signing the peace treaty, the Dutch kept nagging about more runaways, which made Boni lose his trust in Friderici. After Boni had finished his speech, the conference was adjourned[56].

After having consulted with Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler, J. Schmidt and C.G. Mangold told Boni that the peace agreement would be signed as soon as the remaining slaves from Clarenbeek and the upper-Suriname region, who were still staying with the Boni, were delivered. The Dutch gave up their request for more runaways and Boni agreed to comply with their requirements. The following day, Boni brought seven of the slaves demanded by the soldiers, three women and four children, who appeared to be in a very bad condition and were nearly starved to death. The soldiers rejected them, for they only wanted to accept well-fed people. Beutler thereupon asked Boni whether he could not give him better slaves, but Boni replied that his hands were tied for his group could not afford to hand over healthy workers.

In March 1791, no further discussions were held on the Marowijne River. *Posthouder* J. Basschal reported from Animbaw that he had heard that the Maroons coming from the plantations in the upper-Suriname region had taken measures to prevent their being delivered to the Dutch by Boni. They had forced Boni to drink the *swéri* with them. In April 1791, Basschal wrote that the Ndjuka had decided to expel all of the Boni-Maroons who were living with them, with the exception of Kwamina Adjubi's widow, so as to enable her to finish the period of mourning[57].

On 22 April 1791, the Boni reopened their negotiations with Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler, though the negotiating atmosphere was very bad. Beutler complained about the fact that Boni had withheld goods from Sergeant C.G. Mangold's pirogue which had capsized near Ingi Pule Seton, about the constant cooperation between the Boni and the Ndjuka, about the small number of slaves handed over by the Boni, as well as about their bad physical condition. Boni reacted rather laconically to Beutler's moaning and told him that he could not do anything about the state in which he received the runaways from his people. F.M. Beutler gave him four to six weeks to deliver more slaves, a period during which Boni would not be allowed access to Nassau nor to Armina.

Undaunted, the Government meanwhile continued to try and pit the Ndjuka and the Boni against one another. At first, the authorities had been trying to talk the Boni into declaring war upon the Ndjuka but now they tried a new tack. *Posthouder* Basschal again demanded that the Ndjuka immediately arrest all of the Boni who were staying with them. As a matter of fact, Basschal had already asked for the imprisonment of the Boni many times before, but the Ndjuka had never paid any attention to his words. In the meantime, however, the balance of power had shifted considerably. Boni had lost quite a bit of his authority because of his defeats on the Marowijne River, whilst the seizure of Aroku had brought the Dutch troops nearby the Ndjuka villages. It was not unthinkable that they would reach the Tapanahoni Region during one of their next expeditions. Apart from that, the Ndjuka chiefs who were most in favor of a pact with the Boni, Gaanman Pambu and Kwamina Adjubi, had died. The authorities in Paramaribo were well aware of the fact that the Ndjuka were still in a state of suspense. Governor Jurriaan Friderici therefore decided that it would not be a bad idea to put some pressure on the pacified Maroons and ordered two important Ndjuka arrested who were staying in Paramaribo at that moment. Several Maroons consequently fled to the Tapanahoni region in great haste. *Posthouder* Basschal travelled after them with a letter from Friderici, which he had to read aloud to the chiefs. On 17 May 1791, the clan-chiefs held a meeting with Basschal. Some Maroons reported that, when they were in Paramaribo, they had been warned that they would soon be arrested as well and that the soldiers were on their way to the Tapanahoni region to enter into a fight against the Ndjuka. Clan-chief Kwasimaba asked Basschal what he knew about these rumors, whereupon the latter answered that he had brought a letter from the Government which he would read out loud to them as soon as everyone was silent. When Basschal was finished, the chiefs asked him why the Government had imprisoned the Ndjuka, but the *posthouder* replied that he needn't tell them, as they already knew the answer. The chiefs unanimously stood up in protest and left to a place where they continued to debate far into the night without Basschal.

Governor Jurriaan Friderici's letter mentioned, among other things, that the Government declared war upon the Ndjuka as a punishment for their constant support of the Boni. There would, however, be a possibility of restoring peace but not until the Ndjuka delivered some of their own people who had cooperated with the Boni. In addition, all of the Boni staying with

the Ndjuka at that moment had to be arrested and brought to Paramaribo. On 19 May 1791, the chiefs held another conference, the atmosphere of which had cleared up a little. The clan-chiefs declared to be willing to meet some of Friderici's requirements, but they absolutely refused to arrest their fellow-tribesmen, for the Ndjuka did not deliver other Ndjuka. However, they did not mind arresting the few Boni staying with them. But *posthouder* J. Basschal did not take notice of this proposal and continued to demand the arrest of the Ndjuka cooperating with the Boni, which caused quite a stir. As a result, the chiefs left again.

The following day, it turned out that the Ndjuka were very much divided among themselves. While the chiefs held one more meeting, the *jonkuman* (younger men) convened a separate conference in the presence of *posthouder* J. Basschal. They argued that the clan-chiefs had to comply with the colony's demands and threatened to organize a massive exodus to Paramaribo. Further, they would refuse to render any assistance at all in protecting their tribe's residential area. They informed the clan-chiefs about their decision and for the rest of the day, both parties continued to interrupt each other's meeting. By the evening, the chiefs announced that they were going to decide on the demands and they continued to debate until far into the night until the next morning.

On Friday morning, 20 May 1791, a delegation of both the chiefs and the *jonkuman* went to the *posthouder*. Clan-chief Kwasimaba took the floor and asked everyone present whether he could speak in the name of all of them. Nobody disagreed. The chief proceeded by saying that the Government rightly demanded the arrest of the Ndjuka who kept cooperating with the Boni. But their arrest would cause such a stir and such a dismay that the chiefs humbly asked for the cancellation of the requirement. They did, however, promise to see to it that the Ndjuka would cease their cooperation with the Boni. All of the Boni living on the Tapanahoni River would be ordered to leave, while a couple of Maroons had already been arrested in the meantime and would soon be delivered. In addition, they would no longer accept any Boni who wanted to come and live in their village. In the event Boni decided to move further southwards, the Ndjuka would fight him. They would install a post on the Marowijne River, which would prevent Boni from sailing up the Tapanahoni River[58].

Shortly afterwards, the Ndjuka expelled the Boni from their village. Four Boni were handed over to the Dutch and a number of armed men took up their station at the junction of the Tapanahoni and the Lawa River.

CHAPTER 7
BONI'S DEATH

The Boni driven away to the Lawa River

On the agreed date of 3 June 1791, exactly six weeks after the last meeting, Boni, Kormantin Kodjo, Basa, Puja and Agosu returned to the meeting place at Bonidoro. They asked for an interview with Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler who stayed in Armina during that time. The Lieutenant-Colonel arrived three days later and the negotiations were resumed. Boni opened the meeting. He declared that he had always done his best to meet the government's demands but that there were no more slaves to deliver as the colonists had already received every single soul who could be caught. The other chiefs affirmed this and further declared that they had understood that Beutler planned to wage war on them, whereupon they urged him not to do so. But Beutler replied that he would not be stopped by anyone. They soon broke off negotiations without having reached any results or agreements[1].

Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler was ready to attack the Boni, but he was still waiting for the right water level. He wanted the attack to be mounted at the beginning of August. The three Maroons who had recently been caught with the Ndjuka would render assistance. In the meantime, *posthouder* J. Basschal returned from his visit to Paramaribo and arrived in Animbaw on 24 July. The Ndjuka told him that, during his absence, Boni had gone to the junction of the Lawa and Tapanahoni Rivers to talk to the Ndjuka who were stationed there. Boni had asked them to go and find paramount chief Toni and Kwasimaba to consult with them on the fast-changing situation on the Marowijne River. But both Ndjuka chiefs had announced that they did not want any dealings with Boni[2]. When Boni realized that he could not count on any help and that he was not sufficiently armed, he decided to evacuate the women and children. Several Boni who had engaged some soldiers in a conversation near Bonidoro on August 3rd revealed that their women and children had been brought to safer places. They also said that they were aware of the fact that Askaan (of Ephrata) and three other Boni[3] stayed in Armina to show the troops the way to the villages near the Pedrosungu Falls.

In early August, *kapiten* Bambi arrived in Animbaw from Paramaribo with a letter from Governor Jurriaan Friderici. On 10 August 1791 *posthouder* J. Basschal called together all the chiefs to read the letter to them. The main point of the letter was the announcement that the Governor considered peace restored and that all the Ndjuka had been granted mercy. A delegation was summoned to Paramaribo to ratify the new peace agreement. All present greeted the announcement with three cheers[4]. Two days later Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler mounted the expedition to Ingi Pule Seton.

On 12 August 1791, at six o'clock in the morning, 120 soldiers left Post Nassau on Langatabbetje in thirteen pirogues, sailing in the direction of Ingi Pule Seton. In addition to Askaan (of Ephrata), the commando patrol also included four other defectors from Boni's tribe. Their armament not only

consisted of muskets but also included five *draaibassen* (swivel cannons) which had been mounted on the pirogues. At daybreak the following morning Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler sent reserve officer candidate Jobin with a Boni-defector and 30 soldiers up the Marowijne River to inspect the French riverside. They soon returned with the message that they had not discovered anything special there. The whole commando patrol embarked at eight o'clock and sailed along Lokustabbetje. At a quarter past two in the afternoon they arrived at the Pedrosungu Falls (see map 14). There were many islands in and beyond these falls. One of the islands was occupied by Boni-warriors who asked the troops what the purpose of their visit was. Beutler tried to assure the Boni of his good intentions yet the Maroons replied that one could barely speak of good intentions at the sight of such a heavy armament. They further added that they had already been informed about the approaching commando patrol but that they would not open fire on the Black Rangers because they had sworn the oath with Sergeant C.G. Mangold. After this conversation Beutler ordered his men to moor at the islands. Not a single shot was fired during their disembarkment. The Boni fled to the other side of the island where they had their pirogues and subsequently crossed to the island that sheltered Boni's village. All the women and children had already been evacuated from the village, which was then set on fire by the Maroons. They had already devastated the neighbouring provision ground at an earlier occasion. Consequently, Beutler could not find anything valuable on the island and ordered his men to get in the boats again. The troops sailed on until the first big Pedrosungu Fall where they spent the rest of the afternoon hauling the pirogues across the shoals.

At six o'clock the following morning the pirogues were launched again to continue the difficult journey along the rocks and through the rapids. After four hours of plodding along, the troops arrived at an island that sheltered another village. The village lay on a mountain and consisted of 42 houses, or rather ruins for the Maroons had destroyed everything. All the crops had been removed from the provision grounds and the young plantings had been ruined. The fruit-bearing banana trees had been chopped down and the bananas - insofar as they had not been taken away - lay in pieces scattered on the ground. A young boy and an old man had stayed behind. The young boy told F.M. Beutler that a Negro from the commando patrol stationed at Nassau had escaped a fortnight before and had warned the Boni about the oncoming attack.

Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler thereupon sent out three patrols to gather intelligence. One of them returned with the message that he had met a Maroon. It was *kapiten* Puja of La Paix who had called out to the troops that Boni did not mean to harm the colonists and that he did not have any ammunition to wage war on them. The paramount chief had been out flanked by the attack and had therefore been forced to escape. The soldiers then replied that the seizure of Ingi Pule Seton was their answer to Boni's persistent refusal to deliver the slaves abducted. The troops left the island at twelve o'clock and moved on to the neighbouring island which sheltered the village of Kormantin Kodjo, who appeared to have left the island about an

hour and a half before, while leaving two women and three children behind. There was also a man present at the island, who fired at the soldiers, yet he was not a match for the troops and was shot.

The troops left Kormantin Kodjo's island the following morning. After one hour and a half they arrived at a huge water fall. Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler had his men search for a passage to cross the fall without any risks to their lives or goods, but all their attempts were in vain and the troops returned to Boni's island. In the afternoon they found an old man and a woman in the *kapuweri* of the island. The woman revealed that she had defected voluntarily and she told the unbelievable story that many men and women actually wanted to go over to the colonists. Yet, they could not escape because they were so closely watched. She also affirmed that the Boni were almost out of food. If Beutler managed to cross the big fall and attack the Boni, a large part of the Maroons would go over to the colonists. After having heard all this, Beutler decided to make another attempt to cross the difficult fall. As he considered the two prisoners a millstone around his neck during the raid, he ordered them shot.

He managed to cross the fall on the following day. It took the troops almost a whole day to bring the pirogues and the goods over. The river was navigable again behind the fall. After some time the commando patrol reached three small islands that lay right across the river. They spent the night at the most easterly island and, as usual, they broke camp at six o'clock the following morning. Two hours later the troops discovered an island which had been occupied before. It contained a small, fairly new provision ground which was planted with bananas, corn and manioc. The Maroon defectors said that the neighbouring huts belonged to Agosu, Leander and Daniel. The provision ground bordered on a village of fourteen houses and yet another provision ground. The inhabitants, however, had destroyed everything upon their departure. At a quarter past nine, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler ordered that his men sail on. Forty-five minutes later the troops passed the Crique Beiman. Patrols were sent out to look for a village near the creek, but they did not discover any signs of settlement and the group continued its journey. Two villages were found on the islands somewhat south of the Crique Beiman, containing ten and twelve houses respectively. The defectors recognized a pirogue found near the first village as Akasi's boat. The second village was Jakje Bellevue's village and contained a provision ground which had not been destroyed. At half past three the troops arrived at the Gonsulu Fall. It took them two hours to pass it and after that it was time to pitch the camp for the night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Beutler's patrol reached the Djuka Creek by eleven o'clock the following morning. A huge fall, the Gakaba Fall, lay south of this river's estuary. The patrol had breakfast at the foot of this fall. At one o'clock in the afternoon, when the troops had already passed the Gakaba Fall, the soldiers heard the sound of a horn and noticed some Boni who stood on the rocks waving a white flag. They wanted to open negotiations but Beutler did not want to comply with their request and called out to them that they would not be harmed if they delivered the slaves demanded. In the meantime he

sent some soldiers for the pirogues that carried the *draaibassen* (swivel cannons). But the Boni had noticed this manoeuvre, whereupon they repaired to their pirogues and fled. Beutler ordered several cannon shots fired at them but they were not hit. Patrols led by the officers J. Schmidt and Von Sidow followed them until the junction of the Lawa and the Tapanahoni Rivers but the Maroons managed to escape in the jumble of small islands and rapids.

On 19 August 1791, at half past seven, the whole commando patrol arrived at the estuary of the Tapanahoni River, where Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler expected to find the Ndjuka who had promised to install a post to receive the Boni. It soon turned out that the Ndjuka had indeed built a post there but that they had preferred to be on the safe side and had not waited for Beutler to arrive. Besides, the Boni had not fled in this direction but had sailed up the Lawa River. Beutler decided to stop hunting the Boni and sailed up the Tapanahoni River to contact the Ndjuka. The troops arrived at the Manbali Fall at half past twelve, where Beutler ordered them to turn round and sail down the river again. It was at half past six in the evening on 21 August that Beutler returned at the post of Nassau[5].

One year and three months after the seizure of Aroku the Boni were once again driven off. The consequences of the Maroons being chased away from the islands near the Pedrosungu Falls, however, were not so desastrous as the seizure of Aroku. As the Boni had been told about Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler's plans in advance, they had been able to safeguard their women, children, food and goods in time. In addition, they had probably laid out substitute provision grounds along the Lawa River. Only a small group had stayed behind at the Pedrosungu Falls to destroy the villages and the provision grounds after it became clear that Beutler would mount an attack. Beutler's expedition was actually a failure. It was true that the Boni had once again been driven away, but they had not been defeated. Hence the soldiers had to remain posted in the southern Marowijne region to keep the Boni under control, which was a costly affair owing to the long supply lines for provision and ammunition. In addition, there was always the danger that the Boni and the Ndjuka would join forces and collectively fight the colony.

New Pacts with the Ndjuka

Shortly after his flight from the villages near the Pedrosungu Falls, Boni tried to enter into contact with the Ndjuka again. He wanted to restore peace and convened a meeting in the provision grounds of the Dikan-clan near the Abounamy River, where six important Ndjuka drank *swéri* with him. The Dikan-clan was represented by chief Daniel Oku and Agosu represented the Otoo-clan. Primo, the chief of the Beei-clan, also sent a delegate. The *kapitens* Samsam (of Kiookonde) and Bosu (of the village Rama) were too represented. *Kapiten* Naku of the Pinasi-clan also drank *swéri* with Boni, although he attended the meeting without the knowledge of the clan chief Kadeti Pinasi. The Ndjuka and the Boni promised to help each other in case of an attack by the colonists and they agreed to stay friends forever. After

these solemn promises the representatives of both tribes cut one other's finger, the blood of which was collected, mixed and drunk. After this, they took a white bird and cut it in two, while each tribe buried one half of the bird. When the ceremony was over, both parties went their own way[6].

The news of this pact between the clans who had always been in favor of a close cooperation with the Boni was quickly spread in the other Ndjuka villages and caused new bickering. *Posthouder* J. Basschal immediately called together all the chiefs, who declared that they had not been involved in this *swéri* ceremony. But Basschal had his doubts and he accused the attendants of the *krutu* (palaver) of hiding Boni in their provision grounds along the Lawa River and in the abandoned villages on the Djuka Creek. Feelings ran high and the chiefs denied the accusation. If Basschal really insisted, they would take him up the Djuka Creek to show that they had not hidden any Boni there. Basschal indeed insisted and early in the morning of 11 December 1791 he left for the creek with a patrol. He visited all the former settlements on the Djuka Creek but did not find any Boni, whereupon the patrol returned to Animbaw.

The attitude towards the Boni once again spread discord among the Ndjuka. The event on the Abounamy River had proven that Boni could still count on tremendous support from the side of the Ndjuka. On the other hand, there were several Bush Negroes who cooperated with the *posthouder* and did their best to catch the wandering Boni and hand them over. As for the chiefs, Kwasimaba, Bambi, Avantuur, Kadeti Pinasi and Diander, they sided with the colonists and had placed guards near the estuary of the Tapanahoni River. Other Bush Negroes tried to help the Boni to the best of their ability and assisted them in gathering food and hiding women and children in their provision grounds. Some days after J. Basschal's return from the Djuka Creek, a big tumult erupted between the supporters and the opponents of Boni.

In the period 13 to 18 September 1791 a total of 22 Boni were arrested by the guards on the estuary of the Tapanahoni River, who delivered the prisoners to the *posthouder*. But then it gradually dawned on J. Basschal that some Ndjuka only caught the Boni to safeguard them. When he called the chiefs together to consult with them on this matter, they promised to investigate the complaint. They told the *posthouder* that the guards on the Marowijne River indeed did their best to catch the Boni, but that the Ndjuka did not intend to wage war upon these Maroons. J. Basschal meanwhile learned that the Boni had started to lay out fields along the upper course of the Lawa River, using the sowing-seeds from their former provision grounds. Yet the food supply of the Boni was said to be yet insufficient. They did not have enough stocks at their disposal to survive until the next harvest. Once again, many Boni would die from starvation[7].

The authorities in Paramaribo had not expected the Ndjuka to catch and hand over any fugitive Boni. They were very pleased when they heard that this had actually happened. During a meeting of the Court of Policy the Governor and the Councillors received a Ndjuka delegation under the leadership of Agosu of the Otoo-clan and Kwasi of the Beei-clan. Governor Jurriaan

Friderici held a fine speech. He did not know that some Ndjuka (among whom Agosu himself) had meanwhile drunk *swéri* with the Boni and he praised their behavior of the past few months. He argued that the former lapse of the Ndjuka was all forgiven and forgotten thanks to this good behavior. This lapse had broken the peace settlement between the colony's authorities and the Ndjuka, but the Governor was prepared to restore the agreement. The new pact, however, included one special clause which stipulated that the government felt no longer obliged to pay yearly tribute to the Ndjuka. Any tribute offered would thus be a token of good will instead of the fulfillment of a peace treaty. Friderici proposed to swear a new oath on the following day, which was accepted by the Ndjuka.

Illness caused Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler to return to Paramaribo by the end of December 1791. In early 1792 Captain P.S. Stoelman - who had meanwhile taken over command - sent out a patrol to examine the tributaries of the Marowijne River. The patrol discovered some provision grounds which had remained unnoticed so far and the soldiers arrested two Maroons in one of the grounds. By the end of February Stoelman mounted a large-scale expedition to the Lawa River, which was very successful. Stoelman approached the Boni-villages unopposed and caught some prisoners on the way, who gave him useful information about the Boni. It was these people who told Stoelman that Aluku had died and that several Ndjuka had gone to the Boni to "throw water on Ascaan's death, the father of Bonnie". "To throw water on someone's death", i.e. "towe wataa" in the Maroons language, is a religious custom which is still in use among the Maroons in Suriname. It forms part of the funeral rites. Every time someone dies, the Maroons make libations to facilitate the dead person's transition to the next world. The Ndjuka in question were Arabi and his brother Piti of the Dikan-lo. Arabi was married to a sister of Boni. The two men stayed in the nearby village of Puja of La Paix, waiting to proceed to Boni's village to attend the funeral. Considering the Ndjuka's stay with the Boni, Stoelman wanted to pass Puja's island by the other side to be able to bar their possible escape.

Puja's village, however, was found completely abandoned. All inhabitants, including Arabi and Piti, appeared to have sailed southwards in their pirogues on the day before as the Boni had apparently been warned about Captain P.S. Stoelman's approaching expedition. But nobody had bothered to warn Kormantin Kodjo and thus enable him to flee as well, or at least post some guards who could note the enemy's arrival in time. It was only when the first shots were fired at one of Kormantin Kodjo's provision grounds at the moment of the troops' arrival that the inhabitants of the nearby village were alerted. They could still make a run for it but they could barely take any goods with them. They left all their belongings behind in their houses, such as hammocks, iron pots, axes, cutlasses, carpentry adzes, two pirogues' adzes, a handsaw, a tub, two pairs of compasses, five old guns, two barrels, three bolts and a pistol that could still be used. The soldiers found some calebashes with gunpowder and a small bag of bullets in the provision grounds where corn and rice were grown, while they found even more gunpowder in the baskets and the hunting-bags. Kormantin Kodjo's men would definitely have been able

to defend themselves if they had been warned in advance, but now their village was devastated and the crops at the four fields were totally ruined. Stoelman also ordered the provision grounds near Puja's village destroyed[8].

One of the prisoners offered Captain P.S. Stoelman to show him to Boni's village, but the commander preferred to postpone this attack for this village lay too far away. Stoelman first wanted to move the military Post Nassau from Langatabbetje to the junction of the Lawa and the Tapanahoni Rivers. Consequently, he returned to the post of Nassau with a total of eighteen prisoners. Conductor Hoffman took Stoelman's letter to Paramaribo, while carrying along the eighteen Boni who had been captured during Stoelman's expedition.

By the end of March Sub-Lieutenant Baltzer and Conductor Klimann mounted an expedition to the village of Mapika, which used to be Koki's village. Captain P.S. Stoelman had learned from some prisoners that Koki's clan had returned to its former living area. Koridon, a Boni-Maroon who had been delivered by the Ndjuka, was taken on as a guide. This once again proved the importance of defectors and prisoners in the battle against the Boni. Koridon soon brought the Black Rangers to the village, where the Maroons were caught by surprise. No one could escape and all the inhabitants (twelve in total) were taken prisoner. The prisoners told the black soldiers that the village was called Salua and that it was formerly inhabited by Koki. *Kapiten* Koki was not present at the moment of the attack. The soldiers found numerous goods in the houses, such as four guns, eleven iron pots, six cutlasses, adzes, eight axes, a large coffee kettle, a pirogue and some gunpowder. The following morning the officers Baltzer and Klimann still sent out some patrols to investigate the situation but they did not find any trails of other Maroons. They destroyed the provision grounds on 1 April. The day afterwards, the patrol set off on its journey back to Post Nassau.

On 13 May 1792 five starving Boni presented themselves to the post of Nassau. Four of them belonged to Koki's clan and one Maroon came from a village near the Crique Beiman. The latter offered the troops to take them to his village. Some days later a contingent of 33 soldiers went on its way, while on the following day the patrol was reinforced by five Ndjuka and the *posthouder's* assistant Pieterse. When the troops arrived at the village, it appeared to have been abandoned three days before. The inhabitants must have been alarmed by the disappearance of their fellow-villager. The troops later found a new trail which led to two *masanga* (bush huts) where they found several people. One man, who was sitting on the bank of a small creek, caught sight of the attackers and grabbed his gun. But before he could even pull the trigger, he was himself killed. The soldiers caught three women and two children in and near the huts. Two little boys managed to escape. All of the captive women came from the plantation of Clarenbeek. Apart from that, the soldiers found three guns, four iron pots, an axe and a machete[9].

The Deteriorating Relationship between the Ndjuka and the Boni

The two Ndjuka - Arabi and Piti - who found themselves in Puja's village in February 1792 on the occasion of Aluku's funeral, set off on another journey to the Boni in May 1792. It was common knowledge that Arabi had a wife and two children among the Boni. On 12 May the Ndjuka clan chiefs wrote a letter to Paramaribo in which they stated that they would see to the delivery of this woman and her children. They had therefore sent Arabi and Piti to the Boni to find these people. But after several days the two delegates returned with the message that they had heard shots in the Lawa River from which they concluded that the colonists were attacking the Boni. The chiefs, however, did not believe this and sent them out to the Boni again.

On 22 May 1792 Arabi and Piti left the villages of Beeimankiiki for the second time. They sailed up the Lawa River and two days later, when they had reached the surroundings of the Mbula-Sula Falls[10], they caught sight of three Boni-Maroons. The Maroons wanted to make a run for it but they stood still when they heard the two Ndjuka calling. Some time later more pirogues came sailing down the river. One of them transported Boni, who was on his way with the bones of Loango Kwamina, which he had found in the forest and wanted to bury. As Boni sailed by, he asked the Ndjuka what the purpose of their journey was, whereupon Arabi answered that he had come to fetch his wife and children. Consequently, Boni asked them whether they did not know that the Ndjuka and the Dutch planned to wage war on them but Arabi and Piti replied that they had just heard from the colonists that the plan to sail up the Lawa River had been dropped for the distance was too great.

After this conversation, Boni sailed on. He told the two Ndjuka that they had to wait for him and not proceed on their journey or else the guards would open fire on them. The Boni returned by four o'clock in the afternoon. Arabi and Piti accompanied them until the Rensbo Fall[11]. Once they had crossed the fall, they arrived at a large island which sheltered the entire Boni-tribe. The group sailed on along the coast of the island Pampungron until they reached a landing-place where everyone disembarked. Boni showed Arabi and Piti the place where they could spend the night. About nine o'clock the following morning Boni called Arabi before him and asked him whether he came to pick up his wife to hand her over to the Dutch authorities. In addition, he wanted to know whether the Ndjuka chiefs knew about his journey. Arabi answered that he would never deliver his wife and, apart from that, he had been granted permission by the colonists to keep her. As for the chiefs, they had been informed in advance. Boni's mind was obviously put at rest as he said that, for his part, Arabi was free to take his wife along. But it was Agosu, his son, who had the final say as Arabi's wife was presently living with him.

After this, Arabi left Boni's house and walked round the island. He noticed that the Maroons had chopped down all the trees and laid out provision grounds. The houses were scattered all over the island of Pampungron in groups of about two or three. Guards were posted at the northern side of the island, near the falls. There were about 30 men on the island, among whom

were Boni, Agosu, Kormantin Kodjo, Daniel and Kwaw. For four straight days Arabi waited for further notice from Boni. In the meantime he watched out for a chance to leave the island with his wife and children but this was impossible as the Boni continuously kept an eye on him. Weary of waiting, Arabi went to Boni again and told him that he wanted to leave. Boni said that he was free to go but he could not take his wife with him. Too many Maroons had already been handed over to the colonists and Boni wanted to keep the few people who remained.

Arabi decided to leave on his own and prepared his pirogue for the journey back. But hardly had he started his preparations when the Boni deprived him of his rifle. Some time later they also took his hunting-bag and his cutlass. The same thing happened to Piti. Some Boni hauled Arabi's pirogue out of the water and Agosu, who watched the spectacle, said that anyone interested in the vessel could take it. He further added that he would never let the Ndjuka go. All the Boni prepared themselves to enter into combat against the Ndjuka. They swore that they would not return before they had destroyed some of the Ndjuka villages. That would be the Bush Negroes' punishment for delivering the Boni to the colonists. The Boni would never forget that the Ndjuka had killed their companions and cut off their hands to receive a premium. The imprisonment of Arabi and Piti did not last for long as Boni and Kormantin Kodjo arrived on 2 June 1792 to confer on the matter. When Arabi asked them why they were treated this way, Boni answered that his tribe was afraid that, upon their return home, the two of them would inform their own people about everything they had seen. But if they were prepared to drink a *swéri* and swear that they would keep it a secret, the Boni would set them free. Arabi agreed and he told Boni that most Ndjuka did not have a good opinion about him and Piti. Therefore, Boni had to avoid attacking the Ndjuka immediately for the two delegates would certainly be blamed for it. The following day the *swéri* was drunk. It was Boni himself who gave them back their rifles, hunting-bags, cutlasses and pirogues. But Arabi was still not allowed to take his wife and two children along. Shortly afterwards the men left Pampungron and one day later they arrived at Beeimankiiki[12].

In May and June 1792 Captain P.S. Stoelman was on leave in Paramaribo. Upon his return to the post of Nassau on 23 June, he brought strict orders from Governor Jurriaan Friderici to mount another expedition against the Boni. As the supply lines from the post of Nassau to the Boni-villages - which were presently located on the banks of the Lawa River - were too long, Stoelman had to move the military post of Nassau to an island at the junction of the Lawa and the Tapanahoni Rivers. On 7 July it turned out that the Boni were closely watching Stoelman's manoeuvres. It was on that same day that Agosu sailed up to the post and declared that he wished to negotiate with Stoelman. Boni's son said that the negotiations of the previous year had mainly ended in failure because the Ndjuka had proven to be fierce opponents of the delivery of slaves. They had promised to help them in case the negotiations collapsed. But in the meantime the Boni had found out what the Ndjuka's promises were worth. When the Dutch attacked Ingi Pule Seton, they did not only remain neutral but they even helped the attackers by

catching runaway Boni-Maroons and hand them over. That was the reason for the Boni's final decision to break with the Ndjuka and declare war upon them immediately. Agosu asked Stoelman to resume the peace talks which had ended in failure the year before. Stoelman answered that all the Boni who would come to the post of Nassau on their own initiative would be treated well but that the time of negotiations was over. He gave Agosu two weeks to discuss a final surrender with his father. In the meantime he moved his post to the south[13].

It is not known what Captain P.S. Stoelman actually thought about Agosu's proposal, but he probably did not believe much of it. The Boni had meanwhile become too weak to form a serious threat to the Ndjuka. Besides, the Boni still had all sorts of alliances with certain Ndjuka clans (especially the Dikan-clan). If the Boni indeed launched an attack on the Ndjuka, it was obvious that Stoelman would tacitly consent. Or, maybe he would not even consent tacitly but encourage Agosu expressly to take revenge on the Ndjuka. The more internal wars the Bush Negroes waged, the easier they could be kept under control by the colonists. Stoelman's proposal of a cease-fire had been a real gambit. If the Boni eventually decided to surrender, it would be a great victory; but, if they did not, he would have two weeks' time to arrange the new post on the Lawa River.

The winds continued to stand fair for Captain P.S. Stoelman. While he remained at the post of Nassau himself, he sent his quartermasters to the south. On 21 July 1792 they met the Boni-chiefs Puja and Leander near the Pedrosungu Falls, who quickly returned to inform Boni about the approaching troops. Stoelman himself left on 29 July and arrived at the new post on the Lawa River by the evening of that same day. The commander of the quartermasters told him that Boni had visited the post the day before to ask for Stoelman and that he would come back on 5 August. He would call together his people and surrender to the Dutch.

On 2 August 1792 two Ndjuka, Naku of the Pinasi-clan and Arabi of the Dikan-clan, called on Captain P.S. Stoelman. Both men had always been strongly in favor of the cooperation with the Boni. They had warned the Boni about the Ndjuka guards on the Marowijne River at the time. They had also hidden and supported various Boni in the provision grounds near the village of Beeimankiiki for a long time. Both men came to confess their sins to Stoelman and ask for forgiveness. They told the commander that they had broken with the Boni completely and that their sympathy for the Boni had resulted from the fact that they had women in this tribe. They promised to remain faithful to the Dutch from that moment onwards, whereupon Stoelman granted the pardon for which they had asked[14].

Agosu attacks Animbaw

Boni did not come to the Lawa Post on 5 August, neither was he expected because the situation had taken a surprising turn the day before: Agosu had attacked Animbaw with fifteen warriors. He had been very provocative and had caught a number of people, among whom were both the *posthouder's*

assistants. Animbaw was the place where paramount chief Pambu had lived until he died in 1790. He is still buried there. The village was also inhabited by the *posthouders*. But, by 1792 Animbaw was almost completely abandoned. The more important village of Lukubun (Puketi) was located nearby. When Arabi returned from the Boni with the warning that the Boni intended to attack the Ndjuka, he was taken seriously indeed. The Ndjuka built a post on the Crique Abounamy and sent fifteen guards to *posthouder* J. Basschal in Animbaw as they suspected the Boni of choosing this village as their target. But Basschal was annoyed by the guards because they continued asking him for drinks and he finally sent them away. As a precautionary measure against the Boni, he made a backdoor in his house which could serve as an emergency exit in case of an attack. Thus was the situation in Animbaw when Agosu invaded the village on 4 August 1792. The village was nearly abandoned, except for a *posthouder*, two *posthouder's* assistants, an old man, two young men, some women and several children[15].

Shortly before sunrise Agosu and his fifteen fellow-warriors charged at Animbaw while making a terrible pandemonium. The women and children were soon caught and tied up. *Posthouder* J. Basschal heard the noise and managed to escape in time via the new backdoor. He fled to the jungle in his pyjamas. The two *posthouder's* assistants, however, were less successful. They were caught by the Boni and had to join the captive women. When all the prisoners had been tied up, the Maroons began to plunder the houses. They were mainly interested in the houses of the *posthouder* and the *posthouder's* assistants and put all the valuables in the center of the village, while others set fire to as many houses as possible. The houses of the *posthouder* and the *posthouder's* assistants were soon ablaze. When all was done, the raiders went to the sacred place in the center of the village and started to feast exuberantly. They sneered at the Ndjuka in their songs and Agosu shouted: 'Now where are those men who have the courage to fight? Sissies, that's what they are. I was right, they deceived us and put us up against the whites. But now they will pay'.

Two hours after the attack, five Ndjuka under the leadership of chief Bambi came to rescue the besieged village. They opened fire at the dancers immediately and killed Djaki from the village of Kormantin Kodjo. The Boni retreated, while leaving some of the captive women and children behind yet taking along both *posthouder's* assistants who were not tied up. A group of 24 Ndjuka gave chase after them[16].

It was at three o'clock in the afternoon that Captain P.S. Stoelman first heard about the attack on Animbaw. A Ndjuka came to tell him that the Boni had attacked the village and set it on fire. Stoelman did not really believe the news at first but some hours later, when *posthouder* J. Basschal arrived at the post in his pyjamas and with a cloth tied around his head, his scepticism disappeared immediately. At the same time, a large group of Ndjuka arrived, who asked Stoelman for permission to sail up the Lawa River in an attempt to surround Agosu on his escape. Stoelman welcomed their action and gave them some extra ammunition and a tankard of *dram* (rum) for the journey, which was not a smart thing to do for three pursuers returned yet that same

day. According to Stoelman, they had drunk themselves into a stupor of fear. The others returned to Stoelman's Post on 6 August, allegedly because they had not had the courage to sail up the Gonini Creek, the creek where Agosu was most probably hidden. But Stoelman suspected these Ndjuka of making common cause with the Boni. He was convinced that they had come back for reasons other than fear as many of them came from villages that were known to have cooperated with the Boni.

There were, however, also Ndjuka who chased Agosu overland. It was they who caught sight of the Boni near the Gonini Creek. But they could not undertake any action for the Boni were sailing down the river in seven pirogues and the Ndjuka did not have any boats at their disposal. The only thing they could do was open fire on the Boni, whereupon the latter crossed to the other side, disembarked, cut their boats to pieces and disappeared in the jungle. One of the Boni was fatally hit by a bullet and several others were wounded. The Boni, in turn, killed one of the boys whom they had taken from Animbaw. When P.S. Stoelman heard about these fights, he sent 44 soldiers and some Ndjuka to the Gonini Creek to find out whether the Boni were still there. After several days the soldiers came back and reported that they had not seen any Boni but had found two corpses.

The story of this attack on Animbaw has survived in the oral tradition and has been taken down by three authors: Ajax (1961), Pakosie (1972) and De Groot (1980). Ajax writes that, after the Boni's unsuccessful attempt to conclude a pact with the Ndjuka, Agosu- Boni's son remained waiting for the right moment to launch a surprise attack on the Ndjuka. He waited for the day that he, the great son of Agosu-Boni, could finally humiliate the Ndjuka. An evil pact had been concluded between the colonists and the Ndjuka, on account of which his people were captured and brought back to their slave existence. Many of his fellow-tribesmen tried to dissuade him from this act of revenge but they could not convince him. In the end, his companions were won over. Nevertheless, he did not mount the attack immediately, whereupon his father accused him of being a laggard and a coward. But that was too much for the son. He was neither lazy nor faint-hearted and he would surely prove that. He called together all the men and told them to get ready for the journey to the Tapanahoni River. The men warned him of the possible fatal outcome of this action but the son replied that his father would also accompany them. He advised the men: 'Be prepared to make great sacrifices. Make sure that you make the necessary arrangements for your parents and wives. Whoever will be so lucky to return, can report to the people at home. We are going to undertake an expedition with a result unknown. The *obia* have told us so'.

After this speech, the group made the necessary preparations to leave. When the moment arrived, the son went on ahead, followed by his father and the others. They proceeded along an old and well-known route. One could barely speak of a path for it was rather a rough trail with the odd land mark on a tree, something unrecognizable for non-initiates. The son approached his target very cautiously, followed by his companions. He posted guards whereever necessary and he sent out spies to explore the surroundings. The

spies came back and reported that the Ndjuka village did not contain a single male, Puketi was empty. The group entered the village under the guise of a visit and said: *Odi, odi. Pe den man fu un de?* (Hello, where are your men?) whereupon the women, surprised as they were, answered: 'They are not here. They have gone to make a sacrifice to the gods'. The Boni then asked whether they were expected back that same day, whereupon the women answered that they did not think so because the men were out for several days. That was music to the raiders' ears. Yet some insightful women saw that this was not an ordinary visit and that the Boni' intentions were all but friendly. They considered the number of men remarkably large. Some of them did not dare stay in the village and fled, but others who could not flee - or did not dare - continued to talk to the invaders and answer their questions. Hardly had the Boni reached the center of the village when they started to plunder the houses, setting fire to them afterwards. Whoever tried to make a run for it, was captured by the invaders. The pandemonium which was caused during the raid could be heard from a far. Two young men from Puketi, who were hunting in the nearby forest, could hear the terrible yells. They thought that the noise was caused by the men who returned from the sacrificial services. But why this terrible pandemonium? The men did not understand it. They decided to go to the village to see what was happening. To their great dismay they found that the village had been invaded by strangers. They heard cheers in the surroundings of the cemetery of Animbaw, which they carefully approached. Great was their indignation when they saw a man dancing on top of paramount chief Pambu's grave, while singing derisive songs. Two men stood by his side and clapped their hands. The young men could no longer bear the sight of this shameless desecration of a grave. Their blood was boiling in their veins and they decided to act. The eldest man had a gun. He pointed it at his target and pulled the trigger. The dancing man was mortally hit and fell down right before his eyes. It was the son of Agosu-Boni, the young man who wanted to show his father that he was not a coward nor a laggard. After this, the two Ndjuka-men did not dare stay in the region any longer and fled to the jungle to safeguard themselves. The two men who were standing next to Pambu's grave could not believe their eyes yet what they saw was true. They hesitated for a moment, but then headed towards the forest where the cruelties had already started. They searched for Agosu-Boni and when they found him, they told him the sad news. Agosu-Boni seemed deeply afflicted for a moment but then he started to swear and fell into an uncontrolled rage. Helpless women, children and old people, all of them had to pay. It seemed as if the furious paramount chief had decided to destroy Puketi altogether. When he retreated, the village was totally destroyed and wounded bodies lay tortured and punished behind.

Two men from Puketi who were fishing in the surroundings of Santigron near the Gran-olo Falls could see huge clouds of smoke rising above the forest. They went to the place where their leaders stayed as quickly as they could and told them what they had seen. A panic broke out and the major obiaman of the late Pambu was in such a hurry to reach Puketi that he sailed down the Gran-olo Falls while standing at the front of a pirogue. Normally

this would be impossible but now he remained unharmed. When the Ndjuka arrived at Puketi, the village was already abandoned. Agosu-Boni and his men were already on their way back while taking the women and children along. The path through the forest made heavy going. For the women and children it was the path that brought them back to slavery. It was especially an old woman who had a hard time of it. Agosu-Boni put a *busi-nengre-kandra* (a Bush Negro's candlestick: resin species) on top of her head and lit it as a flare in the dark. The fire caused terrible pains and burns on the woman's head. She plodded along for a meter or two until she fell down, totally exhausted. The corpse with the lump still on the head was later found by the Ndjuka who gave the old woman a respectful burial.

After the attack on Puketi, Agosu-Boni did not go back to his village immediately but held back in the bushes between the Tapanahoni River and the Gonini Creek until he felt safe enough to move, on to the Gonini. He did not expect the Ndjuka to follow him there but he was wrong. The Ndjuka attacked the Boni in the Gonini Creek near Linabari on the Binikankantri at the moment that the Maroons were bathing in the river. Sixty followers of Agosu-Boni fell victim to the Ndjuka's act of revenge. A small part of the Maroons, however, among whom Agosu himself, managed to escape (Ajax 1961).

Ajax's version of the oral tradition makes mention of Puketi as the village which was attacked by the Boni. Nevertheless, He also refers to Animbaw as the name of the place where paramount chief Pambu lay buried. It is striking that the essence of the archival reconstruction corresponds largely to the oral tradition, which refers to a group of Boni led by the paramount chief's son launching an attack on an important Ndjuka village which they find almost completely abandoned. They sing songs of derision. Yet, the two versions differ widely as for the development of the theme. Ajax's story is focussed on bloodshed. Whereas the archives make mention of two dead Boni and the murder of one Ndjuka boy, Ajax speaks about a real carnage among the Ndjuka in Puketi followed by a massacre among the Boni on the Gonini Creek.

Pakosie (1972), a member of the Ndjuka who took down the story about 'Boni's death' as told by his father, dedicated several pages to the raid on the Ndjuka village which he called Afo Amelisigron[17]. According to André Pakosie it was on the first Wednesday morning of the month of April 1791 that Boni and his *obiaman* Djaki were ready to leave for Afo Amelisigron, the major settlement of the Ndjuka, while taking their best *feti* (war)-*obia* with them. In those days Afo Amelisigron was only inhabited by a small amount of people, some women and children, some boys of about fifteen years old and one man aged 36, who would be considered an adult by present standards but was not so in those days. The name of this *jonkuman* (young man) was Kentu.

On the same day that Boni and Djaki set off to the Ndjuka village, Kentu was gazing at the river in uncertain anticipation. Consequently, he went to his mother's house, grabbed his gun and cutlass and went on his way. An *obia-boei* (amulet) from his uncle showed him the direction of the approaching danger. After a while, the only thing that separated Kentu from Boni and

Djaki were some mountains. The latter two had a hard time as the bush spirits tried to hold them. They were, for example, attacked by a number of *pingo's* (bush pigs) which were sent by the spirit Gangasukosu and Boni had to call on his *obia* to kill the beasts. Kentu turned right at the branching of the path, which kept him from running into Boni and Djaki who came from the other side.

Pakosie continued that the women of Afo Amelisigron were cleaning the village when Boni and Djaki suddenly appeared. The women were shocked, especially because Boni arrived unannounced. Besides, Boni asked where the men were without having greeted the women in accordance with the usual ceremony. Shortly afterwards Djaki and Boni went to the grave of paramount chief Pambu. Djaki blew his *tutu* (horn) and Boni carried out the instructions of his *obiaman*. He danced on top of the paramount chief's grave and challenged him to a fight.

Kentu was not aware of this for he was only looking for game. The *obia-'boei'* was constantly pressing his arm to warn him that he had to go home but he did not pay attention to it. When he wanted to step over a tree, his heart suddenly started to beat faster. He had a sudden vision in which he saw Boni and Djaki dancing; a fight to which he already knew the outcome. When he woke up from this state of ecstasy, he felt a strong desire to go home and decided to return to the village. On his way back he heard Djaki's *tutu* which he recognized from his vision and he therefore knew that Boni was in the village. Kentu rushed to Afo Amelisigron where he saw his mother standing next to Boni among the banana trees. She saw her son and became frightened for Kentu would certainly be killed if Boni caught sight of him. She therefore started to sweep the ground energetically while moving to the place where Kentu was hiding. She whispered to him that he had to go and find the men who could use the *feti-obia*, whereupon Kentu answered that this would take too much time for Boni and Djaki would have left by the time that these men arrived. He therefore decided to take up the fight himself. He fired a shot at Boni but, as the paramount chief was protected by his *obia*, the bullets ricochted off his body. Boni then became suspicious and asked the women whether the men were really out. Kentu once again aimed at Boni who once again felt that he was being shot at. Yet a second time he asked the women whether there were not any men in the village for he could feel bullets bounce off his body. 'No, there aren't any men', the women affirmed. Kentu fired a third shot and yet a third time Boni could feel the bullets hit his body, whereupon he jumped aside and shouted at the women: 'There must be men around'. The women replied: 'What kind of *obia* are trying to harm you, for there aren't any men around here'.

Kentu realized that he would not succeed in killing Boni. He dropped his gun, turned his back upon the dancing people and complained about the disgrace which was caused to the Ndjuka. When he turned back again, he saw a small fat man. The man was so black that he obscured the whole environment. Kentu was shocked and asked him: 'Who are you, where do you come from?' The man answered that he was Kofi Apowtu, the *feti-obia* from Haiti who had helped the Ndjuka in their escape to the jungle. Then he took

possession of Kentu to fight Boni and Djaki through him. As a result, Kentu regained his courage and fired another shot which hit Djaki, who dropped dead on the ground. Kentu was furious as the *obia* had killed Djaki instead of Boni. He charged at Boni to try and kill him as well but the women stopped him and Boni himself fled.

The most remarkable feature of Pakosie's story, which can hardly be compared to the archival version because of its magical tenor, is that it proves that the name Djaki has lived on in the oral tradition, whereas the names of the other raiders have been lost. As opposed to Ajax's reconstruction, it is Boni himself who dances on Pambu's grave here. The attack on Animbaw is also mentioned in the report on Boni's death as presented by De Groot (1980: 12). This report is little different from Pakosie's story.

The village Animauw (Animbaw), which also contained the grave of paramount chief Pambu who had only recently died, was attacked by Boni and his *tutuman* (trumpeter) Djaki at the moment that the men were absent. To the dismay of the women in the village, Boni and Djaki started to dance on Pambu's grave while shouting the most insulting and challenging phrases. A young man called Kentu, who came back from the hunting-ground, managed to hit Djaki after some poor shots, but Boni was too well prepared for the young man (he had too much *obia*) and could easily escape. A number of men pursued him but when they arrived at the Lawa River, Boni had already crossed the stream.

In May 1982 the Dutch anthropologist H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen discussed the war between the Boni and the Ndjuka with Da Kasiayeki - a member of the Ndjuka and of the Ndju-clan in particular - who is deemed to be one of the best historians of his tribe[18]. Why was Boni ever so foolish to attack the Ndjuka? *Okilifu Toko Boni Balua! Boni taki* ('Who can beat me, Boni! Boni said'). Thus Da Kasiayeki's spontaneous reaction. These are Kumanti words that stand for the traditional declaration of war. The *Bakaa* (whites) were responsible for Boni's attack on the Ndjuka for they had put him up against the *Busi Nenge* (Bush Negroes) as follows. The *Bakaa* invited Boni for a meeting during which they offered him the position of paramount chief of the entire interior. Boni was very pleased with this offer as it answered his long-standing desire. But the *Bakaa* required that he should launch an attack on the Ndjuka and only if he vanquished these people would he be considered the paramount chief.

Boni paid regular visits to the Ndjuka. He went to Animbaw and made friends with Pambu. They signed a peace agreement and drank *swéri*. Pambu sent for a white chicken and cut it in two, whereupon he spoke the following words, holding both halfs in his hands: 'May the *swéri* kill me if I ever do Boni any harm'. Boni followed and said: 'Oh, my dear friend Pambu. May death be thrown upon me, if I ever break my oath', while he knelt down on his knees before Pambu as a sign of humility. Da Kasiayeki is still filled with anger when he thinks of these words. 'My friend Pambu. The hypocrite!' Hardly had Boni reached the Gonini Creek when he threw away his part of the chicken, which was wrapped in a white cloth. Nevertheless, he continued to call on the Ndjuka regularly. He went from his village on the Lawa River

to the Gonini Creek and proceeded to Animbaw via a footpath.

No sooner had *gaanman* Pambu died when the attack was launched. Da Kasiayeki then tells the famous story of Djaki, the *tutuman*, who danced on Pambu's grave with Boni. Kentu, the young man from Animbaw, who did not have any *obia*, saw Djaki dancing and shot him[19].

P.S. Stoelman's Expedition on the Lawa River

On 11 August 1792 the new *gaanman* Toni sailed to the post of Lawa with nine other chiefs to consult with Captain P.S. Stoelman. The commander told the chiefs that he would sail up the Lawa River within several days to hunt the Boni; if necessary to the very source of the river. He asked Gaanman Toni how many Ndjuka were willing to accompany him on this trip. After having conferred with the chiefs Toni offered him ten warriors. Stoelman considered it a very small number but the chiefs declared that they would send a commando patrol overland to Boni's new hiding-place and they asked the commander for gunpowder. Stoelman replied that he would only give them the gunpowder as soon as they were actually ready to leave. He would give them some *dram* (rum) instead, so that the Ndjuka could prepare their *obia*.

When the chiefs were consuming the food offered to them by Captain P.S. Stoelman, salted meat and bananas, a messenger came and reported that three Maroons had sailed down the river and were waving a flag from an island. Stoelman immediately sent his men to the island. The Maroons were accompanied by the crippled *posthouder's* assistant Meyer and they had a letter from Boni with them. At the request of the soldiers the Boni sailed on to the post of Lawa. After having read the letter, Stoelman told the three Maroons that they could go back to Boni and tell him that anyone who wanted to save his life had to report himself to the post of Lawa with his women and children. Stoelman would mount another expedition soon and declared that he would show no mercy to the Maroons. After this, the men returned and by the end of the afternoon the Ndjuka chiefs left as well. Some days later Stoelman sent the crippled Meyer and *posthouder* J. Basschal, who had meanwhile fallen ill, back to Paramaribo[20].

On 16 August 1792 Captain P.S. Stoelman sailed up the Lawa River with 78 soldiers and twelve Ndjuka in seventeen pirogues. After a while the advance guard came into contact with Agosu who handed over the other captive *posthouder's* assistant and repeated his appeal for negotiations, which was rejected. The *posthouder's* assistant told Stoelman that the Boni had meanwhile left the island in the Lawa River where they had settled. This was confirmed by the discovery of the Boni-villages upstream the Pampungron Fall two days later. Once again huge amounts of food fell into the hands of Stoelman's troops. It must have been a tragic experience for the Boni to see their flourishing fields devastated for the third subsequent year. Stoelman did not catch a glimpse of the Maroons themselves, although part of the troops searched through the river until past the Inini River (Hoogbergen 1985b: 348-51). In a house in one of the abandoned villages Stoelman found two Ndjuka

women who used to live with the Boni. They told him that Boni's village was located on this island and that Boni had left them behind on purpose. They had been forced to swear that they would tell the Dutch that Boni wanted to negotiate. If Stoelman did not sail further up the Lawa River, Boni would visit him on this island. The women also told that Boni had named this new village Sakabanami (literally: (they) will meet their end with me). He had chosen this name because the Ndjuka had promised him to prevent the Dutch from sailing up the Lawa River. Pampungron was a large island which was almost completely planted with food crops. All the Boni had lived here, although each chief used to live separately with his own people. Boni and Kormantin Kodjo lived together in the southern part of the island. In addition, the island contained the villages of Agosu, Basa, Puja and Leander and the settlements of the lesser known *kapitens* such as Daniel, Ajaka, Nieman and Aferi.

Captain P.S. Stoelman decided to build a temporary post on Pampungron from where he could send out patrols in the direction of the Maroons' escape route. On 19 August he had the Black Rangers and the Njduka under Commander J. Heyger searching through the eastern part of the island. The commander had to find the passage through the falls as well, in which he succeeded. Two days later, part of the troops ransacked the Lawa River further upstream. On an island four hours upstream they found a large stock of rice and several goods. The following day the Rangers found new fish baskets and fairly new spoors on a large island upstream the Itepuku Fall[21]. In the afternoon the soldiers discovered traces which led to a small creek east of the river. The men entered the creek and discovered two storehouses full of goods, such as iron tools, axes, cutlasses, shovels and machetes. Apart from that, there was a large stock of food, such as rice, peas and peanuts. The Ndjuka took hold of the goods, taking away what they could of the food and destroying the rest of it. The troops sailed back to the Lawa River and pitched camp for the night on the riverbank.

About ten o'clock the following morning the soldiers discovered a number of Boni on a nearby island. As soon as the Boni caught sight of the soldiers, they escaped in three pirogues. It came to a frantic pursuit. After one hour the soldiers caught up with one pirogue, which carried a woman and her children. Upon their escape from the island, the Maroons had had to leave a pirogue full of goods behind. The island itself also contained a lot of food. At four o'clock the troops passed the estuary of the Inini River. There was another island somewhat more to the south which had been inhabited by the Boni too and where they had also left a large amount of goods behind due to their hasty escape. In addition, there were a lot of tools on the island. Just before nightfall the soldiers spotted some more pirogues with Maroons - among whom was Agosu - at the foot of a mountain on the eastern bank of the river. The soldiers approached the Maroons and it came to a gunfight. As soon as the Boni had disembarked, they disappeared in the forest. But, as it was already dark, the patrol could not go after them. The Maroons continued to fire at the soldier's camp during night but when the soldiers and the Ndjuka answered the shooting, the Maroons ceased fire and disappeared in the dark. The following day the patrol searched for the Boni until noon, but

they were nowhere to be found. As the soldiers had almost exhausted their provisions, they decided to go back to Sakabanami where they arrived two days later.

While the Black Rangers and Ndjuka were sailing up the Lawa River, the remaining soldiers had busied themselves with destroying the provision grounds around Sakabanami, a job that was not yet finished by the time that the patrol returned. On 27 August 1792 Captain P.S. Stoelman sent Conductor Klimann and 41 soldiers to the French side of the river to ruin the provision grounds there. The commando patrol spent the entire day - and the following two days - executing their instructions. Stoelman also sent some Ndjuka up the river in an attempt to discover more hidden goods. They indeed found a number of tankards with seed-rice. On 30 August the troops returned. When they reached the Rensbo Falls, two pirogues capsized, many goods were lost and six soldiers severely hurt[22].

On 12 September 1792, Captain P.S. Stoelman sailed up the Tapanahoni River to consult with the Ndjuka. After five hours he arrived at the village of Kiokondre (Kiookonde: Creole Village). Upon his arrival the *kapiten* of Kiokonde sent a message 'upstream', which resulted in Stoelman having his meeting with *Gaanman* Toni and the various *kapitens* in Kiokonde the following afternoon. During the meeting the Ndjuka chiefs begged for goods as they had not received any 'peace presents' during the past five or six years. Stoelman assured them that they would receive their tribute if they helped him eliminate 'Boni's gang', whereupon the Ndjuka repeated their offer to undertake an expedition against the Boni.

The chiefs of the Dikan-clan - Daniel Oku and Fortuin Witi - complained that their clan was reputed to be scheming with the Boni. They stressed again that all the Ndjuka villages had made friends with the Boni. Boni had also visited Animbaw, where *Gaanman* Pambu had welcomed him with shots of jubilation. No less a person than Maria, the daughter of Bambi, the chief of the Otoo-clan, had been offered to Boni as his wife. *Gaanman* Pambu himself had taken the Boni-woman Abena as his wife. Thus Boni was also linked to the Otoo-clan. Daniel Oku and Fortuin Witi listed more names of all the persons to whom the Boni were related. Kaatje, the daughter of the chief Kwasimaba, for example, had a daughter by *kapiten* Basa. Diana, a Ndjuka woman from the village of Berg had had an affair with the Boni-*kapiten* Lakey of Roosenbeek. Both daughters of the Ndjuka chief Avantuur - Amimba and Afina - had been intimate on with Jaw and Aferi, two Boni-*kapitens*, respectively. Aba, chief Kadeti Pinasi's daughter, had an affair with Kormantin Kodjo, and Kwasimaba's ex-wife had been seeing Bukusua, while Meri, Djaki's mother, had been sleeping with Charon. Her son Djaki, in his turn, had been courting Beti, who was a relative of Boni's. Finally, the daughter of chief Samsam's brother had been sleeping with Jombo, with whom she had a child named Kwamina. Were the whites not aware of this, the two chiefs asked? P.S. Stoelman's answer has not been taken down, but the flood of words from the chiefs' mouths confirmed what we already knew. The Boni and the Ndjuka were closely related by kinship in those days. It was the constant pressure from the Dutch side, however, that caused the

(temporary) hostility between the two tribes[23].

The Ndjuka clung to their plan to avenge the raid on Animbaw and get even with the Boni. The only thing they waited for was the right water level in the Lawa River and the right *obia* to defeat Boni. The priestess, Ma Cato, was meanwhile busy preparing the *obia*. By the middle of January 1793 they were ready to mount the expedition. On 22 January 72 cheerful Ndjuka-warriors left the post of P.S. Stoelman's Island in 22 pirogues under the leadership of *kapiten* Bambi. For five straight days Bambi and his people sailed up the Lawa River until they saw a pirogue with two Boni men and a boy near the Tapu Dam, past the Inini River. The Ndjuka caught up with the pirogue which capsized during the fight that followed. The boy was drowned but the two men managed to reach the shore and disappeared in the jungle. For three days the Bush Negroes searched the entire neighborhood for traces of the Boni, but they found nothing which pointed to the Maroons' presence in this area. In order to be able to attack the Boni by surprise, Bambi decided to sail on only at night and pitch camp at the fringe of the woods during the day. On 30 January 1793 the Ndjuka broke camp at midnight and sailed on until sunrise. The following night some men discovered a Maroon fireplace and an old camp, whereupon Bambi decided to stay at this place from where he could send out small patrols in all directions.

On 10 February 1793 one of the patrols returned with two prisoners - Jano (of Weltevreden) and Kwasi (of Auka) - and alleged to have killed a Maroon as well, Bien (of La Paix) who was a *kapiten* from the village of Kormantin Kodjo. The captive Boni promised to show the new settlements of Boni and Kormantin Kodjo in exchange for their lives[24]. In the night of 11 to 12 February the Ndjuka sailed on to a new place where they pitched camp for three days to explore the surroundings. During the night of 15 February the Bush Negroes moved on to the estuary of the river where Boni's new village was located on the Crique Marouini[25]. The Ndjuka realized that they would never have found this creek without the help of the two guides. It was impossible to sail up the Crique Marouini for the creek emptied into the Lawa River through a large waterfall. The following night the Ndjuka cautiously transported their pirogues overland until they arrived upstream from the falls. After that, they sailed up the Crique Marouini for several miles and disappeared from sight again for another day. On 18 February they spent another quiet day in the jungle. A number of men lay under cover by the riverside to keep an eye on any Boni possibly sailing by. At eleven o'clock they caught sight of a man who paddled along with his daughter. They shot the man and caught the little girl. Chief Bambi was not very happy with this action for he was afraid that the Boni might have heard the shot.

The Ndjuka moved on at night and passed Agosu's residence unwittingly. The following afternoon they caught sight of some more Boni in a pirogue. This time it was a man with three boys, two of whom were recognized by the Ndjuka. One of them had been abducted by Agosu from Animbaw half a year ago and the other one was Agosu's son. Their attempt to capture all the passengers failed for Agosu's son managed to flee to his father.

The two Boni-guides - Jano and Kwasi - told *kapiten* Bambi that Boni's

village was not far away. Bambi decided to wait until midnight to surround Boni's cabin with a small patrol. According to the guides, the Boni-Maroons did not live in a close-knit community anymore but were scattered over small villages along the riverbank. Boni's house lay isolated at some distance from the other houses. On 20 February 1793, at three o'clock at night, the small patrol arrived at the house of Boni 'where Bambi surrounded and shot him, after which he cut off his head and took his right hand. Subsequently, he took his two wives and children prisoner. One child was a Bush Creole named Beyman and the second child was still a baby called Marietje'[26]. The archives make clear that Boni was shot in his sleep. The Ndjuka could have spared Boni's life and lock him in chains as they did with his two wives and children. But their fear for *gaanman* Boni prevented them from taking any risks. Besides, it was not common practice to arrest male prisoners during the bush patrols for the Ndjuka preferred to kill men and interne women and children.

Some time later the Ndjuka killed yet another man in the vicinity of Boni's house. Another Maroon heard the shots and while approaching the scene discovered that the Ndjuka had killed Boni. He went to the upper course of the Crique Marouini to tell the news to the Maroons who were settled there but many of them refused to believe his story. They were convinced that they were safe enough and they did not take any precautionary measures to protect themselves against the approaching Ndjuka. In the night following Boni's death the Ndjuka surrounded various villages. At three o'clock *kapiten* Bambi gave the signal to launch the attack. The fight lasted for about four hours and by seven o'clock the Boni were defeated. Eleven Maroons were killed, including chief Puja. A total of 38 Maroons had been captured: two men, twenty-one women and fifteen children. Bambi and his companions set fire to the villages, took away many goods such as rifles and gunpowder and smashed the pirogues to pieces. They did not take the time to destroy the provision grounds for they wanted to sail down the Crique Marouini to find Agosu and Kormantin Kodjo.

On 22 February the Ndjuka discovered the village of Agosu, but Boni's son was already on the run. The prisoners told the Ndjuka that Kormantin Kodjo stayed in Koki's new village. This village was not located on the Crique Marouini but on the Lawa River, north of the Inini. As *kapiten* Bambi was afraid of the fugitive Boni warning Koki and Kormantin Kodjo he decided to stop chasing Agosu and sail down the Lawa River. In their rush, on 23 February, his pirogue capsized in the falls somewhere between the Tanpok and the Inini Rivers, most probably in the Sumajee Falls. Passengers managed to reach the shore with great difficulty but the boat and its load, including Boni's head and the right hands of the Boni-victims, disappeared in the swirling water. The Ndjuka spent two days searching for Boni's head but to no avail[27].

Further down the Lawa River sailed the Ndjuka on 26 February. That day they arrived in the vicinity of Koki's new village which they surrounded during the night. Some hours before sunrise the Ndjuka entered the cabins. Kormantin Kodjo fell victim to the same fate as Boni the week before. In addition, the Ndjuka shot five more men and three women. Two of the men

killed came from Kormantin Kodjo's village while the other three belonged to Koki's group. A woman and her little son were caught and taken away.

On 2 March the Ndjuka returned at the post on Stoelman's Island, where they handed over the 38 prisoners to Commander Zeegelaar. The leader of the patrol - Bambi - declared that his men had destroyed eleven new villages, namely the villages of Basa, Boni, Kormantin Kodjo (i.e. Koki's village), Jakje (Bellevue), Puja, Kardinaal, Leander, Ajaka, Ajombo and Aferi. They had captured 27 good rifles and fifteen defective ones and smashed 40 pirogues to pieces[28].

The Oral Tradition and Boni's Death

The oral tradition on Boni's death expands upon the attack on Animbaw, which is obvious for both events are the main themes of one and the same story, that of the hostilities between the Ndjuka and the Boni. It is striking that even the story on the peace settlement between the Boni and the Ndjuka, which was concluded about twelve years before, was only considered a prelude to the subsequent events. The Ndjuka were convinced that the Boni had only feigned peace as Boni's prime intention was to get even with the Ndjuka. The archives do not contain any information on this oral interpretation.

The following accounts reflect the stories of Axwijk, De Groot, Pakosie and Thoden van Velzen again, starting with De Groot's reconstruction of the events. After the attack on Animbaw, the Ndjuka were waiting for an opportunity to take revenge on the Boni. There was a woman called Susana of the Piika-clan, who lived in the village Kisai and had a thorough knowledge of magic. She treated a Capuchin monkey in such a way that it could change into a beautiful woman who was instructed to win Boni's heart and learn his intentions. The monkey rushed through the jungle and changed into a beautiful woman as it approached Boni's house. Boni, who could not resist female beauty, invited the woman to his house and made her pregnant. The woman took advantage of the occasion to question *gaanman* Boni on all his taboos. Thus she learned that Boni was practically invincible yet he also had his 'Achilles' heel', notably a specially crafted bullet, a certain *kamisa* (men's loincloth) and the placement of a baby on his lap.

The woman hence stole the *kamisa*, put her child on Boni's lap and changed into a monkey again, who told the Ndjuka how to prepare the mortal bullet for Boni. Consequently, a patrol of Ndjuka under the leadership of Bambi went to the Lawa River and killed Boni, who was sitting in his cabin with the child on his arm (De Groot 1980:13).

Ajax's version of Boni's death, however, went as follows. After the attack on Puketi the Ndjuka immediately started to make the necessary preparations for the counter attack. They gathered food and other war-essentials, such as arrows and bows, javelins, fire arms and - last but not least - the *obia*. They were ready to go and followed Agosu-Boni's trail. They did not manage to defeat the Boni-Maroons during the first attack. It was true that they

managed to arrive 600 meters in front of Agosu-Boni's stronghold where they waited in ambush but failed to catch Agosu-Boni for he escaped by sailing past the Ndjuka without being seen. The only remedy was to find other means as Agosu-Boni could not be defeated in the normal way. Maybe he could be trapped by powerful magic forces or dogged persistance. Consequently, the Ndjuka went back to the Tapanahoni River, where they called up the gods and the ancestors to ask them for advice. The spirits told them that the only way to defeat Agosu-Boni was by taking hold of his *kamisa*. But who would have the courage to steal Agosu's loincloth? The gods would be appealed to solve this problem as well because they could send out a monkey who could be transformed into a beautiful woman once it approached Agosu-Boni's village. Agosu-Boni would fall in love with her immediately and invite her to his cabin, which was an extraordinary thing to do as the *Gaanman* had had many women indeed but none of them had ever been allowed to set foot in his cabin. But he would make an exception for this lovely woman. The Ndjuka gods would blind him to such an extent that he would forget this taboo for once, with the consequence that his own gods would be embittered and turn against him.

Everything went as the Ndjuka gods had predicted. One late afternoon, when everything was quiet, the beautiful young woman arrived at Agosu-Boni's village. Everyone who saw her was impressed by her beauty. When Agosu-Boni caught sight of her, he forgot to ask her where she came from and invited her to his cabin immediately. She sat down by the fire and looked at him with longing eyes. The cabin obviously did not please her for she took a broom and started to sweep the floor. When she was finished, Agosu-Boni sat down beside her and started a conversation. The people in the village were stupified. This woman, who seemed to have carte blanche, would definitely cause mischief. But nobody could say with certainty what was happening between Agosu-Boni and the woman in there. The only thing which was certain was that the woman had disappeared when Agosu-Boni woke up in the morning. When he discovered this, a woman from the village saw a monkey escaping to the woods with the *Gaanman's* loincloth. *Tata Agosu-Boni, wan mungi e kari un kamisa gowei* (Father Agosu-Boni, a monkey has taken your loincloth). But even before Agosu-Boni had gone outside, the monkey had disappeared. The paramount chief realized what had happened to him but he was helpless. Besides, he could only blame himself for the fact that he had told the woman in a rash moment the night before that no sword would ever succeed in separating his head from his body but that only a mixture of sugar cane, crushed by means of a special small brass hammer and enriched with special herbs, could provide the means to achieve his death. Agosu-Boni realized that he had fallen into a trap and that his days were numbered.

When the monkey returned to the Ndjuka with Agosu-Boni's *kamisa* and the little brass hammer which was used by the *Gaanman* for preparing the herb mixture, there was joy everywhere along the Tapanahoni River. The Ndjuka realized that Agosu-Boni's power had come to an end and they only had to wait for the moment to get even with him. A group of warriors under

the leadership of paramount chief Kukudjaku sailed up the Lawa River past the Awara Falls. Agosu-Boni, who was living in the Crique Marouini with his people, had installed a guard post in Maripasula[29] from where he sent out spies to keep an eye on the Ndjuka. The spies included three competent men; Janu, Pinki and a third one whose name is as yet unknown. The Ndjuka managed to catch these spies, who were given a choice: betray Agosu-Boni's position or die. Two out of three preferred the latter, but Janu offered to show them to Agusu-Boni's settlement. Shortly afterwards the Ndjuka broke camp and headed towards the Crique Marouini. They stopped at a safe distance from Agosu-Boni's stronghold to line up and haul some part of the pirogues ashore.

It was peace and quiet in Agosu-Boni's village. The Maroons were convinced that the Ndjuka would never discover their secret hiding-place. In the meantime paramount chief Kukudjaku prepared the attack and ordered his warriors to sneak up to the village of Agosu-Boni. Late in the afternoon Kukudjaku gave the signal to launch the attack. Agosu-Boni was completely surprised but he recovered soon. Many people were killed in the subsequent fights. The Ndjuka tried to catch Agosu-Boni alive but in the end the *Gaanman* was killed by a shot from Kukudjaku's gun, who had fired this shot at the instruction of the gods. Agosu-Boni's death brought his followers to a state of fury but most of them did not dare continue the fight as they considered the battle lost and fled. The Ndjuka continued fighting until there was no more resistance. They only thing they left behind were charred remains. Consequently, the place has become known by the name of Bronkondre (Village of Fire). The Ndjuka took only one woman, a middle-aged woman who belonged to the Dipelu-clan, who was brought to Puketi. She would later become the ancestress of the Misidjan-clan[30]. The second Boni-man who was taken by the Ndjuka in their pirogues was the traitor Janu. But he never caught a glimpse of the Tapanahoni River for the Ndjuka did not expect much of such a vile person and murdered him at the junction of the Lawa and the Tapanahoni Rivers. The body was mutilated and thrown into the river (Ajax 1961).

H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen also recounts the attack on Animbaw and Boni's death in one story. After the humiliating defeat at Animbaw, the Ndjuka chiefs gathered to prepare themselves for the new trial of strength with Boni. The men realized that they could not enter in battle without preparing themselves and they called on the tribal priestesses for help. Ma Susana prepared the *obia* and gave it to a monkey which was called Ma Mutombe, so that it also could change into a beautiful young woman. The monkey was sent on mission and upon arrival in front of Boni's village changed into a beautiful young woman. She was so breathtakingly beautiful that it was impossible to look at her without desiring her. When Boni caught sight of her he immediately wanted to take possession of her. His sister still tried to dissuade him but he did not pay heed to her warnings. The beautiful woman asked Boni: 'As an inhabitant of this village you must tell me what your *kina* (taboos) are'. Boni replied: 'I cannot bear the sight of newborn children. My *kamisa* gives you special powers, provided that you have a

special bullet which I hide in my *pakiba* (neckbag). But if you do not have either of these, you can never kill me'.

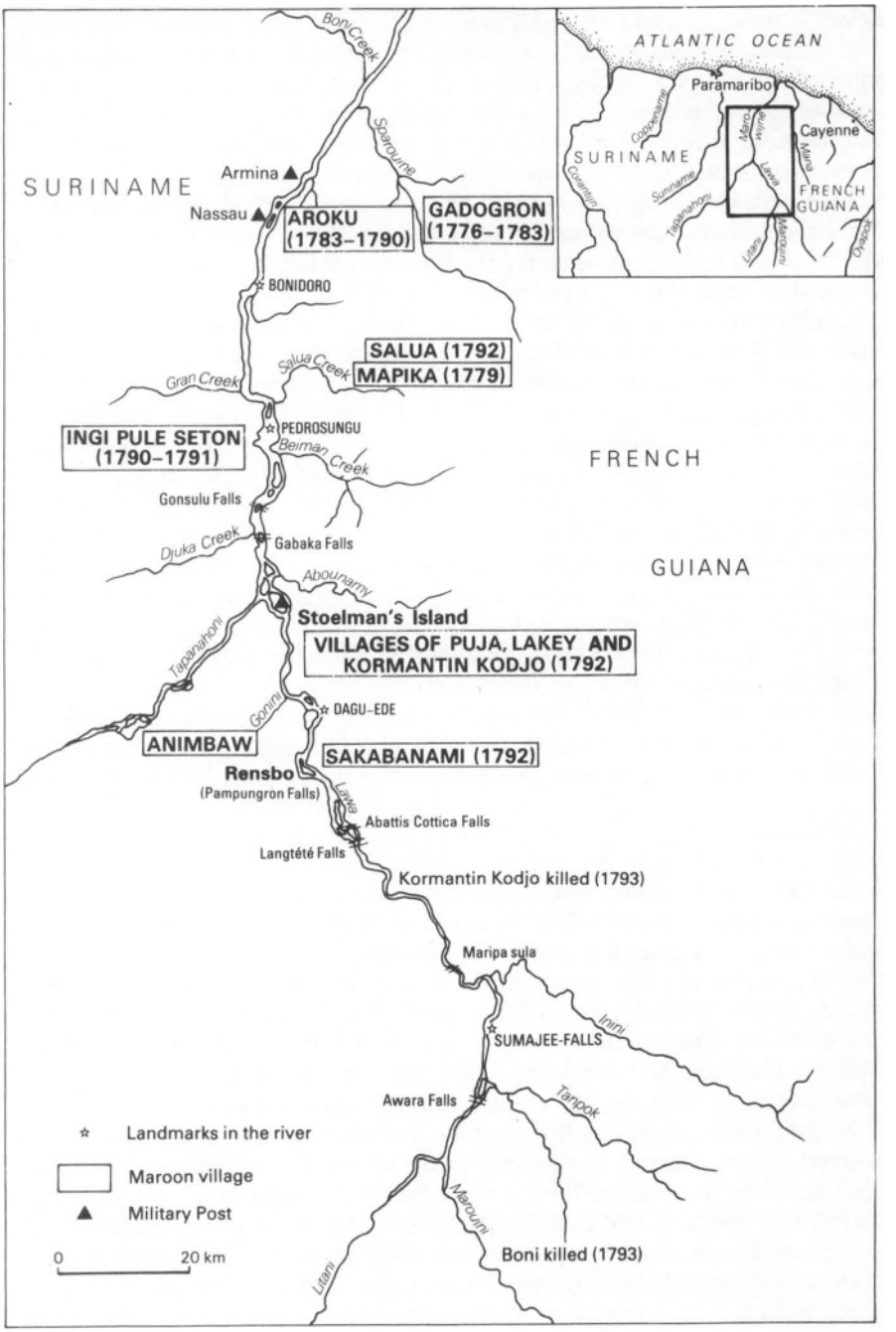
Shortly afterwards a child was born. The beautiful woman took the child and put it on Boni's lap by surprise. The woman had also noticed that Boni used to spend a long time in the water whenever he bathed. She took advantage of that time to search for the *kamisa* and take away the bullet. When she had found them, she changed into a monkey again and fled to the Ndjuka with the booty that enabled them to start carrying out their plan. In those days, there was an important *obiaman* called Da Baai who lived in Mainsi. He prepared the potion. Da Baai could tell that the Ndjuka would defeat Boni from the way the mixture was boiling.

Boni fled to the Litani River but the Ndjuka caught up with him there, hit him and killed him, but Boni did not fall down. He remained standing. Lebi Ana (Bambi) made no less than three attempts to knock Boni over but to no avail. Then Boni farted, as a result of which Lebi Ana fell down unconscious. Da Baai saved his life by spitting medicinal *obia* on him. No less than twelve Ndjuka clans were needed to try and knock Boni over. Finally, they succeeded and Boni's corpse fell up against a tree. Da Baai cut off Boni's head and Lebi Ana stripped off his skin. The head was carried along in a *mutete* (basket). The boat which transported Boni's head later sank in the Sumajee Falls[31]. The other Boni lived in the vicinity of the present village Kotiba (on the Lawa River). The Ndjuka slaughtered them like a herd of bush pigs. They also caught paramount chief Kodjo. They cut off his head and showed it to the colonists, allegeing that it was Boni's head[32].

As opposed to the other versions, Pakosie's story focuses on the person of Kentu[33]. When Kentu, or rather the *obia* who had taken possession of him, had killed *tutuman* Djaki, this young man was totally upset. It was only after a while that he calmed down. In the meantime the obeahmen had discussed the measures to be taken against Boni. It was common knowledge that Boni could not be killed without knowing his *baka-koni* (literally: 'underlying knowledge'). When the Ndjuka conferred on how they could find out, Ma Susana - a Luangu woman - stood up. She created a monkey which, as soon as it arrived in the Lawa area, changed into a very attractive young woman. The creature walked towards the *obia* house in front of which Boni and his mother were seated. Boni's mother warned her son of this dangerous woman but Boni refused to listen to her. The woman lived together with Boni for three months until she had won his confidence and could ask him what his taboos and his *baka-koni* were. Boni wanted to answer her question but when the roof-beams of his cabin started to creak - warning him not to reveal his secrets - Boni stopped. After a month the woman made an another attempt and this time Boni told her everything. Boni revealed that the sight of a newborn child made him vulnerable and that the *obia* which had the power to kill him could be extracted from his *kamisa*, whereupon the woman grabbed a newborn child from the village and threw it before Boni's feet. She then ran off to the place where Boni used to prepare his *obia* and stole his *kamisa*.

Boni pursued her but to no avail, for the woman changed into a

Map 14: The Second Boni-Maroon War, 1789-1793



monkey and disappeared. Back in Afo Amelisigron the monkey gave the *kamisa* to Ma Susana who passed it on to the obeahmen.

Reinforced by the *obia*, the Ndjuka declared war upon Boni whom they found in his village. They needed three bullets to kill *gaanman* Boni. The Ndjuka took away the corpse but on the way they decided to cut off Boni's head and hand it over to the Governor. It came to a quarrel about who would cut off the head. A man who did not even know the *obia* but only wanted to gain credit grabbed the cutlass and chopped at Boni's neck but to no avail. Another man who did know the *obia* took the cutlass and separated Boni's head from his body. The man who wished only the glory swelled up and died before sunset. He was buried close to Poligudu. At ten o'clock the following morning Boni's head fell overboard and disappeared in the deep water. The place of this event was later respectfully called 'Sumajee' by the Ndjuka, which means 'human head'. It is unknown what happened to Boni's corpse (Pakosie 1972: 15-19).

The central theme in all the traditions is that Boni (or Agosu-Boni, as in Ajax's version) could not be killed in a natural way. As Achilles and Samson, he was immortal somehow, albeit - as these two - not absolutely immortal. Magic forces, betrayal and deceit had to be used to kill the paramount chief. A remarkable aspect of the story is the man who was killed at the junction of the Lawa and the Tapanahoni Rivers. Ajax's version refers to the traitor Janu, whereas Pakosie describes him as the man without knowledge of the *obia*. The report of Jeboa Djaki on Boni's death does not even make mention of Janu's murder (or anyone else's), neither does the list of Maroons killed include Janu (Hoogbergen 1984: 157-59). He was, however, listed as one of the captive Maroons. A letter from the military commander on Stoelman's Island, Zeegelaar, dated June 1793 makes clear that Janu was still alive then and living with the Ndjuka[34]. The oral tradition is inconsistent with regard to the place where Boni's head dropped overboard. Dagu-ede is situated too much to the north and Bonidoro (according to Ajax) is located on the Marowijne River. The Sumajee Falls is most likely the right place. These falls are situated on the upper Lawa River between the Tanpok and the Inini Rivers, a place which is also mentioned in the archives (see note 27 and 31).

The Second Boni-Maroon War had a tragic ending owing to the death of Boni, Kormantin Kodjo, Puja and many others. When reconsidering the period 1789 to 1793, one might say that the Boni had already lost the battle in May 1790 after the seizure of Aroku. From then on they were hardly a match for the Dutch troops due to their total lack of ammunition and supplies. In early 1790 the tribe consisted of about 450 persons. The war, famine and smallpox epidemic thereafter sent many Maroons to the grave. In addition, the colonists made another 148 prisoners with the consequence that the number of Boni had probably diminished to a mere 100 to 150 by 1793.

CHAPTER 8
TOWARDS RECOGNITION

The Ndjuka and the Boni again

After the defeat of 1793, the surviving Boni moved to a unknown place. It was only in 1802 that the authorities in Paramaribo received new information about them. In July of the same year *posthouder* J.P. Bremer reported that 30 'wild' Amerindians from the upper Lawa region, who maintained relations with the Boni[1], had visited the Ndjuka villages near the junction of the Lawa and Tapanahoni Rivers. The Ndjuka had never been in touch with the Amerindians until the year before, when a number of them had come to Puketi[2] and drunk a *swéri* with all the village chiefs. As the Ndjuka told the *posthouder*, the *swéri*-ceremony had dealt with the Ndjuka's urging the Amerindians not to cooperate with the Boni because the *swéri* would kill them if they did. And indeed, the 30 Amerindians who had recently paid a visit to the villages on the lower course of the river had told the Ndjuka that all of the people who had come to see them the year before had meanwhile died - except for three. The Ndjuka interpreted this as the *swéri's* punishment for the Amerindians' apparent involvement with the Boni. In addition, the *posthouder* discovered that these Amerindians lived in peace with the French and the Boni. They used the Boni's pirogues and the Boni's *pangi* (women's loincloth). The Amerindians had approached the Ndjuka because they had joined the Boni in waging war on an Indian tribe who lived between the Lawa River and Cayenne in a village called Kitoto. Due to this war the Boni and themselves could not conduct business with Cayenne anymore. Therefore they wanted to take up trading with the coastal area via the Ndjuka.

The *posthouder* had heard that the 'wild' Amerindians had settled at a distance of about ten days' travelling from the Ndjuka's living-area. The Amerindians were said to have revealed, during their visit, that the Boni were living nearby on a high mountain which had been transformed into a stronghold from where they could reign throw down stones and debris wooden blocks as a means of defense. Allegedly, the mountain also contained water sources. But *posthouder* J.P. Bremer did not believe much of this information as he considered the stories contrived. He wrote a letter to Paramaribo stating that the Amerindians' visit had made him convene a meeting with paramount chief Toni and the other chiefs during which he had tried to persuade them to wage war on the Boni but that the chiefs had bluntly refused. As long as the Boni did not annoy the Ndjuka, they would leave Agosu's group unharmed. They declared that neither the chiefs nor their children would ever wage war on the Boni again[3]. Oral tradition reports that the peace between the Boni and the Ndjuka was restored shortly after 1793[4].

On 7 September 1805 a mutiny broke out among the Black Rangers. The rebellion erupted at the post of Oranjebo on the upper-Commewijne River, where all white people were murdered. The revolt soon spread to the post of Imotapi, some kilometers more northerly, where a white sergeant was shot.

His corpse was mutilated by 20 Black Rangers stationed at the post - as a result of which all 20 of them became accessaries to the murder. After the bloodbath, the warehouses were plundered, several commando slaves were persuaded to join the rebels and relatives were recruited from nearby plantations. The rebels then moved on to the Marowijne River and attacked the post Armina, where they killed another group of colonists. The black contingent stationed at this post joined the rebels and the group - totalling about 80 people by then - moved to the south, where they built a village in the vicinity of the former settlement of the Boni, Ingi Pule Seton[5].

Governor William C. Hughes appointed a committee to investigate the underlying motives of the rebellion. This committee concluded that the rebellion had been caused by, among other things, the Boni's incorporation in the Black Ranger Corps (shortly after 1793) and the contacts of these former Maroons with the Ndjuka and the Boni (De Groot 1970, 1988 and 1989). After several months the mutineers settled on the junction of the Lawa and Tapanahoni Rivers near the Poligudu Falls close to the Ndjuka villages on the lower course of the river. The fact that they settled in the vicinity of the Ndjuka rather than near the Boni indicates that the contacts between the Black Rangers and the latter were probably less significant than the planters thought.

When the English had taken over the colony (from 1799 until 1802 and again from 1804 to 1816), the Ndjuka did not receive their regular tribute. Besides, the authorities in Paramaribo wanted to review the peace settlement with the Ndjuka. The Court of Policy made a draft treaty which stipulated, among other things, that the Ndjuka had to deliver all the rebels of 1805 and had to refrain from each and any 'communication, friendship and understanding with the Boni'. A delegation of planters went to the Sara Creek to negotiate with the clan-chiefs. The Ndjuka leaders took a very firm stand and they refused to deliver the inhabitants of the village near the Poligudu Falls nor did they agree to break with the Boni. In the end they reached a compromise which made the Ndjuka promise to keep the Black Rangers and the Boni under control and prevent them from annoying the colony. Thus the mutineers of 1805 and the Boni were considered inferior to the Ndjuka. The new peace treaty was formally signed on 21 September 1809 and, as in 1760, the *swéri* was drunk by both delegations. (See De Groot 1970:303 for the complete text of this peace treaty).

Return to the Lawa River

There is but little information about the life of the Ndjuka and the Boni in the first decades of the 19th century. We know that Pambu's successor - paramount chief Toni - died in 1808 and that he was notorious for his weak character and his preference for alcohol. *Kapiten* Bambi, who had killed Boni, had been effectively in power for several years. In November 1816 *posthouder* Adena wrote that some of the 'rebels of 1805', ever since they had settled close to the Poligudu Falls, had secretly gone to the Boni to conspire an

attack on the colonists. When this was told to paramount chief Bambi, he intervened. Several 'rebels of 1805' and one Boni-family were arrested[6]. There are no records of the subsequent events.

On 23 August 1819 Bambi died of leprosy. Trobi, a son of Bambi's sister, succeeded him. The validity of this succession, however, was disputed by several people (for reasons unknown). A certain *kapiten* Beiman - the later paramount chief - appeared to be involved[7]. When Bambi was dead, the Ndjuka carried the coffin with his corpse around Puketi for three straight days before they buried it. The funeral was attended by an estimated 300 Ndjuka, 35 'rebels of 1805' and 40 Boni. When the funeral was over, all of them left because there was hardly anything left to eat or to drink in Puketi. On 17 September 1819 the Bush Negroes returned to Puketi to continue the funeral ceremony and - according to the *posthouder* - to beat drums, sing, dance, eat and drink[8].

In October 1819 a meeting was held in Puketi, which was attended by all the chiefs of the Ndjuka, the Boni and the 'rebels'. They drank *swéri* to the honor of the new paramount chief and swore to be loyal to each other[9]. The archives make few references to paramount chief Trobi. The oral tradition refers to him by the name of Da Manja but there are not many stories which have come down to us from those days. Trobi died in 1833 and was succeeded by Beiman who was considered a 'handsome and smart Negro' by *posthouder* Schachtrupp[10].

In 1821 A. Vaillant, an official in Cayenne wrote to the 'Commission d'Exploration de la Guyanne française' that the Boni had been living on an island close to the French side of the Lawa River for some time. Vaillant estimated their number at about 800, which seems rather high. The Dutch commander of the Post of Armina had told him that the Boni and the 'rebels of 1805' were bullied by the Ndjuka. The Ndjuka, prevented any and all contact between the 'rebels' and the Boni[11]. A report from 1832 refers to the Itepuku Falls as the Boni's settlement on the Lawa River. This is the former designation of the falls which are presently known as the Cottica Falls (or Abattis Cottica). Hurault (1965:14) states that when the Boni returned to the Lawa River around 1815, they settled near the place where they still have their present villages. That is somewhat south of the extensive Cottica Falls.

In 1822 two French adventurers, Milthiade and Loret, set off on a journey to the Emérillon and Wayana-Indians. They must have travelled via the Oyapock, a river on the border between French Guiana and Brazil. The Emérillon lived along the Camopi River, a tributary of the Oyapock. An old Emérillon-Indian told the two Frenchmen that the Emérillon's provision grounds on the Crique Inipi (a tributary of the Camopi River) had been destroyed by the Boni some years before. These Boni lived on the Lawa River near the Itepuku (Cottica) Falls but, as they had become divided because of their fast-growing number, part of the tribe had left. Consequently, there were groups of Boni living near the estuary of the Crique Inipi and Onani, as well as on the banks of the Crique Tamouri near the Awara Fall[12].

The Crique Tamouri is a tributary of the Camopi River and forms an access route to the Marowijne basin. There were two routes which linked the

Oyapock basin to the Marowijne basin. The most northerly route ran from the Camopi River through the Crique Inipi past 'Chemin des Emérillons' (Emérillon path) to the Crique Sai and the Inini River. The second route lay about 30 kilometers south of the Camopi River and ran via the Tamouri River and 'Chemin des Emérillons' to the Petite Ouaqui River before it passed through the Tanpok River to the Lawa River. Both routes passed through the living-area of the Emérillon-Indians, who were at war with the Boni. The latter must have tried to control this route, which would enable them to trade with Cayenne via the Oyapock River. The report written by the adventurers Milthiade and Loret also refers to the Boni attacking the Wayana people, who came from the Oyapock area, in 1821. A number of Wayana were killed during the attack. The Wayana who escaped did not have the courage to return and fled to the Mana River. As soon as Milthiade and Loret approached the Awara Falls, their journey came to an end for the Indians who accompanied them discovered traces of the Boni and did not dare continue the trip[13].

A. Leprieur visits Gaanman Gongo in 1836

In March 1835 *posthouder* F. Schachtrupp from Puketi wrote that many Boni stayed with the Ndjuka by order of the new paramount chief Beiman. He accused them of *wisi* (witchcraft) as the Ndjuka *kapiten* Kofi Abuta, whose wife belonged to the Boni-tribe, had died during his stay with her, a death for which the Boni were blamed[14]. The end of the matter is not known because Schachtrupp never referred to it again.

The relationship between the Boni and the Ndjuka deteriorated quickly after the inauguration of the new paramount chief. Although peace between the two tribes was restored after the Boni's settlement near the Itepuku (Cottica) Falls on the upper parts of the Lawa River, power relations between the two remained off balance. The Ndjuka considered the Boni their subordinates, an idea which had even been officially confirmed in the peace treaty with the Dutch of 1809, albeit in different terms. One of the articles of this treaty stipulated that the Ndjuka should prevent the Boni and the Poligudu from travelling to plantation areas and the Ndjuka fulfilled this obligation conscientiously. It seemed that the Boni did not have difficulties with their subordinate position during the reign of the *gaanmans* Bambi and Trobi. The various marriages then contracted between the two tribes also suggest that the Boni and the Ndjuka were on friendly terms with each other. The provision grounds of the Boni were abundant with food and they were very competent in building pirogues, which in turn led to their starting a barter trade with the Ndjuka and the Amerindians and exchanging their food and pirogues for goods from the coastal area. But, hardly had Paramount Chief Beiman taken up his duties when the difficulties between the two tribes arose. The fact that the relationship between the Boni and the Ndjuka particularly deteriorated during this period is illustrated by a testimony given by a captive Boni-woman in 1841. She revealed that the Boni used to buy

ammunition from the Ndjuka but the hostilities between them had put an end to their trade[15].

Paramount Chief Beiman did not live in Puketi but in Diitabiki, situated on an island in the Tapanahoni River above the Gran-olo-falls. Around 1840 Beiman was the central figure of the so-called *sweli*-cult, a service which surpassed the average village and clan rituals and whose most remarkable feature was that all the Bush Negroes who were deemed to come under Beiman's authority had to come to Diitabiki to submit to a trial by ordeal. Any person suspected of *wisi* (witchcraft) had to ingest some of the *sweli*. If he or she fell ill, his or her guilt was proved. Anyone who turned out to be a witch on account of the trial by ordeal stood a fair chance of being burnt alive (H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen 1977: 17-20 and H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen and W. van Wetering 1988: 53-74). F.W. Hostmann, who stayed with the Ndjuka as a 'posthouder' in 1840, wrote that it was mainly the 'rebels of 1805' who fell victim to these accusations: 'Thus all the 'rebels' who escaped in 1805 rushed upon their doom' (Hostmann 1850:227). Thoden van Velzen, however, deems the number of victims of this witch-hunt to be much less significant and considers it very unlikely that this fate fell upon more than one or two people per year. From a political point of view, the oath of loyalty which had to be taken by the clan-chiefs every three or four years in Diitabiki as part of the sweli-cult was much more important (Thoden van Velzen 1979:17 and Thoden van Velzen and W. van Wetering 1988: 60 and 408). The serious conflict which arose between the Boni and the Ndjuka around 1840 may therefore be attributed to this policy of Beiman and the subsequent refusal by the Boni to submit to a trial by ordeal in Diitabiki.

As a result of the dismissal of the Saramaka Paramount Chief Kofi Bosuman in 1835[16], the government considered it necessary to review the peace treaties with the pacified Maroons again. Article 8 and 9 of the treaty with the Ndjuka, which had been renewed in 1837, clearly stipulated that the Ndjuka had to prevent the Boni from menacing the colony. They were mandated to keep the Boni out of Surinamese territory. In addition, they had to prevent any new runaways from joining the Boni.

Another reason for the worsening relationship between the Boni and the Ndjuka may be found in the journey of the French naval officer A. Leprieur. This officer left Cayenne in 1836[17] on an exploratory expedition to the far south of French Guiana. He wanted to reach the origin of the Marowijne River. As the Ndjuka Paramount Chief Beiman had forbidden the colonists, the Saramaka and the Akuri-Indians to enter the region around the Lawa and Tapanahoni Rivers, Leprieur, with twelve Wayana and about ten free Negroes travelled via the Oyapock River and the Camopi River. Via this river he wanted to move on to the Lawa River with help from Emérillon guides. The guides brought him to the Inini River through the Crique Inipi and across the Emérillon path, where the Emérillon guides, who were at war with the Boni, stopped. On 17 July 1836 Leprieur arrived at the junction of the Inini and Lawa Rivers, where the travellers encountered some Boni who treated them in a friendly manner. Leprieur told them that he had come to settle peace. An old man took the delegation to an island which was inhabited by four men

and three women. The Boni invited the travellers to spend the night with them and told Leprieur that they were willing to settle peace. They proposed to mix their blood and drink a *swéri*, an offer which was accepted by Leprieur. The following morning the Boni offered to show the delegation to their major village Aluku where Paramount Chief Gongo lived. Here they arrived on 19 July.

A. Leprieur was introduced to Paramount Chief Gongo who was surrounded by women and children. The Boni told the Frenchman that they were delighted with the fact that an officer had ventured to visit them in the company of their best friends, the Wayana-Indians. Leprieur distributed all sorts of gifts, such as guns, gunpowder, cutlasses, knives, dry goods, hammocks, coral, etcetera. He also repeated that he had come to settle peace between the Boni and the French government. He gave *Gaanman* Gongo a wallet with several five franc notes and promised to return in September with a white *posthouder* and eight sticks each topped with a silver knob for the chiefs. The French government had given similar prizes to the Amerindians in the coastal area. The Boni were very pleased with Leprieur's mission and started a feast which lasted for several days and nights (Hurault 1960:110-114).

Shortly after A. Leprieur's arrival, Paramount Chief Gongo sent two pirogues with ten Boni to the Ndjuka to inform their *Gaanman* Beiman about the presence of the French. The Ndjuka paramount chief was furious about this French initiative and sent his *kapiten* Alabi with 60 to 70 armed men to the Boni to arrest Leprieur. The Ndjuka delegation arrived at Aluku just before Leprieur's departure. *Kapiten* Alabi told the Boni that Beiman had forbidden the colonists to enter the region inbetween the Lawa and Tapanahoni Rivers. Alabi declared that Leprieur's trip was just an ordinary espionage mission. He alleged to have been instructed to kill the Frenchman and take his head to Suriname as a trophy. The Boni, however, replied that they would not give over Leprieur. If the Ndjuka were out for the officer's life, they would have to fight for him. The Ndjuka did not like this at all for they had hoped to get Leprieur without resorting to violence. Consequently, *Gaanman* Gongo had the Frenchman protected by six armed men and stationed several guards among the Ndjuka to keep an eye on them. After having negotiated for six days, *kapiten* Alabi decided to send a delegation to Beiman for advice.

On 4 August 1836 the delegation arrived at Beiman's place. The paramount chief had his *posthouder* F. Schachtrupp write a letter to A. Leprieur with the message that he was free to leave Aluku, provided that he would return via the same route by which he had come. In addition, Beiman invited the Frenchman to come to Puketi to confer with him about the matter. Leprieur answered the invitation in a ironical manner and offered his apologies for not being able to pay the Ndjuka a visit, which made Beiman furious. He first wanted to kidnap the Boni-chiefs but, as he did not have the courage, restricted himself to mere threats. Beiman ordered the *posthouder* to write to Paramaribo that he would catch any Frenchman who had the courage to come near the Lawa River in the future and would kill them and bring

their heads to Paramaribo (Hurault 1960: 113). In the meantime Leprieur travelled back to Cayenne via the Inini River and the Oyapock River in the company of four Boni.

On 15 August 1836 Paramount Chief Gongo, his first *kapiten* Adam and four young Boni arrived in Puketi to confer on past events. Beiman immediately sent back two of the Boni with the order to call together all the Boni-chiefs for a meeting. He then had *posthouder* F. Schachtrupp write to Paramaribo that he had not really intended to kill A. Leprieur. His sole intention had been to catch him and send him to Paramaribo. In addition, Schachtrupp had to write to Governor Evert Ludolph the Baron Van Heeckeren that the peace treaty between the Boni and the French was useless and Van Heeckeren was to forward this message to Cayenne. Beiman also promised that he would not allow the Boni to break the peace agreement with Suriname[18].

Some days after Leprieur's arrival in Cayenne a letter from Governor Evert Ludolph the Baron Van Heeckeren, who protested vigorously against the French naval officer's trip, arrived. As Van Heeckeren referred to the possibility of the Ndjuka taking revenge by attacking the French settlements on the Mana River, the French Governor took the matter seriously and immediately sent for A. Leprieur to reprimand him. His journey had not yielded any useful information and his thoughtless behavior had caused a wide-spread panic. The French Governor thereupon offered his apologies to his Surinamese colleague while simultaneously confirming the French right to sail the Marowijne River (Hurault 1960: 115).

The French Governor ordered A. Leprieur to write an exhaustive report on his journey. This report made clear that the officer had acted mainly on his own initiative for he had no authority to negotiate peace with the Boni. What is more, he had not even planned to meet the Boni but once he had inadvertently encountered a number of Boni Maroons, he became frightened and sought to justify his presence. When the Boni had started talking about a peace settlement, he had responded to their proposal with unauthorized counter-proposals. After the conversation with Leprieur, the French Governor decided to arrest the four Boni who had accompanied the officer to Cayenne. They were sent back to the Oyapock area with the message that they were banned from the coastal area. The Boni were not certain what that meant.

Conflicts between the Boni and the Amerindians

During A. Leprieur's visit to Aluku, *gaanman* Gongo discussed the possible settlement of the Boni in the Oyapock area. When Leprieur left Aluku, he left three free Negroes from his company behind as hostages. After a while, the Boni who had accompanied Leprieur to Cayenne returned with the message that they were banned from the coastal area, whereupon Paramount Chief Gongo sent a delegation of eight Boni and two of the hostages to the capital to gather more information about this ban. The delegation proved its good will by bringing two French runaway slaves for the government in Cayenne.

By the end of 1836 this Boni-delegation arrived in Cayenne, where they received numerous gifts. The archives mention that the Boni were told that the French would not tolerate their migration to the Oyapock area. The Boni, however, had drawn a different conclusion from their hospitable reception in Cayenne. On their way back to the Lawa region they told every Amerindian who crossed their path that their relocation to the Oyapock area was at hand.

Shortly afterwards rumors circulated in Cayenne that the Boni were settling on the upper course of the Oyapock River. On account of these rumors Governor Laurens de Choisy sent a contingent of 20 soldiers under the leadership of Lieutenant Etienne Faivre to the area to protect the local colonists. The contingent was small as the Governor did not expect a large group of Boni there. The Lieutenant's orders were draconian in the sense that he had to eliminate each and every Boni who crossed his path (Hurault 1960: 117).

On 29 April 1837 nine Boni and a runaway-slave arrived at the Oyapock River. They were armed yet did not seem to have any malicious intentions. They demanded a premium for the runaway-slave but, as the colonist did not want to have his slave back, he suggested that they go with him to the captain of a military post on the lower part of the Oyapock River. Three Boni joined him in his small boat. While sailing down the Oyapock River, the men encountered the schooner with Faivre's contingent near the Crique Gabaret (close to the present St. Georges). At Faivre's request the Boni changed to the schooner where they were taken prisoner in spite of the colonist's protests. After that, Lieutenant Faivre sent several soldiers ashore to arrest the other Boni who defended themselves fiercely. All of them, except for one, managed to escape arrest. The following morning the Lieutenant had four prisoners killed at the Gabaret post. One of the four Boni killed had been a member of the delegation who had visited Cayenne some months before. During his interrogation he revealed that during the visit it was not clear that the Boni were not allowed to enter the Oyapock area. This Boni also appeared to be in the possession of a letter from Leprieur that talked about friendship and fraternity and had been given to the Boni as a safeguard.

The execution of the four Boni caused an enormous stir in Cayenne. The Governor dissociated himself from the way in which the Lieutenant had carried out his orders, although he could not entirely conceal that he had actually instructed him to act like this. The Attorney-General lodged a protest against the Lieutenant's behavior. The colonial council declared horrification at the murder of the Boni and the instructions given by the Governor. They spoke of 'barbarian acts', unworthy of such a civilized people as the French nation, and referred to the risk of the Boni taking revenge. One colonist even informed the French press and the Boni's execution made the frontpage of the newspapers in France. Consequently, the Governor was called back to Paris and dismissed from his position. The Lieutenant had to account for his actions before a court-martial, whereupon he was discharged[19]. Governor Van Heeckeren inappropriately congratulated his French colleague with this overwhelming defeat of the Boni. He considered the Lieutenant's behaviour the one and only way to keep the Boni at a distance (Hurault 1960: 118).

By the end of 1836 rumors were circulating in Paramaribo that the Ndjuka and the Boni were at war. *Posthouder* F. Schachtrupp's reports also made clear that the two tribes were having a serious quarrel, although it did not result in a real fight. In November 1836 Paramount Chief Beiman sent *kapiten* Agosu to the Amerindians, who lived in the surroundings of Post Armina, to tell them that he wanted to renew the oath of peace. The Amerindians, however, refused to come to the Ndjuka and did not wish to swear an oath. They told Agosu that if the Ndjuka were at war with the Boni, they would have to solve the problem themselves and dispose of their enemies[20].

In February 1837 Beiman sent *kapiten* Venlo to the living-area of the Boni to see what was going on, for it had been a long time since the Boni had paid the Ndjuka a visit. In July 1837 the *posthouder* reported that Paramount Chief Beiman had kidnapped six of Gongo's relatives as a result of the events on the Oyapock River. Their kidnapping was to prevent further 'wrong-doings by the Boni' in French Guiana. In August of the same year the *posthouder* reported that the Ndjuka and the Boni had restored peace. The two tribes began to exchange goods again, with the exception of arms and ammunition. By the end of 1837 Schachtrupp reported that the Ndjuka were struck by a terrible famine and that many people had subsequently died[21].

As a result of the events on the Oyapock River the French government asked several people for information about the Boni, whereupon they received three reports. An old Wayana who had once visited the Boni told them that the whole tribe lived in one and the same area, called Aluku. He believed that about 50 men were armed. The Boni were said to live in small huts the size of chicken coops with only a small opening to gain access. The chief's hut lay in the middle of the village yet was not distinguished in any way from the other cabins. They lived on forest fruit, bananas and rice and were not hard workers. Every man had two wives but there were only few children. The women were stereotyped as ugly ('not very attractive because of their bad figure'). The Boni allegedly traded with 'wild' Amerindians from whom they bought hounds and hammocks, which they resold to the Amerindians in French Guiana in exchange for arms and ammunition. The Boni were regularly bothered by the Ndjuka who did not stop interfering with them.

Another report (of the 'Commissaire Ordonnateur') stated that there were about 500 Boni who lived on either side of the Lawa River, somewhat south of the Itepuku Falls. They were said to be trading via the Ndjuka from whom they bought arms and dry goods in exchange for pirogues, which they constructed with great perfection. The Boni were healthy people and their fields were well-kept. Their major crops were rice, bananas and fruit. The woods around their village provided them with abundant game and they kept poultry in their villages. They made their clothes from cotton which they grew themselves. Each man had a gun but most of them were ancient and inefficent. As opposed to the general belief, the Boni lived in peace with the Emérillon, who provided them with pirogues for sailing the Camopi and Oyapock Rivers.

A third report written by Captain Ronny stated that all the rumors about

the Boni wanting to leave the Lawa area and settle down on the river bank of the Oyapock were fabricated. The Boni did not have any such intention nor had they ever thought of attacking the French. They would not even be able to launch an attack as their number barely amounted to 200 people, less than a hundred of whom were armed with low-quality arms[22].

The French built a military post - called Casfésoca - on an island close to the Maripa Falls, the first falls in the Oyapock River, in order to strike back at the Boni if they eventually decided to attack them.

Gongo's Death in 1841

For two years Cayenne did not receive any further information about the Boni. In January 1839 the biologist Charles Couy, who was travelling along the Oyapock River, encountered a group of twelve Boni and two Wayana-Indians who sailed down the river in four large mahogany pirogues with the intention of selling these pirogues to the French (Hurault 1960:121). As soon as the Boni caught sight of Couy's expedition, they rushed off but thanks to the intervention of the Amerindians the biologist managed to get in touch with the Maroons later. It struck him immediately that they used large paddles, similar to the ones he had seen in Africa. The Boni had tattoos all over their bodies and they were wearing necklaces and bracelets made of iron and brass, and even of Portuguese or Brazilian coins[23]. The Amerindians talked with the Boni in 'Galibi' (a Carib dialect) while one of the Boni could speak the Creole language of Cayenne. (It turned out later that he was one of the free negroes whom A. Leprieur had left behind in Aluku, where he was very happy). The conversation between Charles Couy and the Boni was successful.

When Charles Couy reported on this conversation, he said that he had made friends with the Boni. In order to celebrate their friendship, the Boni had rubbed Charles Couy with *pembadoti* (white clay) and had let him swear that he would try his best to persuade the authorities in Cayenne to sign a peace treaty with the Boni. They then pricked some blood from their own feet and did the same to Charles Couy and the Amerindians afterwards. The blood was gathered in a bowl of water and mixed while all sorts of prayers incomprehensible to the Frenchman were chanted. Charles Couy could only understand the words 'Jesus Christ' which were frequently repeated. After that, Charles Couy had to dip his lips in the mixture, an act which was repeated by the Boni and the Amerindians. When the ceremony was over, the biologist gave the Boni tobacco, knives, mirrors and other goods (Hurault 1960: 21). Some days later Charles Couy left this place of peace with the Boni and accompanied them to the military post Casfésoca on the Oyapock River where he reported to the military commander. He wrote a letter to the Governor stating that the headman of the Boni wished to come to Cayenne with several Amerindians and the commander of Casfésoca to open peace talks. The commander of Casfésoca tried to persuade the Boni to come to the post. The Boni, however, initially hesitated because they feared a recurrence of the events of two years before. When the commander finally entered into

conversation with them, he asked the Boni what the purpose of their frequent trips on the Oyapock River was. The spokesman of the Boni answered - via an interpreter - that they would like to conduct business with the French to obtain needed goods. He declared that his people thoroughly respected the colonists and were eager to buy the products of their industry, such as guns, knives, cutlasses and textiles, whereupon the commander asked them why the Boni continued to annoy the Amerindians. But the Boni denied this, supported by the Amerindians who attended the conversation.

The Boni stayed at the military post for some days and succeeded in convincing the commander of their good intentions. It struck the French that the Boni and the Wayana-Indians were on very friendly terms with each other. The commander did not seem to know the Wayana as he asked the Emérillon interpreter to which Amerindian tribe they belonged. The interpreter informed him about their tribe and told him, among other things, that the Wayana were known to be hard-working people and were at war with their neighbors, the Ouyouca tribe[24].

Upon receipt of the letters from Charles Couy and the military commander of Casfésoca the Governor sent a delegate with gifts and clothes to the Boni on the Oyapock River. The delegate had to tell them that the French wanted to live in peace with the Boni but that the Government would not allow them to settle in the Oyapock area. But, when he arrived at Casfésoca, the Boni had already left.

Probably encouraged by the contacts of 1839, Paramount Chief Gongo travelled to the Oyapock area himself in 1841. He was accompanied by eleven men, three women and some children. His journey took three months. They earned themselves a living by building pirogues on the way and selling them to the Amerindians. Once they had arrived in the Oyapock area, the Boni contacted the Amerindian chief Gnognon and asked him to inform the French about their arrival. They subsequently settled on an island near the falls, close to where the Amerindian Michel lived, where they built huts and waited hopefully for news from Gnognon.

On 18 June 1841 Gnognon arrived at the military post, where he was told that the French did not want to speak to the Boni. If they ever had the courage to approach the post, the French would shoot them. On 2 July Gnognon visited Casfésoca for the second time. This time the commander told him that the Boni had to leave the island near the falls immediately and return to the Lawa River. But the Boni told Gnognon that they did not intend to leave. On 3 July the Boni came sailing to the post in two pirogues but they quickly left when the commander ordered them shot at. The following day a letter from a planter Martin arrived at Casfésoca, stating that six Boni (four men and two women) had attacked the pirogue of the Amerindian chief Wananika and killed the latter with a cutlass, while severely wounding his brother. Five Boni were killed during the subsequent fight between the Amerindians and the Boni. The sixth Boni, however, saved himself by throwing himself in the river.

The letter was delivered by Amerindians who asked for reinforcements to attack the Boni. The commander of Casfésoca sent a commando patrol of

eleven armed Amerindians and twelve soldiers to the place where the Boni had settled. Their pirogues approached the island so cautiously that the Boni, who were fast asleep, only noticed the attackers when they were already completely surrounded. They still tried to escape into the darkness but the French started to shoot immediately and killed Paramount Chief Gongo and two others on the spot. The others managed to reach the banks of the Oyapock and jump into their pirogues. However, owing to the strong current, the boats were swung across the falls and smashed to pieces on the rocks. No one survived the attack, except for one woman - called Adjuba - who was dragged out of the water by the troops and taken to Cayenne to be interrogated[25].

Adjuba declared to be the wife of Dorviti. She was born in Aluku on the Lawa River and had two children. About four months before, the group had left the Lawa area under the leadership of Paramount Chief Gongo[26] to go trading in the Oyapock area. She did not know that the French had forbidden the Boni to enter the Oyapock area. When she was asked about the execution of the four Boni in 1837, she revealed that she knew that they had been shot but did not know why. The group had six guns at its disposal but only little gunpowder and shot. They had obtained this ammunition by barter trade with the Ndjuka at the time when they were still on friendly terms with this tribe[27]. The interrogation made clear that Adjuba did not know anything about the murder on the Amerindian chief. Hurault (1960: 126) considers it most unlikely that the Boni were guilty of this murder. The criminals were probably runaway-slaves who were frequently roaming about the Oyapock area and were more or less protected by the local Amerindians for whom they used to carry out all sorts of activities.

The French Government feared a similar scandal as in 1837 and decided to sweep the whole tragedy of the events on the Oyapock River under the carpet. No investigation was held and the Government accepted the two letters from the military commander in the Oyapock area as the one and only account of the events. The incident sunk into oblivion until it was 'rediscovered' by Hurault. The literary works on this period contain two references concerning the war between the Boni and an Amerindian tribe. Coudreau (1893:561) mentions that around 1830 the Boni intervened in a war between the Wayana and Oyampi in favor of the former because they wanted to go and live in the Oyapock area. One might assume that this notice - registered by Coudreau after having heard the story from the Amerindians - refers to the events at Casfésoca. The same applies to a reference by Jules Crevaux (1883:35) who wrote that around 1845 the Boni entered into a war with the Wayakulé (Oyarikulé), an Amerindian tribe living on the Crique Loué, west of the Litani River. But Jules Crevaux' story does not make clear why the Boni and the Wayakulé actually clashed. An Amerindian captain told Jules Crevaux that the Boni had once fallen into a trap set up by the Wayakulé with the consequence that a large number of men and women lost their lives. After this, the Wayakulé moved westwards. Once again, the oral tradition may have painted a different picture of the events at Casfésoca.

The Boni recognized as 'Free Negroes'

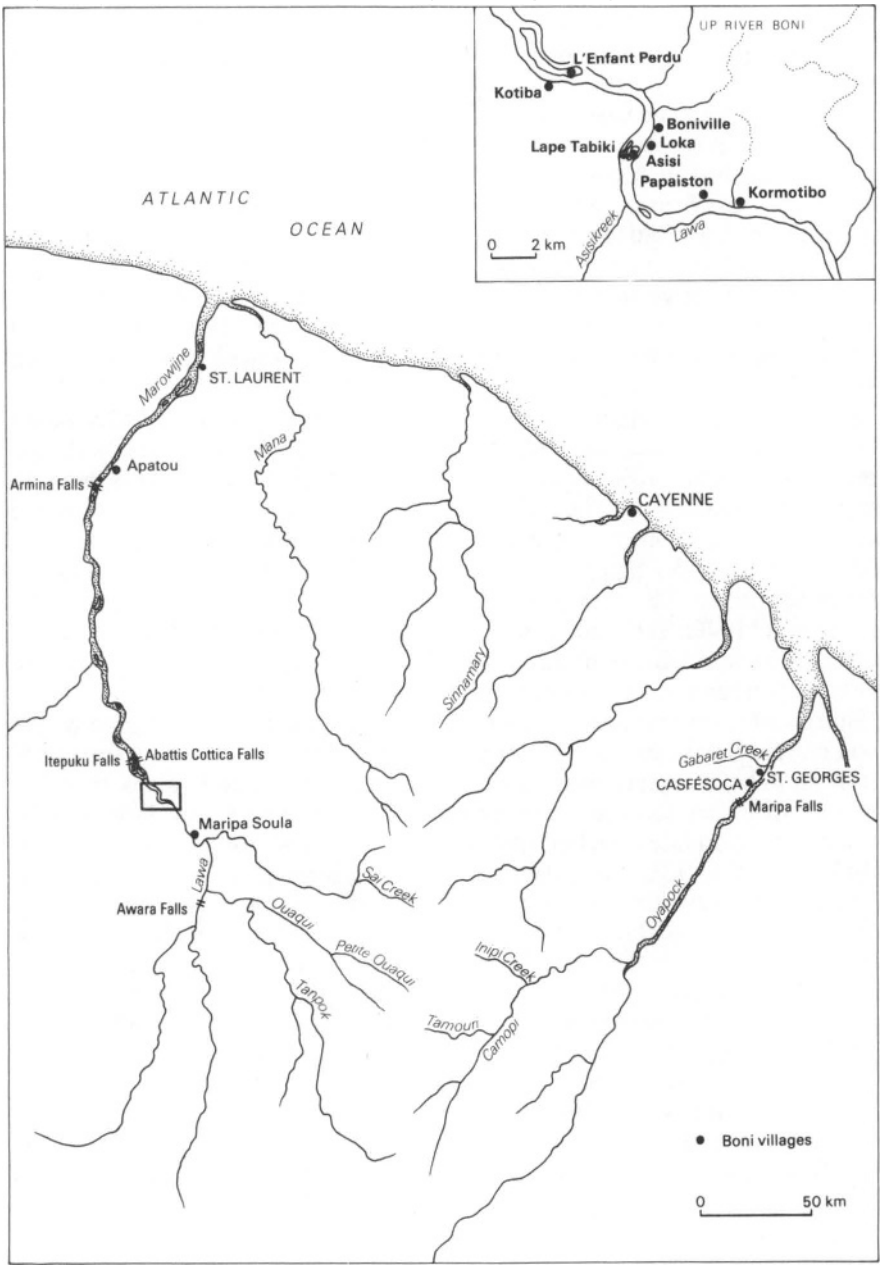
A number of events around the middle of the 19th century changed the position of the Boni. In 1848 slavery was abolished in the French colonies, which meant that the French were no longer afraid of the Boni's attraction for their slaves. In addition, an ever-increasing number of Frenchmen settled in the westerly part of the colony near the Mana and Marowijne Rivers around 1850, whereas they had hardly paid any attention to this region before. In 1857 the prison complex at St. Laurent was built on the banks of the lower Marowijne River and Cayenne became the destination for many French convicts. The exploration of this region rekindled the French colonists' interest for the Boni as they had suddenly 'discovered' that these Maroons actually lived on French territory, something they had denied until around 1840.

Once again, we have only little information about the Boni and the Ndjuka in this period as the last *posthouder* left the Tapanahoni area in 1840. Schachtrupp, who was a *posthouder* among the Ndjuka for almost sixteen years, returned to Paramaribo in 1839 because of illness. In 1840 doctor F.W. Hostmann became a *posthouder* in Puketi, but could not endure staying on the Tapanahoni River for longer than one year. His successor C.J. Geut resided in the Cottica area, where a large number of Ndjuka had moved to in the third decade of the 19th century (see De Groot 1977: 88-105).

In 1850 F.W. Hostmann wrote a book in which he dedicated some passages to the Boni. He stated that around 1840 approximately 900 Boni lived on the eastèrly bank of the Lawa River. Gongo, who was their leader at the time, was killed in a fight with the Arukojane-Indians just after F.W. Hostmann's departure[28]. For lack of guns, the Boni used bows and arrows. Their numbers gradually increased as, according to this European observer, they possessed diligent qualities - unlike the Ndjuka. (F.W. Hostmann had a very poor opinion of the Ndjuka, see 1850: 255-277). The Boni's provision grounds were extensive and they had enough food at their disposal to sell part of it to the Ndjuka. They cultivated rice, cassava, corn, peanuts and tobacco (Hostmann 1850: 294-299). F.W. Hostmann acquired this information only on hearsay as he never visited the Maroons himself. The same applies to his successors C.J. Geut and Dhondt; the latter of whom travelled to the Ndjuka in 1846. He reported that the Ndjuka, the 'rebels of 1805' and the Boni were to be considered one tribe and he estimated the group of Boni at a mere 90 persons. Eight years later he proposed a figure of 1200 Boni, which suggests that he is not a reliable source. In his report of 1846 Dhondt also referred to the new paramount chief of the Boni who had been chosen shortly before and was called Adam (De Groot 1977: 70). August Kappler, Dhondt's successor, estimated the number of Boni at 600, a figure which is more plausible.

In the fifth decade of the 19th century several Frenchmen settled in the Marowijne-Lawa area to trade in wood and rubber. These Frenchmen bought boats and food from the Boni and they even hired some of the Boni, which made Paramount Chief Beiman send a *kapiten* to Albina to lodge an

Map 15: The Boni-Maroons in the 19th century and their present places of residence



objection with August Kappler their *posthouder*. The latter totally agreed with the objections of the Ndjuka as he had set up a timber trade himself near Albina, but he could not do anything against the French because they had every right to settle on the right bank of the Marowijne River.

In 1856 Paramount Chief Beiman travelled to Paramaribo. It was the first time that a Ndjuka chief stayed in the capital. He travelled via the Marowijne River and arrived in Albina - August Kappler's home - on 25 July; exactly on the day that the French Governor - Admiral Bondin - paid the *posthouder* a visit. Consequently, August Kappler introduced Beiman to the governor. One of the main themes of the subsequent conversation was the position of the Boni. The French wanted to put an end to the subordinate position of this tribe and the governor put forward that the Boni were French subjects and had the right to sail the Marowijne River to trade and work there (De Groot 1977: 72-72).

The Dutch government realized that if the status quo on the Marowijne River did not change, they would certainly head for problems with the French. In August 1860 Governor Van Lansberge travelled to Albina to confer with Beiman on the future of the Boni. Governor van Lansberge declared that he wanted to clear the path for the Boni's freedom of action. In addition, the Ndjuka had to stop interfering with the French who sailed the Marowijne River. The Governor further informed Beiman that he and the French would offer the Boni a peace agreement which would allow the status of free Negroes. Beiman answered that he thoroughly understood the Governor's intentions and would act likewise[29].

Shortly afterwards Governor Van Lansberge returned to Paramaribo where upon he told the members of the Colonial Council that he wanted to manumit the Boni. The members were not pleased at all with these plans but they realized that the Governor's proposals were reasonable in light of the circumstances. In late October 1860 a delegation set off to the environs of the Ndjuka and the Boni to discuss the new relationship. It was the Boni in particular who gave the delegation a most hearty welcome[30].

The pact with the Boni stipulated that they could freely sail the Marowijne River and settle anywhere in the colony. The Dutch hoped that the Boni would dedicate themselves to harvesting timber and selling it in Albina. But the Boni preferred to trade with the French. They bypassed Albina and brought their goods to the Frenchman Tollinge, with whom they had been conducting business for years. They did their own shopping in St. Louis and St. Laurent. In the second half of the 19th century a number of Boni migrated to Apatou on the French side of the Marowijne River near the Armina Falls. Most Boni however, stayed in the area where they continue to live; along the Lawa River south of the Abattis Cottica Falls. The Boni have considered themselves French subjects ever since. In 1891, when the region between the Tapanahoni and the Lawa Rivers, which both the French and the Dutch claimed, was finally assigned to the Dutch, the Boni preferred to stay French and consequently moved to the French side. In 1902 a number of Boni returned to Suriname and resettled in the village of Kotiba.

CHAPTER 9
THE DAWN OF A MAROON SOCIETY

Permanent Migration

An important feature of early Boni-society is the Boni-Maroons' nearly permanent migration. Boni-villages were regularly discovered with the consequence that the group was always on the move. They had to lay out many more provision grounds than was strictly necessary for their livelihood as they had to avoid the discovery and subsequent destruction of some grounds by their enemies. The tribe continued to maintain this tradition of planting crops in large numbers during even the 19th century when they were said to have abundant food stocks at their disposal, which they traded for Amerindian and Ndjuka products.

One can hardly speak of *the* Boni before 1773. Various groups of Maroons roamed about the region east of the plantations, the largest of which being the Tesisi-Maroons, Kormantin Kodjo's group and the Cassipera-Maroons who followed Boni and Aluku. From 1773 until 1776 the Boni lived in three different areas: the Barbakoeba-Cassipera area, the region of Locusboom north of the Wane Creek and the Patamacca region. They went from one provision ground to another; split up and united again as they were constantly pursued by Black Rangers and white troops. From 1777 until 1783 they lived in four groups close to each other on the banks of the Crique Sparouine. They then moved to 'Aroku' near the Lamaké Falls on the middle course of the Marowijne River.

The Second Boni-Maroon war once again caused a massive migration: first in 1790 to Inge Pule Seton near the Pedrosungu Falls and one year later more southwards to the island of Pampungron on the lower parts of the Lawa River. When this island was also conquered by Captain P.S. Stoelman in September 1792, the Boni moved on to the Marowijne River. After Boni's death, they moved to a place unrecorded in the archives. Around 1810 they settled on the Lawa River again, near the Itepuku (Abattis Cottica) Falls where they have continued living ever since. Although the archives centered all attention on the seizure of the villages (such as Buku and Aroku), the Maroons did not suffer the loss of a village greatly as they could build a new village within a few weeks' time. The destruction of the provision grounds with all the crops was much worse. As the Boni were aware of the Dutch tactics of hunting the Maroons and ruining their gardens, they tried to thwart their plans by locating the provision grounds at places of difficult access and by maintaining a number of extra fields at some distance apart. Garden plots were more important than villages but they were more difficult to hide. That was why the Boni lived scattered over the surrounding areas of the provision grounds. Only if they felt safe enough or if they had found a strategic location for their village would they live together. Sometimes the villages were built in a conspicuous place to divert all attention from the fields. The most striking example of these tactics was the fight for Buku. The colonial troops besieged this village at various times whereas it later appeared that the place was only

of little importance to the Maroons. Large parts of the tribe were living near the provision grounds at that time, from where they mounted regular expeditions to the plantations.

When the Boni lived in the Cottica area, their provision grounds were spread over two regions. The first region was located near the Creeks Cassipera and Barbakoeba while the second one lay more to the east, close to Locusboom. When the provision grounds in the westerly part of the country were discovered in 1772, the Maroons moved to Locusboom. When the opposite happened about two years afterwards, they went back to the Creeks Cassipera and Barbakoeba. But, as Fourgeoud continued to criss-cross the country in search of provision grounds while avoiding a real confrontation, the Boni decided to cross the Marowijne River. There are several indications pointing to the Maroons' laying out gardens on the Crique Sparouine from 1774 onwards for it was frequently reported to Paramaribo that troops of Maroons had been seen on French territory. Boni always tried to reserve a food stock in the form of several fully-grown provision grounds to which the tribe could flee in times of need. In addition, they laid out so-called *kibrikondres*; hidden villages containing foodstocks. But,after the fall of Aroku in 1790 the Boni did not have any stocks at their disposal. Paramount chief Boni must have thought that the Dutch would never seize his villages or, perhaps, he had counted too much on the Ndjuka's help. As a result, the Boni were struck by a terrible famine in the middle of 1790, which lasted until the new provision grounds near the Pedrosungu Falls started to yield crops. When Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Beutler conquered the villages there, the Boni did not fear destruction for they had already laid out some new fields on the lower course of the Lawa River. This must have been the case as well when Sakabanami was seized in 1792; they had already planted their new fields along the Crique Marouini.

Thus the Boni had to rely on the provision grounds for their vegetables and these grounds were abundant with food. There are few indications that they stole any food from the plantations during the period 1770 to 1793. Their raids served another purpose, such as to take revenge on the destruction of the Boni-villages, to obtain arms, to abduct people, to seize iron objects such as cutlasses and machetes and - which was probably their main reason - to exact peace.

One of the consequences of this permanent migration was the division of tasks between the two major leaders of the Boni during the period until 1792. Boni was the leader of the guerrilla fighters who waged war upon the Dutch, whereas Aluku looked after the women and children. This division of tasks is proved by various archival sources but is most clearly illustrated by the testimony of Jonas of 's-Haagenbosch (see De Beet 1984:207-230).

What did Jonas tell about Boni and Aluku? He had been abducted from the plantation of 's-Haagenbosch by a number of Boni on 19 February 1771. Once he stayed with the Maroons, he became Boni's *futuboi* (assistant). As he tried to escape to his plantation several times, Boni forced him to drink *swéri* to prevent any further attempts at evasion. After the fall of Buku, Jonas moved to Sambokondre and from there to Alesikondre. Later he was

reported living close to Locusboom. In the meantime the Boni had laid out new provision grounds in their former living area north of the Cassipera Creek. When Boni decided to attack the plantation of Groot-Marceille from Locusboom (the attack was launched on 11 April 1774), he sent Aluku and the women to Holimi. After the raid on Groot-Marceille, Boni sent several men to Holimi to find Aluku and the women. But this group ran into P.S. Stoelman's patrol on the way and returned to Locusboom, whereupon Boni decided to attack Stoelman (24 June 1774). After this attack, Boni informed Aluku that he should better stay in Holimi because Lieutenant Stoelman was likely to return with new troops. When this actually happened after some time, the men returned to Holimi. Hence the group was reunited. In April 1776 Jonas was arrested by a bush patrol under the leadership of Commander A. Vinsaque.

During the Second Boni-Maroon war (1789-1793) Boni stopped participating in the expeditions against the plantations, which he left to his son Agosu and other young men. As described in the previous chapters, Boni was the leader of the tribe's delegation in the negotiations following the fall of Aroku. The archival documents, however, hardly refer to Aluku. The news of his death was taken from the *posthouders* living with the Ndjuka and from Arabi's and Piti's report on their visit to the Boni in 1792. Obviously, Aluku's responsibilities were different from Boni's. He had to look after the women and children, a task that escaped the notice of the colonists and has barely been mentioned in the archives. In effect Aluku was treated like a 'woman'; invisible to the male recorders. That does not apply to Boni who was in charge of the 'external affairs' such as warfare and negotiations. In times of peace, Aluku and Boni lived together in one village and - as mentioned before - in close harmony. In those times they did not feel the need to divide the tasks for both of them must have labored for the well-being of the group to the best of their ability and skills.

No Isolation

The Maroons maintained strong ties with their ethnic companions on the plantations. Some of the various relationships between the slaves and the Maroons were described in the archives but references are scarce because no contacts were officially allowed between the two groups. The oral tradition also refers to the constant interaction between the plantation slaves and the Maroons. According to the Ndjuka, a serious childs' disease broke out in the early days of the tribe. One of the ancestors, Panga Boko, returned to his home plantation to ask a friend for an *obia* against the disease[1].

The most colorful archival document with reference to the contacts between the Boni and the slaves is Kupido Abo's report on Boni's journey along the plantations on the Cottica and Perica Rivers in 1773, during which time the paramount chief paid several visits to the plantation slaves to consult with them about the situation in the colony. It was during this journey that Boni sounded out the slaves on their willingness to join him in war. Chapter

three contains an extensive report on this. Whenever a plantation was attacked, the slaves had often been contacted in advance. The slaves often made common cause with the Maroons and disappeared with them in the jungle, as happened after the raids of the Ndjuka in the Tempati region (1757) and on the plantation Palmeneribo (1758), as well as after the attacks of the Boni on the plantations Jukemombo (1765), Rietwijk (1766), Mon Désir (1770), Nieuw-Roosenbeek (1772), Poelwijk (1772), La Paix (1772), De Suynigheid, Du Perou and Nouvel-Espérance (1773), De Verwagting (1774) and Killenstein Nova (1775). But the opposite happened as well: some slaves offered fierce resistance against the Maroons, such as the slaves of the plantations Capoerica (1768), Rustlust (1768-1769), Montauban (1771), Groot-Marceille (1774) and Altona and Schoonauen (1775). Whenever the Maroons abducted women and children during their plundering raids, the slaves who stayed behind mounted extensive expeditions in pursuit of the raiders. It was true that the Maroons and the slaves maintained good relations but the latter did not wait for the Maroons to free them from their slave existence.

The mutual contacts between the Maroon groups and the relations between the Maroons and the pacified Ndjuka were described in great detail in the previous chapters. The relationship between the Ndjuka and the Boni was most complicated. In September 1771 the Ndjuka mounted a bush patrol against the Tesisi-Maroons in which they killed three men and caught eleven women and children. One year after this expedition, the same Ndjuka allowed 36 Tesisi-Maroons to join them, thus causing a conflict with the Government. The difficult relations between the Ndjuka and the non-pacified Maroons are also clearly illustrated by the case of Koki which finally resulted in a pact between the Ndjuka and the Boni. After this, the ties between both groups became increasingly stronger. It is very likely that the Boni and the Ndjuka would have remained on friendly terms with one another if the Dutch had not intervened.

The contacts between the Maroons and the Amerindians caused the most problems. The Amerindians used to help the planters and they regularly hunted the Maroons in the Coppename region which was the living-area of many Amerindians. Hence many runaway slaves were brought back to Paramaribo by the Amerindians, who received a premium for their capture. But this is one side of the picture. The archives contain numerous references to the harmonious cooperation between the Maroons and the Amerindians. An example of this is the Amerindian revolt of 1678. The Amerindians initially killed all the slaves they caught but they soon realized that the rebel slaves could be loyal allies and from then on the Amerindians and the Maroons fought the planters collectively (Buve 1975). After the war, part of the slaves who had been released moved westwards and settled on the Coppename River and its tributaries, where the group mingled with the Carib. One can hardly imagine a better example of good friendship. Nevertheless, the group's offspring - the Kabugru people from the Coppename region - were very hostile towards the later runaways. The Kwinti-Maroons were very much on the alert for the Kabugru, who repeatedly tried to find their villages and destroy them. In the end both groups accepted each other's existence and

in the 19th century they lived together in peace (Hoogbergen 1983).

The contacts between the Amerindians and the Maroons were particularly affected by the process of 'step-by-step marronage'. The Amerindians were reluctant to come into contact with the *kapuweri*-men and the runaways because these were considered a threat to their food stock and women. When the groups increased and the Maroons became a self-supporting community, the relations with the Amerindians improved. The same applies to the Boni. Once Boni had settled on the Crique Sparouine, he tried to get in touch with the Amerindians. The two groups concluded a pact which heralded an era of long-lasting trade relations. The Boni exchanged pirogues and food for rifles, gunpowder and iron objects. After Boni's death, these Maroons came into contact with the Wayana-Indians and both groups have lived in close harmony ever since. Nowadays in the upper-Lawa area their provision grounds are scattered (see Hurault 1965).

The Boni's attitude towards the colonists is obvious for the early Boni-society was dominated by the fight against these colonists. The white planters represented the class which was despised by the Maroons and they had introduced the economic system that the Maroons tried to escape. The judicial power - insofar as it deserved this name in Suriname - was a continuation of the planters' power. The managers and a number of overseers on the plantations were white. The colonial army consisted of Europeans, with the exception of the Black Rangers. In short, anything which was hated and hostile to the Maroons was white. Whenever the plantations were attacked, the Maroons killed all the white people they caught. There were, however, some exceptions which were mentioned before, such as the manager of Capoerica whose life was spared in 1771, the groom Hendrik Müller who was saved during the attack on Poelwijk in 1772 and Jean Merle who was taken prisoner in 1789. But all these cases served one of Boni's special purposes: the manager and Hendrik Müller had to go and ask for peace in Paramaribo, while Merle was considered a useful hostage.

African or Afro-American?

According to the contemporary Ndjuka writer André Pakosie (1976:8), the most important characteristic of the Surinamese Bush Maroons is their tribal system. As in Africa, a tribe is in fact a combination of a number of fairly autonomous clans (lo) who acknowledge the authority of one tribal chief (paramount chief). André Pakosie considers the Surinamese Maroons 'scattered tribes' whose origins can be traced back to certain African tribes. He writes: 'In Africa, for example, we have a tribe called Yoruba or Benin which is considered the tribe of origin of paramount chief Aboikoni by professor Fajana of the University of Ife; we have the Ibo tribe, where paramount chief Asidonopo Gazon stems from, the Nupe tribe which is deemed to be the tribe of origin of paramount chief Cornelis Forster and the Ashanti tribe, where paramount chief Abone Lafanti stems from. The same tribes are found among the inland Negroes of Suriname, albeit with a

different formation and another name'. Paramount chiefs Aboikoni, Gazon, Forster and Lafanti are the tribal chiefs of the Saramaka, the Ndjuka, the Paramaka and the Matawai peoples respectively. Unfortunately, Pakosie does not mention which tribe the paramount chief of the Boni stems from but this omission is related to the fact that he based his story on a report written by De Groot on the journey of these four tribal chiefs to West Africa in 1970, a journey in which the paramount chief of the Boni did not participate[2].

Generally speaking, there are two models which serve - either directly or indirectly - as a basis for the discussion on the origins of the Afro-American communities. The first model, which is the basis of André Pakosie's theory, departs from the assumption that the Africans were transported to America in groups without a specific cultural identity. Owing to their isolation, which found a clear expression in marronage, they have preserved a specific tribal identity until today. The second model emphasizes the existence of an overall, generalized West-African cultural patrimony among the slaves and their offspring. In addition to the 'white' American cultures, whose origins can be easily traced back to a specific mother-country, the new world gave birth to a black culture whose roots are less obvious. The transport of slaves within Africa itself, the distribution to the various slave fortresses, the transport across the Ocean, the sale of slaves in the New World and their subsequent distribution to the various plantations resulted in such a dispersion that the Africans rarely encountered anyone in their new life who had the same ethnic origins. The examples in support of this model are derived from language and religion. The Europeans in the New World had brought their own language and religion but the Africans had to rely on the Creole languages and syncretist religions. The Afro-American cultures that were formed in the colonies had many general African characteristics but do not bear any direct relation to specific African cultures.

Mintz and Price (1976) submitted both options to a critical analysis by discussing the most important works dealing with the subject. Their conclusion runs largely as following. They consider the first option (Pakosie's vision) to be insufficiently proved, whereas they present some critical notes with regard to the second possibility. As for the Afro-American part of the New World's culture, they emphasize the specific history of the Afro-Americans. The conditions during the slavery period and the struggle for life is likely to have structured Afro-American culture more than the cultural inheritance from Africa.

Is it possible to trace back the Boni's origins to a certain tribe or region in Africa? The 'African character' of the Surinamese society in the 18th century was already mentioned above. The fact that Suriname had such a strong African character does not provide any arguments in favor of or against Pakosie's point of view. The literature on Suriname clearly indicates that the two major elements of Surinamese culture, language and religion, date back to the period before 1700 (Mintz and Price 1976:25). Other main characteristics of the culture, such as social and economic organization, are of an earlier date and were a logical consequence of the slavery system.

The archives make clear that the slaves who eventually formed the Boni-

tribe were a very mixed group of people. They came from the plantations in the Matapika area, from the fields along the Cottica, Commewijne, Orleane and Suriname Rivers. Most of the Maroons were born in Africa but the Boni also accepted Creoles. The slaves born in Africa were of various ethnic origins, such as the Abo, Gangu, Kormantin and Luangu peoples. The Boni offered shelter to the runaways for a very long time. Paramount chief Asikan-Silvester told that he had fled his plantation shortly after 1712. The present Boni have a clan called *Bakabusi* which points to a Maroon segment dating from the 19th century. In the 18th century the Boni must have spoken a language which was only slightly different from Sranan. The archives contain one or two references to 'runaways who cannot speak the language' which probably points to slaves who fled shortly after their arrival in Suriname. It was mentioned once that Kormantin Kodjo could not speak 'Negro-English' as he only mastered the Kormantin language. Yet the so-called Kormantin and Gangu-villages must have used African languages in addition to a Pidgin tongue. It is most likely that Sranan was the lingua franca of these villages. Nowadays, the Boni, the Ndjuka and the Paramaka peoples speak almost the same language, which is considerably different from the language used in the coastal zone.

One of the major characteristics of the Boni at the time of marronage was their heterogeneous cultural background which led to a creolization process. Several cultural elements brought by individuals melted into new forms which maintained their original features but whose synthesis was new and uniquely Afro-American. This process of creolization is most clearly illustrated by language. It is true that religion and art have gone through the same creolization process but religion especially contained certain elements which did not have to be combined with the European segments of the culture. Religion, rather than language, was the outstanding unique cultural characteristic of the slaves and the Maroons.

Yet, one more remark for language. In addition to the normal everyday and profane language, the Surinamese Maroons used sacred languages as part of certain rituals. Papa, Kumanti and Ampuku are probably the most fundamental sacred languages. The Saramaka are considered experts in the Ampuku language. The easterly tribes, however, such as the Ndjuka and the Boni, are known to be more proficient in the Kumanti language. Such a sacred language is only mastered by a number of specialists who use the language as part of the medical and religious remedies for aid and assistance in times of illness and distress. The Ndjuka deem their own Kumanti specialists to be the best, while they recognize the superiority of the Saramaka for the Ampuku language[3]. The opposite applies to the Saramaka. They recognize the supremacy of the Ndjuka in the Kumanti language with the condition that they surpass everyone in Ampuku. All Maroons consider Ampuku and Kumanti original African languages brought by the ancestors. The ancestors of both tribes came from different regions in Africa, hence the different languages. The third sacred language - Papa - was considered less vernacular African by the Maroons and was used as a language for religious purposes by the plantation slaves. The descendants of the plantation slaves

are therefore considered Papa experts (see Wooding 1972: 312-323 for the role of this language in the Para Creole community).

There is a historical explanation for the fact that the Ndjuka and the Boni mastered the Kumanti language, whereas this language was barely known by the Saramaka. In the first place, the Ndjuka and Boni escaped later than the Saramaka. As for the Boni, it was mentioned before that this tribe consisted of a large number of people who were designated 'Kormantin' (Kormantin Kodjo, Jaw of Meerzorg, Koki, Kwami of Wried), while there were also settlements that were designated 'Kormantin villages'. The same probably applies to the Ndjuka but we do not have any information to this effect. It is not inconceivable that the old Kormantin tongue lives on in the Kumanti language. The planters used to distribute slaves who had recently arrived in Suriname among as many plantations as possible to prevent any specific ethnic group from obtaining a dominant position on a plantation. The relations between the male and female slaves on the plantations very soon resulted in family groups. Most slaves belonged to the property of the plantation (not to anyone's personal property). Whenever a plantation was sold, the slaves were passed on as part of the property. The slaves usually stayed in one and the same territory, although it sometimes happened that they were transferred. Until 1770, it rarely happened that a family was torn apart as a result of the family members - mother and children in particular - being sold separately. The economic crisis in 1770s apparently put an end to this habit with the consequence that by 1782 it had to be explicitly forbidden to sell mothers and children separately. There were no explicit references to the separation of fathers and families, which is assumed to have been common practice in those days (Van Lier 1949: 114).

It seldom happened that slaves who belonged to the property of a certain plantation were sold individually. The slaves usually stayed together for a long time. As a result, religion soon emphasized the close link between the groups of relatives and the land they inhabited. According to Mintz and Price (1976: 35), it was already in the early history of Suriname that all the people stemming from one and the same African area -of either patrilineal or matrilineal kin - began forming groups of relatives on Surinamese plantations. After some generations, each individual belonged to several of these parental groups. The rituals practiced by these groups emphasized the structure of the social relations and the central role of the ancestors in the local community's life. Although Mintz and Price based this hypothesis on material relating to the Para Creoles, as published by Van Lier (1949) and Wooding (1972), it may also apply to the former plantation communities in the Cottica, Commewijne and Perica areas. The individual African background of most of the Boni provided the Maroons with a thorough knowledge of the various African institutions although the institutions themselves were not adopted.

After an experience of some years on the plantations, it was the very essence of the culture so formed on the plantations that was carried by the Maroons; for example the language, the plantation religion and the garden economy. Their agricultural methods ('slash and burn') and cultivation of crops had much in common with the slaves' provision ground system. They

took away the sowing-seeds from the plantations and the Maroons grew the same crops that were in the fields of the slaves. The hypothesis that the Boni may be considered a scattered African tribe is not supported by the archival sources investigated. It is true that the people came from Africa but the culture mainly developed in Suriname. The Boni are really Afro-American; their culture is the result of a creolization process in the New World. Their origins cannot be traced back to a specific African tribe.

The Birth of the 'Lo'

Wong (1938), who investigated the tribal organization of the Surinamese Maroons, deals with Boni kinship in a fascinating yet poorly documented article. He examined the plantations from where the Ndjuka, the Saramaka and the Matawai peoples came. His method of analysis was as follows. He searched for the *lo* existing within a tribe at the moment of investigation and tried to trace the origins of these clans by a combined examination of both the archives and the oral tradition. For the Ndjuka, he distinguished fourteen clans. The Pinasi-clan came from the plantation L'Espinasse, the Pata-clan was named after Marten Pater, the Bley-lo was formed by the slaves of Major Bley and the Ansu-clan formerly belonged to Amsingh. Pakosie (1976) and Price (1983) used basically the same method. Pakosie based his study on oral tradition complemented by data taken from Wong (1938) and De Groot (1974). Price combines oral information, which he collected himself, with archival data. The method used by these authors has the disadvantage of suggesting that the ancestors of the present Maroons only or mainly originated from the plantations to which the present clan names refer, while this is not necessarily the case.

The history of the Boni-Maroon war has made clear that the Boni stem from a wide variety of plantations. Marronage was mostly carried out by small groups and it was only in the case of a raid that a group of runaways was joined by a large amount of slaves from one and the same plantation. The raids in which the largest number of slaves ran away were the results of attack on the plantations Nieuw-Roosenbeek, Poelwijk and La Paix in 1772, on Du Perou, De Suynigheid and Nouvel-Espérance in August 1773, on Killenstein Nova in 1775 and finally on Clarenbeek and in the upper Suriname region in 1789. The Surinamese slaves were named after their plantation or owner, a custom which has been preserved by the Maroons. Two out of seven of the present Boni-lo refer to the plantations that were attacked. The name 'Lapelo' is derived from the plantation La Paix, while the 'Dipelu-lo' refers to the plantation Du Perou. Nevertheless, this does not prove that the slaves from these plantations have survived as one separate group. It is not the number of slaves as a whole but the number of women that is important because the children were named after their mother's plantation. In 1772 thirty women and six children were abducted from the plantation La Paix but a large number of them returned to their plantation after the seizure of Buku some months later. The exact number of women among the slaves carried off from the plantation Du Perou is not known. The report drawn up by L.A. Sebulo

after the seizure of Buku in September 1771 frequently refers to the female inhabitants of Buku coming from the plantations Lunenburg, Rustlust and Mon Désir but none of these names can be found in the present clan-names of the Boni.

Similar to the nomenclature of the Boni, reference can be made to the Brooskamper, whose nomenclature is better documented. These 19th century Maroons were registrated in 1863 in the abolition register. The group then consisted of 137 persons. Their descendants presently live in Paramaribo and The Netherlands and are known by the family names of Babel and Landveld. The abolition of 1863 allowed the slaves to choose a family name. The Brooskamper abolition list contains the name of Babel 34 times and the name of Landveld 18 times, while 85 Brooskamper people chose such names as Meland, Maarburg, Pleet, Duiker, Strauss, Halen, Evan, Plens and Akkerland. Of these 85 ancestors all have disappeared from the 'Brooskamper's' oral tradition which only makes mention of two main clans: the Babel and the Landveld clans.

Unfortunately, there is no full list of the Boni-names at a specific moment; but one might assume that the following also applies to the Boni. The eldest female inhabitant of the Brooskamper's settlement in 1863 was a certain Betje Borde who was, according to this list, born in 1795. Betje remained childless which meant the end of her line when she died. The eldest man was Joseph Frier, born in 1798. As children were named after their mother, all men are left out of consideration as progenitors of the clanname. (The 137 Maroons included 68 men). Fifteen out of 69 women had children. In some cases (as in the cases of the Babel and Landveld families) one could already speak of a grandmother-mother-child line, which leaves a total of eight different families that may be designated 'proto-clans'. Three of the women, however, had only sons which reduces the possible number of *lo* stemming from this group to five.

In 1863 the largest family was the Babel family, which comprised a total of 34 persons, 23 of whom were women. The proto-clanmothers were Ma Amba, Ma Antje and Ma Kwasiba, born in 1804, 1817 and 1827 respectively. Ma Amba and Ma Antje were said to be sisters, while Ma Kwasiba was a parallel cousin of Ma Amba. The Landveld family consisted of 18 persons, all of whom stemmed from Ma Mofina who was born in 1803. Ma Mofina had four sons and three daughters. Two of her daughters had children, one of whom had four daughters. Thus the Landveld family comprised twelve women in total. The other three 'proto-clans' consisted of a mother with two sons and one daughter, a mother with one son and one daughter and a mother with two daughters. The mothers were about 30 years old and their chance of having more children was therefore diminished. Considering the number of women who were likely to have (more) children at that time, the number of women under 35 or the women who had already given birth to a child who had stayed alive, the Babel family contained sixteen fertile women in 1863, the Landveld family ten, the Fransna family three, the Evan family three and the Akkerland family two. It is obvious that the Babel and Landveld families were much more likely to grow into a large family than the others. If the Broos-

kamper had stayed together, this Maroon group of 137 persons would probably have grown into two *lo*.

The number of daughters and granddaughters is more important for the formation of a *lo* than the number of slaves stemming from a plantation. Hence it can be pure coincidence that a certain clan-name refers to a certain plantation and does not necessarily indicate the number of slaves who fled to the Maroons in the early history of that plantation. The method used by Wong (1938) and others to trace back the descent of the Maroon clans is confusing. The fact that there is an Ansu-lo among the present Ndjuka does not prove that there was something like an Ansu-clan in former days (slaves coming from the plantation Meerzorg). It only means that the proto-clanmother of the present group came from the said plantation but, hypothetically speaking, she might have been the only one from this plantation who ever fled to the Ndjuka. The major part of the 'Brooskamper' were born on a plantation or in Africa and they escaped from various plantations although the exact number cannot be found in the clans' nomenclature.

Social Organization

The most conspicuous feature of the Boni - and of all the Maroon tribes in Suriname -was that recruitment within social groups was based on matrilineal kinship, which continues to be the main structural principle of their social organization. Maroons themselves use the terms *lo* and *bee* to indicate their family relationship. *Bee* (derived from 'belly': Sranan tongo: *bere*) largely corresponds to the anthropological term 'matrilineage'; a unilineal kinship group whose members are related to one another via the mother's side (Köbben 1979:180). The term *lo* is slightly vaguer. According to Hurault (1961:19), the present society of the Boni comprises seven *lo* and some separate matrilineages. The latter are potential clans but do not have sufficient members as the proto-clan mothers only joined the Boni in the 19th century. Some of these lineages are called 'Bakabuchi' by Hurault, which is a term used by the pacified Maroons for the non-pacified runaways who roamed the jungle in small groups. Table 2 gives an outline of the matrilineal clans of the Boni with their place of settlement and their *kapitens* in 1958 (taken from Hurault 1961: 19).

Table 2: *Lo*, Place of Settlement and Boni Kapitens in 1958

Lo	Main place of settlement	*Kapiten*
Dikan	Boniville	Difu (*gaanman*)
Ndju	Asisi Adiiso	
Lape	Loka and Lape Tabiki	Popo
Dipélu I	L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu	Babun/Saka
Dipélu II	Kormotibo	Poopu
Kotiba (Yakubi)	Kotiba Nasinenge	
Kawina	Papaiston	Tafane

Table 3: The Boni-*Kapitens* during the Period 1771-1793

Year	Name	Special remarks
1771	Suriname of Lunenburg	Still alive in 1776 yet weak.
	Sondag of Oostwaard	Might be Ariko of Oostwaard.
1773	Adjami of Stolkwijk	
	Suku of Marseille	*Kapiten* of the Tesisi near Locusboom.
		Last mentioned in 1775.
	Sambokwasi of Libanon	Mentioned from 1770 until 1789.
	Kormantin Kodjo	Mentioned from 1757 until 1793.
1775	Kormantin Kofi (of Hatterman)	*Kapiten* with Kormantin Kodjo.
	Sambo of De Alyda	*Kapiten* with Kormantin Kodjo.
	Pasop of Boom from Matapica	*Kapiten* with Kormantin Kodjo.
	April of Twijfelagtig	*Kapiten* with Kormantin Kodjo.
	Basa of Clemensburg	Leader of the mission to Paramaribo in 1790.
	Adam of Twijfelagtig	
	Askaan of Ephrata	The 'traitor' of 1790.
	Lajeunes of La Paix	
	Arili	Kormantin Kodjo's son.
	Adu	
	Zaku of St. Barbara	
1777	Puja of La Paix	Killed in 1793.
	Koki of Klein	Still alive in 1793.
1789	Agosu	Boni's son (Died around 1810).
	Kwamina Serban	
	Sambo Loango	
	Amangra of Du Perou	
1790	Leander of Contentement	Belongs to Puja of La Paix' group.
	September	
	Hendrik	
	Aferi	
	Kwasi	
	Daniel of Roosenbeek	
1791	Jakje Bellevue	
1792	Ajaka	
1792	Nieman	
1793	Kardinaal	
	Ajombo	

Table 4: The Paramount Chiefs of the Boni

Name	Year	Special remarks
Asikan-Silvester	+ 1769	Origin unknown
Aluku	+ 1792	From Groot-Marceille
Boni	+ 1793	Bush Creole
Agosu	+ (c) 1810	Boni's son
Gongo	+ 1841	Dikan-lo
Adam of Abi	+ 1870	Dikan-lo
Atiaba	+ 1876	Yakubi-lo
Anato	+ 1891	Yakubi-lo
Osji	+ 1915	Dikan-lo
Awensai	+ 1936	Dikan-lo
Difu	+ 1967	Dikan-lo
Tolinga		Kawina-lo

The matrilineages have a clear corporative organization; the members often live together in a village or part of a village (*pisi*). They are (mostly) exogamous, they have the right to a plot of land, they have their own religious experts, their own ancestors and also their own *kunu* (avenging spirits)[4]. The political functions (paramount chief, *kapiten*, basia) are kept within one and the same matrilineage. These positions are always held by males. Thus, due to the matrilineal system, their successors can never be their sons. The archives do not make clear whether the matrilineal clans already existed in the 18th century. It is very likely that the succession of the most important functions (paramount chief, *kapiten*) was not yet based on matrilineal kinship, as these functions were 'achieved' rather than 'ascribed' in those days.

In times of marronage, the Boni used to send the slaves who came from one and the same plantation to the jungle together to let them work the provision grounds collectively. If the slaves were too few in number, they were added to other groups. It was especially the women who lived together. The men were more ambulant because they traded with the plantation slaves who went out fishing, hunting and plundering. The paramount chief assigned a *kapiten* as a leader to each group. Many of those *kapitens* - such as Kormantin Kodjo, Suku of Marceille, Askaan of Ephrata and Koki of Klein -were already in charge of such a group before they joined the Boni. What strikes us in the archives is that these groups under the leadership of a certain *kapiten* were very much travelling groups. There are frequent references to the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo, for example, who joined a *kapiten* of Boni, to the Tesisi-Maroons who lived in the village of Kormantin Kodjo and so on and so forth.

Table 3 contains a chronological list of the names of the various Boni-*kapitens* in the period 1771 to 1793. The list also contains the names of Kormantin Kodjo, Sambokwasi of Libanon and Puja of La Paix, although they have never been explicitly mentioned as *kapitens* of Boni, as opposed to the other men. During the First Boni-Maroon War (1768-1777) Suriname of Lunenburg, Ariko of Oostwaard and Suku of Marceille were the most important *kapitens* but none of them is mentioned in the archives after 1776. Of all the important Maroons from the first period, only Sambokwasi of Libanon, Boni, Aluku, Kormantin Kodjo, Agosu, Askaan of Ephrata, Puja of La Paix and Basa of Clemensburg seem to have survived until 1790. The Second Boni-Maroon War features a number of new *kapitens* but the only thing we know about them is their name.

The names of the first six paramount chiefs of the Boni were mentioned before. After 1870, this position was held by another six Boni. According to oral tradition, most of these paramount chiefs came from the Dikan-lo. In the second half of the 19th century, two persons were said to have originated from the Yakubi-lo. The present gaanman, Tolinga, is a Kawina-member. The archives, however, remain silent on the roots of the first paramount chiefs. According to oral tradition as taken down by Ajax (1961), the members of the Dikan-lo stem from Boni, whereas all other Boni descend from Aluku. Hurault (1961: 17), however, argues that Aluku was the ancestor of the Ndju-

clan, which seems very unlikely as will be explained below. Table 4 lists the paramount chiefs of the Boni. The information was taken from various sources. According to oral tradition, Boni and Agosu also belonged to the Dikan-lo. The Ndjuka have a clan with the same name which is an important *lo*. Paramount chief Labi, the man who settled peace with the Surinamese planters in 1760, was a member of this *lo*. One of his successors, Kwamina Adjubi, whose village Beeimankiiki lay close to the junction of the Lawa and the Tapanahoni Rivers, was very much in favor of a pact between the Boni and the Ndjuka. It was explained before that the Boni were on very friendly terms with the members of the Dikan-clan of the Ndjuka (Kwamina Adjubi, Daniel Oku, Arabi and Piti) during their stay on the Marowijne River (1783-1791). Kwamina Adjubi was related to the families of both Boni and Kormantin Kodjo through various marriages. J. Merle called him 'Boni's father-in-law' in 1790. Thus the women of the Dikan-clan came in touch with the Boni. The fact that these women may have given birth to female babies explains the relation between the Boni-clan and the name 'Dikan-lo'.

Wong (1936: 306) asserts that the Dikan-Ndjuka and the Dikan-Boni come from the same plantation, the plantation Nes and De Camp on the estuary of the Coermotibo River, the owner of which was the planter De Camp. In the case of paramount chief Boni the name 'Dikan' can only be justified if Boni's mother came from the plantation Nes and De Camp. According to the archives, however, Boni's mother came from the plantation Barbakoeba on the upper parts of the Cottica River.

There is yet another indication of the assumption that the Boni and the Dikan-lo of the Ndjuka have more in common than can actually be concluded from this archival reconstruction. The current Ndjuka worship a god of African origin whom they call 'Agedeonsu' or 'Ndjuka Gadu' and who is the god of fertility. The priests of this cult mainly stem from the Dikan-clan[5]. In Tsevié (Togo) the shrine of Xevionsu - the local god of thunder - can be found. The paramount chiefs of Suriname visited this shrine on their trip through West Africa (De Groot 1974:23). Both the Boni and the Ndjuka brought the same God Agedeonsu to Suriname, although he acquired a different function there. It is not clear to what extent Agedonsu influenced the Boni's life during their stay in the Cottica area. In any case, the archives refer to the name 'Gedeonsu' as the designation of a Boni-village. As the Boni never named their villages after a deity, Gedeonsu must have been a sacred place.

It is common knowledge that Boni had several 'wives' and that he had a large number of children by these women. In 1790 he complained to the soldier Stanbach about the fact that the Dutch provided too little food to support his nine women. John G. Stedman noted that the village of Busikrey, which was discovered in 1775 was surrounded by various baths for Boni's women. Some of these women are known by name (see table 5). Boni's various liaisons must have resulted in many children, although only four of them are known by name. The most famous son is, of course, Agosu, the

others were called Beeman and Profit. The only daughter whose name is known is the baby Marietje. She and her mother were taken prisoner by the Ndjuka in 1793.

Table 5: *Boni's Wives (with Year of Reference in the Archives)*

Year	Name
1771	Lena of Lunenburg.
1771	Lukretia of Capoerica.
1776	John G. Stedman (1799:III:108-115) refers to the baths for Boni's women.
1784	Flora of Du Perou.
1790	Stanbach refers to nine Boni-wives.
1791	Madam of Killenstein Nova, abducted in 1775.
1791	Swaantje van Poelwijk, withheld by Beutler.
1792	Maria, daughter of Bambi of the Otoo-lo.
1793	Lukresi of Remoncourt.

Apart from Marietje, who was the daughter of Lukresi of Remoncourt, it is not known who the mothers of Boni's children were. As for Agosu, it would have been convenient if the archives had mentioned his mother's name. Hence it would have been possible to trace the matri-clan to which he belonged. Even Hurault does not indicate Agosu's *lo* of origin as he only mentioned the matri-clans from the fourth paramount chief of the Boni onwards; Gongo who was killed in 1841, belonged to the Dikan-lo. Neither do we know what the relationship between Agosu and Gongo was. It is very likely that the succession of the paramount chiefs was not based on matrilineal kinship in the early history of the Boni. Asikan-Silvester, the first paramount chief, was succeeded by Aluku (Askaan of Marceille) and Boni. Any family relationship is probably out of the question. Boni was succeeded by his son - a patrilineal inheritence - and Agosu was, in turn, succeeded by someone belonging to the Dikan-lo. It is possible that Agosu also stemmed from the Dikan-lo provided that Gongo was his sister's son according to the kinship classification system.

The second clan mentioned by Hurault is the Ndju-lo (Jewish clan). The Ndjuka also have a Ndju-clan. This clan is a federation of several matri-groups whose common characteristic was that their proto-clan mothers came from plantations with Jewish owners. The Jewish plantations were mainly located on the upper Suriname River. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the Boni regularly plundered these plantations. Koki undertook several journeys to this region and in 1789 many slaves were abducted from four plantations in the upper Suriname region. Their descendants are likely to have

formed the backbone of the Ndju-lo. There is, however, yet another group which may be taken into account to this process: Kormantin Kodjo's group. In 1767 one of the Maroons who lived in Kormantin Kodjo's village for a while was taken prisoner. He revealed that the approximately 100 Maroons of that group mainly came from the Jewish plantations and that they had called their village 'Klein-Juka' (Little Juka). Both groups had already started to merge by 1793. Thus Kormantin Kodjo lived in Koki's village when he died.

It was mentioned before that the proto-clanmother of the Lape-lo probably came from the plantation La Paix in the Cottica area. This matri-clan has presumably existed as a separate group for a long time. In the 18th century the *kapiten* of the clan was Puja, who was regularly referred to above. The Boni still lived in the Cottica area when there was already a group that could be designated 'the slaves of La Paix'. New runaways from La Paix who fled to the Boni were added to their 'plantation companions'. Later, when Boni and Kormantin had moved to the Crique Sparouine, the group of Puja of La Paix continued living in the swamps north of the Wane Creek for some months. When the village was discovered by Colonel Louis H. Fourgeoud in January 1777, *kapiten* Puja and his people also migrated to the Crique Sparouine where they built a village of their own. In 1782 there were four villages on that creek: a village of Aluku, Boni and Agosu; one of Kormantin Kodjo; one of Puja and one of Basa. In the region of Aroku, where the Boni stayed from around 1783 until 1790, Puja once again had his own village at some distance from the others; on the island Asalobitabbetje. The archival sources do not make clear whether Puja had his own village near Ingi Pule Seton as well. It is known, however, that there was a village called 'Pujakondre' in the lower Lawa region, where the Boni had moved after their expulsion from the area near the Pedrosungu Falls, in March 1792. The village lay on an island and was found abandoned by Captain P.S. Stoelman who ordered the houses and provision grounds destroyed. In August 1792 all the Boni lived together on the island Sakabanami near Pampungron. Each *kapiten*, however, still had his own village and when Stoelman conquered this island as well, he once again discovered a village belonging to Puja. The Ndjuka who destroyed the Boni-villages on the Crique Marouine in February 1793 made mention of a village called 'Polijn', which must have been a corruption of 'Puja'[6]. Due to the lack of information from the 19th century it is impossible to discuss the continuity of the Lape-lo.

The Dikan-lo, the Ndju-lo and the Lape-lo are clans whose history can be clearly traced back to certain groups in the 18th century. It is, however, far more difficult to discover the origins of the Yakubi-lo (or Kotiba-lo). The clan-name Yakubi was derived from Marcellus Jacobij, from 1731 until 1742 the owner of the plantation Groot-Marceille in the Cottica area. Aluku, died in 1792, came from the plantation of Groot-Marceille. In 1757 a number of slaves who called themselves 'Jacobij's Negroes' attacked the plantation of Nieuw-Java which was no longer under cultivation (or inhabited). Unfortunately, this is the only archival source that leads to the conclusion that

there may have been a separate 'Marceille group' among the Boni-Maroons. As for Aluku, it is repeatedly mentioned that he lived in Boni's village for there are frequent references to Aluku, Boni and Agosu living together. Next to Aluku, there was another important *kapiten* who came from Groot-Marceille; Suku (alias Lemi of Marceille), the leader of the Tesisi-Maroons, a group mainly composed of Luangu slaves. When the Boni lived in the Cottica area, there was a village called Nieuw-Tesisi close to Locusboom whose chief was Suku. Once the Boni settled in French Guiana there were no more references to Suku.

The current Dipélu-lo has two distinct segments of lineage. The name Dipélu is a corruption of 'Du Perou'; a plantation in the Cottica area which was attacked by the Boni in August 1773. The risk of simply tracing the history of the present matri-clans back to plantations with the same name was emphasized before but it is most likely that the proto-clanmother(s) of this matri-clan indeed originate(d) from the plantation of Du Perou. Jean Merle - the captive manager of the Clarenbeek plantation - refers to a certain *kapiten* called Amangra of Du Perou in the report of his stay in Aroku. Boni sent Amangra to the Ndjuka with gifts (Hoogbergen 1984: 86). After the seizure of Aroku, part of the slaves from Du Perou fled to a region east of the Marowijne River where they built a new village. This village was, however, discovered and subsequently destroyed one year later. During this action, a number of Maroons from Du Perou were caught or killed[7].

The seventh Boni-clan is the Kawina-lo. The majority of the Kawina live in the village Papaiston. According to Hurault, this clan was named after its founder - a certain Kawina. This seems unlikely as Kawina is the Surinamese name for the 'Commewijne' area. Several plantations in the Commewijne area - such as L'Espérance, Jukemombo, Goed Accoord, Carawassibo, Clarenbeek, Fauquemberg, Nieuw-Roosenbeek and Killenstein Nova - were frequently mentioned in relation with the Boni's actions (rebellion, raids, massive desertion). It is much more likely that the slaves from the upper Commewijne area lived together and consequently formed the Kawina-lo.

Finally it must be noted that the Boni themselves believe that there are twelve clans. In a footnote, Hurault (1961: 18) states that the Boni themselves speak about *Twalefuyu-lo*, although he does not make clear what they actually meant by that. Hurault, who systematically counted all the Boni and registered all their individual family relationships, arrives at a total of seven *lo* and some separate matri-groups. An archival document concerning the journey of the French priest Jacquemin to the Boni in 1782 also refers to twelve clans. The Boni told Jacquemin that their tribe consisted of twelve clans and Boni asked for twelve sticks, hats, machetes and coats for the leaders. In spite of this reference, it is unlikely that the Boni comprised twelve clans in 1782. The only conclusion that one might draw from this message is that Boni wished to receive the tribute twelvefold (a nice round figure). In addition, the word *den twalafu* also means 'the nation, the people' in the language of the Ndjuka and Boni.

As for the present Boni-villages one might say that these were only built at the end of the last century or even later. After having moved to the Lawa River again, the Boni settled south of the Itepuku (Abattis Cottica) Falls. In the period 1815 to 1890 the Boni lived in one and the same village, named Aluku or Kotiba. The various clans, however, had their own quarter (pisi). The mixed French-Dutch mission that visited the Boni in 1860 referred to the quarters Kotika, Asisi, Lape and Kormotibo. The names of three of these quarters have a clear historical background: Kotika is the region where the majority of the Boni came from; Lape is the living-area of the Lape-clan and Kormotibo refers to the Coermotibo River, a tributary of the Cottica River, whose basin was the Boni's living-area for a long time. After 1890, the Boni dispersed but they named their new villages after the old settlements. There is still one village whose name traces back to the old living-area, that of Loka which refers to Locusboom, the region north of the Coermotibo River and the Wane Creek where the Boni lived and worked the provision grounds for some time. Thus the glorious history of the Boni lives on in the nomenclature of the villages and clans.

Finally, there is still the question why the Boni and all the other Maroon tribes use the system of matrilineal kinship, a system that is different from the one used by the descendants of the slaves who stayed on the plantations. The plantation slaves' religion strongly emphasized the local element (one's own plantation) on the one hand and the ancestors (one's own origin) on the other hand. The slaves of the various plantations used to gather for a ceremony in honor of the ancestors and the *goon mama* (ground mother) Aisa, a common ritual that promoted a strong community spirit. Each plantation developed its own version of the religion whose global designation is Winti (Wooding 1972:259-260). To a certain extent, each plantation had its own gods and ancestors. The rhythm of the drums, by which the gods and ancestors were evoked, differed from one plantation to another. It is most likely that the Winti or Papa cult already formed an integral part of the plantation's culture around 1700. When new slaves - 90 percent of whom were, as mentioned, born in Africa until 1770 - arrived at the colony, they found a religion with strong links to both family life and local circumstances in which they were probably accepted fairly quickly.

Thus the Boni fled to the jungle with an individual African background and - mostly - some years of 'plantation experience'. A number of the Maroons were even born on the plantations. This African background may have included the principle of matrilineal kinship but one cannot say this with confidence as the slaves in Suriname stemmed from tribes with both a patrilineal and matrilineal kinship structure. Mintz and Price (1976:36) emphasize that the Surinamese Maroons' kinship system differed from the plantation slaves' system as a result of their different historical development. The basic assumption of this theory is that the Maroons tribes were constituted by separate guerrilla-units who only later came into contact with each other and united. The separate clans already existed before one could

actually speak of a tribe. It was more typical of a Maroon to belong to a specific group rather than be a member of a tribe. This resulted in unilineal groups among the Maroons of Suriname. Price states that during the period of marronage the Saramaka tribe consisted primarily of groups who had run away from a certain plantation and had congregated in separate 'guerrilla-units' once they arrived in the jungle. The groups felt suspicious of one another and were often hostile to each other. On the other hand they were proud of their own achievements, the knowledge and skills of their own group. By the time that these groups entered into contact with their tribal companions, each clan was so close-knit that one wanted to consolidate this corporative feeling and unilineal relationships became the very means for this (Mintz and Price 1976: 35-36).

Considering the history of the Boni, this hypothesis does not prove to be very useful. It was noted before that it is very difficult to trace back the history of the present matri-clans to certain 18th century groups. Although the groups were eager to maintain their own identity, there is little evidence of frequent hostilities between the fugitive groups. In addition, it seemed that several Maroons went from one group to another; for example Baron's wanderings, the Maroons of Kwami, the migration of the Tesisi-Maroons, the perfect union of Boni's group and the Maroons of Kormantin Kodjo. The early Maroon groups were not so close-knit as Mintz and Price suggest. The story of Brosu's camp 'Brooskamper' illustrates that the formation of unilineal groups may also follow a different pattern. The process of step-by-step marronage also made clear that the early Maroon groups in particular consisted of slaves from various plantations. A massive desertion stands a poor chance of being successful if there are not any Maroon groups in the jungle with whom to seek refuge. Such a large group would have many difficulties with surviving in the bush. In 1759 the massive desertion of the slaves from the plantations La Mastrouge and Soribo ended in failure as the slaves got lost in the swamps (Hoogbergen 1985b: 108-111). A revolt could only be considered successful if the rebel slaves could find shelter with Maroons.

When explaining the unilineal kinship system of the Suriname Maroons, Mintz and Price also emphasize the collective landownership which is said to have been of central interest for the members of a specific clan from the very beginning. It remains a question, however, whether this collective ownership was indeed so important in the early history of marronage. The right to exploit a certain plot of land only became important once a group had worked the same field for a number of years. One of the major features of the early history of the Maroon groups was their permanent migration, which meant that the plots of land that could eventually be taken into consideration for collective ownership frequently changed. In times of war the provision grounds were constantly discovered and destroyed by bush patrols which forced the Maroons to find a way to distribute their food stock among the whole tribe. Such a distribution system not only undermined the right to the

private consumption of food crops but also reduced the significance of owning a plot of land collectively.

Once the right to landownership cannot be considered the origin of a unilineal system, what other explanation - if any - can be given? There are two elements of paramount importance for the survival of the group: the possession of *obia* to neutralize the wicked world outside and the possession of women to take care of reproduction. Both *obia* and women were scarce goods that had to be kept inside the group.

First *obia*. The Maroons operated in an environment that was hostile in every respect. They hardly knew their living-area and the jungle was full of danger. Military patrols could attack their villages and destroy their provision grounds any moment. Numerous desperados who could plunder their villages and kill their people were roaming the bush. The Maroons tried to protect themselves against all natural and supernatural dangers by means of *obia*. It goes without saying that the *obia* which proved to be effective were higly esteemed by the group. But, as they were scarce, they were well-kept, treasured and passed on from generation to generation. The possession and passing down of *obia* leads a community in unilineal direction. In addition, the need to keep the women inside the group reinforced this tendency towards matrilineal kinship.

Women were of vital importance for the survival of the Maroon group. In the early days the men outnumbered the women by far. There are several indications that men were very careful about their women, who rarely accompanied them on expeditions to the plantations. In times of danger the women were transferred to safer places. From the early days women must have stayed in the village, while the men moved from the hunting grounds to the fishing places, from the plantations to the villages and from one provision ground to another. Whereas the women had a nearly permanent settlement, the men led an ambiant life. Hence a matrilocal system was formed. The relationships between men and women must have been rather casual. The scarcity of women combined with the polygamous preferences of the major chiefs turned the women into a much sought-after good. On the other hand, it is not very likely that the women were monogamous in their relationships, a feature which was also typical of the women on the plantations. Most children of one and the same mother had different fathers. The children were brought up by their mother and, as on the plantations, received their mother's name. One might assume that the combination of permanent migration, matrilocal settlement, the travelling existence of most men, the emphasis on reproduction and the nomenclature based on the mother's name are the main causes of the eventual matrilineal kinship system. It was not the descent of a child that was important for the group but the fact that there was a child. The survival of a Maroon group was subject to the fertility of the women and the power of the *obia*. Children and magic power were vital elements. As for the women, they were kept inside the local community which enhanced the tendency towards matrilineal kinship.

The matrilineal principle remained important in the later years of Maroon society. In the end, all the members of the group were somehow related to one another and the women needed to marry men from outside their own group. In fact, the principle of matrilineal kinship became even more important then (see Price 1970) as the women would disappear from the group if a patrilineal system was in force. This would not matter so much in a stable society because the internal balance of the various groups could then be safeguarded through mutual exchange. But before Maroon society was sufficiently stable social organization was already based on matrilineal kinship. Besides, the groups never became completely stable in relation to the outside world as they regularly received new male runaways without many women disappearing from the plantations. Strangers - and men in particular - are more easily integrated in a matrilineal system than in a patrilineal one. Thus the matrilineal kinship system became the keystone of the social organization of the Suriname Maroons.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: *Marronage and Maroons*

1) Van der Linde 1963: 99. In Suriname, Jews and Christians were two distinct groups. The Jews referred to in this period were the so-called Portugese Jews, who had come to Suriname via Brazil. They mainly lived on the high sandy grounds along the Suriname River, where they had a synagogue of their own in the village called Jodensavanne; the oldest synagogue of the western hemisphere. The 'Jewish District' in Suriname was relatively autonomous and the Jews formed a well respected section of the population within the colony.
2) For further details on the practice of giving names, see Hoogbergen 1985b: 413-16.
3) General State Archives, The Hague (abbreviated ARA, i.e. *Algemeen Rijks Archief*, Archives of the *Sociëteit van Suriname*. Inventory number 150, Minutes of the Court of Policy: 17 and 18 February 1758.
4) ARA-Archives of the *Nederlandsch West-Indisch Bezit, 1828-1845*. Inventory number 803, folio 383. The archives reveal that the raid on the plantation of Argent-Court took place on 2 August 1829. For more information on this matter, see Hoogbergen 1978: 13 and 1983: 103.
5) *Taja* (Xanthosoma species). A family of plants, representing about 60 species in Suriname. In some cases, only the leaves are eaten, in other cases only the tuber is consumed (*pontaja*). The Surinamese vocabulary (Stichting Volkslectuur 1980: 175 and 178) includes only one botanical name, i.e. Xanthosoma Sangittifolium, for both the *taja* whose leaves are eaten and for the plants whose tubers are consumed. However it concerns different species here. The *taja* leaf is cooked and eaten as a vegetable, whereas the tuber of the *taja* is grated and forms the basis for the famous *pom*, which many people consider the national Creole dish. *Jamsi* (Dioscorea Alata) and *napi* (Discorea Trifida) are fleshy, starchy tubers, which can be eaten cooked. They are an important food crop which can substitute rice. *Napi* is preferred to *jamsi* because of its better taste. *Pesi* and *bonki* (Papilionaceae) are beans. *Manioc* (Manihot Esculenta): actually the flour drawn from the roots of the manioc plant. The manioc plant is usually called cassava in Suriname (*kasaba* or *manglikasaba*). It is a thin bush of some meters high, the tubers of which can be eaten after preparation. There are many varieties, the bitter and sweet cassava being the most familiar ones. Before eating the cassava, the poisonous hydrocyanic acid must be removed. This can be done by means of a special press, the *matapi*.
6) The story of Goliath of Del Castilho has been reconstructed from charges which were found in ARA-Archives: *Oud-Archief Suriname, Hof van Politie* 837: Criminal Records of 6 June, 10 July, 1 August, 12 and 14 September 1780.
7) Price 1983: 74-76. According to the oral tradition, the ancestors of the Saramaka Luangu-clan fled to the quagmire of Mama Gwambisa (in the surroundings of the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*) shortly after 1690. They were arrested and brought back to Paramaribo. Price also found (oral tradition) references to military expeditions to the *Duivelsbroekzwamp* in the archives of 1711 and 1718.
8) See Hoogbergen 1978: 30-34 and 1983: 103-106.

9) *Maskita*, mosquitos (Culicidae, O. Diptera); *maku*, Anopheles species (Culcidea, O. Diptera); and *mampira* (fam. Ceratopogonidae, O. Diptera): mosquitos.
10) ARA *Sociëteit van Suriname* 349: 23 January 1773. Letters from Governor Jean Nepveu.
11) *Tapu*, an amulet or means of exorcism, used to become immune to danger and illness. A frequently used *tapu* is a special kind of powder which is rubbed into a cut in the arm.
12) Plantain (Musa Paradisiaca) in Suriname Creole called *bana*, is floury when it is ripe. It is not eaten raw, but cooked, fried or grilled. What the Europeans call banana, is called *bakove* or *bakba* by the Surinamese.
Okra (Hibiscus Esculentus): shrub, whose fruit can be eaten. This fruit is a long, lengthwise grooved capsule, with many seeds and slimy contents. The fruit can be eaten as a vegetable, but is mostly used in soup.
Pepper or *Cayenne pepper* (Capsicum Frutencens). The fruit is eaten whole. *Switipatata* (sweet potatoe - Ipomoea Batatas).
13) De Beet and Price (1982: 203) and Price (1983b) contains a list of the goods required by the Saramaka in 1762).

CHAPTER 2: *The Genesis of the Boni-Tribe*

1) ARA-*Sociëteit van Suriname* (abbreviated SvS) 132, Minutes Court of Policy: 20 May 1730.
2) From 1730 until 1742 a number of 492 'wild' Amerindians were sold as slaves in Paramaribo (ARA-SvS 271, folio 227).
3) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Gouvernementssecretarie'. Inventory number 1, folio 104.
4) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Gouvernementssecretarie'. Inventory number 1, folio 151, 233 and 240.
5) ARA-SvS 136, Minutes Court of Policy: 18 January, 14 and 16 March 1744.
6) ARA-SvS 137, Minutes Court of Policy: 6 July, 3 and 5 August 1745.
7) ARA-SvS 138, Minutes Court of Policy: 18 January 1746 and SvS 200, folio 219-220.
8) ARA-SvS 143, Minutes Court of Policy: 24 December 1751.
9) The Tempati Revolt is mentioned in a great number of documents in the archives of the 'Sociëteit van Suriname' (ARA), inventory numbers 149, 204 and 300. A booklet on this rebellion including a transcription of many archival documents has been published by the Centre of Caribbean Studies, Utrecht University (Bouwhuijsen 1988).
10) ARA-SvS 303, Letters to Amsterdam: dating from 8, 10 and 13 March 1758.
11) ARA-SvS 151, Minutes Court of Policy: 21 February 1759 and 27 May 1759.
12) ARA-SvS 151, Minutes Court of Policy: 12 July, 6 and 13 August, 6 and 10 September and 1 November 1759.
13) Hartsinck includes some peace articles (1770: 780-785 and 802-809). The ones mentioned on page 780-785 have been formulated in October 1759 on Rudolph Zobre's first trip, while the articles contained in the pages 808-809 refer to the Saramaka pacified in 1762. The exact text can be found in ARA-SvS 152 as an attachment to the Minutes of 12 August 1760.
14) ARA-SvS 152, Journal of lieutenant C.E. Vieira and J. Collerus,

appendix to the Minutes Court of Policy: 23 October 1760.

15) a. ARA-SvS 303, Letters to Amsterdam: 1758 and SvS 150, Minutes Court of Policy: 29 and 30 January 1758.
b. One out of seven clan-names of the actual Boni-tribe refers to the plantation of Marceille via a corruption of the name Jacobie: the Yakubi-lo. It is an important clan and some paramount chiefs came from it.

16) ARA-SvS 150, Minutes Court of Policy: 18 and 29 November and 5 December 1758.

17) ARA-SvS 152, Minutes Court of Policy: 6 February 1760; SvS 204, Journal of the Governor: 1st July, 22 and 30 August 1760; SvS 205, Journal of the Governor, 2 and 20 March 1761.

18) ARA-SvS 154, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 and 25 February 1762.

19) ARA-SvS 205, Journal of the Governor: 30 May, 4 and 23 June 1765 and SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy: 9 April and 30 May 1765.

20) ARA-SvS 205, Journal of the Governor: 16 November and 2 December 1765.

21) ARA-SvS 204, Journal of the Governor: 22 November 1757.

22) ARA-SvS 304, Letters to Amsterdam: 1 and 2 May 1758 and SvS 150, Minutes Court of Policy: 2 May 1758.

23) a. ARA-SvS 204, Journal of the Governor: 9 May 1758.
b. I did not find any information on the fate which fell to Hercules of Roosenbeek. But one might easily guess.

24) Creole mother: the slave who looks after little children.

25) ARA-SvS 151, Minutes Court of Policy: 13 June 1759.

26) ARA-SvS 151, Minutes Court of Policy: 13 April, 1-4 May, 13, 14, 17, 19 June and 6 August 1759.

27) ARA-SvS 153, Minutes Court of Policy: 14 July 1761.

28) ARA-SvS 154, Minutes Court of Policy: 30 August 1762.

29) ARA-SvS 154, Minutes Court of Policy: 8 November 1762 and SvS 204, Journal of the Governor: 25 December 1762.

30) ARA-SvS 155, Minutes Court of Policy: 1 November 1763.

31) a. ARA-SvS 155, Minutes Court of Policy: 25 August, 26 October and 1 November 1763.
b. The archives do not mention the name of the village attacked by Quassie but it later came to be known as *Quassiegron*
c. The archives only contain a list of the prisoners (see Hoogbergen 1985b: 112). With the exception of Flora, this list contains a whole series of new names.

32) The archives make mention of 'Nakkanakkibo', 'Nakkanannibo' or 'Nakkarakkibo'. None of these designations is found on the historical maps of Suriname. The only name alike is 'Naccaruciba', situated on the Upper Cottica River, opposite the plantation of Sardam, from which various Maroons originated.

33) ARA-SvS 155, Minutes Court of Policy: 12 and 14 November 1763.

34) Owing to the bad conditions of the archives, the particulars of this case are not open to research. That is why the role of the convicts has remained a mystery. I cannot judge whether we are either dealing with slaves who actually ran away or with men who participated in the scheming but who, due to the early discovery of the desertion, decided not to come along.

35) ARA-SvS 155, Minutes Court of Policy: 1-16 November and 12-13 December 1763.

36) ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy: 7 May 1765.

37) ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy: 12 June 1765. Also see De Beet 1984: 75-76.

38) ARA-SvS 205, Journal of the Governor: 17 June and 6 July 1765.

39) ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy: 24 October 1765.
40) ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy: 4 November 1765.
41) ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy: 4 November 1765 and SvS 158, Minutes Court of Policy: 6 January 1766.
42) ARA-SvS 158, Minutes Court of Policy: 25 October and 5 November 1766.
43) ARA-SvS 158, Minutes Court of Policy: 19 November 1766.
44) *Maka*-nut: a palm fruit. Probably the *bugrumaka* (Astrocarym Sciophilum Palmae).
45) ARA-SvS 158, Minutes Court of Policy: 19 November and 10 December 1766.
46) ARA-SvS 159, Minutes Court of Policy: 26 January 1767.
47) ARA-SvS 159, Minutes Court of Policy: 26 January and 3 March 1767.
48) ARA-SvS 159, Minutes Court of Policy: 4 October 1767.
49) ARA-SvS 159, Minutes Court of Policy: 6 November and 11 December 1767.
50) a. ARA-SvS 149, Minutes Court of Policy: 12 Januari 1757.
b. The archives do not give any clue.
51) ARA-SvS 150, Minutes Court of Policy: 4 December 1758.
52) ARA-SvS 158, Minutes Court of Policy: 29 May, 3 October, 12 November and 17 November 1766.
53) ARA-SvS 159, Minutes Court of Policy: 18 December 1767.
54) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 20 September 1768.
55) ARA-SvS 160, Minutes Court of Policy: 23 October 1768.
56) ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 27 March and 8 May 1769.

CHAPTER 3: *The first Boni-Maroon War, Part One 1768-1772*

1) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 13 and 15 March 1768 and 20 April 1768.
2) ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 16 April 1769.
3) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 817, folio 284 (1770).
4) ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 22 November 1771.
5) ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 20 December 1770.
6) ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 22 November and 18 December 1771.
7) ARA-SvS 348, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 143 (1772) and SvS 165, Minutes Court of Policy: 10 March 1773.
8) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 29 March, 2, 6, 11 and 16 April 1768.
9) Not sea-salt, but salt extracted from burning certain species of wood, such as the maripapalm.
10) ARA-SvS 160, Minutes Court of Policy: 2 May 1768. De Beet (1984: 77-79) includes part of B.J.C. Jacot's report.
11) ARA-SvS 160, Minutes Court of Policy: 5 May 1768. P.S. Stoelman repeatedly took the field against the Maroons afterwards. Around 1790, he was the commander-in-chief of the Black Rangers (Redimusu).
12) ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 3 and 8 February 1769.
13) As the archives do not refer to the name of this village, I will further designate it as 'Crombiebroko'.
14) ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 24 February 1769.
15) ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 2 March 1769. De Beet (1984:

86-88) includes the report on J.G. Haussaman's patrol. Haussaman designated the village as 'Merimi'(= touch me), whereas almost all other sources refer to 'Nomerimi' (= do not touch me).
16) ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 6 and 7 March 1769.
17) ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 28 March 1769.
18) For more details of J.G. Stedman's book on the Boni-Maroons see my 'preface and acknowledgements'.
19) Jonas' testimony had already partly been published in an article by Charles Brouwn in 1796. De Beet took over this article, together with the most other testimonies of Jonas, in his publication on the First Boni-Maroon War (De Beet 1984: 52-55 and 204-230).
20) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 820, folio 418 (1771).
21) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 18 May 1769 and SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 19 July 1769.
22) ARA-'Oud-Archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 826, folio 150 (1774).
23) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 15 November 1769 and 'Oud-Archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 826, folio 150 (1774).
24) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 27 November 1769.
25) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 826, folio 150 (1774).
26) ARA-SvS 162, Minutes Court of Policy: 14 and 20 February 1770.
27) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 10-11 November 1770 and SvS 162, Minutes Court of Policy: 11 November 1770.
28) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 11-16-19-20 January 1771 and SvS 163: Minutes Court of Policy: 16-20 January 1771.
29) ARA-SvS 206, Journal of the Governor: 20 February 1771 and SvS 163: Minutes Court of Policy: 22 February 1771 and SvS 359, Letters to Amsterdam: 1776, folio 32 et seq.
30) ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 14 March 1771.
31) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 820, folio 418 (1771) and ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 11 April 1771.
32) ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 11 June 1771.
33) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 3 and 6 July 1771.
34) ARA-SvS 163: Minutes Court of Policy: 6 and 9 July 1771.
35) ARA-'Oud-Archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 820, folio 424 (1771) and ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 10 January 1772.
36) ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 10 January 1772.
37) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 3 February 1772.
38) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 824, 28 July 1773.
39) ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 24 December 1771. For the report on L.A. Sebulo's journey to Buku see: De Beet 1984: 89-90. Sebulo gives the seizured village the name 'Capoerica', but this is a mistake.
40) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 15 September 1771 and SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy: 16 September 1771.
41) De Beet includes two reports on these interrogations (1984: 91-94). It is unknown what has finally happened with the prisoners.
42) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 820, folio 410 et seq. (1771).
43) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 10 January 1772.
44) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 19 January 1772.
45) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 16-21-23-24-26 January and 15 February 1772.
46) ARA-SvS 346, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 240 (1772).

47) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 24 February 1772 and SvS 359, Letters to Amsterdam, folio 32 et seq (1776).
48) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 4 and 16 May 1772. See also De Beet 1984: 96-119 and Hoogbergen 1985b: 152-154.
49) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 823, 10 February 1773. For more information about the Maroon Toni (of Roosenbeek) see Hoogbergen 1985b: 84-85 and 460.
50) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 1 and 4 June 1772.
51) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 14 June 1772.
52) Hendrik Müller reported that he was brought before the chief. The planters were not altogether acquainted with the political organization of the Cottica-Maroon group, so that they thought Baron to be the chief. Other reports have revealed that Boni was among the raiders of Poelwijk, which makes it very unlikely for the Maroons to have brought Müller before Baron instead of Boni. Müller must have been taken to a chief whom he supposed to be Baron, as the only name he knew was Baron.
53) *Yaws*. A contagious disease: framboesia tropica.
54) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 29-30 June and 3 July 1772. Also see De Beet 1984: 120-121.
55) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 7 July 1772.
56) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 7, 9, 17 and 24 July 1772.
57) ARA-SvS 347, Letters to Amsterdam, folio 278 (1772). Included in De Beet 1984: 131-132.
58) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 3 August 1772. De Beet includes the journal of the first expedition of the Black Rangers: 133-134. See also Hoogbergen 1985b: 161-163.
59) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 11 August 1772; 'Oud-Archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 825, folio 260 (1774) and SvS 359: Letters to Amsterdam: folio 32 et seq (1776).
60) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 16 August 1772 and 'Oud Archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 825, folio 260 (1774). See also De Beet 1984: 138 and Hoogbergen 1985b: 163-165.
61) ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy: 25 September 1772. See De Beet 1984 (142-143) which includes F.L. Mayland's letter of 21 September 1772 relating to the conquest of Buku.

CHAPTER 4: *The First Boni-Maroon War, part Two 1773-1777*

1) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 824, 28 July 1773.
2) ARA-'Oud archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 825, folio 260 (1774).
3) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 823, 19 April 1773. This report can be found in De Beet 1984: 144. ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 18 April 1773.
4) ARA-SvS 351, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 32 (1773).
5) ARA-SvS 350, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 274 (1773) and ARA-SvS 352. Letters to Amsterdam, folio 41-53 and 55 (1773).
6) ARA-SvS 165, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 June 1773 and SvS 350, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 308 (1773).
7) ARA-SvS 359, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 32 (1776).
8) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 824, 3 August 1773. Also see De Beet 1984: 153.

9) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 824, 3 August 1773. Also see De Beet 1984: 153.
10) ARA-SvS 165, Minutes Court of Policy: 21 June 1773. The captive is Fidor of D'Avilar, who gave much information about Kormantin Kodjo (see Hoogbergen 1985b: 179-186).
11) ARA-SvS 165, Minutes Court of Policy: 14 September 1773 and ARA-SvS 351, Letters to Amsterdam, folio 167 (1773).
12) ARA-SvS 165, Minutes Court of Policy: 10-26 September and 6 December 1773.
13) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 30 October 1773.
14) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 825, folio 10 (1774).
15) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 18 January 1774.
16) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 13, 19, 30 March and 27 April 1774.
17) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 10 April 1774 and 'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 817, folio 92 (1776). Also parts from the account given by Jonas of 's-Haagenbosch, see De Beet 1984: 213-214.
18) One of the today matrilineal Boni clans, the Yakubi-lo, is named after Jacobij, the owner of plantation Groot-Marceille until 1742. Mintz and Price 1976: 35-36 include some explanatory notes on the information of the matrilineal clans within the Surinamese Maroon tribes, following on Price's investigation of the Saramaka. For a reaction on these notes, see Hoogbergen 1985b: 413-428.
19) ARA-SvS 353, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 370 and 399 (1774).
20) ARA-SvS 166, Minutes Court of Policy: 1 July 1774. See also De Beet: 163 and Hoogbergen 1985b: 202-204.
21) ARA-SvS 353, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 399 (1774).
22) ARA-SvS 353, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 271 (1774).
23) Brouwn 1796: 104 and ARA-SvS, Minutes Court of Policy: 7 December 1775.
24) ARA-SvS 166, Minutes Court of Policy: 25 July 1774.
25) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 826, folio 56 (1774).
26) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 1 November 1774. The archives keep silent about the reason of the conflict but one might assume that it was about the raid on Groot-Marceille, Sultan's stay with the Maroons and his subsequent desertion.
27) ARA-SvS 166, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 October 1774.
28) ARA-SvS 354, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 111 (1774) and SvS 355, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 94 (1775).
29) ARA-SvS 167, Minutes Court of Policy: 23 June 1775. Lohnstein (1987: 78, 82) concludes that, according to Stedman's notes, the troops were still following the European tactics as they lined up whenever they could. The sources I have consulted, however, make clear that this did not happen very often.
30) ARA-SvS 358, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 78 (1776).
31) ARA-SvS 357, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 88-126. Also see Hoogbergen 1985b: 216-217.
32) ARA-SvS 167, Minutes Court of Policy: 7 and 11 December 1775.
33) Brouwn 1796: 101; ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 23-24 April 1774 and SvS 359, Letters to Amsterdam, folio 16-32 et seq. (1776).
34) ARA-SvS 359, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 161 (1776).
35) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 26 July 1776.
36) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 11 September 1776.
37) ARA-SvS 361, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 63 (1776).

38) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 830, folio 202 (1776).
39) ARA-SvS 361, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 266 (1771).

CHAPTER 5: *The Boni in French Guiana*

1) ARA-SvS 362, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 432 (1777).
2) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 840, folio 183 (1780).
3) ARA-SvS, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 December 1778.
4) According to a list of Ndjuka villages drawn up in 1773 (see Hoogbergen 1985b: 239-240), Titus of Amsing was the chief of the village 'Ansu-plantation'. Ansu is the Suriname designation of the Meerzorg plantation on the Suriname River opposite Paramaribo. In 1773, the Ndjuka-village 'Ansu-plantation' was inhabited by 34 men.
5) ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy: 3 February 1769.
6) ARA-SvS 168, Minutes Court of Policy: 11 October 1776.
7) ARA-SvS 165, Minutes Court of Policy: 23 July 1773.
8) ARA-SvS 207, Journal of the Governor: 6 and 23 August 1776.
9) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 837, Records of 8 January 1780.
10) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 837, Records of 18 January and 21 March 1780.
11) The peace treaties with the Ndjuka and Saramaka stipulated that both parties had to appoint a number of delegates (*ostagiers*), who were to guarantee the peace agreement with their lives. In the case of the Maroons, the *ostagiers* were the paramount chief's next of kin.
12) The living area of the Otoo- and Misidjanclan was called Lukubun. This was the name of a district (as Aroku) which comprised a number of villages. The *posthouders* must have lived near the burial ground called 'Animbaw' in Ndjukan language. The words 'Blauw' and 'Anderblauw' found in the archives are Dutch corruptions of the name 'Animbaw'. The oral tradition refers to 'Afo Amelisigron' as the village near Animbaw. The name 'Puketi' must be of a more recent date (after 1792). (Oral information comes from H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen).
13) Djaki was either a brother or a cousin of paramount chief Pambu. The Ndjuka have a peculiar kinship classification system, that the *posthouders* never really understood. This system indicates relatives in a different degree by one and the same word. The word *baala*, for example, meant either brother or cousin. The word *sisa* thus meant either sister or (female) cousin. Although Djaki was referred to as Pambu's brother in the archives, he might as well have been his cousin or even just a clan member of the same line within one generation. Pambu was the general paramount chief of the Ndjuka, while Djaki was the chief of the Otoo-clan. Djaki was predestined to succeed Pambu as a paramount chief, but he died before his inauguration. The *ostagier* Jeboa Djaki was Djaki's son.
14) *Kapiten* Djaki reported to Z.G. Thies on this meeting when he returned to Bakabun from Paramaribo on 17 December 1779. This report is included in Thies' journal (Hoogbergen 1984: 39-40).
15) According to Wong (1938: 331), who concentrates on the oral tradition referring to this subject, Ma Dona was a sister of Pambu and Ma Cato. Z.G. Thies clearly refers to Pambu's 'mother' (Hoogbergen 1984: 39-44).

Other names indicating the same woman are: Ma Musafo and Ma Aginbasa.

16) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Policy': 837, Records of 17 February 1780.

17) The Black Rangers references to Z.G. Thies having the first sip did not say anything to the detriment of the 'posthouder'. He acted purely according to the Ndjuka etiquette of *puu wisi*, i.e. the host having the first sip. This custom is still in use. (Private communication H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen). This paragraph was based on documents filed in ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Policy': 837, Records of 17 January, 7 March and 10 July 1780.

18) ARA-SvS 370, Letters to Amsterdam: 18 January 1780.

19) ARA-SvS 371, Letters to Amsterdam: 21 March 1780.

20) Axwijk published these articles under the pseudonym 'Ajax' in the Surinamese daily paper called 'De West'. Brother Axwijk, a Creole from the coastal area, worked as a missionary teacher with the Boni and the Ndjuka from 1937 till 1960. He was initially sent to Kotiba, the Boni-village on the Lawa River. Later he performed his missionary work among the Ndjuka in Saje (Karmel). In the 1950s, he stayed at Stoelman's Island, which had a missionary hospital. He wrote his stories during his stay with both the Ndjuka and the Boni. The trouble with Axwijk's 'oral tradition' is that he made a compilation of several different stories without mentioning by whom, where and how the story was told. Most times, it is not clear whether the stories were told by the Ndjuka or by the Boni-people. Another minus of Axwijk's reconstruction of Boni-history is the fact that he greatly exaggerated certain aspects (a hundred victims instead of two or three). In spite of the drawbacks, Axwijk's stories are very useful and, above all, very gripping.

21) Axwijk's reproduction of the stories told by these people are a mixture of both the Sranan and Kumanti language. Kumanti is a sacral secret language and contains all sorts of words used by the Ndjuka. In Axwijk's story, Agosu-Boni's son and others speak a mixture of the Sranan and Kumanti language, which seems very unlikely. 'Okilifu Balua' means 'Boni' in Kumanti. It is rather strange to hear the son of Agosu-Boni say: 'Me, Boni'.

22) A report on Cadet's visit to the Boni can be found in Hurault (1960: 92). Mallevaut's report is the French version of Boni's words.

23) ARA-SvS 208, Journal of the Governor: 7 February 1781.

24) The Amerindian chief Frans van Bertholff had an interesting life. He was born as a slave of the rich planter Bertholff, who was a councillor of the Court of Policy. Frans must have been his son for he is referred to as 'Frans van Bertholff, the mulatto'. Frans was released under the will of Bertholff and received an annuity of 600 guilders. Frans commuted this annuity into a lump sum of 6000 guilders, which he used to travel to the Caribs living in the estuary of the Marowijne River. He soon became one of their chiefs.

25) ARA-SvS 208, Journal of the Governor: 1 July 1783 and ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname': 173, Minutes Court of Policy, 1 March 1793 and Paris: Archives F.O.M. C 14-52.

26) The text makes mention of 10 to 12 'lieues'. One 'lieue' is 4,444 meters. The village Marakaré is not indicated on the map, though the text makes clear that it must have been located just before the estuary of the Crique Sparouine on the island Dabusagara.

27) A *jeu d'épinette* is probably the instrument which is presently called *benta* (finger piano). A picture of it can be found in Stedman (Price and Price 1988: 539), plate no. 69, instrument no. 10. Also see Price and Price 1980: 183.

28) On the occasion of the peace settlement in 1760-1762, the Ndjuka and Saramaka chiefs received a 'peace stick' (*fii pau*) each. These sticks symbolized the peace and the autonomy of the *lo* (clan) .
29) A list of the tribute goods given to the Saramaka can be found in De Beet and Price 1982: 203 and Price 1983b.
30) Paris: Archives F.O.M. C 14-54, folio 152-163. The report has almost entirely been included in Hurault 1960: 93-101.
31) Paris: Archives F.O.M. C 14-54, folio 189.
32) White and red were the colors of the Dutch West Indian Company and thus the colors of the Surinamese flag. If we are to believe the Ndjuka, the French gave a Surinamese flag to Boni.
33) ARA-SvS 175, Minutes Court of Policy: 3 February 1783.
34) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 845, folio 78 (1784).
35) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice': 845, folio 94 (1784).
36) ARA-SvS 384, Letters to Amsterdam: 3 November 1786.
37) ARA-SvS 384, Letters to Amsterdam: 3 November 1786.
38) ARA-SvS 384, Letters to Amsterdam: 30 January 1786.
39) ARA-SvS 384, Letters to Amsterdam: 30 January 1786.
40) ARA-SvS 178, Minutes Court of Policy: 11 June 1787, insertio 5.
41) ARA-SvS 389, Letters to Amsterdam: 8 September 1787.
42) ARA-SvS 390, Letters to Amsterdam: 10 January 1788.
43) ARA-SvS 179, Minutes Court of Policy: 14 August 1788.

CHAPTER 6: *The Second Boni-Maroon War*

1) For a more extensive report on the raid on Clarenbeek, see document 3 in Hoogbergen 1984: 45-46.
2) ARA-SvS 393, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 36 (1789).
3) ARA-SvS 393, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 74 (1789).
4) ARA-SvS 393, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 378 (1789).
5) ARA-SvS 179, Minutes Court of Policy: 11 May 1789.
6) P.S. Stoelman kept a detailed diary about his adventures from 5 September 1789 till 15 March 1790. (ARA-SvS 180, Minutes Court of Policy: 31 May 1790). This journal has largely been reproduced in Hoogbergen 1984: 49-75.
7) ARA-SvS 394, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 67-69 (1790).
8) P.S. Stoelman's Journal, see Hoogbergen 1984: 50.
9) ARA-SvS 394, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 78-79 (1790).
10) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Criminal Justice: 856, folio 13 (1793). See also Hoogbergen 1984: 47-48.
11) Cotton cloth, either printed or stained with colorful, mainly small, figures.
12) Jean Merle's report. ARA-SvS 184, Minutes of Court Policy: 19 August 1790. See Hoogbergen 1984: 86-87.
13) Blowing the *tutu* was common practice in Boni-warfare. Boni had his own *tutuman* (hornplayer). Blowing the *tutu* was not only aimed at intimidating the enemy, but at giving instructions as well. The elimination of the *tutuman* was taken seriously by the Boni and it mostly meant the end of the battle. Boni's *tutuman*, Djaki, was killed in the attack on the Ndjuka village of Animbaw in August 1792.
14) P.S. Stoelman's Journal. See Hoogbergen 1984: 57-60.
15) Jean Merle's Report. See Hoogbergen 1984: 87-88.

16) P.S. Stoelman's Journal. See Hoogbergen 1984: 61-62.
17) P.S. Stoelman's Journal. See Hoogbergen 1984: 62-63.
18) Jean Merle's Report. See Hoogbergen 1984: 88-89.
19) P.S. Stoelman's Journal. See Hoogbergen 1984: 64.
20) P.S. Stoelman's Journal. See Hoogbergen 1984: 64-67.
21) The contents of Jean Merle's letters have been reproduced in Hoogbergen 1984: 76.
22) P.S. Stoelman's Journal. See Hoogbergen 1984: 68 and ARA-SvS 180, Minutes Court of Policy: 5 March 1790.
23) Jean Merle's Report. See Hoogbergen 1984: 89-90.
24) P.S. Stoelman's Journal. See Hoogbergen 1984: 70-75.
25) Jean Merle's Report. See Hoogbergen 1984: 91. Boni was probably beating the *apinti* (sacred drum). The Boni must have had an elaborate code of drumbeats.
26) ARA-SvS 180, Minutes Court of Policy: 25 May 1790. See Hoogbergen 1984: 82-84.
27) The progress of Sub-Lieutenant Kübeler's expedition may be reconstructed by means of a map from 1790. See Hoogbergen 1985b: 289 for a fragment of this map.
28) ARA-SvS 395, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 222 (1790).
29) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 19 August 1790. Also see Hoogbergen 1984: 93.
30) Jurriaan Friderici's letter constitutes document 11 in Hoogbergen 1984: 94-96.
31) The name 'Bonidoro' is of a later date and refers to the negotiations between Boni and the colonists at that place.
32) ARA-SvS 395, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 494 (1790).
33) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 9 and 19 August 1790.
34) ARA-SvS 395, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 494 (1790).
35) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 8 September 1790.
36) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 December 1790. The verbatim report of the talks between Jurriaan Friderici and Basa constitute document 13 in Hoogbergen 1984: 99-101.
37) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 December 1790.
38) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 47 (1791). F.M. Beutler's Journal dated 18 September 1790. F.M. Beutler's journal makes mention of '...eleven fine dice-patterned...'. Boni must have received eleven pieces of checkered cotton. The cloth also included a piece of *platielje*, which is assumed to be a piece of cotton decorated with little flowers, comparable to those on earthenware.
39) The present topographic maps do not refer to an island called 'Trobietabbetje'. It is possible that this was the former name of the island of 'Abigintabbetje', somewhat south in the estuary of the Gran Creek.
40) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 47 (1791). F.M. Beutler's Journal: 28 September 1790.
41) The archives literally state 'that he did not speak the language very well'. I have taken the liberty to conclude that Kormantin Kodjo, who was born in Africa, did not speak Surinamese Creole.
42) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 47 (1791). F.M. Beutler's Journal, 8 October 1790.
43) F.M. Beutler's Journal, 9-10 October 1790.
44) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 December 1790. See Hoogbergen 1984: 97.
45) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 61 (1791).
46) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 4 November 1790.
47) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 December 1790. See Hoogbergen 1984: 102-103.

48) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 65 (1791).
49) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 106 (1791) and also Stanbach's Journal: 8 November 1790.
50) Stanbach's Journal covering the period 30 October to 25 November 1790 can be found in ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 106 et seq (1791).
51) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 128 (1791).
52) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 15 December 1790. The text of this never concluded peace treaty can be found in Hoogbergen 1984: 104-108.
53) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 260 - 67 (1791).
54) ARA-SvS 396, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 278 et seq (1791).
55) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname': 172, Defence Minutes 10 March 1791, insertio 3. F.M. Beutler's Journal: 22 January 1791. Parts of F.M. Beutler's Journal covering the period 7 January to 18 February constitute document nr. 16 in Hoogbergen 1984: 109-111.
56) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname': 172, Defence Minutes 10 March 1791, insertio 2. The verbatim report of this conference has been reproduced in Hoogbergen 1984: 112-116.
57) ARA-SvS 397, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 83 (1791).
58) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 28 June 1791. J. Basschal's Journal covering the period 17 to 21 May 1791. The text of this journal can be found in Hoogbergen 1984: 121-125.

CHAPTER 7: *Boni's Death*

1) F.M. Beutler's Journal from 3 until 6 June, filed in ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 28 June 1791 (see Hoogbergen 1984: 126-128).
2) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 9 September 1791.
3) These three men were Mabiara, Jasmin and Charon. They knew the location of the villages near Ingi Pule Seton. Mabiara had been delivered by the Boni in March 1791. Jasmin and Charon had been transferred to Paramaribo by Kadeti Pinasi in April 1791. ARA-SvS 397, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 432 (1791).
4) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy 3 and 9 September 1791.
5) ARA-SvS 397, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 458 (1791). F.M. Beutler's Journal is included in Hoogbergen 1984: 131-138. See map 14 for the falls which were passed by F.M. Beutler.
6) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 12 March 1792.
7) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 10 October 1791.
8) ARA-SvS 398, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 267 (1792).
9) ARA-SvS 399, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 17 (1792).
10) The Mbula-Sula (M'Boula Soula) are located south of the Dagu-ede Falls.
11) The Rensbo Fall is one of the many falls north of the present living area of the Boni and is most likely to be the Pampungron Fall (see map 14).
12) ARA-SvS 399, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 55-59 (1792).
13) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 14 July 1792.
14) ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy: 13 August 1792. Also see Hoogbergen 1984: 141-142.
15) ARA-SvS 399, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 649 (1792).
16) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Minutes Court of Defense': 173, 23 October 1792, insertio 4-5-6. For the attack on Animbaw, also see

Hoogbergen 1984: 142-144 (extracts from P.S. Stoelman's Journal and J. Basschal's letter).

17) Pakosie's historical knowledge is not consistent with western scientific tradition. The way in which he adds a 'scientific touch' to his version of the oral tradition has been discussed in Hoogbergen 1985b: 429-443.
18) H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen and W. van Wetering are the authors of many outstanding publications on the Ndjuka-Maroons.
19) Reconstruction based on the notes of H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen.
20) See P.S. Stoelman's Journal in Hoogbergen 1984: 145-147.
21) This fall is not indicated on the maps either. The Black Rangers probably crossed the Langatété Fall.
22) The report of this expedition is included in Hoogbergen (1984: 148-153).
23) ARA-SvS 399, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 649 (1792).
24) According to the archives, the Ndjuka patrol ran into three Boni, one of whom, Bien of La Paix, was killed. The other two - Jano and Kwasi - would bring the Ndjuka to Boni's residence. The oral tradition (Ajax 1961 and De Groot 1980), however, only refers to the prisoner Jano who stayed alive. As Jano was a traitor, he was not allowed to enter the Tapanahoni River and was killed in the vicinity of Stoelman's Island. De Groot (1980:12) states that this version is confirmed by the archives. Jano is said to be included in the list of dead Boni, which is, however, untrue. Jano is mentioned in the list of captive Boni. These lists are included in document 26, Hoogbergen 1984: 157-159.
25) The report on the expedition to Boni was written by the *ostagiër* Jeboa Djaki and does not make mention of the creek on which Boni lived. A report written by Zeegelaar in December 1793 makes clear that this creek was called Stonholo Creek in those days. This is still the Ndjuka designation of the Crique Marouini (Personal communication, H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen).
26) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Minutes Court of Defence': 173, 15 April 1793. The report on the Ndjuka expedition to the Boni-villages on the Crique Marouini is included in Hoogbergen (1984: 154-160).
27) The journal written by Jeboa Djaki provides little information on the place where this event actually ocurred. Zeegelaar's Journal (ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname', Minutes Court of Defense': 174, 6 December 1793 contains better indications. Boni's head disappeared somewhere on the Lawa River between the Tanpok and Inini Rivers. The places Dagu-ede (De Groot 1980:15) and Bonidoro (Ajax 1961) are much more situated to the north and therefore incorrect. Besides, Captain P.S. Stoelman's Journal of August 1792 (Hoogbergen 1984:148) already refers to Dagu-ede, which means that this fall has not been named after Boni's head (Dagu-ede = dog's head).
28) See Hoogbergen 1984: 159.
29) The location mentioned in Ajax's story leads to confusion. The Awara Falls are situated more to the south than Maripasula (Sula = Falls) (see map 14).
30) Within the Misidjan-clan there is a matrilineal segment which is called Aluku-bee. This points to a 'primordial mother' stemming from the Boni within this clan (Personal communication, H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen). The Misidjan-clan already existed a long time in 1790. This clan was probably formed by female slaves who were abducted during the raid on the plantation of Palmeneribo in 1758.
31) The Sumajee Falls are located between the Inini and Tanpok Rivers and stand for the place which is also mentioned in the archives as the place where Bambi's pirogue capsized. Remember that Sumajee means 'human head' (= Boni's head).
32) Taken from the notes of H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen. Da Kasiayeki, who

told the story to Thoden van Velzen, was born in 1888 or 1889. He, in turn, heard the stories from Da Labi Agumasaka, one of the most important Ndjuka people around the turn of the century. For more information on Da Saka, see Thoden van Velzen and De Beet (1979) and De Groot (1969).

33) This is related to the fact that Pakosie, whose mother belongs to the Pinasi-clan and whose father was a member of the Misidjan-clan, heard these stories from his father. Each Ndjuka clan stresses the way in which its own clan's ancestors took part in the battle against the Boni. The hero of the oral tradition of the Misidjan-clan is Kentu (of the Ndju-clan it is Da Baai and the Piika-clan's hero is Da Ainge).

34) ARA-SvS 400, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 53 (1793).

CHAPTER 8: *Towards Recognition*

1) J.P. Bremer does not mention the tribal name of these Amerindians. It must have been the Wayana (Rukuyene), a tribe which is known to have lived in close harmony with the Boni for a long time. The Wayana presently live on the banks of the Litani River.
2) After the attack on Animbaw, the *posthouders* settled on the northerly bank of the Tapanahoni River. They called their new residence 'Nieuw-Anderblauw'. The Ndjuka spoke of Puketi. In the beginning of the 19th century another village which was also called Puketi was built opposite Nieuw-Anderblauw, close to the former settlement Animbaw (Afo Amelisigron). It is very likely that the *posthouders* finally moved to the new Puketi.
3) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Minutes Court of Defense': 182, 13 November 1802.
4) Private communication; H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen.
5) De Groot 1970: 297-298 and ARA-Archives of *Nederlandsch West-Indisch Bezit, 1828-1845.* Inventory member, 816, nr. 66B: 16 January 1833.
6) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Policy: 1 November 1816, appendix 16a.
7) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Policy': 705, Minutes 1819, appendix 6.
8) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Policy': 705, Minutes 1819, appendix 7.
9) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname, Court of Policy': 708, Minutes 1820, appendix 6.
10) ARA-'Oud-archief Suriname', Commissioner's Office of the Native Population 34, nr. 33.
11) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyane E10 (05).
12) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyane E10 (06).
13) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyane E10 (06).
14) ARA-Suriname na 1828': Commissioner's Office of the Native Population, 14 March 1835.
15) Adjuba's testimony. Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyane A 3 (02): 107.
16) See Oudschans Dentz 1948 and Hoeree & Hoogbergen 1984.
17) Hurault (1960:110) refers to the year 1835. The archives which have served as a basis for his articles, however, mention the year 1836.
18) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyane E10 (13).
19) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyane E10 (13).

20) ARA-'*Suriname na 1828*': Office of the Native Population 6: 28 February 1837.
21) ARA-'*Suriname na 1828*': Office of the Native Population 6: 3 April, 20 June, 14 August and 19 November 1837.
22) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyana A3 (02).
23) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyana A3 (02): 100.
24) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyana A3 (02): 101. The commander of Casfésoca obviously did not understand the Emérillon-interpreter very well. 'Ouyouca' probably means Ndjuka. However, it was not the Wayana but the Boni who were at war with their neighbours; the 'Ouyouca tribe'.
25) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyana A3 (02): 105.
26) The paramount chief is called 'Gomon' in the archives.
27) Aix-en-Provence: Archives Col. Mod. Guyana A3 (02): 107.
28) This information is obviously wrong. The 'Arukojane-Indians' (Rukuyenne or Wayana) always were the Boni's faithful allies and friends.
29) ARA-*Ministerie van Koloniën* 1850-1899, Exh. 20 November 1860, nr. 227.
30) For a report on this journey to the Ndjuka and the Boni: see De Groot (1977: 74-77).

CHAPTER 9: *The Dawn of a Maroon Society*

1) Private communication H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen. For more details about *Da Panga Boko* see Thoden van Velzen and W. van Wetering 1988: 449.
2) De Groot (1974:35) is more cautious in her statements. She writes that Prof. Fajana thought to be able to conclude from the paramount chiefs' expression 'which group they stemmed from: Aboikoni from the Yoruba or Benin tribe, Gazon of the Ibo people, Forster of the Nupe, Aboné of the Ashanti people' (1974:35). The professor's remarks were obviously mere polite phrases without any historical pretension.
This visit was financed by Surinamese authorities. The delegation left without a Boni-chief to avoid difficulties with the French.
3) Private communication H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen. See also Thoden van Velzen and W. van Wetering (1988: 444).
4) See Thoden van Velzen 1966: 45-51 and De Beet and Sterman 1981: 24 et seq.
5) Private communication H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen.
6) Hoogbergen 1984:159 includes a list of the villages destroyed by the Ndjuka.
7) ARS-SvS 397, Letters to Amsterdam: folio 414 (1791).

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