A. Köbben

Continuity in change - Cottica Djuka society as a changing system

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 124 (1968), no: 1, Leiden, 56-90

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

CONTINUITY IN CHANGE

COTTICA DJUKA SOCIETY AS A CHANGING SYSTEM

1. *Introduction.* The Djuka, one of the Bush Negro tribes of Surinam, live in the interior of the country along the Tapanahony, Marowijne and Cottica rivers (for a map see Köbben, 1967 b: 10). Their precise number is not known, but it probably amounts to about 15,000. They live in small villages, the nucleus of which consists of one or more matrilinear groups,¹ and practise shifting cultivation. The tribe has a Paramount Chief (*Gaaman*) who lives in the village of Dritabiki on the Tapanahony river. There his power is preponderant (Thoden van Velzen, 1966: ch. 6—9, 12, 13), but in the Cottica region, which will be the subject of this paper, his influence is negligible, although his name is held in high esteem.

We know more about the history of the Bush Negroes than about that of most other tribal groups. From the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards, large numbers of negro-slaves were brought to Surinam from West Africa to work in the sugar plantations. Their life was extremely hard and in spite of the great risks involved, many of them ran away to hide in the immense forests of the interior. These runaways carried out raids on the plantations to procure necessary tools and implements. Time and again the colony organized expeditions in an attempt to wipe them out, which, however, proved unsuccessful. Ultimately, in 1761, a treaty was concluded involving the acceptance of the *status quo* if the Bush Negroes would cease their raids on the plantations and hand over new escapees. From then on the Bush Negroes could build up their society without undue interference.

The fieldwork on which this paper is based was carried out from August 1961 to July 1962 mainly in the village of Langa Uku on the Cottica river. In the same period Mr. (now Dr.) and Mrs. Thoden van Velzen worked in Dritabiki, the village of the Paramount Chief. Additional research among Djuka migrant laborers in the capital was

¹ For an analysis of Djuka society as a kinship system see Köbben, 1967b.

carried out by Mr. H. E. Lamur. The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research in Surinam and the Netherlands' Antilles made this fieldwork financially possible. The writer wishes to thank Mr. Dirk H. van der Elst for the translation into English of the original Dutch paper.

2. *Central theme.* The central theme of this essay is continuity. In spite of more than two centuries of contact with Western civilization, Djuka society has succeeded in largely maintaining its own character. Acculturation, in the sense of social change under the influence of a foreign civilization, does occur here, but only in a comparatively restricted fashion. From many viewpoints the Bush Negroes, even today, constitute a state within the state, to the extent that one might successfully describe Djuka society as if it were a cultural isolate. In any case, the model of a cultural isolate would be more realistic than an integrative one under which the Djuka would simply be handled as an element of the larger Surinam society.

All this does not imply that the "offer" of Western civilization would always, or even usually, be rejected. Many new culture elements do indeed become accepted, material as well as non-material ones, but then as *additions* to the existing culture rather than as *substitutes*. Generally these become reinterpreted before being incorporated into the existing body of customs.

Case A. A number of years ago, football (soccer) was introduced by the mission. In a number of villages it is played with enthusiasm and with a fair regard for the rules. The fans (even those who do not know the language beyond that) cheer on the players in Dutch, with cries such as "Come on boys! Hold on! Go, Go, Go!" At some large funeral feasts nowadays, soccer is a popular part of the program. In the village of Agitiondro, where the fearsome Great Deity of the Djuka has his temple,² the players undergo before the game the normal Great Deity ritual for whoever finds himself in danger or uncertainty. "Because of this the other teams cannot defeat them, at best they may achieve a draw. They have become God-boys" (i.e., they have acquired some of the power of the Deity).

There is thus a process of infiltration into the Djuka culture without, up to now, drastic change or conformity to the donor culture. With some other authors (cf. Hoebel, 1958: 606—607), one is tempted to speak not so much of acculturation as of diffusion. In the long run, of course, such additions cannot but have an effect on the other elements of the society, and in this indirect fashion more basic changes will

² For a more extensive discussion of this deity see Thoden van Velzen (1966: Ch. 7, 8, 9, 13).

slowly become established. But this is still largely a problem for the future.

3. *Methodological problems.* Anthropology is strong in describing social structures, but weak in describing social processes. The foregoing sketch of a social process is no exception. When I say "not much acculturation", I can only mean this comparatively, thus in the sense of "less acculturation than is exhibited by other societies which have been in contact with Western civilization for a similar period". But to *prove* such a proposition, I must have an operational definition of "acculturation", one which is useful cross-culturally. I would then be able to express the acculturation of a given society in numerical equivalents, just as one can say of a storm that it has reached "windforce 9". As long as that is not possible — and perhaps it never will be — we are left with impressions, which I can only attempt to make as plausible as possible.

An even more formidable technical problem is the absence of a zero-point. About most phenomena, I don't know how they were manifested in the past, and the possibility exists that what appears to me to be an ancient custom is in fact a comparatively recent innovation, and vice versa.

Case B. An approximately 60-year old informant philosophizes about polygyny then and now: "Formerly only elderly men took a second wife, that is, only when a son out of the first marriage was already grown enough to help in cutting a new plot. In this manner, enough could be produced for the two wives and their children, and nobody was shorted in any way. But the young men of today, irresponsible as they are, immediately after marriage start looking for a second wife. In the past, the old men would have given them a tongue lashing, but nowadays even they look the other way."

In fact, polygyny among comparatively young men is not rare: of the 39 married males *below* age 30, seven are married polygynously as against 13 of the 36 *above* age 30.³ Such a development, from polygyny occurring only at advanced age to polygyny at a lower age level, would be interesting enough. We must, however, pose the question whether this change actually occurred, or whether it reflects only an idealized perception of "the Good Old Days". A sister's son of the informant in question, who at the age of 25 already has two wives, was present at the discussion, and mockingly asked his uncle how old *he* had been when he took a second wife. Painful question! For the uncle proved to have been even more precocious than his sister's son is today.

³ This concerns all married men from one village. Regarding the representativeness of this and other quantitative data, see Köbben, 1967a: 52-53. The age limit of 30 years is an estimate. About the methods here employed see *ibidem*: 50-51.

In this society there appears to be a process whereby the orientation towards the collectivity loses some of its impact, while the orientation towards the self is gaining in importance.⁴ The individual no longer seems to be self-evidently ready to endure or impose collective punishment, but appears to be more inclined to do as he pleases, if necessary against the will of the group.

Case C. One of the most redoubtable supernatural powers in which the Djuka believe is the *kumu* — the avenging spirit. *Kumu* operates whenever someone neglects his duties in respect to the matrilineage. However, it does not necessarily punish the actual offender, but rather just any member of the lineage.

An informant commented: "We people of today (*baka kio sama*) can't approve of that any longer. The *kumu* should not kill innocent people! For what will their spirits do? They will be filled with vengeance in their turn to kill still other members of the matrigrup. In that way, there's no end to it."

Case D. Ba 5 Asindo has gotten into a fistfight with two young men of about his own age. During the palaver about this matter, he appears to be in the right insofar as the actual fight is concerned (the other two men had insulted his lineage), but still he is sentenced to pay a fine: his opponents are classificatory fathers-in-law to him, and therefore he owes them deference. Asindo: "I have to pay only because they are my 'fathers-in-law'. Perhaps that was thought proper in former times, but we, people of these times, don't want this anymore!"

Case E. Sa 6 Meiba agreed, under pressure from her family, to marry a certain man. However, she refuses to have sexual relations with him, and quite openly carries on an affair with another. Her kinsmen reproach her sharply, but they don't have a strong case: if she becomes pregnant by the other man then she must be allowed to marry him, for in accordance with Djuka concepts, the procreator of the child must "take care of the belly" (*solugu a bé*), meaning, especially, must have further sexual contacts with her during her pregnancy, in order to promote the growth of the unborn infant. Her mother: "Formerly, when I had been promised to a man, I too wanted another, but the family put me under pressure, and I gave in." Today the family often still tries to force a marriage partner on a younger kinsman (*kisi gi ju*), usually a classificatory parallel- or cross-cousin,⁷ but it is generally held that this was easier to do in the past: "Nowadays if a woman doesn't want to, nobody can force her into it, if she does accept you are lucky. But in the old days one was afraid of the elders. They had a big whip and promised to beat you to death if you didn't obey."

Here again, however, we must be careful in drawing conclusions. It is true that Ba Asindo, the man in Case D, protested when he had to pay his 'fathers-in-law'. But a short time later, when he himself stood in a father-in-law position to an opponent, he made use of this

⁴ For these terms see Parsons (1964: 60-61).

⁵ Ba (litt. "brother") is the term for a young man.

⁶ Sa (litt. "sister") is the term for a girl, a young woman.

⁷ Cf. Köbben, 1967b: 35-36.

position without scruples! Therefore, too much importance must not be given to his protests, and it is not impossible that in former times, too, such expressions of protest occurred: we simply do not know.

In regard to marriage partners, a useful measure of group-influence lies in the preferential marriages (since these usually concern *group* preferences, not *individual* preferences). These still seem to occur in large numbers: of 95 marriages, 23 are of this type!⁸ Again, it is regrettable that we do not have the relevant statistics for previous generations. We can in no way take for granted that "formerly" all marriages occurred because of the influence of the group. For among the elders too, the belief is strong that it is of little good to pair off people against their wishes. What's more, the reports of Van Lier (1940: 267–268) indicate that in a previous generation, too, the personal wishes of the young people played a role.^{8a} Here again, we cannot say *with certainty* that an evolution towards "individualism" has taken place.

Another example is the attitude towards the supernatural. As I pointed out, the Djuka's fear of the avenging spirits (*kunu*) is considerable. Yet it occurred at a large feast that a group of half-inebriated young people brought a mock-offering to the *kunu*, with loud laughter even from the older people (albeit under vehement protests from the *kunu*-priestess which, however, gave rise to even greater hilarity). One might interpret this as an expression of religious decline, thus as an indication that the traditional religious emotions are losing their meaning. Personally, I'm inclined to reject such an interpretation (cf. p. 72), and would rather propose that such scenes also occurred in earlier times. But *proof* for this contention I cannot offer.

My last examples are inheritance and exogamy. As far as the inheritance is concerned, this is distributed among the matrilineal relatives of the deceased, plus his children, and even some others. My informants all agree that "formerly" the inheritance went exclusively to the matrilineal kin, and that it is only recently that a man's own children have been getting a share. It nevertheless seems suspicious that this change should have come about so quietly and without conflicts. It is possible that in former times, too, the children of the deceased received their share, but that people feel matrilineal inheritance to be

⁸ There are no indications that such marriages occur especially among older people.

^{8a} Cf. also Hurault, 1961: 36.

more fitting with matrilineality, and because of this impute it to the "Good Old Days". In this connection it is noteworthy that the property of a minor deity (including the associated priesthood) succeeds in most cases from a father to a son, and not from a man to his sister's son or to another matrilineal relative. Here, for once, we know for certain that no recent development is involved because Van Lier (1940: 204), whose data mainly predate 1920, already reports something similar.

Finally, exogamy. In the past, marriages within the lineage probably did not occur (cf. Van Lier, 1919: 76), now they are fairly common (seven out of 95). The question we must pose ourselves in this as in many other cases, is: Are we concerned here with culture change, or with acculturation? In other words, is this a change *under the influence of contacts with an alien culture*, or is it change originating from within? I don't think it is direct influence, at most it is an indirect one, but just how this operates, again, I cannot say.

4. *Attitude towards change.* From the foregoing it appears that the Djuka spontaneously compare "then" with "now". They have little objection to the present time, as long as it doesn't interfere with their habits. "We mustn't give up (*fika*) our own ways!" This is especially true in the area of religion: "Our gods helped us when we fled into the jungle, we must not forsake them now." But it is remarkable that they often take a similar view of the material side of their culture, which they therefore do not judge to be inferior to that of the West (cf. Hurault, 1961: 298). Although they are sometimes surprised at the cleverness of the white man, they never tire from emphasizing that in some ways they excel him. "The white man gets lost in the bush, the Djuka doesn't." About a sick person: "Do you see that man? He was given up by the doctor in the hospital and sent home. Now it is five months later and he's still alive. The Djuka, too, have their arts!" Evidence of the latter they see in the Dutch botanist who questioned the Djuka about herbs held by them to be medicinal: "You see, the whites also want to profit from our knowledge."

In the village of Pikin Santi lives a healer who has the reputation of being able to heal broken bones by making the pieces pliable and sticking them together. Around this man a complete myth has been formed: he is reputed to have been invited to come to work in the hospital in Paramaribo for much money, but to have turned this down because he didn't want to betray the Djuka-secrets to the whites ("the white doctor doesn't betray his secrets to us either, right?"). When

it was reported that a Djuka's hand had been crushed in a machine during the work at the dam, someone reacted spontaneously: "Too bad that it didn't happen here, then we could have brought him to the healer; he would have fixed his hand alright."

Although the above attitude is the dominant one, it must be said that not all Djuka agree on this point: there are 'conservatives' and 'progressives' among them. In the village Agitiondro, the priests of the Great Deity have things their way, and they are averse to many new ways which they regard as detrimental to their own position.

There is, understandably, also a generational difference on this point.

Case F. Da Nenfuman scolds the spouse of his wife's granddaughter because he doesn't render enough services to his parents-in-law (real and classificatory). "It is with you just as with other relatives by marriage, nowadays the young people haven't any respect." It is not seemly for the victim of the harangue to reply, and he doesn't, but as soon as the old gentleman is out of earshot he explodes: "The old people always want things from their in-laws just because they have allowed them a wife. But we younger men, at least many of us, reason differently: as husband we take care of our wife, give her clothes, oil and food, and cut a plot for her. On top of all that, we make children for her lineage. They ought to be grateful to us and treat us right."⁹

Still, youth is not identical with 'progressive', nor old with 'conservative'. Thus the village elder, a man of over seventy years, was an advocate of intra-lineage marriages, although such marriages were a recent innovation which still gave many people pause. The explanation is that only recently he had taken up with a woman of his own lineage. And here no less than in other societies, self-interest strongly influences one's viewpoint! This old man was in many other respects very tradition-directed, and this too is a conclusion which holds for many Djuka: they are often neither conservative nor progressive, but a mixture of both.¹⁰ It also occurs that the same individual in regard to a certain point will react now in the traditional, then in the anti-traditional fashion, all depending on how he perceives his interest (see pp. 59-60 for an example).

5. *The Djuka universe.* The world of these Bush Negroes is a small world, of which one's own village and tribal relations form the focal point. It is true that all are aware of the existence of the larger Surinam

⁹ About the position of in-laws, see Köbben, 1967b: 44-47.

¹⁰ Examples on page 77.

society, but their knowledge of it is fragmentary. Take political relationships. Since 1954 Surinam has had ministers and a parliament chosen by universal franchise. But even in the early sixties, practically no one in the village, not even the headman, knew how voting works, and certainly no one participated. Most of them weren't registered in the population register and thus did not appear on the voting lists.

This situation has begun to change over the last few years, since several of the political parties are evidencing interest in the Bush Negroes as voters. In the election of 1963, a significant number of Cottica Djuka voted, (even if they still constituted a minority) and in 1967 voting had become fairly general.¹¹

Interestingly, the few times that the Surinam society is used as a reference group, "the Surinamers" or "Surinam" are contrasted with "us, the Bush Negroes". For instance, an informant says: "In the village Agitiondro a number of matrilineal groups live mixed together just like among the Surinamers, the Creoles, Hindustani and Javanese live mixed together." The son of a village chief said: "If we were Surinamers or whites I'd be the boss in this village (in reality he is not, because succession operates matrilineally). Curious also is their use of the term "white" (*baká*), which they give a social rather than a somatic content, i.e., "anyone who behaves as a white man". For instance, they call the District Commissioner of the Marowijne district, which includes the villages on the Cottica, a "baká", even though there is somatically no difference to speak of between him and themselves; "But you (here addressing me) are a white *baká*."

Yet all adult Djuka at some time or other have visited "the city" (the capital Paramaribo of over 100,000 souls), and can talk about its wonders: the houses, the automobiles, the bicycles, the cinema, the football stadium, the prostitutes. More than that, most of the adult men have worked outside of the tribal area for short or long periods, in the city, or perhaps at the building of the great dam near Afobakka. That in spite of all this they are so poorly informed, has causes which will be investigated more closely (see pp. 85-88).

About the world outside of Surinam they scarcely have a notion. When I told them that I came from a city larger than Paramaribo, they first thought it bragging: that such cities exist was almost beyond their comprehension. They know that there is a country called Holland, but the name calls forth but one association: it is where the queen

¹¹ My thanks are due to Mr. H. A. Lamur, who provided me with these data.

lives. They consider themselves her loyal subjects and imagine her as an absolute monarch ruling by the grace of God.

Case G. In the village of Lange Uku, rumors about the "Independence Now" movement circulated just at the time when the authorities attempted to take a census. The villagers saw a causal connection between these two events. They expressed their horror that the city-people didn't want the queen anymore. "We are used to her, we don't want to lose her. Those who are against her must be trying to profit from her money (*njan*, literally: to eat her money). If we aid her in this difficult period, she will certainly reward us later." They supposed that the purpose of the census was to determine how many soldiers the village could muster "to fight against the queen". Because of this they sabotaged the census as much as possible, many by not being in the village on the day of the tally, others by giving the wrong name, or listing fewer children than they actually had. Other factors no doubt contributed heavily to this negative posture, such as fear of taxation, and a general distrust of the government's intentions.

They have heard about Americans only because a few citizens of that country work at the bauxite mine in nearby Moengo, but Russia and China are unknown concepts. That there is such a thing as the atomic bomb, hasn't yet penetrated. About the Second World War they have no more than a vague notion. Originally I tried using the Second World War as a reference point for establishing peoples' ages ("had you been born when that war began"), but it proved unworkable. What *was* useful for that purpose was the date when the first bauxite boat traveled upriver. The name Hitler is familiar, but typically has been incorporated into their own mythology: years ago a powerful medicine man (*obiaman*) of the Djuka was captured by the whites. After his death, he had some evil spirits take possession of a number of whites, among whom was Hitler, so that they began to fight among themselves. "Da Tesi (another successful *obiaman*) then helped to fight Hitler, by making medicine to free him of his evil spirit. A lieutenant from the city came to thank him for that, and offered him a knife as a present."

Nowadays there are several transistor radios in the village, which bring the news in the Surinam language, which the Djuka can partly understand. But the only reports that make a real impression are those within their frame of reference, such as the announcement that the chief of Ganzee (a large Bush Negro village of the Saramacca tribe) has died.

But one thing they have gleaned from the world news: that there is a land, called Africa, where there are people black as they are, and where there is fighting — for or against what is not known. One man named his son of a few months "Lumumba". Once he said caressingly

to him: "Lumumba Lumumba" (to me): "But who is the real Lumumba actually?"

When we search for an explanation for the outlined situation, we would do well to include in the investigation a number of factors, to wit:

- The history of the contact;
- The nature of the "offer", to be differentiated as:
 - offer of the government,
 - offer of the missions,
 - education,
 - medical aid,
 - economic offer.
- The circumstances under which the "offer" takes place;
- The nature of the "receiver", to be differentiated as:
 - internal social controls,
 - values; religious concepts.

Here, and in what follows, I understand by "offer" those elements of Western civilization which are becoming available to the "receiver", the Djuka. For the theoretical background of this outline, cf. Köbben, 1964: ch. 4.

6. *The history of contact.* More than two centuries ago, the Djuka made peace with the white colonists. But it was an armed peace, and until recently it always remained so. The memory of the slave period is still very much alive. "You people were really bad to us then", the Djuka tell the white ethnographer, "you beat us with the long whip." Rigidly standardized tales are told about the cruelties of the slave masters, e.g.:

"A white man traveling the river had a slave mother and her child in his boat. The child began to cry. The white man commanded silence, and the mother attempted to quiet it, but to no avail. 'Give me that kid, I'll do it', said the master, and held its head underwater until it was drowned."

About *lonten*, literally, the time of the running away (the escape from the plantations and the establishment of the society in the hinterland) there are also many tales in circulation. The name of the first woman to escape, according to the legend, is only spoken in whispers and then not in just anyone's presence. So too with the gods who in miraculous fashion aided the Djuka in their struggle against pursuers.

"The women who ran away were braver than the men, for they took their little children with them, bundled on their backs, while the men would have left them behind, or killed them. In the beginning, the runaways suffered deprivation (*pina*), for they had to live on what the hunt and the food collecting brought them. Fortunately, Ma Sapá (a woman) had hidden rice kernels in her hair before she ran away, and in this way they got seed rice. They had no clothes either, and that is why the Djuka still like to warm themselves at the fire: they got used to that in those days. Then too, in the beginning they had no salt (they had to make that themselves from ash), no powder and no rifles."

There is still pride in the hardwon liberty. A ceremonial greeting consists of the following exchange: the host, on spotting his visitors in the distance, cries out "Wada, wada-oo . . ." (in which the ancient cry of the sentry, "Werda, werda?" can be recognized). The visitor's answer is then "Fiman, fiman" (free man). — If someone addresses another in too imperative a tone, the other might react by saying "We don't live in the slave time any more!" (*saf-ten no de mo*), although the expression isn't heard very often.¹²

With all this it must be noted that the Djuka "advance" these occurrences in time, and thereby give them more immediate meaning: an older man relates that the grandmother of his mother ran away from the plantations, i.e. he places that event at about 75 to 125 years ago, while in actuality the ancestors of the Djuka escaped more than two centuries ago.

In this sense, the history of the Djuka is a force which helps determine their behavior of today; it makes them suspicious of the outside world, and also of the purposes of the authorities. One might say that they have experienced an historic trauma.

7. *The offer of the government.* Interference with the Djuka by the government authorities was practically nil until the end of the Second World War. Since then it has increased somewhat, but it still strikes the observer — especially if he comes from a welfare state — just how few are the services which the state renders these citizens. There are almost no social or economic provisions, and such immediate necessities as education, public transportation, street construction and electrification are inadequate or absent. Whereupon it might be emphasized that the inhabitants of Paramaribo and its immediate environs (where more than half of all Surinamers live) are far better off in those respects. On the other hand, the Djuka pay almost no taxes, not even those

¹² See also Hurault, 1961: 36, who actually exaggerates the Bush Negroes' spirit of liberty (cf. Köbben 1965: 64).

few among them who, according to their incomes, would be considered eligible. And the government has never instituted a tax per hut or per head (regardless of income) as happened in most of the former African colonies. Such a step has occasionally been considered in the past, but in the Colonial States a member correctly made the following observation: "Taxation is a contribution to the maintenance of the society, through which one enjoys advantages and pleasures. What advantage do the Aucaner (Djuka) get from our form of government? Absolutely nothing."¹³

Outside of the indirect taxation involved in the buying of goods in a store, the only real taxes paid are the retribution of Sf 0.50 (\$ 0.30) per tree in the felling of lumber, and a tax on firearms. Their introduction, respectively in 1917¹⁴ and 1930, met resistance: the Djuka characteristically argued that they are sovereign in their own territory. In other words, they denied the Surinam government the right to tax them.

*From the report of a forester (1917): "... in reply to my question of the Bush Negro N.N. whether he had permission to cut that wood, he answered very vehemently that he'd never heard of the need for it, that the Gaaman (Paramount Chief) had given him permission to cut wood, that he had nothing to do with the whites, only with the Gaaman, who was boss over the forests. (Party concerned refuses to show the trees he has cut.)"*¹⁵

One might question whether the Djuka claims, based upon treaties concluded in the 18th and 19th centuries, are legitimate. I suspect that an impartial judge would find in their favor,¹⁶ but this is really irrelevant to our purpose. What is important is that they believe this, and that this belief serves them as a charter.

Nevertheless, the government today does do certain things for them. It pays a meager salary to the village chief (Sf 240.00, about \$ 125.00 per year), and Sf 60.00 to each of his two aides (*basia*). Elsewhere (Köbben, 1967 b: 23—28) I have demonstrated that these functionaries, although they are recognized by the Surinam government and play a minor role in the administrative system, are exponents of the separate Djuka political structure; the government generally exerts no influence

¹³ Congress of the Colonial States of August 16, 1922, cited from de Groot (MS: 23).

¹⁴ Officially, the tax was first introduced in 1919, at the same time as a licensing system, but actually it had been exacted since 1917 (Gonggrijp, MS).

¹⁵ From Gonggrijp, MS (1918).

¹⁶ For a different viewpoint, see Gonggrijp, MS (1918), and Currie, MS (1948).

in the selection of a new village chief.¹⁷ Admittedly it has tried a few times to remove an uncooperative or unsuitable village chief, against the will of the Djuka themselves, but this has almost always failed because the populace didn't recognize his successor. The village chiefs thus form the link between the District government (the District Commissioner) and the population, but they do not consider themselves subservient to the administration. The elderly ones among them, especially, are protectors of tradition rather than figures who inspire change and renewal.

Some other activities of the government: It subsidizes (mission) education. The last few years, a government's doctor holds an out-patients' clinic, free of charge, twice per week at various places on the Cottica River; serious cases are treated free in the hospital. A well-planned anti-malaria campaign had made the area reasonably free of malaria. Finally, there are incidental interventions, as when a typhoid epidemic broke out: repression was immediate and forceful. Because of these medical measures, the population has increased rapidly in recent times, which will certainly stimulate social change in the next generation.

But at the moment, the most important consideration are still the preventive and repressive measures taken by the Surinam police and justice departments. In the past, regular armed combat took place between villages, sometimes resulting in fatalities. This is now less common, if not totally absent. In the past, the dead were kept out of the ground for weeks because of religious considerations (cf. Van Lier, 1940: 279—280), today this period has been drastically shortened (although not enough for sensitive olfactory nerves). In the past, witches were not buried, but cast into the bush. Today they are buried, albeit hurriedly and shallowly and not in the regular cemetery.

The Djuka have their own law system (cf. Köbben, in press) and they still settle most of their disputes without referring to the Surinam authorities. However, for some matters, such as homicide, serious injuries, sometimes the rape of a child, they now turn voluntarily to the police.

An important element of Djuka law is the treatment of adultery. The wronged husband and his lineage brothers have the right to beat the adulterer. The punishment is subject to a number of restrictions

¹⁷ Although it has happened that during differences about succession a government official was asked to arbitrate (cf. Wong, 1938: 333).

and clearly has a legal character. The adulterer is not supposed to fight back, but may only ward off the blows. He is allowed, moreover, to seek sanctuary in the hut of the village headman. If he comes out again, he risks another beating. For this reason, the elders of his lineage get in touch with the lineage of the wronged husband. The affair is discussed in a formal palaver, a fine is determined and paid, and here the matter ends.

In the villages near the administrative centers, Moengo and Albina, however, it has become more and more common during the last few years for young men who have taken a beating for seducing a woman, to go to the police and complain.

Case H. In the village of Ajumakonde, a man and a woman are caught *in flagranti delicto*. A few of the woman's brothers want to beat her and the man, but the man fights back. In the heat of the fight he is bitten by one of his assailants. The man goes to Moengo to lodge a complaint with the police; before entering the office he rolls around in the mud to make himself look really pitiable. The police go to Ajumakonde, where they arrest two men ("not even the one who did the biting"). This event becomes the talk of the district. People are indignant at the man's action, but equally at the police. "The one who broke the rules is put in the right and the others in the wrong. The police are stupid, they should ask what was the reason for the fight. It is just like a snake: when it is lying curled up and a person passes, it won't do anything. Only if a person treads on the snake will it bite. That is what we do: we don't just strike a man, we only strike him when there is a reason."

Two legal systems collide here! I try to explain that the police do not want people to take the law into their own hands, but I have little success. Da Jukun thinks he understands: "The police don't think people ought to fight at all; whoever fights is punished. So if a man seduces your wife, you should put up with it. I suppose the whites don't mind such things."

We might wonder why some people go to the police in spite of public disapproval incurred by so doing. It is too simple an explanation to say that only the "detribalized" go to the police: those concerned are not really detribalized! The explanation occurred to me when some men were talking about the case described above. One of them said: "If I don't feel I'm in the right, I'll never go to the police: the Great Deity would kill me if I did. But if someone hits me without good reason, I will." In those cases in which a person lodges a complaint, he is probably convinced that he was beaten undeservedly, while his opponent is equally convinced that the punishment was deserved. Such differences in interpretation, according to the interests of the individuals concerned, are of frequent occurrence.

Case I. Ba Foliké has seduced Ba Jada's wife. One day he is attacked by Ba Jada and a few of his comrades. They give him a sound beating, hitting him

on his back, head, and face until some bystanders intervene. Ba Foliké's right eye is bleeding profusely. The Hindustani shopkeeper who lives in the village takes him in his boat to the doctor in Moengo. His eye is so badly damaged that it has to be removed. It is not clear whether one of the attackers inflicted the injury with a stone or piece of iron, or whether it was caused by an unfortunate fall during the fight (nor does this become clear during the ensuing lawsuit). Anyway, Ba Foliké blames his assailants and considers them guilty of a crime. Together with his father, he lodges a complaint with the police, urged on by the Hindustani shopkeeper. When questioned, Ba Jada and his cronies do not deny having attacked him. They feel they were quite justified in doing so. After some tumultuous court sessions (the case is fought out all the way to the highest court) they are sentenced to one year in prison.

We see then how official Surinam law¹⁸ can disturb the working of Djuka law. In other cases, however, Surinam law upholds Djuka law by providing it with the *ultima ratio* (physical force) which it does not itself possess. This is true in cases of rape. For this offense, the palaver of elders nowadays imposes a fine of Sf 50 (almost \$ 30.00), to be paid to the girl's family. For the Djuka, this is a large sum of money. The elders themselves have no physical means to enforce payment, but can threaten to inform the police, in which case the offender would face a lengthy imprisonment. The result is that the fine is paid: the presence of Surinam justice here works repressively, without the authorities even being aware of it.

8. *The offer of the mission.* Missionary work among the Cottica Djuka is carried out primarily by the Moravians, who have worked in Surinam since 1735, and further by the Roman Catholics. There is a competitive relationship between these two religious groups, yet a sort of territorial division has been worked out: In Langa Uku and the neighbouring villages the Catholic mission is most active, in the Agitiondro area the Moravians.

The Catholic mission station in this area was started in 1915, with a little school which began with seven pupils. After only one year, the first adult converted to Catholicism, typically enough a person who had developed a conflict with his own society.

From the journal of the mission post, 1917. "... Binta told his Reverence that he had committed a small misdeed (but it was a large one) and that he was therefore being persecuted by his race brothers, in connection with which he wanted to turn Catholic. The people were furious and threatened to burn down everything if Binta wasn't handed over within eight days. The District

¹⁸ Surinam criminal law is largely in conformity with Dutch criminal law (Wijnholt, 1965: 2-3, but cf. 67-74).

Commissioner thereupon went to Agitiondro, accompanied by the Father, and got an amnesty for him. Now he is a good Christian and with his whole family has become Catholic."

Is it possible to say after more than a generation, that the mission has had success in its work? One could answer this question affirmatively by pointing to the peaceful coexistence of mission and Djuka. The mission station with its church, its schools, store and sawmill, cannot be ignored in the people's life; the mission activities are accepted, often even valued; and many of the villagers have been baptized, even very old people occasionally are baptized, as we will note (p. 74). And even those who don't want to be baptized have no objection if their children or other relatives do, and may even encourage it. As a matter of fact, heathens will attend a church service without any qualms, should the occasion arise, as for instance for a funeral service or religious holiday. They appreciate such a service very much, especially if it is a long one. Noteworthy is the high degree of patience and tolerance exhibited by the heathens towards Christianity. E.g., during the funeral of a baptized woman, a pagan notable spurred everyone on to cooperate loyally: "She's been baptized: let's all help bury her the church's way."

But the answer to the question posed above must be negative insofar as the habits, institutions, religious concepts and values have not essentially been affected by Christianity. Of the approximately 200 marriages on which I have data, only six were solemnized in the church (and of those six couples three had already separated at the time of my research). The law against polygyny is not understood and certainly is not followed (one of every four married men has two or more wives): "God won't punish me for having two wives, on the contrary, I take good care of them and he'll reward me for it." "Because I have two wives, I can make many children for the school of the Father. Why then is he still not satisfied?" "God won't blame me for my two wives. I didn't steal them, did I?"

This slight effect of the mission is remarkable if we compare it with other parts of the world. Two random examples from New Guinea: (1) Among the Suki a protestant missionary society has worked since 1941. Van Nieuwenhuysen-Riedeman (1965: 5) says: "At present the influence of twenty years of mission teachery is already noticeable. Men up to the age of 35 seldom have two wives and if one of them is considering taking a second wife, his christian fellow-villages invariably try to keep him on the monogamous path! They usually succeed." (2) Serpenti (1965) reports that among the Kimaan, after 20 years of mission activity, a girl who became pregnant before she was married in the church killed herself because of this.

What causes this difference? One point might be the greater secular power

of the mission in New Guinea, but I hesitate to accept this as an adequate explanation.

Especially when we consider Christianity as a *substitute*, that is, when it pretends to take the place of the traditional religion, its success is limited. The Djuka say in all sincerity: "I've been baptized; I'm a church member; I'm Catholic." At the same time they take part in heathen rituals and fulfil various functions thereby (of priest; of master-of-ceremonies; of possessed). They view Catholicism as *something additional*, and in this sense they readily accept it: the supernatural is so important that one can't have too many contacts with it! This position is further understandable because of the nature of the traditional Djuka religion, which consists of a number of pantheons. Each pantheon has its own gods, with its own temples, priests, rituals, and secret language (cf. Hurault, 1961: 190—215). Christianity, as an addition, fits perfectly into such a conception! It may appear bizarre to us to hear a church choir of Bush Negro children, singing in Latin, but the Djuka themselves find it to be self-evident: it is the secret language which fits with this new pantheon. The missionaries aren't always aware of the supplementary character that Christianity has here. Because of this they can believe that 'paganism' will have been defeated once the old men have died. Sometimes they also accuse someone wrongly of dishonesty: "This morning N.N. sat in the first row for two hours during High Mass. By chance I was in his village a few hours later, and what do I see? He's making offerings at the shrine of the ancestors, that old hypocrite!"¹⁹

That the Djuka generally do not think of Christianity and their own religion as incompatible, is demonstrated continuously, as it is with offerings made to the Great Deity, their most powerful divinity. Outside of the central offering made to the Deity himself, sacrifices are made to other gods. Among these may be found a libation to *Masa Jesusu* (the Lord Jesus), for as they explicitly point out: "The Great Deity and Jesusu are the same, what does the first do? He punishes evil (kills witches), what does the second do? The same thing!" Insofar as I was concerned personally, it was accepted as self-evident that I, as a white man, was a member of the white man's church. Nevertheless, people repeatedly sacrificed in behalf of my family and myself to their

¹⁹ Here I am not judging these missionaries! On the contrary, I have noted that those who work among the Djuka have a tolerant attitude. The observation is made more in a spirit of amusement than of indignation.

ancestors and other gods, and appreciated it very much that I in turn brought libations to them.

The peaceful coexistence of church and Bush Negroes is the result of a process of mutual adaptation. As we saw earlier (p. 70) it wasn't always this way, and even today this doesn't always hold good. Specifically in the bulwark of the Great Deity, the village Agitiondro, there is passive resistance and the mission is viewed as a competitive agency. This attitude emanates especially from the priests of the Great Deity (*wokoman fu a gadu*) who live there, and who have developed a unique position of power (cf. p. 72). Of old, the same thing holds for the Paramount Chief (*Gaaman*) who is usually simultaneously the high priest of the Great Deity: He has always — successfully — resisted the establishment of mission schools in his territory, while at the same time making a plea for public schools (cf. Spalburg, 1899; Van Lier, 1919: 17—27; Thoden van Velzen, 1966: 22—23).

The most important change brought about by Christianity concerns the ritual of the dead. When a *heathen* dies, the first task of the grave priests (*oloman*) is to determine whether or not he has been a witch. This works as follows. Some men hide themselves, and the corpse is carried about by two bearers. If the deceased was "a man of good heart", then he will faultlessly "find" the concealed men (the corpse supposedly gives impulses to the bearers which lead them to the hidden men²⁰): him awaits a series of glorious feasts for the dead. But if the bearers continue walking or running around aimlessly, then this is proof that one is dealing with a witch: all expression of mourning must be halted, and the deceased is not accorded an honorable funeral. (At least half of the dead are considered witches²¹). In either case the widow or widower is "put into mourning". For at least one year this person must satisfy the mourning regulations, which are considered to be very onerous, and indeed are. He (she) must wear mourning clothes, must keep out of public life, may not move very far from the village, and may not have any connections with the opposite sex, under penalty of making the deceased jealous, which could lead to his (her) death also.

²⁰ For a detailed description, see van Lier, 1940: 277-278; Hurault, 1961: 162; Thoden van Velzen, 1966: 240-246.

²¹ I have data on only a small number of cases, and can therefore be no more precise than this. Thoden van Velzen-van Wetering (MS) found along the Tapanahony River that of 30 people having died within one year 21 were regarded as witches. Hurault (1961: 240) found a much lower percentage.

The widow/widower of a witch must be extra meticulous in following these precepts, because a witch is extra jealous!

The estate of a "good person" is distributed, after one year, among his family; however, that of a witch is confiscated by the priests of the Great Deity, and taken to his sanctuary in Agitiondro. There the priests select whatever they want, and graciously donate the rest back to the descendants.

At the demise of a *baptized person*, however, things go differently. The corpse is not carried around, and witch or no witch, it gets a church funeral.

Case J. The funeral of Ma Jolina (a baptized woman).

8 o'clock: The corpse of Ma Jolina, wrapped in a cloth, lies in the death-house; some notables sit in attendance. Loud weeping from some family members.

8:30: Arrival of funeral guests from other villages, including a son of the deceased. Da Adam (a notable) acts as if he wants to attack this son; in this way he expresses his indignation that the son didn't come earlier. With much noise and crying they are separated by other notables. — A palaver (*kutu*) about this occurrence follows for the next two hours, and is conducted in the usual fashion with easy talk and jokes which give rise to loud laughter. Finally the son is fined one bottle of liquor, and a notable, in order to counteract any possible negative consequences, offers an elaborate libation with which the others chime in in chorus: "We pray, Gods, to give the boy life, don't let cold death kill him, but grant him forgiveness!"

12 o'clock: The village headman asks for volunteers to go dig the grave in the mission station's cemetery. After much calling back and forth, several young men make themselves available. *14:00 hours:* The women bring food; they are scolded for being so late, but answer vehemently. All this right alongside of the corpse. *14:30 hours:* The mission's motor launch arrives to pick up the corpse, bringing a coffin donated by the mission. The grave priests lay out the corpse in the coffin, and spread 17 pagnes over it. Libations are made, among which one by the grave priests. The coffin is carried aboard, all accompany it to the mission station. Note that so far no single Christian symbol has been used! *15:30 hours:* Arrival at the church. The people's behavior changes as if by magic. They line up in an orderly queue and speak only in whispers — a woman represses her sobs. A nice service follows in the church, the boys choir sings "Dies irae, dies illa". After the coffin is lowered, the members of the family have the chance to throw a shovelful of earth on the coffin; they are preceded by the grave priests.

As we leave the cemetery, Da Jukun (a priest of the Great Deity) whispers to me: "Fine collection of witches he's got lying here, the Father."

For old people, the certainty of an honorable funeral is the major attraction of Christianity. Old age itself is suspect in the Djuka's eyes ("Why doesn't he die? He must be using unusually strong measures to protect himself!") and many of the elderly people are considered to be witches. It is true that one may not accuse a living person of witchcraft in so many words (since the proof of witchcraft can be established

only after death), but nevertheless people's attitudes are suggestive: in the long run the very old themselves begin to believe that they are witches. (As a matter of fact, the ethnographer, too, can think in these terms, and can predict with great accuracy who will be called a witch after his demise and who will not, for example). As a result, to escape their fate, they let themselves be baptized. But the sad thing is, that their environment sees this as an implied admission of guilt, so that with this act they lose what little goodwill remains them.

Case K. Ma Faandi is an old woman with a bad reputation. For years she has had a hideous ulcer on her foot; when I treat this, people react in a so-so fashion, for they consider it an absolute sign of her being a witch. The Father tells me that shortly before this she had asked him to baptize her. I casually let this be known to some men. The consternation and indignation are general: "You see? Just as we thought! It should be forbidden for old people to be baptized." In connection with this they point to old Da Agiden, who had always protested the baptism of old people, but who let himself be baptized six days before his death. They suggest that he had good reason!

None of the baptized are thus proclaimed as witches anymore. Originally they led me to believe that for the baptized there is no effort made at all to establish proof of witchcraft, so that their estate, for instance, could not be confiscated. I assumed therefore that, in the long run, this situation would drastically affect the belief in witches. The facts, however, turned out to be different.

Case L. When I had been involved in my research for a little over a month, Sa Ku, a baptized woman, died in a neighboring village, and was given a church funeral. I asked what would happen if she was a witch. The answer was: "Nothing! but *Masa Jesusu* will punish her!" More than half a year after this, the confiscated estates of some witches were loaded, with the necessary rituals, in canoes, to be taken to the Great Deity in Agitiondro (*luku lai*). Among these were Sa Ku's possessions. The way this came about is as follows: Before the funeral, a lock of her hair had been cut off and in the evening after the funeral this hank of hair, tied to a paddle, was carried around just as traditionally happens to the corpse. "We don't do that in all cases, but only when we have strong suspicions... She didn't even come close to finding the hidden people."

Here we clearly see the persistence of certain concepts and values, even where the cultural forms have changed. This is true also for the mourning requirements for the widow(er). We have seen that these demands are exacting, so much so that Van Lier (1919: 30) considers the release from these obligations as one of the most important arguments in favor of baptism for these people. Indeed it has happened, when the mission was new, that an individual hurriedly had himself and his wife baptized when the latter lay dying, in order to escape

mourning. Nowadays, however, one can save oneself the effort: even if both the deceased and the survivor had been baptized, the latter still must go through mourning for one year, equivalent to the heathen's. No one can shirk this duty.

9. *The medical "offer"*. The offer from the medical side is varied, but by Western standards still very inadequate. Apart from what the authorities perform in this area (see p. 69) there is the mine hospital in Moengo, while the mission also makes medical aid available, even if it is somewhat amateurish.

I treat the medical "offer" as a separate category because of the Djuka's concepts about sickness and death: theirs' is a social etiology which considers disease — at least most diseases — as a sign that something is wrong with the social relations. One becomes ill as the result of jealousy, witchcraft, or from supernatural punishment for unsocial behavior. Healing is therefore primarily sought in the social sphere: the jealousy must disappear, the witch must stop, the harmonious relations within the lineage (or between husband and wife, or between co-wives) must be reinstated. This involves complex ritual, and legions of Gods and spirits, but this is the essence. Viewed in this fashion, sickness and death are an important element in the system of social control.²²

One might suppose that these beliefs keep the Djuka from visiting the doctor. But on the contrary, the Western physician is very popular: "If we held clinic every day, we'd have our waiting-room filled every day," says a physician at the hospital in Moengo, where the patients must pay some trifle for each visit.²³ The missionaries even complain that many go to church only to get medicines. Yet the emphasis here often is placed other than where an outsider would expect or hope to find it. It may happen that an old man will make an eight-hour canoe trip to Moengo, to get an injection which will allow him to better fulfil his sexual obligations, while he leaves a child at home with serious burns or festering sores.

In recent times a number of deliveries take place in the hospital.

The first delivery of a Djuka woman in Moengo hospital occurred in 1931.

²² See also Thoden van Velzen (1966: ch. 7), and Thoden van Velzen-van Wetering, *passim*.

²³ It has also been noted elsewhere that a change in the existing belief system and values is not a prerequisite to the acceptance of medical aid (cf. van Amelsvoort, 1964: 19-24).

Until the 50's this remained a rarity, but then people apparently had gotten used to the idea, and it became a habit: 1947, 4 deliveries; 1950, 17; 1960, 71. Roughly one-fourth of all Cottica Djuka children are now born in the hospital. For a first child one usually goes there even if it takes a long canoe trip. For the subsequent pregnancies the position of the foetus is determined, and if that is normal the delivery is awaited in the village. Traditionally, one or more women in each village act as midwives (the one in Langa Uku could explicitly describe in what respect her methods differed from those used in the hospital). In the early days, when a Djuka woman gave birth in the hospital, she screamed freely, as she would have at home. But in this sense, too, she has learned to adapt, and today she acts "brave". It is interesting to note that the rationale which the Djuka spontaneously developed — i.e., in unusual cases delivery in the hospital, otherwise at home — is the same one which some experts recommend for developing countries (cf. van Amelsvoort, 1964 : 115, 130).

In some cases, however, the existing values most assuredly do prevent a visit to the doctor, sometimes with dramatic results.

Case M. Sa Kumba's baby suffers from intestinal disturbances, and is in serious condition. She takes the baby to Agitiondro to have it treated (*seeka*) by her father, who is a priest of *Ganda* (a powerful God, although less important than the Great Deity). She also plans to take it to the doctor, who holds clinics every Wednesday in Agitiondro. As she walks through the village on Wednesday morning, the little boy in her arms, she passes her father's hut. He tells her that *Ganda* would take offense if she went first to the doctor and only later to him. The woman gives up the visit to the doctor, and that afternoon lets herself be treated by her father. He tells her that it is already too late, and advises her to return with the child to the village, that it may die in its own environment. The next day, it is dead.

In other cases, when it is felt that someone is doomed to die, his removal to the hospital is denied because there is objection to his dying in such alien surroundings.

Does Western medicine affect the Djuka belief system? For the near future, not at all. For what held for Christianity also holds for medicine: the Djuka consider it an addition, not a substitute. They go to the Great Deity's oracle *and* to the hospital; sacrifice to the avenging spirit *and* swallow patent medicine; let themselves be ritually purified *and* treated by the doctor. It is, of course, not impossible that this will change. Today illness and death still present an immediate threat, even to young people. But suppose that medical aid were to become as effective as it is in our own culture and that the thought of death could thus be banned, at least for people in the prime of life. Then, although people wouldn't necessarily lose their faith in the social genesis of disease, this idea would become much less important.

Specifically, the belief in witchcraft would lose impetus. Turner (1964: 315—316) points out that anthropologists too easily accept the idea that witchcraft accusations only *reflect* tensions, while in many

cases disease and death lead to witchcraft accusations, thereby *generating* tensions. He says:

"Analyses of witchcraft ought... to include local statistics of disease and death. Indeed, a few sudden deaths in a happy village may provoke severer anger and sharper witchcraft accusations than death in a quarrelsome group where, so to speak, mystical harmful action is anticipated."

This is directly applicable to the Djuka. When a few years ago a number of people in Langa Uku died in rapid succession, some of them young people, some middle aged, this led to covert accusations and counter-accusations which spoiled the social atmosphere. Improved medical facilities probably would not only have saved some lives, but might actually have prevented difficulties of a social nature.²⁴

10. *Education.* Since 1915, when the first school in this region was started, education here has been continuous albeit, for most of that period, elementary indeed. In spite of this "offer" which has been held out for more than a generation, only a few people can read and write, and then only a little. And although all instruction is in Dutch, there is still no one in the village who speaks this alien tongue even passably.

Nowadays, a five-minute boat-ride away, there is a school which Langa Uku must share with three other villages. In the morning, its teacher personally picks up his pupils in his boat, and in the afternoon he returns them. About ten or fifteen children, two or three of which are girls, from the village attend this school, and there are a few at the boarding school of the mission station: Altogether about one-fifth of the school-age children attend classes (note that Surinam has had compulsory education since 1876!).

Yet, practically all the boys visit school for one or two years. Some go before their sixth birthday, others not even when they are six or seven because they live with their families in a bushcamp or in a school-less village. No fear: they'll go when they are eight or nine, if not older (in the second grade there was even a boy of thirteen, and one of fifteen.²⁵) They are not embarrassed to receive the same instruction as much younger children.

²⁴ I do not mean to suggest here that sickness and death are the only causes of witchcraft beliefs. For an exhaustive treatment of the Djuka's relevant concepts, see Thoden van Velzen-van Wetering (in press).

²⁵ The age of the pupils has been partly estimated, and partly derived from the baptismal register of the mission.

The pupils seem to enjoy school. Partly because of this, the instructor has practically no opportunity to mete out punishment: staying after school or doing detention work at home is considered fun; should he beat one of the children, he'd immediately have difficulties with the parents. In general, this is no problem. The children are docile and calm. There is not much absenteeism, but sometimes all the children from one village will be missing, which indicates that a Feast for the Dead has been held. It is ritually prescribed at such occasions to dance the whole night through (*booko-dé*), and like most villagers the children catch up on lost sleep the next morning, often aided by a hearty swallow of *tafia* (hard liquor).

Usually, after a few years, the parents take their child out of school so that he can go to work. They consider school a frill and a lark: a little of it is nice, but it shouldn't last too long! In 1961, the teacher for the first time attempted a fourth grade. He started with eight pupils, whose parents he had finally argued into letting their children continue school. Half a year later, there were only two students left. One of these was a gifted boy who continued in spite of his family's obstructionism. In the morning they would hide his trousers (it is required to wear shirt and trousers to school), and one day they just left to their bush camp without warning him or making provision for him. With the teacher's moral support, he still continued.

The villagers' resistance has still another cause: there is no love lost between them and the teacher. Although in reality the causal relationship is even more complex: because there is resistance, there is antagonism, and because there is antagonism, there is resistance.

Case N. Teacher P. lives within shouting distance from a Bush Negro village, but socially he might as well live on the moon. He and his family are completely removed from village life and practically never visit it. Some years ago he settled in the Cottica area, filled with ideals: he would "lift up" the Bush Negroes with such innovations as the introduction of clubs, and by making adult education available. For the latter there was, at least in the beginning, some interest, but that evaporated rapidly (because, the villagers claim, he wanted to give his lessons at an unsuitable hour). The Djuka feel that he considers himself better than they, and they resent it ("He is too high-and-mighty; he has no respect; he doesn't know how to act.").

The teacher on the other hand: "I know they take it badly that I behave like a city man, but I am what I am. Besides, if I adjusted to their ways, they wouldn't like that either."

Over time, the relationship has become more tense until now many villagers refuse him even the commonest courtesies: once when his boat had drifted off, they wouldn't get it for him except for a price. Repeatedly, his chickens and ducks are stolen. (The goods of the ethnographer, which it would be simple to snatch, are never touched.)

He feels himself surrounded by enemies, and fears being bewitched. No wonder he longs for the day when he can go live in the city again.

Here we have the example of a teacher who is "progressive" as against a population which is "conservative", or, if you like, "backward". It is interesting to note that the French ethnographer Hurault (1961: 132, 298—299), in his studies on the related Boni Bush Negroes, takes about the same view as our Djuka, being only more vehement. He concludes that the Bush Negroes can only be harmed by Western education; most of them would gain practically nothing from it, certainly nothing which would be useful in their own society, and besides, lose time which could have been more profitably spent in acquiring proficiency in their own milieu. "A normal intelligence has no room for acquiring the mass of technical knowledge of Bush Negro society, while at the same time pursuing the usual education." (p. 298). The few, he claims, who are really reached by Western education, move to the city and are lost to their own society. In short: "Les tentatives inspirées par le fanatisme civilisateur n'auront d'autre résultat que d'appauvrir leur culture originale" (p. 299).

I believe that we see a phenomenon here, in Hurault's writing, which may be noted with other ethnographers: they are so charmed by "their" culture that they view any external factor of change as a threat. I do not underestimate the knowledge which a Djuka must acquire of his own social and physical environment, but neither do I believe that this learning process must necessarily exclude some Western education. Many Djuka have no choice but to work as migrant laborers in the city (see next paragraph). Without adequate education these will always constitute a *Lumpenproletariat*. Perhaps better education may indeed bring about an increase in the number of Djuka who give up their own culture and "creolize". We can lament the occurrence if it materializes, but it seems unreasonable to maintain an artificial barrier between them and the other groups of Surinamers, just to prevent the eventuality.

Meanwhile, Hurault's observation on the poor results of education also hold for the Djuka. Of course this is primarily so because the children don't stay in school long enough. A second reason is that the acquired skills (reading, writing, arithmetic) are insufficiently maintained, because, in fact, they fulfil few needs in Djuka society.

There are practically no books or newspapers in the village, some illustrated magazines are found, but only because of the pictures. The only function that writing has is to communicate with absent villagers (for many reasons, e.g.,

polygyny, migrant labor, many are away from their natal villages for long periods). To satisfy this need a small number of village scribes suffices. Some of these scribes have completely forgotten Dutch and write Djuka in an orthography of their own invention. Arithmetic is useful to check on the lumber buyers. At most one or two villagers are capable of this, and these, too, make their knowledge available to others.

A third factor is the nature of the educational process. As noted, this takes place almost exclusively in Dutch, which to the Djuka is a totally alien language. In the third grade the school child reads a language lesson very nicely, but it doesn't understand half of what it says. Worse yet is that the whole context of the learned material is foreign. The language books used are from Holland, so that it can happen at a lesson in plurals that the children, in chorus, repeat the teacher's: "One oak, brown oaks". And this in a country that is covered with trees . . . but has no oaks.

A boy of about ten recites the following little poem:

Als ik jarig ben.

Ik zit voor het venster
Daar hoor ik gefluit
't Is Jan van hierover
Die gaat er op uit
Die zit voor de regen
Niet thuis zoals ik
Maar klotst op zijn klompen
Door dun en door dik.
Ach had ik toch klompen
Maar 'k weet wat ik doe,
Als 'k jarig ben ga ik
Ze vragen aan moe.

For my birthday.

I sit by the window
There I hear whistling
It's John from across (the street)
Who is playing outside
Who is not being kept in
The house because of the rain
But tromps in his wooden
Shoes through thick and thin.
Oh, if I had wooden shoes
But I know what I'll do,
On my birthday I am going
To ask mother for them.

Even if his knowledge of Dutch was adequate, this little poem would be gibberish to him. A Djuka child doesn't have birthdays (and doesn't even know how old it is); Djuka huts have no windows; Djuka do not whistle; "John from across the street" implies a street, which Djuka villages do not have; Djuka boys are never kept inside because of the rain, and always go about barefoot, never in shoes, and certainly not in wooden shoes!

This strange educational context is, of course, objectionable. That the education is given in Dutch may at first glance appear to be equally objectionable. However, as long as in Surinam Dutch remains the

official language, and all other ethnic groups receive their education in this tongue, there is much in favor of retaining the status quo.²⁶ Otherwise, on the basis of their lack of knowledge of the prevailing language alone, the Djuka will inevitably retain the inferior position which they now occupy in the larger Surinam economy.

There has been much resistance among the Djuka to the education of girls. "That isn't good for anything," they say, "it only gives them airs; they only use their knowledge to secretly write letters to their lovers and to cheat on their husbands." Indeed one notes occasional dysfunctional results among the few women who have been educated, especially among those who have been in the nuns' boardingschool. The nuns designed their school to resemble a somewhat old-fashioned girls' boardingschool in Holland, without in the least considering the society to which their pupils must return. For most of the girls, what was learned has as little effect as water on a duck's back, but in rare cases it "sticks".

Case O. Sa Kelia has returned to the village after some years in the boarding school, and considers herself to be far above the *vulgus profanum*. She wears a dress every day, refuses to work with the other women, and sulks about all day. The Father, who is less than ecstatic over this product of the mission, mockingly calls her "Your Ladyship".

Sundays she goes to church, ostentatiously carrying her prayerbook, accompanied by her girlfriends. At the same time, and although she still hasn't reached the ripe old age of twenty, she has already gone through two husbands, and it is whispered that she has affairs with other men. She tries to find support among the other girls who have been at the school. This is too much for the village, there is fear that she will turn the wives against their husbands. For a while the situation simmers, then erupts in a good-sized fight. Sa Kelia receives kicks and blows, and finally the *basia* (an aid of the village chief) hides her in the hut of the village eldest to prevent something worse. The next day she goes to Moengo and lives there with her brother. Her mother repeatedly tries to get her to return, but in vain. How she gets by in Moengo, is open to speculation.

Sa Kelia was so estranged from village life that it was fore-ordained, so to speak, that she would leave; the fight was more excuse than cause. Note further that she had an unusual position in having a brother who lived more or less permanently in Moengo, and to whom she could turn for aid. This helps explain her behavior.

²⁶ I am not concerned here with whether it might not be better to begin instruction in the native language, and to introduce Dutch only gradually. The method now employed (Dutch from the very beginning) leads, also among other ethnic groups, to an uncomprehending verbalism (cf. Voskuil, 1956: VII-IX). It may be added that public schools nowadays use language books especially written for Surinam children.

11. *The economic "offer"; migrant labor.* By Western standards, the Djuka are very poor, and so they are in their own eyes. A common greeting is: "How are things with you?"; "So-so; we don't have enough"; "We too, we eat the food of hunger"; "Yes, too bad....". This subjective feeling of poverty has developed because in the recent past things were indeed better, especially just after the Second World War, when comparatively much money was made in the sale of lumber. Then too, they compare their situation with that of the people in the city, and again feel themselves bad off.

The expression "to eat hunger food" would seem to imply that the Djuka starve. This is not true, although their diet is unbalanced: it consists of monstrous amounts of cassave or rice, but is deficient in proteins, animal fats and vitamins.²⁷ But the Djuka have many sayings in which the concept "eating" occurs, which indicates the high value they place upon food and all that is connected with food.

If the Djuka feel themselves to be poor, then this is primarily because of lack of money; they are not self-sufficient, even in the past they never were. Even in the period just after the Escape, when involved in a life-and-death struggle with the whites, they were dependent upon these very whites for their ironwares, textiles, guns and ammunition. This is why they repeatedly attacked plantations, and why later, when the peace-treaty was signed (in 1761), it was agreed that the whites would regularly deliver "presents", which consisted especially of the above named goods.²⁸

Nowadays, aside from those already enumerated, the following "Western" products are indispensable: kitchenwares, soap, gasoline, salt, sugar. The Djuka also like to buy dried fish and salted meat in the store (which somewhat ameliorates their protein deficiency), and liquor, and as delicacies, bread and flour. In villages not too far removed from the sawmill, the huts are nowadays built with electrically-sawn planks rather than with hand-hewn ones. Sometimes plywood doors are bought, etc.

The two major sources of money income are lumber and migrant labor. The lumber trade doesn't bring in much money, however. The valuable trees along the river have mostly been cut down already; trees further inland cannot be dragged to the river with the primitive techniques available (mostly brute human muscle power). Lesser wood

²⁷ Cf. van der Kuyp, 1962, *passim*.

²⁸ Wolbers, 1861: 284; de Groot, 1963: 59-67.

for cross-beams occurs aplenty, but because of the competition from Brazil, it has almost no market. The management of the mine in Moengo sometimes lets it be known that it has need of shoring beams. Then everyone goes to work. They cut, they saw, they drag the cross-beams to the river and bring them to Moengo in small lots of four or six, paddling at least eight hours. Proceeds: Sf 1.50 (\$ 0.80) a piece.

For the cutting of large trees such as baboonwood there are permanent partnerships: two or three friends from one village (thus at the same time relatives), a father and his sons, or brothers. Cutting the tree down can be done by as few as two men, but for dragging at least 10 or 12 men are needed and sometimes teams of as much as sixty people are involved, consisting of men from different villages. This work is based on reciprocity, not on pay. "You can only avoid it if you have a really important excuse (*fuka*)". On a particular day, 12 men dragged 13 trees to the river. The dragging took about one half hour of very hard labor per tree. The yield was Sf 6,— (\$ 3.20) per tree. Until a few years ago, there used to be great eating parties after the work in the bush. But this has been discontinued, according to my informants, because it became too much trouble ("The women had to drag big kettles of food into the bush, it just was too much").

There is, however, a handful of individuals along the Cottica River who make fairly large sums in the lumber business, primarily by acting as buyers for the larger lumber companies (see also p. 89).

Migrant labor. Most Djuka acquire their humble incomes through migrant labor. They go to the city to work as porters, e.g., at the saw-mills; or they go to the concessions of the large lumber companies deep in the interior; or to Afobakka where they work at the construction of the large dam.²⁹ Especially from May until August, the time when the men are least needed in agriculture, most of the young men are away, as well as many of middle age, some of whom take their wife and a child or two. Then it is quiet in the village, "cold" as the Djuka say, and social activities are restricted to a minimum. If they stay away longer, the women complain bitterly: "If you get to the city, go look up my man and tell him to get back here!" A woman: "Look, I've cut myself in the foot while clearing my garden plot (fairly heavy work which, by Djuka concepts, is just within a woman's capacity, but by which the aid of a man is appreciated). That is because I had to do it without my man." The village chief: "Really, the men shouldn't leave before the plots have been cleared." A man: "And then, if there is no money to buy soap, gasoline, and salt? Then the women complain also!"

²⁹ Cf. Lamur, 1965: 129-131 (the dam has since been completed).

Sometimes a man doesn't return in time to cut the garden plot (Sept.—Oct.). If he is young, and only recently married, the family sometimes allows his wife to continue living off her mother's garden without getting one of her own, as long as he sends home some money now and then. Other men nowadays get some acquaintance to clear the plot, paying him Sf 1,— to Sf 2,— per day; the first form of labor-for-hire within Djuka society!

Djuka men are thus regularly absent from the tribal environment for extended periods (three to eight months, sometimes even longer) and usually are then in the city. One would assume that this must be a first class acculturative factor. In fact, it has surprisingly little influence. It is much more remarkable how easily a returned villager adjusts himself. In an elaborate family palaver he is informed of what has happened while he was away, he puts on his *camisa* and his *pagne* (the traditional costume) and takes up his old life. Some are more than happy to be back, others are a little sorry to leave behind the city with its movie theaters, soccer games and other amusements. But for these, too, the feeling is ambivalent: "The city is expensive, you have to pay for everything, for sleeping, for eating, and transportation; you've got to be careful or you'll be cheated; they give you the runaround."

The insignificant influence of migrant labor can be explained through the lifeway of the Djuka in the city. Usually they live in mean, unfurnished wooden shanties in the compound of some Indian shopkeeper, for which they must pay Sf 0,25 per person per night. Lamur (1965: 125—129) found that of 52 persons interviewed, 40 lived with relatives, and the other 12 with tribal- and district-fellows; thus no one with members of an alien tribe or ethnic group! Outside of business, all their social contacts are with members of their own group. In other words, they have carried their social structure — albeit in impoverished form — with them to the city. Even those who have lived in the city for many years, continue to consider their natal village as their real home.

Only a few creolize, i.e. become a part of the Creole urban population. This happens primarily to those who carry on a lengthy affair with a Creole woman (or another city woman), and next, to that rare Djuka who has had a little more education (especially teachers and catechists). Finally, besides the pull of the city, the push out of the village can play a role: some leave the village after a serious breach of conduct, such as sexual intercourse with a woman of a forbidden category. Such individuals would have to stay away a long time, at least one or two years, to give the indignation a chance to die down, and would even

then take the risk of returning to somewhat less than a welcome. It doesn't require elaboration that this, too, is a factor leading to permanent settlement in the city (for an example, see Köbben, 1967 b: 45—46).³⁰ Of the roughly 200 adults belonging to the inner circle of relatives of the village Langa Uku, eleven live more or less permanently outside of the tribal territory. But even these are not all completely detribalized.

The migrant laborers in the city usually do not get paid much for their unskilled labor. Furthermore, they do not always succeed in finding work in Paramaribo, where unemployment is endemic. Some go home after a few months with only a handful of guilders, others with no money at all either because they spent all they earned in the city, or because they found no money-paying job at all. Only a minority, especially those who work on the concessions of the large lumber companies, succeed in saving a few hundred guilders with which to buy something substantial. Desirable are such things as sewing machines, transistor radios, petromax lamps, clocks or watches, and outboard motors. These are all still rare articles in the villages (in Langa Uku at the time of my research there was only one outboard motor) and therefore give prestige to their owner. He has the tendency to show off these things, and this element of conspicuous consumption is something new in Djuka society (cf. Köbben, 1967 b: 50—51). In some cases nowadays this occurs in an organized fashion.

Case P. During the feast for the dead in Agitiondro there is a parade of young men, who are attired in pagnes with a yard-long train which is carried by children. One of the participants carries a flag, another a mirror, some have pennants made of bank-notes of Sf. 25,—. The leader wears a kind of chef's hat on which is written in large letters "*gudubele*" (litt.: "rich lineage"); he speaks through a horn: "Attention, attention, we have money in abundance, candy and cigarets." The participants scatter pennies and candy about, and hand out cigarets. The (manifestation of the) Great Deity takes a look and pronounces his great satisfaction: "There's no harm in it; if somebody objects to it I'll kill him." Everyone's attention is riveted on this spectacle; the traditional food sacrifice that is held at the same time, attracts little interest.

That night these same young men erect a booth, as at a fair, in which they display their precious objects: four radios, two record players, three sewing machines, four burning petromax lamps, two mirrors, one outboard motor. Much barking through the horn: "Come see this, come see this"; hundreds of people indeed come to take a look. Otherwise nothing happens: just showing off possessions!

³⁰ These three factors (concubinage with a city woman, more education, and "push") do not exclude each other: specifically the first and the third sometimes go hand in hand.

Such a display was first offered in a neighboring village; here it is done on a vaster scale to outdo that other village. "It is a race; all young men who have the money can participate."

There are still other, somewhat startling, examples of conspicuous consumption, such as the sporting of a gold tooth (actually a gold cap for which the going rate is Sf 10,— to Sf 15,—) or to be fitted with false teeth.

12. *The circumstances under which the offer takes place.* Why don't more Djuka creolize? The foregoing section gives a partial answer, but a factor not mentioned so far is the attitude of the other ethnic groups towards the Djuka, especially of the Creoles themselves.

Most of the Creoles consider themselves to be other and better people than the Bush Negroes, even though they do not differ very much from them in so far as race or language is concerned. The Bush Negroes are thought of as the savages out of the jungle, unrepentant heathens, impertinent, opinionated, mendacious, and stupid. Even a man such as W. F. van Lier (1919: 18), who was truly interested in them and who so enriched the ethnographic knowledge about them, demonstrated something of this attitude, as in this example: "I try to get them interested in the civilized life, I spend much effort in breaking their innate Bush Negro habits of underhandedness and sneakiness, of lying and cheating."

The Creoles also believe that the Bush Negroes stink, a belief which constitutes a regular part of the race myth, but fits oddly here. Otherwise, it fulfils the same function here as in the race myth, that is, the expression of contempt and aversion for the other group.

A Creole informant: "Have you noticed that they have a disagreeable odor about them? In any case *we* can't stand it! It may be because they use other foods than we do, or because they don't bury their corpses, — maybe it is a grave odor. Or because they don't bathe,³¹ or maybe it is just a jungle smell."

Along with the outlined attitude there is a clear separation between the Djuka and the Creoles. Jahoda (1966: 199—205) describes how in Ghana villages boys have an (unrealistically) optimistic view of their future potential: in almost every one's lineage there occurs a doctor, a teacher, or a higher functionary. There is, in other words, a smooth transition from the people living in tribal circumstances to the elite functions, and the latter therefore appear to be within everyone's reach. For the Djuka, there is none of this.

³¹ Which, in fact, they do very regularly.

It must be admitted that there is an indication of change, especially among the nationalistic younger Creoles. These see the Bush Negroes as the first heroic fighters against colonialism. So we read in a newspaper (*de Vrije Stem* of June 26, 1965): "It is the Maroons (Bush Negroes) who *fought* for our freedom, and not the city Negroes who allowed themselves to be mistreated, waiting for a liberty that would be *presented* to them." Among the usually strongly nationalistic Creole students in Holland there exists a lively interest in the Bush Negroes for the same reason.

As for their part, the Djuka attitude to the city Creoles is one of ambivalence. On the one hand they look down upon them ("*We have defied the white man . . .*") and feel rancor when they are treated by the Creoles as simpletons. Numberless are the tales — many doubtlessly true — of how the city people try to cheat them and make fun of them.

On the other hand they realize that these city folk, Creoles, Chinese, and many (East) Indians, are indeed more sophisticated, and they try not to look too bad by comparison.

Case Q. In the past the Djuka men would let their hair grow long, and braided it. In order not to be noticed in the city they have begun to have it cut. Soon there was only one man left on the Cottica River who refused to conform, a famed notable whose long braids were his pride.

Once when he was in the city, he was followed by a troop of jeering children. He was so humiliated that he sat crying on the ground with shame, and that same night he cut off his long braids.

It used to be illegal for Bush Negroes to wear *pagne* and *camisa* in town. There is still a square called *Poelepantje*, literally "pull (off) *pagne*, place where one must take off one's *pagne*." Nowadays, enforcement is unnecessary. Before going to town, every Djuka puts on Western dress, and he doesn't want it any other way: "becoming a gentleman" he calls it. Back in the village he immediately takes off those bothersome clothes. Only a few of the younger men will continue to wear Western dress: they are known as "trouser men".

13. *Internal social control: religious concepts and values.* Some theorists define Westernization or modernization in terms of social mobility (cf. Köbben, 1964: 54—57). According to them a modern (Western) mentality exists in a society where the average citizen no longer believes that he is born in poverty, lives in poverty, and will die in poverty, but believes that he may improve his condition through personal effort.

Up to a point, Djuka society tolerates someone who earns more than others through hard work. As noted (p. 86) there are even some forms

of conspicuous consumption which are in the process of being accepted. But there are limits. Very soon, people will begin to feel that someone is enriching himself at the cost of the community, and effective mechanisms of social control are brought to bear.

Case R. Valisi, the husband of a Langa Uku woman, has returned to the village after an absence of three years: the proud owner of a boat with an 18-horsepower outboard motor. He derives more trouble than pleasure from it, however. People who have to go somewhere, for instance to Moengo, (two hours with an outboard motor, or eight hours by paddling), ask to go with him or will even say: "Take me there, will you?" Valisi proposes to start a daily service to Moengo for a modest fixed price. General indignation! How dare he demand money from his parents-in-law! (Note that most villagers are his parents-in-law...).

Case S. Da Tengi is a model of the small entrepreneur. Years ago he used to deliver wood to buyers, who in turn would sell it to a large lumber company. But since he was repeatedly cheated by these buyers, he began to deliver directly to the company. The directorship greatly admired him: he fulfilled his contracts scrupulously, and his bills checked out to the penny, although he could neither read nor write. He delivered as much as Sf 12,000 (\$ 6,700.00) worth per year. One day, to everyone's surprise, he let it be known that he was going to stop deliveries. "There is no more salable wood along the river, it just isn't worth the effort anymore."

The real reason was that people were jealous of him. He had been careful not to change anything in his way of life. His hut remained as simple as everyone else's. He discharged his kinship obligations more than generously. Still he felt the hostile sentiments around him, and thought himself threatened with witchcraft. When one of his grandchildren died, and another became ill afterwards, he decided to stop his lumber transactions.

Still, he has not been defeated. He now works on the distant Tibiti river as foreman of a team of laborers, on a concession of the same lumber company. And he plans to start dealing in wood again, in a few years, quietly.

14. *Conclusion.* Our conclusion can now be formulated concisely. Djuka social structure and culture contain strong defenses against acculturation. The external factors of change are not sufficient, not even in combination, to break this resistance. Therefore, although this society does absorb new elements and does exhibit change, for now continuity is dominant.³²

A. J. F. KÖBBEN

³² For obvious reasons pseudonyms have been used for some individuals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Van Amelsvoort, V. F. P. M.* (1964): Culture, stone age and modern medicine. Van Gorcum, Assen.
- Currie, A.* (MS) Nota inzake bestuurszorg voor Bosnegers en Indianen (typed report, 1948).
- Gonggrijp, J. W.* (MS) Nota van 25 December 1918.
- De Groot, S. W.* (1963): Van isolatie naar integratie; de Surinaamse Marrons en hun afstammelingen. M. Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage.
- De Groot, S. W.* (MS) An early attempt at community development.
- Hoebel, E. A.* (1958): Man in the primitive world. McGraw Hill Book Co, New York, etc. 2nd ed.
- Hurault, J.* (1961): Les noirs réfugiés Boni de la Guyane française. Mémoires de l'Ifan, Dakar.
- Jahoda, G.* (1966): Social aspirations, magic and witchcraft in Ghana. In: P. C. Lloyd (ed): The new elites of tropical Africa. Oxf. Un. Press, ch. 8.
- Köbben, A. J. F.* (in press): Law at the village level; the Cottica Djuka of Surinam.
- Köbben, A. J. F.* (1964): Van primitieven tot medeburgers. Van Gorcum, Assen.
- Köbben, A. J. F.* (1965): review of Hurault (1961). *Caribbean Studies* 5: 63-65.
- Köbben, A. J. F.* (1967a): Participation and quantification. In: D. G. Jongmans and P. C. W. Gutkind (eds.): Anthropologists in the field. Van Gorcum, Assen.
- Köbben, A. J. F.* (1967b): Unity and disunity; Cottica Djuka society as a kinship system. *Bijdr. Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde* 123: 10-52.
- Van der Kuyp, E.* (1962): Literatuuroverzicht betreffende de voeding en de voedingsgewoonten van de Boslandcreool in Suriname. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 41: 205-271.
- Lamur, H. E.* (1965): De levensomstandigheden van de in Paramaribo werkende Aukaner arbeiders. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 44: 119-132.
- Van Lier, W. F.* (1919): Iets over de Boschnegers in de Boven-Marowijne. Paramaribo.
- Van Lier, W. F.* (1940): Aanteekeningen over het geestelijk leven en de samenleving der Djoeka's in Suriname. *Bijdragen Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde* 99: 131-294.
- Van Nieuwenhuijsen-Riedeman, C. H.* (MS 1965): Preliminary report on marriage regulations in Suki.
- Parsons, T.* (1964): The social system. Free Press Paperback Ed. New York-London.
- Serpenti, L. M.* (1965): Cultivators in the swamps. Van Gorcum, Assen.
- Spalburg, J. G.* (1899): Schets van de Marowijne en hare bewoners. Paramaribo.
- Thoden van Velzen, H. U. E.* (1966): Politieke beheersing in de Djuka maatschappij. Afrika Studiecentrum, Leiden. 2 vol.
- Thoden van Velzen-van Wetering, W.* (forthcoming): Djuka witchcraft beliefs; a sociological approach.
- Turner, V. W.* (1964): Witchcraft and sorcery; taxonomy versus dynamics. *Africa* 34: 314-324.
- Voskuil, J. J.* (1956): Het Nederlands van Hindoestaanse kinderen in Suriname. Amsterdam.
- Wolbers, J.* (1861): Geschiedenis van Suriname. Amsterdam.
- Wong, E.* (1938): Hoofdenverkiezing en stamverspreiding der Boschnegers van Suriname in de 18e en 19e eeuw. *Bijdragen Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 97: 295-362.
- Wijnholt, M. R.* (1965): Strafrecht in Suriname. A.E.E. Kluwer, Deventer.