THE FORMATION OF A FREE NON-WHITE ELITE IN PARAMARIBO, 1800-1863

*Ellen Neslo**

Abstract

Manumission in Suriname existed from the time slavery started (± 1650), and it was mainly an urban phenomenon. The freed slaves, also called the manumitted, and their descendants made up the group of free non-white people. This group grew quickly and at the start of the 19th century, it became the largest segment of the city's population. The diversity of occupations practiced by this group demonstrated the important role this segment of the population played in Paramaribo. An inventory of the ethnic origin of all the private-slave owners in Paramaribo in 1862 showed that most slave owners possessing between one and twenty-five slaves, were free black or coloured people. Most slave owners with more than twenty-five slaves were white.

This article is an attempt to bring nuance to the stereotypical image and the limited role attributed to the free non-white population of Paramaribo. An impression of how free non-whites, belonging to the elite of Paramaribo, actually lived in a slave society is given by the characteristic story of the Vlier family. They were well educated, socially engaged and they lived together with white and coloured people.

Keywords: Paramaribo, Suriname, manumission, private slaves, colonial society, non-white slave owners, elite

Resumen

La manumisión en Suriname existió desde el principio de la esclavitud (± 1650). Era sobre todo un fenómeno urbano. Los esclavos liberados y sus descendientes, también conocidos como "esclavos manumitidos", formaban ese segmento de la población libre que no era blanca. El crecimiento de este grupo fue tan rápido que para principios del siglo 19 ya era el segmento más grande de la población de la ciudad de Paramaribo.

La diversidad de oficios practicados por los manumitidos demostró la importancia de la función social de este grupo dentro de la sociedad. Un inventario del origen étnico de todos los dueños con esclavos privados en Paramaribo en el año 1862, mostró que la mayoría de los que poseían entre 1 y 25 esclavos eran negros o mulatos libres. La mayoría de los dueños con más de 25 esclavos eran blancos. Este artículo intenta demostrar la importancia social de este segmento de la población

negra, mestiza y mulata dentro de la sociedad de Paramaribo, y de esa forma descontar las ideas erróneas sobre este grupo que hasta ahora se ha conocido de una forma estereotipada y limitada. Una impresión de la verdadera manera de vivir de los negros libres pertenecientes a la elite de Paramaribo, se extrae de la historia característica de los miembros de la familia Vlier. Eran bien educados, estaban bien conectados en la sociedad, y vivían juntos con blancos y mulatos.

Palabras clave: Paramaribo, Suriname, manumisión, esclavos privados, sociedad colonial, dueños de esclavos no blancos, elite

RÉSUMÉ

Au Suriname, la manumission existait depuis le début de l'esclavage (±1650). C'était surtout un phénomène urbain. Les esclaves libérés — aussi nommés 'les manumités' — et leurs descendants formaient ce segment de la population libre qui n'était pas blanche. Ce segment a connu une croissance si rapide qu'au début du 19e siècle, il est devenu le plus important de la population de la ville de Paramaribo. La diversité des métiers exercés par ce groupe illustre l'importance de leur fonction sociale au sein de la société. En 1862, un inventaire de l'origine ethnique de tous les propriétaires d'esclaves possédant entre un et vingt-cinq esclaves à Paramaribo a montré que la plupart d'entre eux étaient noirs ou mulâtres libres. La majorité des propriétaires ayant plus de vingt-cinq esclaves était blanche. Cet article cherche à montrer l'importance sociale de ce segment de la population noire, métisse et mulâtre de Paramaribo et ainsi, à nuancer l'image stéréotypée et le rôle minime attribués à ce groupe. L'histoire caractéristique de la famille Vlier donne un aperçu du mode de vie des gens de la haute société noire et libre de Paramaribo. Les membres de la famille étaient bien éduqués, ils étaient engagés dans la vie sociale et ils vivaient ensemble, avec les Mulâtres et les Blancs.

Mots-clés : Paramaribo, Suriname, manumission, esclaves privés, société coloniale, propriétaires d'esclaves non-blancs, élite

Received : 3 October 2014 Revision received : 18 August 2015 Accepted : 20 August 2015

Introduction

Slavery existed in most Caribbean countries in the period from the 16th century to the mid nineteenth century. In the second half of the seventeenth century, British colonists brought the first African slaves to Suriname from places such as Barbados. Slavery existed in Suriname (which came under Dutch rule in 1667)[1] until Emancipation Day on 1 July 1863. Up until the start of the seventeenth century, trade in black slaves was almost entirely in Portuguese hands. Dutch

participation in the slave trade, which started in the period between 1637 and 1641, began when the Dutch West India Company took over Portuguese slave factories in Africa and began shipping slaves to Dutch Brazil (1637-1654). From 1654, the Dutch island colony Curaçao was used as a slave depot. Between 1637 and 1807, when the slave trade was officially abolished, the Dutch transported approximately half a million slaves from Africa to the Caribbean and continental Latin America.[2]

It was possible for a slave to obtain his freedom in two ways—by marronage or manumission. Marronage is when a slave rebels against and escapes from slavery. He could evade his master by escaping into the jungle. Escaped slaves in Suriname, Maroons, have more than once armed themselves in rebellions against the government. Marronage will not be discussed any further in this paper. The second way in which a slave can obtain his freedom, was through manumission—releasing a slave by his master or buying a slave's freedom.

This article first discusses the phenomenon of manumission in the Caribbean and in Suriname. It then looks at the obstacles, including legal ones, faced by those belonging to the group[3] "free non-whites", put in place by the colonial government. It then goes on to describe the occupations held by free non-whites in Paramaribo. The cultural identity of this group in the Caribbean and in Suriname will also be discussed, as well as an aspect of the economic position of the free non-whites—the keeping of private slaves in circa 1862. And finally, it focuses on the Vlier family as an example of Paramaribo's free non-white elite[4] in the nineteenth century. This not only gives insight into the world of the free non-whites, it also shows how this family was not an exception at this time in history.

Manumission took place in all Caribbean slave societies, including Suriname. Manumission existed from the time of the first colonisation by the British. Up until 1733, a master could free his slave without government interference. A slave-owner could grant a slave freedom as reward for his loyal service. Unproductive slaves, like those who were elderly or handicapped, were sometimes manumitted so that their owners no longer had to take care of them. The government was afraid of being held financially responsible for the livelihood of the growing group of manumitted people. This was probably one of the reasons why the government began to interfere explicitly with the manumission of slaves in 1733. From then on, the one who submitted a manumission request had to prove that the manumitted person could provide for himself or herself.

Most of the slaves who were eligible for manumission were female slaves living in concubinage with a white man, and their coloured[5] offspring. During the time of slavery, historians and colonial governments made a detailed categorisation of skin colour for people of mixed race (Cohen en Green 1972:7). In Suriname, officials, as well as church

organizations, categorized people in the following ethnic categories: mulatto (a child of an African and a white), mestee (a child of a mulatto and a white, or a child of a white and an Amerindian), *casties* (a child of a mestee and a white), *kaboeger* (a child of an African and a mulatto) (Teenstra 1842:85). All church denominations in Suriname made reference to a child's ethnicity in the baptism certificate and whether or not a child was born out of wedlock was stated in the certificate. If a child was non-white,[6] the certificate stated whether the mother was free or a slave, and sometimes it was explicitly stated whether or not the child was free.

The freed slaves, also called the manumitted, and their descendents formed the group of free non-white people. "Free" because they were no longer slaves, and "non-white" because they were either entirely or partly of African origin and therefore had roots in slavery. This meant that the free people of Suriname were comprised not only of whites—Dutch, Jews, Germans, French and British—but also of free non-whites.[7] The free non-white population grew steadily and was comprised of the manumitted—those who were born into slavery but who were freed in their lifetime—and of those born into freedom. The latter were not born into slavery and were mostly descendants of the manumitted. Those who were not descended from slaves were the coloured children of white men (working for the West Indian Company (WIC)), conceived in Africa by a black woman. These men sometimes brought their coloured children with them to Suriname.

Despite the fact that free non-whites were free citizens, they were not regarded as full-fledged citizens in slave societies. In Curaçao, for example, whites sometimes called these people "free slaves" (Jordaan 2013:56). In Suriname, these people were often registered with the word '*vrije*' [free] added before their names. This indicated that a person, even though black or coloured, was not a slave. The "*vrije Margaretha van 't Cruys*", for example, indicated that she was not a slave but was black or of colour. This name title is found repeatedly in the archives.

The free non-white population of the capital Paramaribo grew steadily. At the start of the nineteenth century, it was the city's largest segment of the population. This paper's central theme concerns this group and its middle class and elite, in particular. How did they live in Paramaribo during the last period of slavery, between 1800 and 1863?

Free non-whites – Surinamese literature review

Interest in the position of free non-white populations in various slave societies on the American continent existed in the literature from the mid-20th century onwards. With regards to Suriname, Rudolf van Lier dedicated a chapter on the "free coloured and negroes and the position

of the manumitted" in his authorative work *Frontier Society* (1949). His statements regarding the position of this group was actually based mostly on seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century literature in which free non-whites appear only incidentally and in fragments.[8] These early writers portrayed free non-whites based on prejudice and stereotypes. Van Lier puts forward that children born out of relations between well-to-do fathers and female slaves often received a good education. But children who were the product of relationships—between soldiers or sailors and black women—usually belonged to the city's working class. Freed slaves were generally focused on small-scale agriculture or were craftsmen. A small group consisted of clerks, artisans and merchants. A few coloured people were directors of plantations and one was an administrator. But a large part of the free non-white population lived without a steady means of income (Van Lier 1971:84). Through later studies and archival research in the past years, more fragmentary insight into the size and position of this group has come to light. On the basis of Van Lier's work, Hoetink (1972) wrote "Suriname and Curaçao." In this article, he discusses how Dutch colonial politics, through the various conditions before manumission, has led to various outcomes in both colonies. Paul Koulen (1973) wrote in *Schets van de historische ontwikkeling van de manumissie in Suriname (1733-1863) [A sketch of the historical development of the manumission in Suriname (1733-1863)],* that the discrepancy between the legal texts and the actual situation, the way manumitted were treated, played a role in being able to properly interpret the position of the manumitted. Through archival research, insight is given into requests for manumission in the dissertation of Rosemary Brana-Shute (1985), "The Manumission of Slaves in Suriname, 1760-1828." Her research also indirectly gives insight into the economic position of the manumitted.

In 1993, Mc Leod-Ferrier published her research based on primary sources, entitled *Elisabeth Samson: Een vrije zwarte vrouw in het achttiende-eeuwse Suriname* [Elisabeth Samson: A free black woman in eighteenth century Suriname], in which she describes the life of a free-born black businesswoman Elisabeth Samson (1715-1771). Elisabeth was the daughter of a manumitted female slave, the concubine[9] of a wealthy plantation owner. Elisabeth grew up in prosperity and went on to live in concubinage with the German Carl Creutz. Together, they ran coffee plantations and when he died, she inherited a share of his assets as specified in his will. Elisabeth Samson was one of the wealthiest people in the colony, owning approximately eleven coffee plantations and numerous houses in Paramaribo. She had an estimated annual income of between 40,000 and 100,000 guilders (Mc Leod-Ferrier 1993:66).[10] Elisabeth Samson was the first black woman wanting to marry a white man, in

which, after a legal procedure, she finally succeeded.

Ruud Beeldsnijder (1991) posits in *Op de onderste trede: Over vrije negers en arme blanken in Suriname 1730-1750* [On the bottom rung: Free negroes and poor whites in Suriname 1730-1750] that manumitted slaves were initially at a disadvantage compared with poor whites, but, as a group, they quickly caught up with the rest as they were able to work themselves up the ladder as craftsmen, and let their children continue their studies. Okke ten Hove and Frank Dragtenstein (1997) disclosed, through archive research, the names of all manumitted slaves in Suriname, and the owners who freed them, between 1832 and 1863. From this information, it is clear that many free non-whites acted as surety or guardians[11] for slaves. Lamur and Helstone (2002) disclosed the names of all manumitted and their former masters, covering the period of 1816-1827 in *Namen van vrijgemaakte slaven 1816-1827* [Names of freed slaves 1816-1827].

Wim Hoogbergen and Okke ten Hove published an article in 2001 entitled *De vrije gekleurde en zwarte bevolking van Paramaribo, 1762-1863* [The free coloured and black population of Paramaribo 1762-1863]. In this article, they give an overview of the most important publications concerning the free coloured and black population in Paramaribo. They describe how this group came into being, the differences within the group and their position within society.

Jean Jacques Vrij published *Jan Elias van Onna en het 'politiek systhema' (*1998) [Jan Elias van Onna and the "political system"], which deals with the social mobility of a few free coloured people, and *Kleur en status in vroegmodern Suriname. De schutterij van Paramaribo als case study* (2005) [Colour and status in early modern Suriname. The citizen militia of Paramaribo as case study], which deals with the categorisation of militia bands according to skin colour in Suriname. Rosemarijn Hoefte published two articles on the free non-white population: "Free Black and Coloureds in Plantation Suriname." The struggle to rise (1996), about the free non-white population in a plantation colony, and "Free Black and Colored Women in Early Nineteenth-Century Paramaribo, Suriname" (co-authored with Jean Jacques Vrij) (2004), about free black and coloured women in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The above-mentioned studies have all contributed to making Suriname's free non-white population visible. However, complete insight into the precise role and position this group fulfilled in Surinamese history does not exist. It was often thought that the role of the coloured middle-class in Paramaribo was marginal. From research, it can be seen that a large group of craftsmen existed but, at the start of the nineteenth century, various free non-whites held highly-schooled and even university-trained professions. They were also found in liberal professions and

were midwives, accountants, plantation owners, plantation directors and administrators.[12]

Jean Jacques Vrij suggests that there is an enormous gap in the written history of Suriname, considering the size of the free non-white population and the role that this group fulfilled in Surinamese society (Vrij 1998:130). A reason for why their role in Suriname's history had, for a long time, not received much attention was that most research into slavery was based on seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century texts. The writers of these texts were usually focused on describing slavery, the plantation economy, the position of the slave and marronage. They were less interested in the capital city of Paramaribo, where most of the free non-whites lived. Free non-whites appear only incidentally, and in fragments, in the contemporary texts. When these writers did write about them, it was in stereotyped images and based on prejudices. "*De kleurling verenigt de gebreken van blank en zwart, de kleurling is arrogant, trots, eigenwijs, lui en onbeschaamd*." [The coloured brings together the faults of blacks and whites, the coloured is arrogant, proud, stubborn, lazy and shameless.] (Teenstra 1842:48).[13]

Archival research has shown that the size of the free non-white population in the capital-city Paramaribo was greater than previously believed. For a long time, it has been claimed that the number of manumissions in Suriname was very low when compared[14] with other colonies (Brana-Shute 1985:202 and Hoetink 1972:80). Vrij has proved that, in relation to other colonies, the number of manumitted slaves per year was not as small as previously thought (Vrij 1998:132). The number of free non-whites in the mid-eighteenth century was 300 (compared with 2,390 whites). At the start of the nineteenth century, their numbers had grown to 2,889. Around the time of abolition in 1863, the number of free non-whites had reached 13,000, compared with 2,000 whites.[15] In the eighteenth century, a small elite of free non-whites had already formed in Paramaribo.[16] This group became larger in the nineteenth century.

For a long time, a common belief put forward in the literature was that it was mainly white men who bought the freedom of their slave children and their concubines. But this was only partly the case. From the nineteenth century onwards, it was mainly free non-whites who were buying the freedom of family members. From the archives, it can also be seen that most of Paramaribo's inhabitants around the time of abolition (1863) were not slaves but were free non-whites. Also, the economic influence of this group at this time was visible in, amongst other things, their share of slave ownership.

In order to reconstruct the free non-white elite in Paramaribo, numerous primary sources were consulted. Based on archival records that were drawn up in preparation of the abolition of slavery, a list was

made of free coloured and black slaveholders/families who owned five or more private slaves. The *Surinaamsche Almanakken*[17] was consulted to determine which free non-whites occupied the colony's most important official and societal positions. Based on the selection made from the above mentioned sources, an overview was created of more than 100 families that had possibly belonged to Suriname's middle class and elite. Names of individuals were checked in the archives using, for example, the baptismal records of various Christian denominations to verify that these people were indeed members of the free non-white population. Last will and testaments were an excellent source, providing a way in which to trace the names of the white fathers of free coloured children. In their last will, they revealed their paternity, and their property (either wholly or partially) was often left to their coloured children and their non-white wife. Further information concerning these families was found in the so-called *Wijkregisters*[18] [district registries]. In this manner, a profile was created of both the economic position, as well as the cultural role, of each of these individuals.

Manumission in the Caribbean and in Suriname

One of the characteristics of all slave societies on the American continent was that manumission (releasing a slave by his master or buying a slave's freedom) occurred from the beginning of slavery (Klein 1986:217). The number of manumitted and their offspring varies per colony. Their numbers were greatest in Brazil, Martinique and Curaçao, and fewest in the British colonies, such as Jamaica and Barbados (approximately 7 per cent of the free population). In various provinces of Brazil, the percentage of manumitted a few years prior to the abolition of slavery in Brazil (1888) was more than 50 per cent. The percentage of manumitted on Martinique was approximately 32 per cent in 1848. In Curaçao, it was more than 43 per cent in 1833 (Cohen and Green 1972:3).[19] As far as the British colonies are concerned, Trinidad was an exception. The percentage of free non-whites was approximately 20 per cent of the free population around the first half of the nineteenth century (Campbell 2000:598).

One of the causes of this difference in population size across different colonies, was the fact that the restrictions affecting the manumission process were not the same across all West Indian and North American colonies of the eighteenth century. In the British colonies, for example, a number of laws came into effect in the mid-eighteenth century, which introduced a tax on requests for manumission (Goveia 1960:586).

Manumission, albeit on a small scale, already existed in Cuba in the seventeenth century (Zanetti 2013:54 ff.).[20] The illegal transportation

of slaves wasn't officially stopped until 1867. A number of years before, in 1862, the Cuban coloured population was 43 per cent of the national total, of which 37 per cent was free and 63 per cent slave (data elaboration from Torres-Cuevas and Loyola Vega, 2011:155).[21]

Before 1733, manumission in Suriname was an agreement between master and slave. After 1733, there was strong government intervention in the release of slaves and slaveholders were required to submit a request for manumission to the *Hof van Politie en Criminele Justitie* [Police and Criminal Justice Court]. The request would then be made public (usually through publication in the *Surinaamsche Courant* newspaper) so that any interested parties could object. From 1788, a tax was implemented on manumission requests and this tax was greatly increased several times at the start of the nineteenth century. In 1788, freeing a male slave cost 100 guilders,[22] and a female or child slave under fourteen years of age cost fifty guilders. In 1804, the amount paid for slaves older than fourteen years of age was increased to 500 guilders, and for children under the age of fourteen, 250 guilders was paid.[23]

Manumission was a costly matter. If a person wanted to buy the freedom of a slave but was not yet that slave's owner, the manumission process often proceeded in phases. It could take years before that person had saved enough money. He would first have to save enough to purchase the slave from his current owner. And once the slave was in his possession, he would have to again save his money for a manumission request (a government tax). Circa 1810, the total cost for the manumission of a slave could quickly add up to around 1,500 guilders (approximately 10,500 euros)[24] (Teenstra 1842:25-26).

The phased manumission process explains, to a certain degree, why free non-whites owned slaves. Slaves could have been family members who they wanted to set free. There are many examples in *Wijkregisters*, of names of slaves registered by address, where the comment "*de slaven zijn in bezit voor de vrijdom*" [the slaves are owned for freedom] was made. The manumission process for these slaves had begun.

The categories of slaves most likely to come under consideration for manumission were the same in all Caribbean slave societies. Research shows that two-thirds of all manumitted were the black or coloured concubines of white men and the children born of these relationships (Klein 1986:227). This explains why many of the manumitted are coloured people. This was also the case in Suriname. It was especially white men who, in the eighteenth century, had a child with a female slave and bought the freedom of both mother and child. A child would automatically have the same legal status as its mother. If the mother was a slave, the child was also a slave. If the father wanted to buy the freedom of his child, he first had to be in possession of both mother and child and

then buy their freedom. This was the result of a 1782 prohibition that banned the separation of slave children from their mothers, as well as the separate sale of slave children (Ten Hove and Hoogbergen 2001:310, Ten Hove and Dragtenstein 1997:20 and Vlier 1881:78).[25]

While in the eighteenth century it was mostly white men who freed their slaves, this changed in the period from 1800 to 1863 during which increasingly more free people bought the freedom of family members and relatives. Once a slave was manumitted, he often saw it as his duty to then free his own family members and relatives. Ten Hove and Dragtenstein call this phenomenon *kettingmanumissie* [chain manumission][26] (1997:34).

House slaves were considered more often for manumission than other slaves. They had more contact with whites and could be granted the "treasure of freedom" for their services. The colonial administration in Suriname regularly bought the freedom of groups of slaves who were first made to fight in the *Korps Vrije Negers* [Corps of the Free Negroes].[27] They fought on the side of the government against the runaway rebel slaves (maroons).

In all slave societies, manumission occurred more in urban areas than in the countryside (Klein 1986:227). In cities, slaves could be hired-out independently as, for example, carpenter, hairdresser, dockworker or washerwoman. In Brazil, this system was called *escravos de ganho* [wage-earning slave] and was a typical characteristic of urban slavery. Owner and slave agreed on a fixed amount paid weekly by the slave to the owner. If a slave earned more than that amount, he or she could keep the rest. This system gave slaves the opportunity to save money and, if agreed to by the owner, buy their freedom. The *ganho* system of labour was also common in Spanish, Portuguese and French colonies and in Curaçao (Ten Hove and Dragtenstein 1997:9, Klein 1986:129, Karasch 1987:358, Lamur 1989:34 and Jordaan 2013:11). In Curaçao, slaves worked namely in shipping and in the harbour. In Suriname, this *ganho* system[28] existed mostly in Paramaribo (Lamur 2002:7). In the countryside, where the plantation system was dominant, the *ganho* system was practically non-existent. This explains why more city slaves were manumitted and why most of the free non-whites lived and worked in Paramaribo (Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone 2004 and Klein 1986:129).

Obstacles for free non-whites in the Caribbean and in Suriname

Characteristic for all slave societies were the restrictions imposed upon the free non-white group. The distinction between whites and free non-whites was based on the latter's slave roots and skin colour (Hall

1972:195 and Klein 1986:217). In Antigua, for example, whites saw free non-whites as slaves without a master (Gaspar 2004:136). The lighter the colour of a free non-white, the closer he or she was to white culture. Darker-skinned people had a lower status because they were thought to be closer to the African slave (Cohen and Green 1972:7).[29] In Brazil, for example, free non-whites were required to have a *carta de alforria*, comparable to Suriname's manumission letter, on their person at all times. They were not allowed to wear gold or silver jewelry (Russel-Wood 1972:109 and 115). An evening curfew existed for free non-whites in most Caribbean colonies, including Suriname. This was lifted in 1799.[30] Free non-whites were subject to segregation in public spaces and in the British colonies, they were not to be addressed with the titles madam or mister. They were not allowed to establish themselves freely in the British colonies, and were prevented from working in certain professions. This was not the case in Suriname. Free non-whites were allowed to establish themselves anywhere. In Paramaribo, all layers of society lived together. *Gravenstraa*t, for example, one of the most beautiful areas of Paramaribo where the well-to-do bourgeoisie resided, was, in 1845, home to the following ethnicities: sixty-three free non-whites (fifty-seven free coloureds and six free negroes), nineteen Jews and thirty-five whites. Eight buildings were vacant and, remarkably, one building was inhabited by slaves.[31] In Trinidad, all but two British governors were hostile towards free non-whites (Campbell 200:605).[32] It wasn't until slavery was abolished in the British Caribbean countries, that free non-whites could gain a full-fledged position in society (Campbell 2000:601 and Meditz & Hanratty 1987).

The colonial government in Suriname differentiated between freeborn and manumitted non-whites. The first group legally had the same rights as whites. They were never slaves. The manumitted had a lower status because they stemmed directly from slavery. They were constrained by certain laws. They had to show their respect and esteem for whites. It was also possible for them to be forced back into slavery if, for example, they struck their previous owners. The manumitted were also limited in their choice of sexual partner. It was forbidden to have sexual relationships with slaves, male or female, and they could be fined for having a child with one (Van Lier 1971:76; Lamur 2002:12).

Free non-whites were blamed for everything. According to Vlier, there were serious conflicts between the coloured bourgeoisie and the military in November of 1819. Numerous attacks by the military on coloured civilians, over the course of several days, were sparked by the Surinaamsche Societeit's refusal to accept a white officer, Mr. Lauta. Riots broke out and they turned against the coloured civilians (Vlier 1881:129, Wolbers 1861:609 and Teenstra 1835:61). In 1827, the free non-white

founders of the Surinamese Benevolent Society were treated suspiciously by whites in positions of power and were suspected of having nefarious intentions. To refute their suspicions, the founders made the statutes public and requested support for the Society from Commissioner General Johannes van den Bosch[33] and Governor General of Suriname Cantz'laar (Wolbers 1861:634-635 and 645, Vlier 1863:140-141 and Van Lier 1971:82).

It is important that, aside from the existence of limiting restrictions, research is done on the extent to which the government really did implement these restrictions. Across all the colonies so far, there has been too little research done on this matter.

Occupations of free non-whites in the nineteenth century

Many free non-whites practised trades such as carpentry, millwrighting, tailoring, baking and typesetting. These tradespeople formed the core from which the coloured middle class developed. Free non-white women mainly offered their services as seamstress and ironer, washerwoman or saleslady/market seller. Compared with other colonies, free non-whites in Paramaribo had little competition from the constant flood of poor European immigrants. Their only competition was a small group of poor Jews and whites (Beeldsnijder 1991:24 and Van Lier 1971:80). In this way, they could take advantage of the need for tradespeople and quickly improve their economic position. It seems that everyone recognized the importance of development and education of free non-whites (Van Lier 1982:21). At first, it was only the white fathers of free non-whites, but later other people also stimulated their education much like the Surinamese Benevolent Society (1827) did. Everyone who could afford it allowed their children to continue their education. At the start of the nineteenth century, a number of people from this group who held highly schooled professions. There were writers (secretaries), civil servants and teachers. Wealthy people, mostly white fathers, but also successful free non-whites sometimes sent their children to the Netherlands to be educated, possibly at a university. The free black Miss Johanna Christina Jonas, for example, was given the opportunity by her mistress to receive an excellent education. She was born in slavery in 1802 and brought to the Netherlands by her mistress at the time. There she attended a boarding school. Once back in Suriname, she passed the teacher's exam in 1839 and started a school for girls (Oostindie and Maduro 1986:28). Hendrik Charles Focke (1802-1856), also a free non-white, was educated in the Netherlands. He earned a law doctorate degree at Utrecht University. His wealthy mother, a widow and free non-white, paid for his education.

One could find free non-whites holding liberal professions as printers, surgeons, midwives, accountants, debt collectors, plantation owners, plantation directors and administrators. Doctor Adolph Gravenberch was an ex-slave. He gained his medical knowledge from the white doctor George Cornelis Gravenhorst for whom he apprenticed. He was manumitted at 33 years of age. After his manumission, he became assistant surgeon. Through the petition of governor Von Schmidt auf Altenstadt, he became a doctor by royal appointment in 1855.[34] François Caupin was another ex-slave who became plantation owner. In 1856, a Dutch newspaper wrote:

"Opmerkelijk is het, dat de houtgrond Overtoom en Vreeland gekocht is door den heer F.G. Caupin, die in den slavenstand geboren en van deze plantaadje afkomstig is. Later gemanumitteerd, heeft hij het door vlijt en zorg zoo ver gebragt, dat hij thans eigenaar van eene plantaadje is, waartoe hij vroeger zelf als slaaf behoorde en waar hoogstwaarschijnlijk nog eenige leden zijner familie in den slavenstand zullen verkeeren." [It is remarkable that the wooded land Overtoom and Vreeland is bought by Mister F.G. Caupin, who was born a slave and comes from this plantation and later manumitted. He has come so far, through diligence and care, and now owns a plantation, on which he himself was previously a slave and where quite probably some family members still exist as slaves.][35]

Many people in Paramaribo had more than one occupation at a given time. This was the case for whites as well as non-whites. Samuel Ferdinand Flu, for example, was accountant, *wijkmeester* [district leader] of Paramaribo C district, auctioneer, and administrator of the coffee plantation *Uit en 't Huis*—all in the year 1832. Thirty-one-year-old Andrew Edward Halfhide also had numerous occupations. In 1828, he was an administrative assistant for the government, sworn translator Negro English (Suriname Creole),[36] and assistant weighmaster.

The above examples demonstrate just how varied the professions of the free non-white were. They also show the important roll craftsmen in the nineteenth-century Paramaribo played. From this occupational group came a middle class, which in turn gave rise to an elite.

Cultural identity of free non-whites in the Caribbean and in Suriname

According to Arnold Sio, there has been too little descriptive research done on the identity consciousness of free non-whites in the Caribbean and their attitudes regarding slaves (Sio 1987:668). In "Marginality and free coloured identity in Caribbean slave society," he deals with this group's identity consciousness and how they relate to the system of slavery and slaves. In the literature, free non-whites are accused,

sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly, of identifying with whites. Sio advocates further research into the identity of free non-whites in relation to developments within the group and different subgroups (Sio 1987:677). Regarding their identity and their relationship to the Afro-Creole slave culture, he puts forward that recent research shows that free non-whites in the Caribbean colonies had relatively fewer slaves than whites and that they owned more coloured slaves. Also, more women than men owned slaves. Although free non-whites made few political alliances with slaves, there are a few known cases.[37] Archives regarding slave ownership by free non-whites in Suriname do not show that free non-whites owned more coloured slaves. There are no known incidences of political alliances between free non-whites and slaves in Suriname. There are also no known uprisings by free non-whites.

According to Sio, slaves as well as free non-whites shared the same Afro-Creole culture because free non-whites often still had relatives that were slaves. Sio concludes that there was no cultural distance between the two groups (Sio 1987:670, 675-676, 678). In Jamaica, some free non-whites created their own community because they felt left out in a society dominated by whites (Petley 2005:486).

A popular but presumptive socio-cultural belief in Suriname is that the coloured middle class adopted Dutch European culture. They are thought to have lived separately from the free blacks and slaves, to have looked down on them and to have had no interest in their culture (Van Lier: 1982:18 and Van Lier 1971:75). However, the mother tongue of most free non-whites in Suriname was Sranan (Surinamese). It was the language spoken by slaves amongst themselves and between masters and slaves (Eersel 1984:25). The aforementioned legal expert Hendrik Charles Focke (1802-1856) published an early Negro English dictionary in 1855. He also wrote about slave music and dance in "*De Surinaamsche negermuziek, over slavenmuziek en dans"* [Surinamese negro music, about slave music and dance] (1857). He published several articles on Surinamese flora in various international magazines (Wolbers 1861:769; Focke 1983:28). Gerrit Schouten (1779-1839) was also a coloured person whose great-grandparent's mother was manumitted in 1713. He was an artist who made illustrations and dioramas showing the daily life and culture of slaves and the Indigenous (Neus en Van Putten 2008:12, 18). The opinions of free non-whites on slavery and slaves can often be found indirectly. Vlier often talks about illegal trade in Africans in her work *Geschiedenis van Suriname* [History of Suriname] (Vlier 1881:126-127, 210). In various articles written by free non-whites in the *Surinaamsche Almanak* [Surinamese Almanac], the humanity of slaves is a subject frequently mentioned. Often, it had something to do with help that was offered by slaves to whites who were in danger.[38] According to Teenstra,

the socially engaged free non-white solicitor Nicolaas Gerrit Vlier once said that he had 'the accident' to have slaves (Teenstra 1842:172). Years later, in 1939, the daughter of Vlier said that her father would "sit and eat with the slaves," which means that he treated them well. In that time, treating slaves well was equal to spoiling them in both the positive and negative sense of the word.[39] However, it is certain that some of the free non-white elite had strong sympathies with slaves and research must show whether they had a double cultural identity or adapted the European culture, and to what extent cultural values from their old slave culture remained.

The free non-white in Paramaribo circa 1862, as private-slave owners

A reconstruction of the economic position of free non-whites in Paramaribo starts at the time of abolition, in the year 1862/1863. An overview of all owners of private slaves in Paramaribo during preparation of Emancipation in 1862, by Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone, is used for this reconstruction.[40] In Suriname, legal distinction was made between plantation slaves and private slaves. Plantation slaves belonged to the plantation's real estate. After the abolition of the slave trade in Suriname in 1807, slaves became scarce and many plantation owners bought a plantation not just for the land but also for the slaves. Sometimes, they wanted to move slaves to other plantations, which led to resistance. This resistance proved to be a powerful force that sometimes led only to the move being postponed, but sometimes to success and the move being cancelled (Van Stipriaan 1991:410-411).

Private slaves were, in general, domestic servants or they practised a trade. For the reconstruction of the economic position of free non-whites in Paramaribo, only the information of owners of private slaves was used. Most of Suriname's free non-whites lived in the capital city, as did most of the owners of private slaves. Owners of private slaves could also own plantation slaves if they owned a plantation. Several free non-whites owned plantations with more than 100 plantation slaves. In this paper, however, the plantation slave is not taken into consideration.[41]

In preparation of the abolition of slavery, the "*Wet op de Opheffing van de Slavernij*" [Abolishment of Slavery Law] was published in the *Surinaamse Gouvernementsblad* [Surinamese Government Newspaper] on 4 October 1862. This law determined that all owners of slaves would receive a monetary compensation of 300 Surinamese Guilders per slave. To be eligible for compensation, slave owners were required to fill-in pre-printed forms within thirty days after the law went into effect. The law stipulated which details—concerning both owners and slaves—were

to be given. Slave owners had to fill in the name, age, occupation and religion for every slave, and where he worked (on which plantation or in Paramaribo). They had to fill in their own names (first name and surname), their occupation, their residential address, and the number of slaves they owned. The information given by slave owners was not always complete. Still, these forms contain a wealth of information on slave owners, as well as slaves. The owners had to submit the filled-in forms to the government secretariat by 3 November 1862. Government secretariat officials then compared the filled-in forms with the slave registers. The slave registers constituted an overview of registered slaves, their names and their owners. Slave owners had been required to submit this information annually, starting in 1826 (Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone 2004:34-35). Once the forms were checked by government secretariat officials, they were verified by a commission. The commission consisted of four people including a doctor who checked every slave for diseases such as elephantiasis and leprosy. If a slave were found to have one of these diseases, the slave owner would then not be eligible for compensation. The manner in which the entire verification process was supposed to proceed was described in the *Gouvernements Advertentie Blad* [Government Advertiser], dated 14 March 1863. Specific rules existed for the areas outside of Paramaribo. For a detailed overview of the administrative abolition process, how preparation for, and the actual process of, emancipation was carried out, see Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone 2003 and 2004.

A total of 986 pre-printed forms were submitted by private individuals in Paramaribo in November 1862.[42] Together, these forms created the so-called *Emancipatieregister 1863 van Paramaribo* [Emancipation Registry 1863 of Paramaribo], with information concerning slaves as well as owners in Paramaribo. Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone created an overview wherein they organised all the information from 986 forms submitted by slave owners and added more information from other archive sources such as Paramaribo's *Wijkregisters*,[43] the manumission registry, and baptismal, marriage and death certificates. Using this extra information, they could determine whether a slave owner was white, Jewish,[44] coloured or black. However, the ethnicity of approximately 30 per cent could not be determined.

Table one shows the ethnic origin of owners of private slaves in 1862. In the argument that follows, the total number of pre-printed forms (986) is used synonymously with the total number of owners.[45] The ethnicity of slave owners is undetermined in 280 forms (± 28.3 per cent). The total number of private slaves in 1862 was 6440. An owner had on average 6,440:986 = 6.53 slaves.[46]

The table shows that 28.7 per cent of private owners had one slave

(283 forms). Slave owners with a small number of slaves owned between one and five slaves (less than average). Many of these owners had slaves who worked in housekeeping. Slave owners with a medium number of slaves owned between six and twenty-five slaves. Most of the owners within this group belonged to the free non-white population. Slave owners with a large number of slaves had more than twenty-five slaves and these owners were more often white.

Table 1
Ethnic origin private-slave owners 1862

Owners with number of slaves	Whites	Jews	Coloureds	Coloured or black[47]	Black	Total owners known ethnicity	Total owners unknown ethnicity	Total owners
1 slave	22	38	88	33	12	**193**	94	**287**
2-5 slaves	31	63	145	43	13	**295**	110	**405**
6-25 slaves	24	52	81	16	3	**176**	66	**242**
26-40 slaves	10	5	2	0	0	**17**	10	**27**
40 and more slaves	14	5	5	0	1	**25**	-	**25**
Total	**101**	**163**	**321**	**92**	**29**	**706**	**280**	**986**

Source: Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone 2004.[48]

From this table, it can be concluded that most slave owners having between one and twenty-five slaves were black or coloured, followed by those of Jewish ethnicity. Most slave owners with more than twenty-five slaves were white, followed by those of Jewish ethnicity. Remarkably, in 1862, fourty-two slaves were owned by Marinus Jan Houthakker, a black African. Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone discovered that he himself had been a slave and was manumitted in 1838. Houthakker owned those fourty-two slaves with the intention of manumitting them later. In the period 1847-1863, Houthakker had manumitted 129 slaves (Ten Hove, Hoogbergen en Helstone 2004:68-69). The above gives an idea of private slave ownership and the ethnicity of their owners in 1862. To make a statement on the relationship between ethnicity and slave ownership in Paramaribo, the absolute figures mentioned above would have to be shown relative to Paramaribo's population size.[49] In 1861, Paramaribo's population was 16,386, consisting of 14,200 non-whites and 2,186 whites

and Jews. In relation to the ownership of private slaves, the following indicative statements can be made:

- 3 per cent of the non-whites had one or more private slaves; and
- 12 per cent of the whites and Jews had one or more private slaves.

This means that whites were four times more likely to own a private slave, but that only one out of eight whites owned a private slave.[50]

Using the above reasoning, an indication can be given of the frequency of private slave ownership. Whites and Jews owned relatively more slaves than non-whites. But the above reasoning also makes clear that most whites and Jews did not actually own any private slaves. On the other hand, approximately 3 per cent of non-whites owned private slaves.

It can be concluded that relatively many whites did not have private slaves (slightly less than one in eight) and that non-whites had relatively more private slaves than previously thought (approximately 3 per cent of the population). Their relative share of private slave ownership was actually less than that of whites and Jews.

The Vlier family in nineteenth century Paramaribo

The story of the Vlier family is a characteristic example of the rise of the free non-white elite family in Paramaribo. This example shows how such a family moved within a slave society, but also how persistent the biased belief is that free non-whites could not belong to the elite.

The free coloured Vlier brothers, Cornelis Philip (1798-1833) and Nicolaas Gerrit (1801-1852) were both prominent figures in Paramaribo during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Their grandmother, the negro girl Princes van A.A. Wassenberg, was a house slave owned by the Dutch family Wassenberg. In 1767, she moved with the family to the Netherlands. In 1775, she returned alone from Amsterdam to Suriname as a free person, now as the free negro Princes from the widow Wassenberg.[51] Her free-born daughter, Anthoinetta Wassenberg (also called Bachsmidt), had four children with the white legal expert Philip Josua Vlier (1778-1819). These four children were the heirs of Philip Josua when he died in 1819. Two of these children were Cornelis Philip and Nicolaas Gerrit Vlier.[52]

The eldest of the two, Cornelis Philip LLM, studied law at Utrecht University and obtained his doctorate there in 1820. Cornelis Philip was not the first coloured to attend a Dutch university and obtain a doctorate degree. The free non-white Johannes Christiaan Palthe Wesenhagen also studied at Utrecht University and obtained his doctorate there. In both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an education

in the Netherlands was reserved only for children of the colonial elite (Oostindie and Maduro 1986:29). For instance, Philip Hanssen LLM (±1751-1806) and Jan Weyne LLM (ca. 1764-1818), two free non-white men, also studied law—the first at Leiden University and the latter at the University of Harderwijk. They both established themselves in Suriname after their studies (Vrij 1998:139-140). Also, the well-known free non-white teacher Johannes Vrolijk, was able to study in the Netherlands. Once back in Suriname, he began a renowned school in Paramaribo in 1809 (Vrij 2012:201, Oudschans Dentz 1956:182 and Oostindie en Maduro 1986:31).

Cornelis Philip established himself in Paramaribo in the 1820s as lawyer and advocate[53] at the Small Claims Court. He also sat on the board of directors, as secretary, of the *Particuliere West-Indische bank* [Private West Indian Bank][54] and was the provisional military auditor for the citizen militia. He sidelined as secretary of the Agricultural Association *Prodesse con Amur* and as treasurer of the *Departement Paramaribo der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen* [Paramaribo Department of Society: For the Common Good].[55] Cornelis Philip was the administrator of the cotton plantation *Groot Aldenrad*. A remarkable fact is that Cornelis, as a coloured man, was married to Maria Mourot, a white woman. This was a very rare occurrence in nineteenth century Paramaribo. Cornelis died in 1833, aged thirty-five years.

The younger brother, Nicolaas Gerrit Vlier, was solicitor[56] and clerk to the small claims court and, in 1832, became Bailiff and Chief of Police. He was also secretary of the *Departement Paramaribo der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen* for fourteen years, secretary of the Surinamese Benevolent Society, member of the board of directors of the Concordia Masonic Lodge, and secretary of the Deaf and Dumb Institute. After the death of his brother Cornelis Philip in 1833, Nicolaas Gerrit took his brother's place as secretary of the *Particuliere West-Indische bank*. Between 1832 and 1848, Nicolaas Gerrit became the owner of two coffee plantations (*Morgenster* and *La Prevoyance*) and was the administrator of six sugar plantations, six coffee plantations and one cotton plantation.

Both the Vlier brothers lived in the *Gravenstraat*, the most beautiful and wealthiest part of Paramaribo. They were both also members of the *Departement Paramaribo der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen.* All the members of the '*Nut*' were prominent people—whites and coloureds—of the colony. The *Nut*, with its approximately 200 members, was an important element of intellectual life in Paramaribo (Van Kempen 2002:188). The *Nut*'s goal was to raise the lower social class by all means possible, paying special attention to improving the educational system. The *Nut* also organised lectures and published articles to counteract prejudice.[57] By looking at the titles of the various lectures given

by free coloured speakers, an indication is given of how they wrestled to persevere in a slave society, on the one hand, and to fight prejudice, on the other. One example is the *Nut*'s secretary Nicolaas Gerrit Vlier's speech from 15 April 1839, *"over den invloed van de beoefening der menslievendheid op het wezenlijk geluk"* [about the influence of the practice of humanitarianism on actually happiness]. The address was given at the festive ceremony presenting an honorary prize to the slave Petrus Frederik Bijderhand. He was praised for his humanity when he saved eight white people, including his master, from drowning. Afterwards, it was arranged, with the help of the governor, that he should become eligible for manumission.[58]

In 1830, forty of the 283 members of the *Departement Paramaribo der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen* were certainly free non-whites (14 per cent), of which certainly three were born as slaves. Of the six honorary members, one was coloured and born a slave, and two of the six members of the board of directors were coloured (Surinaamsche Almanak 1829).

Nicolaas Gerrit was involved in the founding of the aforementioned Surinamese Benevolent Society in 1827. One of the goals of this charitable organisation was to make available free healthcare to less well-off fellow citizens of Paramaribo (in other words, poor free non-whites). The Society also wanted to promote civilized culture, morality, industry and diligence amongst the poor. Its initiator was Martinus Maurits Coupijn, a coloured medical practitioner. The memorandum of association was signed by prominent free non-whites, Samuel Ferdinand Flu, Jan Carel Stuger, Johannis Cornelis Muller Arz. and Nicolaas Gerrit Vlier, as well as twenty-nine other influential people from the colony, most of whom belonged to the elite of free non-whites and Jews.[59]

In 1833, Nicolaas Gerrit launched a plan to improve the situation of the poor free non-white population of Paramaribo by educating them in agriculture. The plan was to place twenty families on the Voorzorg plantation with an advance of 600 Surinamese Guilders to start a farming business, on the condition that they would not use slave labour. The colonial government set up a commission[60] to oversee and evaluate a test run. The trial, done with six families, was carried out on unsuitable land, which ultimately led to the plan's failure and cancellation (Wolbers 1861:818 and Vlier 1863:155).

Nicolaas Gerrit and a few members of the '*Nut*' founded, in 1837, the theatre group Thalia. He became its first chairman, and the rest of the board of directors was comprised of Hendrik François Wesenhagen (secretary), a coloured solicitor of the Court of Justice of Suriname, and two white men—Helb (stage manager), an administrator, and H.J. Blanke (treasurer). According to Van Kempen, Thalia played an important role

in Paramaribo's cultural life (Van Kempen 2002:197).

Nicolaas Gerrit Vlier married the mulatto woman Anna Elisabeth Heuland. Born a slave on the Johanna Margaretha plantation, she was the daughter of the white plantation director J.C. Heuland and a black slave of the aforementioned plantation. Anna was manumitted around the time of her sixteenth birthday in 1816.[61] Thirty slaves were registered at the residential address of the Vlier-Heuland family, circa 1843. The comment noted by the names of the registered slaves was '*Hieronder zijn begrepen verscheidene plantageslaven die thans ter genezing in de stad aanwezig zijn*' [Included are several plantation slaves who are currently returning to health in the city].[62]

Nicolaas Gerrit's eldest daughter, Maria Louisa Elisabeth (1828-1908), was a teacher in Paramaribo and wrote *Beknopte geschiedenis der kolonie Suriname* [Concise History of Colonial Suriname] in 1861. In the preface, she writes that it pained her that children of fourteen years and older were taught the history of foreign nations but, due to the lack of a suitable schoolbook, not that of Suriname. That was her reason for writing the history book. The book was published in 1863—the year of abolition—and was immediately sold out. The second revised and improved edition came out in 1881 and was called *Geschiedenis van Suriname* [History of Suriname]. Remarkably, Maria Louisa finished her history of Suriname in December of 1861. She could draw information from rich sources: the "Nut" archive and possibly the archives of her great-grandparents' publishing company and newspaper, and inside information from people like her father. The most important writer of Surinamese history, Julien Wolbers, concluded his standard work *Geschiedenis van Suriname* in Utrecht in September of 1861. Much of the information in both works is identical. Most striking are the passages about Nicolaas Gerrit Vlier, which are literally the same.[63]

Maria Louisa's younger sister of six years, Cornelia Philippina Maria (1834-1892), was also a teacher in Paramaribo and head of the first public school for girls. She worked for more than thirty years in this capacity. Both girls visited the renowned girls' school ran by the free black Miss Jonas.[64]

At the end of 1840s, Nicolaas fell into such serious financial troubles that he was forced to sell his two houses and his plantation by public foreclosure auction.[65] His financial problems are still not solved when Nicolaas Gerrit passes away in 1852. The inventory of his estate showed that it was insolvent.[66]

Wolbers and Teenstra both explicitely mention that the brothers Nicolaas and Cornelis are mulattos (Wolbers 1861:572 and 634). Teenstra even shows a "virtual photo" of him saying, "*de procureur N.G. Vlier, een bijna zwarte mulat, de zoon van een negerin is*" [the barrister N.G. Vlier, an

almost black mulatto, is the son of a negro woman] (Teenstra 1842:172). Apparently, Nicolaas Gerrit's dark skin colour was for him not an obstacle to being active in society. Even so, the following example shows, all the more, how persistent the biased image of free non-whites can be. In 1936, the Surinamese newspaper *De Bannier* headlined with "*Vergeten*" [Forgotten]. Invited for the centenary celebration were descendents of Thalia initiators—all except for the relatives of N.G. Vlier, one of the initiators and Thalia's first chairman. The newspaper was deeply apologetic and claimed that attorney general Vlier, owner of countless plantations and a talented legal expert, should never have been forgotten.

The newspaper demonstrated awareness of his influential position and of all his social initiatives in Paramaribo. And, according to the newspaper, both Vlier and his wife were actually born in the Netherlands to very influential families.[67]

This incident underlines the persistent bias that people with roots in slavery and of colour could not fulfil a meaningful role in nineteenth century Paramaribo.

Both brothers and their families are buried in the *Oranjetuin* in Paramaribo. It is the cemetery where many governors, high-ranking and well-established individuals were buried, but is also where the ex-slave Mrs. Vlier nee Heuland is buried.

The life story of the brothers Cornelis Philip and Nicolaas Gerrit is a clear example of how the free non-white elite lived in nineteenth century Paramaribo. They were well educated, community-minded and socially engaged in a society that approached free non-whites with a certain distrust. In addition, a few instances show just how persistent the prejudice against this group could be. In my dissertation, more clarity will be given on how other members of the group of free non-white elite lived, worked and were socially engaged in the slave society of Paramaribo.

Conclusion

Manumission was in Suriname, as in all other slave colonies, mainly an urban phenomenon. In the eighteenth century, it was mainly whites who brought about freedom for their slaves. Usually, they were their concubines and their children. In the nineteenth century, it was primarily free non-whites who bought the freedom of family members.

The small middle class which developed in Paramaribo became larger and more influential in the nineteenth century. The prominent position of free non-whites came about through schooling, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the departure of many whites from the colony in the eighteenth century. This changed the social hierarchy. The social divide between whites and slaves changed into a three-way split—a

middle group of mainly free non-whites (Vrij 1998:138-140, Hoefte and Vrij 2005:152; Paasman 1995:386-406).

The life stories outlined above—of the coloured Vlier brothers—give an indication as to how free non-whites belonging to the elite of nineteenth century Paramaribo lived in a slave society. They did not live an isolated life in Paramaribo, but were socially engaged and lived together with whites as well as free coloureds. They also held supervisory positions over whites in their professions. Through active involvement with charitable organizations, they tried to ease the burden of poor non-whites and slaves, if even a little. By publishing and making available articles that would go against prejudice, they attempted to influence the fate of slaves. They brought attention to the acts of humanity performed by slaves, which sometimes led to manumission.

Despite the fact that free non-whites were to a certain extent hindered by the colonial government, they were still active in society. Despite the government's resistance to the founding of the Benevolent Society, these people would not be discouraged from social and cultural engagement in Paramaribo. It can be concluded that free non-whites were actively participating in societal and cultural life in Paramaribo already during the time of slavery, and had secured a position in slave society. This is in contrast to other Caribbean countries, where free non-whites were able to secure a full-fledged place society only after abolition.

Regarding the identity consciousness of free non-whites and their attitude towards slaves, it can be seen that many representatives of this group did not distance themselves from their slave heritage. They even wrote about the language, music and dance of the slaves, as Focke and Schouten did, and as Maria Louisa Vlier wrote about the history of Suriname. They also gave lectures and published articles within the *Departement Paramaribo der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, to, amongst other things, create sympathy for the slave as a human being.

At first glance, they do not fully deny their slave heritage, nor do they fully identify with whites. However, this should be a topic for further research.

The economic position of free non-whites is also evident in, among other things, the possession of private slaves. Free people who still had enslaved family members (sometimes their partners and children) were at times forced to become slaveholders themselves. To be able to buy the freedom of relatives, they had to own them first (Ten Hove and Dragtenstein 1997:33). An exploration of the archives shows that the image created by Sio, concerning the possession of more coloured slaves by free non-whites, does not apply to Suriname. In this paper, an attempt has been made to bring nuance to the

stereotypical image and the limited role still attributed to this day to the free non-white population in Paramaribo. The social lives of the Vlier brothers disproves the persistent prejudiced belief that people with a heritage rooted in slavery could not play a meaningful role in nineteenth century Paramaribo. The brothers played an important role in the slave society of Paramaribo during the nineteenth century. Also demonstrated is the diversity of occupations practiced by the free non-white population and the important role they played in Paramaribo. This professional middle class gave rise to a coloured middle class from which an elite group developed.

Notes

* Ellen Neslo (Utrecht University) is working on a dissertation on the creation of a free non-white elite in Paramaribo between 1800 and 1863. My thanks to Dr. Wim Hoogbergen and Prof. Dr. Dirk Kruijt for their advice and for reading earlier versions of this paper.

[1] Except for two short interruptions (1799-1802 and 1804-1816), Suriname was under Dutch rule from 1667-1975. In the periods 1799-1802 and 1804-1816, Suriname was a British colony. These two periods are known as the *Engels Tussenbestuur* [English between governance] (Wolbers 1861:484, 505 and 596, Benjamins and Snellemans 1914-1917:118-123 and Buddingh 1995:97).

[2] Postma (1990:10 and 301). See also Kruijt and Ramsoedh (2013:71).

[3] In this article, free non-whites are treated as a group. However, free non-whites did not always see themselves as one group. The colonial government and early writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would sometimes treat them as one group but would sometimes also distinguish the free coloureds from the free Negros. The common denominator of all members of this group was their roots in slavery.

[4] The term "elite" refers to the free non-whites with the highest societal standings. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the colonial slave society of Paramaribo consisted roughly of three societal pyramids, each with their own social stratification. The first pyramid was comprised of slaves, the second of free non-whites and the third of white settlers. Each pyramid consisted of different segments—economic, political, intellectual, cultural and religious—and each segment had its own hierarchy. Parts of these three societal pyramids blended together forming a "social ethnic mosaic," the

top societal layer of free non-whites.

[5] The term coloured is used to indicate a person of mixed blood. A coloured is a person with a tinted skin colour descended from a white and a black African or Indigenous. Indigenous are not taken into consideration in this paper. (Herman Daniël Benjamins and Joh. F. Snelleman (ed.), *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië*. Martinus Nijhoff/E.J. Brill, Den Haag/Leiden 1914-1917/2007).

[6] The term "non-white" does not appear in the sources and literature, instead the terms "*vrije zwarte"*[free blacks] or "*vrije negers*" [free negroes] are used to indicate a person with only black ancestors originating in Africa. The terms "*vrije kleurling*" [free coloured] or "*vrije mulat*" [free mulatto] are used in the sources and literature to indicate people of mixed blood. These were people with not only white ancestors and not only black ancestors originating in Africa (in other words, all the degrees of colour existing between white and black). In this paper, the term "free non-white" is used to indicate a person who was not a slave and who not only had white ancestors (non-white) and who had roots in slavery. Over the last thirty years, the significance of white skin colour, and the attitude towards colour, has greatly changed in the historiography of Suriname. Before, free coloureds were seen as being mainly belonging to the proletariat (see i.a. Hoetink 1972).

[7] This also includes the Marrons, with whom government peace treaties were drawn up.

[8] Some of these early writers on Suriname were: Aphra Behn (*Oroonoko*, or *The Royal Slave*, 1688), Voltaire (*Candide, ou l'Optimisme*, 1759), John Gabriël Stedman, (*Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, 1796), Van Hoëvell (*Slaven en vrijen onder de Nederlandsche wet*, 1854) and Wolbers, *Geschiedenis van Suriname*, 1861). These books were focused on slaves and their fate. None of these books focused on free non-whites as a topic.

[9] This is a woman living in a relationship with a man, outside the state of marriage. A concubine marriage was a common form of living arrangement in Suriname, between a white man and a slave or a free non-white woman. Research shows that this form of living arrangement can, to a large degree, be equated with a marriage because it usually concerned long-lasting relationships. A concubine marriage was, on the one hand, a consequence of the fact that free people were not allowed to marry a slave and, on the other hand,

that there were relatively few white women in the colony. Black and coloured concubines and their children formed the largest category of manumitted. Sometimes white fathers did not want their child to be born into slavery. Then, via an abridged procedure, manumission was requested for the pregnant slave (Vrij 1998:138 and Ten Hove and Dragtenstein 1997:28).

[10] A governor's annual income circa 1742 was between 9,000 and 16,000 guilders (currently between 80.000 and 143.000 euro) (Mc Leod: 1993:66, Stipriaan 1993: 441, attachment 6 and <http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php>).

[11] Slaves without a master had to find a guardian who would request for them manumission. If they could not find a guardian, they would be officially assigned one (Benjamins & Snellemans 1914-1917/2007:648).

[12] Administrators were the representatives of owners living outside the colony. According to Van Lier, administrators were Surinamese aristocrats (Van Lier 1971:82).

[13] Teenstra was, by the way, an abolitionist.

[14] This will be further explained in the next paragraph.

[15] Source: Van Lier 1971:71 and Hoogbergen and Ten Hove 2001:313.

[16] For example, Mc Leod-Ferrier 1993: 22 and Vrij 1998:136, 139-140).

[17] An almanac is a yearly publication with continually recurring factual announcements. *Surinaamsche Almanakken* were published fairly regularly from the second half of the eighteenth century. The almanacs that contain relevant information covering the period of 1800-1863 are the *Almanakken* published between 1819-1846 by the *Departement Paramaribo der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen* and the yearbooks published between 1855 and 1861 by publishers A.C. Kruseman, Haarlem (1855), Gebroeders Van Cleef, 's-Gravenhage (1856 and 1858-1861) and L.J. Verhoeven, 's-Gravenhage (1856-1857).

[18] The *wijkregisters* of different Paramaribo districts contain the information of an address's primary inhabitants, as well as other free inhabitants living at that address. The *wijkregisters* were made between 1828-1832 and 1833-1846 and 1847 (only district F) by *wijkmeesters* [district leaders]. The information from these registries were used to, among other things, appraise the rental values of houses and land in order to collect taxes from the owners. The

names of the primary and joint inhabitants, their ethnicity, occupation and denomination, were registered per address, as well as the number of slaves in their possession.

[19] The collection *Neither Slave Nor Free*, edited by David Cohen & Jack Green (1972), includes a number of studies on the position of free coloureds and blacks in the various colonies. The researchers in this collection touch on topics such as race relations, racial class societies and the social position of free non-whites in relation to limiting measures and their social mobility. Another collection, *Against the Odds; Free Blacks in the Slave Societies of the Americas*, edited by Jane Landers, was published in 1996. It includes seven studies on free coloureds and blacks in various countries. More research based on primary sources would give a more complete picture of the free non-white population.

[20] Zanetti, Oscar. 2013. *Historia mínima de Cuba*. Mexico and Madrid: El Colegio de Mexico and Turner Publicaciones.

[21] Torres-Cuevas, Eduardo and Oscar Loyola Vega. 2011. *Historia de Cuba*, *1492-1898*. Havana: Editorial Pueblo y Educación.

[22] This amount was the sum paid to the government. In 1788, 100 guilders equalled approximately 730 euros (Stipriaan 1993:441, attachment 6 and <http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php>).

[23] Schiltkamp & De Smidt 1973:892, 977 and Koulen 1973:23-25.

[24] Stipriaan 1993:441, attachment 6 and <http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php>.

[25] The law dates from 1782, but it was already customary law in Suriname before this time (Ten Hove 1996a:41-54 and Ten Hove & Dragtenstein 1997:20-21).

[26] Chain manumission did not only exist in Suriname. Karasch, for example, touches on this topic in writing about Rio de Janeiro (Karasch 1987:345 and 347) but research on chain manumission needs to be done in other countries as well.

[27] Koulen justly points out the various "*vrijkorpsen*" that existed, in which manumitted fought at the side of the government against the marrons (Koulen 1973:15). In 1770, *'s Lands Vrijkorps* [The Corps of Rangers] was created. This militia consisted of people born in freedom and those who were manumitted. Each male free non-white between fourteen and sixty years of age was drafted to serve in the militia. In 1772, the *Korps Vrije Negers* (also known as *Korps Zwarte*

Jagers [Corps of the Black Hunters]) was created to fight against runaway slaves. This militia, also known as *Korps Redi Moesoe's* [The Corps of Red Berets] due to their red hats, consisted of 300 slaves bought by the government. These bought slaves were given freedom and had to serve in the militia. There is confusion surrounding the militia's name because in legal documents concerning the creation of the *Korps Zwarte Jagers*, there is mention of a *Korps Vrije Negers*.

[28] In Paramaribo, slaves were allowed to be sent out to work and could be hired, but this sort of slave work had no specific name and was not called *ganho*.

[29] Archive research shows that this was the general rule but that there were exceptions. Further research must demonstrate in which instances this rule was being broken.

[30] Benjamins & Snellemans 1914-1917/2007:463.

[31] Wijkregister 1846, Wijk A, NL-HaNA, Suriname / Gemeentebestuur, 1.05.11.09, inv.nr 675.

[32] Trinidad was a Spanish colony first. In 1797, the island fell into the hands of the British. Slavery was abolished in Trinidad in 1836.

[33] In 1818, Johannes van den Bosch founded the 'free colonies' of the Benevolent Society (Frederiksoord) in the Netherlands. The reform colony of Veenhuizen came later. <nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_van_den_Bosch> (accessed 18.07.2014). Johannes van den Bosch was sent by King William I to Suriname and the colony of Curaçao as Commissioner-General in 1827, to regain administrative control in these colonies.

[34] <http://iturl.nl/sn3Gvz> (accessed 16.07.2014).

[35] *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's-Gravenhage*, 7 November 1856.

[36] Negro English was the lingua franca between African slaves and whites, but also between Europeans of different nationalities. Elements of the following languages can be recognized in Negro English: English, Portuguese, Dutch, French, Spanish and various African languages. In the 1970s, the language was no longer called Negro English but became known as Sranan.

[37] Alliances are known of in Jamaica, Barbados and Grenada, among others (Sio 1987:676).

[38] *Surinaamsche Almanak* 1824 and 1840, DBNL <www.dbnl.org/auteurs/auteur.php?id=_sur001> and Van Kempen <http://iturl.

nl/snpisI> (accessed 18.07.2014).

[39] *De Surinamer* newspaper, 5 August 1939, no 4678.

[40] Hove, O. ten, Hoogbergen, W. and Helstone, H.E. (2004). *Surinaamse Emancipatie 1863: Paramaribo: Slaven en Eigenaren*, Utrecht/ Amsterdam: Bronnen voor de studie van Suriname, volume 25.

[41] Plantation slaves could live temporarily in Paramaribo and private slaves could live on the plantations. Slaves, including plantation slaves, could have more than one owner. The possibility of more than one slave owner does not come into consideration in this paper.

[42] Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone found a total of 986 preprinted forms for private individuals. The government changed the number from 986 to 976 because ten forms were incorrectly submitted. In nine cases, the owners could not prove that they had slaves. In this paper, the total of 986 forms is used (Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone 2004:63).

[43] *Wijkregisters* were kept of all residents of Paramaribo. The names of the residents, their ages, occupations, church affiliations and ethnicity, were registered for every street. Also, it would state if the inhabitants owned slaves and, if so, it would state whether they were a boy, girl, man or woman and if they were black or coloured.

[44] Jews were a separate group within the white population. Even before the English settled in Suriname (1652), a group of Jews from Brazil had settled in Suriname. In 1666, a larger group of Portuguese Jews led by David Nassy settled in the colony. High-German Jews, some from Poland and Russia, came in the eighteenth century. Unlike other white colonists, Jews settled in the colony definitively. The colonial government always differentiated between whites and Jews. Jews enjoyed special privileges and had, among other things, the right to practice their religion, the right to their own administration of justice, and the right to work on Sunday. Throughout history, there were problems and political tension with other white colonists due to these privileges. Van Lier suggests that there was even latent anti-Semitism. The highest official public positions could not be filled by Jews and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a Jew was never chosen to be a member of the *Hof van Politie* [Police Court]. In 1761, a few members of the *Hof van Politie* even suggested that separate districts be created for Jews but this plan was never accepted by the directors of the Society of Suriname (Van Lier 1971:63-65).

[45] As previously mentioned, private slaves could have more than one owner. The number of owners was larger than the number of pre-printed forms. Considering that most of the forms came from only one owner (seventy-one per cent), the number of owners has been made equal with the number of forms, for simplicity's sake.

[46] This is a Surinamese average considering that also plantation owners not living in Paramaribo could have owned private slaves.

[47] It is uncertain of these owners were coloured or black but it is certain that they were manumitted.

[48] The information in Table 1 is based on the tables used by Ten Hove, Hoogbergen and Helstone 2004: Table 13 on page 69, Table 16 on page 81, Table 17 on page 81 and Table 18 on page 82. Further information has been added to the table, concerning the ethnic background of owners from forms of private individuals owning twenty-six to forty slaves (Table 13 on page 69). Of all the coloured owners, one owner was of Indian background and had between two and five slaves. This owner has been put in the category "coloured."

[49] Here, it concerns the owners of private slaves, which relates to the total in Suriname. However, only information concerning the population of Paramaribo is given in the table.

[50] The ethnic distribution of all slave owners (private slaves and plantation slaves) is not elaborated on here.

[51] Anyone who set foot on Dutch soil was supposed to be free. This was also applicable for slaves. Even if they went back to a slave society (also Suriname), they remained free and could not again be a slave. In 1776 the law changed and now it took a year for a slave to become free, when he set foot on Dutch soil (Plakkaat Staten-Generaal 9 Augustus 1771 and 23 May 1776 article 5) See also Vrij 2015:18 and 30).

[52] ONAS 82 akte nr. 55, gouvernementsjournaal 15 May 1767 and 2 November 1775 (Sang-Ajang 2010:464), Gemeente Archief Amsterdam (GAA), Burgerlijke Stand 5009 inv.1079 .

[53] Advocates were already appointed by the Small Claims Court in 1736 (Benjamins & Snelleman).

[54] This bank was founded in 1829 to bring order to Suriname's finances, though the regulation of currency exchange to increase prosperity (commerce and agriculture). The bank's effect became limited around 1848 and it was clear the bank's objectives were not achieved,

The bank was liquidated in 1870 (Wolbers 1861:652 and 704 and Vlier 1863:146).

[55] *Het Departement Paramaribo der Maatschappij: Tot Nut van 't Algemeen* was founded in 1794 but was inactive during the *Engelse tussenbestuur* [English between governance]. From 1816, there were regular meetings. *Het Departement Paramaribo* was active until 1847 (Van Kempen 2002:223).

[56] A legal expert who represents one of the parties in a legal process (in civil cases), without appearing in court (Van Dale).

[57] It is not explicitly stated which prejudices the Nut intended to fight, but considering the titles of articles and lectures, it would have had to be about the elevation of art, the importance of religion, health, tolerance, knowledge of the colony. At regular intervals, the Nut would honour slaves for their charitable acts. In 1823, they also wanted to start a teacher training college for people born in the colony (Benjamins & Snellemans 1914-1917/2007:455 and Van Kempen 2006:188).

[58] *Surinaamsche Almanak* for the year 1840 (1839), DBNL.

[59] Wolbers 1861:635 and Vlier: 1881:141.

[60] *Nieuwe Surinaamsche Courant* and *Letterkundig Dagblad*, 11 March 1834.

[61] Executors of the estate of the deceased director of plantation Johanna Margaretha, J.C. Heuland, were Ph.J. Vlier (father of Nicolaas Gerrit) and Mr J. Weijne. The mulatto girl Anna, for whom a request for manumission was submitted to the Courts of Police and Criminal Justice, was named in Heuland's will (Surinaamsche Courant 31 may 1816).

[62] *Wijkregister* 1843, Wijk A, NL-HaNA, Suriname/Gemeentebestuur, 1.05.11.09, inv.nr 673.

[63] See passage on the founding of the Benevolent Society, Vlier 1881:140-141 and Wolbers 1861:634-635.

[64] See the *Surinaamsche Courant* newspaper, 31 August 1838, nr. 70, Kranten KB.

[65] *Surinaamsche Courant* and *Gouvernements Advertentie Blad* from 18 maart 1848 and from 21 april 1849.

[66] *Onbeheerde boedel Vlier*, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Suriname: *Onbeheerde Boedels en Wezen* 1828-1876, nummer toegang

1.05.11.13, inventarisnummer 1532.

[67] It's not clear from the newspaper article but considering the newspaper was deeply apologetic, it is probable that *De Bannier*, independently or jointly, organized the centenary celebration.

References

Benjamins, H.D. and Snelleman Joh. F., eds. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië*. Martinus Nijhoff/E.J. Brill, Den Haag/Leiden 1914-1917. DBNL <http://iturl.nl/sneoYB> (accessed 21.07.2014)

Brana -Schute, R. 1985. *The Manumission of Slaves in Suriname, 1760-1828.* Florida: Ann Arbor, Michigan University Microfilms International.

Cahill, D. 1994. "Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyality of Peru 1532-1824." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26(2):325-346. Cambridge University Press.

Campbell, C. 2000. "Trinidad's Freecoloureds in Comparative Caribbean Perspectives. Pp. 597-612 in *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World*, edited by V. Sheperd and H. Beckels. Kingston, Ian Randle Publishers/Oxford, James Currey Publishers/Princeton, Marcus Wiener Publishers.

Cohen, D.W. and J.P. Green, eds. 1972. *Neither Slave Nor Free. The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*. Baltimore and New York: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Eersel, Ch. H. 1987. "*Taalpolitiek en sociale mobiliteit in Suriname, 1863-1985*." Pp. 25-25 in *Taal en mensen in de Surinaamse samenleving*." Verzamelde artikelen over taal, geschiedenis en identiteit 1985-2001 (2002). Paramaribo: Stichting Wetenschappelijke Informatie.

Focke, J. 1983. "Mr. Hendrik Charles Focke (1802-1856). *Een vergeten Surinamer*?" Stichting Surinaams museum, Mededelingen 40, 27-34.

Goveia, E., and C. Bartlett. 1960. "The West Indian Slave Laws of the Eighteenth Century. Pp. 580-596 in *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World*, edited by V. Sheperd and H. Beckels (2000). Kingston, Ian Randle Publishers/ Oxford, James Currey Publishers / Princeton, Marcus Wiener Publishers.

Hoefte, Rosemarijn, and Jean Jacques Vrij. 2004. "Free Black and Colored Women in Early-Nineteenth-Century Paramaribo, Suriname." Pp. 145-168 in *Beyond Bondage. Free Women of Color in the Americas*, edited by David Gaspar Barry and Darlene Clark Hine. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Hoetink, H. 1972. "Suriname and Curacao." Pp. 59-83 in *Neither Slave Nor Free. The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, edited by D.W. Cohen and J.P. Greene. Baltimore and New York: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hoogbergen, W., and O. Hove O. 2001. "*De vrije gekleurde en zwarte bevolking van Paramaribo, 1762-1863*." *OSO*, Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 20(2):306-320.

Hove, O., and R.F. Dragtenstein. 1997. *Manumissies in Suriname, 1832-1863*. Bronnen voor studie van Suriname deel 19. Utrecht: CLACS & IBS.

———, W. Hoogbergen, and H.E. Helstone. 2004. *Surinaamse Emancipatie 1863: Paramaribo: Slaven en Eigenaren*. Bronnen voor de studie van Suriname, deel 25. Utrecht/Amsterdam.

———. 1996. *Surinaamse slavernij. Gescheiden verkoop van moeder en kind(eren)*. *OSO*, Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse Taalkunde, Letterkunde, Cultuur en Geschiedenis 15(1):41-55.

Jordaan, H. 2013. *Slavernij en vrijheid op Curaçao, de dynamiek van een achttiende-eeuws Atlantisch handelsknooppunt*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.

Karasch, M.C. 1987. *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro 1808-1850*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kempen, M. van. 2006. *Een geschiedenis van de Surinaamse literatuur. Deel 3. De geschreven literatuur van 1596 tot 1923*. dbnl <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/kemp009gesc03_01/colofon.htm> (accessed 20.07.2014).

Klein, Herbert S. 1986. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kruijt, D.A.N.M., and H. Ramsoedh. 2013. "Desarrollo ambiguo, independencia y cuasi-independencia: El caso de Surinam y las Antillas Holandesas." Pp. 69-96 in *El Gran Caribe en el siglo XXI. Crisis y respuesta*, edited by Luis Suárez Salazar and Gloria Amézquita. Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO).

Koulen, P. 1973. *Schets van de historische ontwikkeling van de manumissie in Suriname (1733-1863).* Stichting Surinaams museum, Mededelingen 12, 8-36.

Lamur, H.E. 1989. "*Het ontstaan van het eigendomsrecht bij slaven in Suriname*." *OSO*, tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde letterkunde en geschiedenis 8(1):29-37.

Lamur, H.E., and H. E. Helstone. 2002. *Namen van vrijgemaakte slaven 1816-1827*. Amsterdam: Instituut Nederland, Antillen, Aruba, Suriname voor Onderzoek en Onderwijs (INAASO): Caribbean Culture Studies, 6.

Lier, R.A.J. van. 1971. *Samenleven in een grensgebied: Een sociaal-historische studie over Suriname.* Deventer/Den Haag: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1971 / Martinus Nijhoff, 1949.

———. 1982. "*Cultuur in Suriname*." *OSO*, tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde en geschiedenis 1(1):17-26.

Mc Leod-Ferrier, C. 1993. *Elisabeth Samson: Een vrije zwarte vrouw in het achttiende-eeuwse Suriname*. Bronnen voor de studie van Afro-Suriname, deel 15. Utrecht, IBS and Vakgroep Culturele Antropologie.

Meditz, S.W., and D.M. Hanratty, eds. 1987. *Caribbean Islands: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress. *The sugar revolutions and slavery.*

Neus, H. and L. Van Putten. 2008. *Gerrit Schouten (1779-1839): met meesterhand vervaardigd.* Paramaribo: Stichting Surinaams Museum.

Oostindie, G., and E. Maduro. 1986. *In het land van de overheerser II Antillianen en Surinamers in Nederland 1634/1667-1975*. Foris Publications, Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson-USA.

Paasman, A.N. 1995. "Leven als een vorst. De planter-directeur in de literatuur over Suriname." *Kruispunt* 36, nr. 161, 386-406.

Petley, Ch. 2005. "'Legitimacy' and Social Boundaries: Free People of Colour and the Social Order in Jamaican Slave Society." *Social History* 30(4). Routledge Taylor & Francis. <http://iturl.nl/snaY0> (accessed 20.07.2014)

Postma, J. M. 1990. *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sio, A. 1987. "Marginality and Free Coloured Identity in Caribbean Slave Society. In *The Slavery Reader Volume*, 2003. London & New York: Routledge. <http://iturl.nl/sn_1B> (accessed 06.06.2014)

Stipriaan Luïscius, van, A.A. 1991. *Surinaams contrast. Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantagekolonie, 1750 – 1863*. Amsterdam, VU.

Teenstra, M. D. 1842. *De negerslaven in de kolonie Suriname*. Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij.

Vlier, M.L.E. 1881. *Geschiedenis van Suriname*. *Voor de hoogste klasse der volksschool*. C. van Doorn en zoon, 's Gravenhage.

Vrij, Jean Jacques. 1998. "Jean Elias van Onna en het 'politiek systhema.'" *OSO*, Tijdschrift voor Surinamistiek 17(2):130-147.

———. 2015. "Susanna Dumion en twee van haar lotgenoten. Drie Afro-Westindische vrouwen in achttiende-eeuws Amsterdam." *Wi Rutu*, Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse Genealogie 15(1):18-31.

Wolbers, J. 1970. *Geschiedenis van Suriname* (facsimile of the first edition, Amsterdam 1861). Amsterdam: Emmerling, S.