This article is an abbreviated version of a report prepared for various departments of the Government of Surinam in February 1979. It is based on fieldwork carried out among the Trio Indians between January and June 1978.

In October 1964 I submitted to the then Government of Surinam a report on the Trio Indians as I found them in 1963-64. This report was subsequently published in amended form in Nieuwe West-Indische Gids (Vol. 45, 1966, pp. 95-120) under the title 'A policy for the Trio Indians'. The present article updates the earlier report by taking account of both its contents and what has happened in the intervening fourteen years. In this way it is possible to assess the accuracy of the earlier predictions and the nature of additional intrusive factors. In particular, the new perspective afforded by time allows for a greater understanding of the internal dynamics of Trio society and culture and their reaction to external influences. While numerous changes have taken place, overall one is struck by how little many of the problems facing the Trio have changed. In many ways the situation closely parallels that of fourteen years ago. Some of the recommendations made in the earlier report have been put into effect (although it is not known whether this was a result of the earlier report), but in other cases nothing has been done and it has been found necessary to repeat the identical suggestions.

The earlier report was divided into two parts. In the first part a general description of the Trio Indians was provided. This included a section on the external influences at work on the Trio, and an examination of Trio society and some of its institutions. The second part contained the recommendations concerning the future treat-
ment of the Trio. A similar layout has been retained here, but the
detailed recommendations sent to the Surinam Government in
1979 have been omitted for reasons of space, and only a summary
of them is included.

I. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE TRIO

In 1978 the majority of the Surinam Trio were living in two large
settlements; the village of Tepoe on the Upper Tapanahoni River,
and that of Kwamalasamoetoe on the Sipaliwini River.

The village of Tepoe was the normal residence of approximately
350 Indians, mainly Trio but with a number of inmarried Waiyana
and a group of Akuriyo. Although the Trio and the Akuriyo do not
intermarry the latter are becoming increasingly Trio-ised. The vil-
lage of Tepoe was formed in 1968 by the migration of the Indians
who had previously lived at Paloemeu. The reason for this move,
the possibility of which was mentioned in the earlier report, was to
get away from tourists and workers at the airfield.

The village of Kwamalasamoetoe contains approximately 575 In-
dians, mainly Trio but also varying numbers of Waiwai, Katwena,
Saloema, Tunayena, and others. These small groups are tending to
adopt Trio ways, and the common language is Trio. The village of
Kwamalasamoetoe was formed by the migration of the population
from the old village of Alalaparo in 1976-77. The reasons for this
move are complex and difficult to untangle but there is no doubt
that given the physical limitations of the Alalaparo site the action
was the right one. A few Indian families have remained at Alalapa-
ro. A handful of Trio are living at the Sipaliwini airstrip and there
are some others married to Waiyana and living in Waiyana villages.
The exact number of Trio and related Indians in Brazil at the
moment is not known, but in 1970 the figure was 299.3

The demography and distribution of the Trio are discussed in
greater detail in II.1.

The external influences at present operating among the Trio will
be examined under six headings, although this is an expository
device since in practice there is often overlap between the different
groups. For the sake of continuity and for the purposes of compari-
1. Mechanisation has come to the Trio. An Indian cuts the airstrip at Tepoe while two young girls hitch a ride.

2. One of the tasks now undertaken by Indians is the regular daily recording of meteorological information. The houses in the background belong to a mixed group of Katwena and Sikiyana.
son the first five headings are the same as those used in the earlier report; this number has been increased by the inclusion of a group referred to as ‘Employers’.

I.1. BUSH NEGROES

It had been noted earlier that intercourse between the Trio and Bush Negroes was decreasing. It has continued to do so, and at present is at a very low level. For the moment trade with the Bush Negroes is of little importance to the Trio who can obtain manufactured goods by other means. From the Bush Negro point of view the Trio’s increasing numeracy and monetary sophistication make the Indians less attractive (i.e., easily defrauded) trading partners. The Trio retain their ambivalent attitude toward the Bush Negro, although they seem less fearful of them and more willing to stand up to them than in the past.

Despite this a surprising number of Trio still claim to have a Bush Negro trading partner. In most cases this partnership is currently dormant, but given the right conditions, such as the disappearance of other sources of money it is quite possible that these partnerships will be reactivated. Dogs, of which the Trio at the moment have a very large number, are still seen as valuable trading items, and the traditional purchasers of them were Bush Negroes.

For the moment Bush Negro influence on the Trio is negligible but this does not rule out the possibility that with changed circumstances it will not regain some of its traditional importance.

I.2. COASTAL PEOPLE OF SURINAM

There is now more contact between the main population of Surinam and the Trio than there was in the past. Much of this increase results from Trio visiting the coast, although there have also been changes in the situation in the interior.

As has been noted the Trio at Paloemeu moved up river in order to get away from non-Indians. In their present village they are almost completely isolated from the contacts they disliked most.
However, many of the younger men are not happy with this isolation, welcome contacts with people from the coast because of the economic advantages entailed, and given the right circumstances would not be unwilling to return to Paloemeu. On the other hand the older men at Tepoe, those who led the move from Paloemeu, claim that they would shift to an even more remote location if unwanted strangers took up permanent residence in or near Tepoe.

Until the Indians from Alalaparoe moved to Kwamalasamoe toe they had virtually no contact, at least in the interior, with people from the coast. This situation changed following the move to Kwamalasamoe toe where men from the coast are employed on the construction and maintenance of the airstrip. Developments there almost exactly parallel those at Paloemeu in the past, with a number of incidents resulting from workers taking Indian women. Such occurrences are rare but they give rise to more problems than in the past since Trio men with their greatly increased self-assurance are now willing to stand up to the outsiders.

There are two further aspects to this situation that deserve mention. The trouble that has occurred has not been helped by the intransigent position adopted by the LVD administration who insisted that a worker return to Kwamalasamoe toe after the Indians had forced him to leave. An action of this sort shows a quite unnecessary disregard for the Indians’ sensibilities, and indicates an unfortunate attitude towards the Indians.

On the other hand those from the coast resident in the interior are not entirely to blame for their affairs with Indian women. Trio woman are well aware of the economic advantages of such liaisons and are not above instigating them.

As agents of change coastal people in the interior are relatively insignificant; their most important role is of demonstrating to the Trio the existence of another culture radically different from that revealed by the missionaries. Some of the younger Indians find this alternative attractive and go out of their way to develop a relationship with people from the coast. The numbers involved are too small to have any effects other than minor ones and some short-term advantages of an economic nature. More significant is the contact gained when Indians visit the coast, almost exclusively Pa-
ramaribo. For one reason or another a large number of Trio have now been down to the coast. They tend to be ambivalent about it. They are curious and they very much want the material things that urban culture has to offer. On the other hand stories abound of cases in which Indians have been swindled out of all their money or had other unpleasant experiences. The majority soon wish to return to their village. A few have gained a superficial sophistication about town life but for most the experience is too meaningless to have any deep influence.

Finally one might note that the attitude of the coastal people towards the Trio tends to be one of benevolent paternalism. The Indian is regarded as a poor, underprivileged, and backward child, who should be an object of charity on condition he behaves himself. The Indians are not totally unaware of this and are capable of playing on it in order to obtain advantages and privileges not readily available to other Surinamese.

1.3. OFFICIAL BODIES

Contact between the Trio and representatives of different Government departments and other official bodies has increased greatly in the last 14 years. The Trio now meet from time to time a wide range of such people including the President, the Prime Minister, Members of Parliament, District Commissioners, civil servants of various ranks, and policemen. The Trio have not yet learnt to distinguish between the respective authority and importance of these people and they tend to attribute similar power to all Government representatives, including the workers on the airstrip.

It is difficult to define precisely the Trio notion of the Government and it is doubtful whether they have any clear conception of it. It is recognised as an agency that has a vital role to play in the Trio’s welfare. The Government is the source of much wealth; not only are the Indian officials paid by it but sizeable *ex grata* handouts in cash and kind flow from it. The Trio attitude to these gifts is that they are owed them by the Government which is in a sort of tribute-paying position. At the same time the Government is seen as unreliable and inconsistent. The Trio complain continually and
on every possible occasion about the failure of the Government to fulfill its promises. Nor do the Trio understand why people from the Government who seem so friendly when visiting a Trio village are not interested in them when they visit Paramaribo, and may not even have time to see them.

It is true that the Government’s treatment of the Trio is inconsistent and sporadic, and characterised by an ill-advised paternalism. While in some cases this is the result of opportunism since there is always political capital to be made out of doing something for the Indians, it mainly springs from a wish to do well by the Indians, but not knowing how to set about it and lacking a policy by which to be guided.

1.4. CASUAL VISITORS AND TOURISTS

Relatively few tourists visit Trio villages, but there has been a marked change over the years in the Trio’s attitude towards them. Particularly at Tepoe and to a lesser extent at Kwamalasamoetoe, the Trio express a dislike, often bordering on hostility, of tourists. Indeed some Indians would prefer no-one to visit them who was not engaged in some way in benefitting the Trio.

Many Trio now object to being photographed, or will demand money in return for posing. They also take what advantage they can of the tourists by selling them Indian artefacts at very high prices.

It is unlikely that in the foreseeable future tourists will present any serious problem. Their numbers are too few, and given the cost of reaching the Trio villages it is improbable that this number will grow. At the moment most casual visitors are those who accompany a Government official who has business with the Trio. The influence of casual visitors and tourists can be ignored in considering the future of the Trio.
1.5. THE MISSIONS

There are now two missionary organizations working among the Trio. The American West Indies Mission which is mainly concerned with evangelising the Trio has been operating since 1961. In the earlier report attention was drawn to the strong influence that the missionaries had had and were having on the Trio. It was also pointed out that, regardless of one’s views about the far-reaching cultural changes brought about by evangelisation, the Trio had benefitted in many ways from the mission’s presence.

During the last 14 years the influence among the Trio of the West Indies Mission has undoubtedly waned. There is no single reason for this but among a variety of causes may be listed: changes in mission personnel; the loss by the mission of their medical and educational functions; the loss by the mission of their monopoly on the Trio; a decline in the intensity of religious fervour among the Trio; and increasing familiarity with the outside world on the part of the Trio. However this does not mean that Christian beliefs and practices have weakened, and today they are to be found embedded in all facets of the Indians’ everyday life.

The translation into Trio of the New Testament and selected parts of the Old Testament is now complete. The present policy of the West Indies Mission is to build up a self-supporting native church so that the missionaries can be withdrawn, at least to the coast. This aim is to be achieved by concentrating the Bible teaching on suitable Indians, the Church Elders, who will then minister to the rest of the population.

The second missionary organization is the Medische Zending voor Suriname which although church associated and funded is not concerned with evangelising, but as its name indicates with medical work. The mission was begun in 1966 and trained nurses took up residence in the Trio villages. From small beginnings this organization has come to administer most of the medical work in the interior. The programme was initially funded by charities but the whole cost has now been taken over by the Surinam Government. It might be noted that the medical treatment available to the Trio is almost certainly as good if not better than that for any other Indian
group in South America, and certainly better than that obtainable by a very large proportion of the subcontinent’s total population, urban and rural.

While the primary aim of the Medische Zending voor Suriname has been to provide health care for the Indians both by keeping trained personnel in the villages and by supplying hospital facilities as necessary, there has also been a policy of training Indians to take over their own medical work (a move strongly recommended in the earlier report). Thus one of the duties of the resident nurses has been and is to train a few Indians as clinic helpers. In order to help with this the mission branched out into education, and appoints school teachers to both villages. Primary education is in the Trio language, and arithmetic and Dutch are also taught. The teacher’s task is also to train Indians to take over the teaching duties.

As with the West Indies Mission, the policy of the Medische Zending voor Suriname is toward Trio self-sufficiency. The difficulties faced by the latter organization in achieving this are greater than those faced by the West Indies Mission. All religious affairs are conducted in the native language while it is essential for a competent clinic helper to speak Dutch.

These two missions, because of their permanent and relatively long contact with the Trio and because of the very nature of their aims and activities, have been and are the most influential agents of change. In Part II some of these changes will be described. Whether one approves or disapproves of missionary work, one would have to be either unrealistic or a romantic not to admit that the Trio have benefitted in many ways from the presence of the missions.

The Trio themselves recognise the advantages which they derive from the missions, and distinguish clearly between those resulting from evangelisation, education, and medication. Their attitude to the missionary personnel is favourable although, like anyone else, they prefer some to others. Nurses, because of the nature of their duties combined with Trio ideas about the causation of sickness and death, are most frequently sanctioned in Trio gossip. However it should be noted that is is always the practitioner who is criticised, and not the practice.
1.6. EMPLOYERS

This group overlaps extensively with others since Government departments, people from the coast, and missionaries all employ Trio labour. In recent years commercial companies have also provided employment. The possibilities for earning money have increased enormously in the last 14 years although in this period the Trio have experienced considerable fluctuation in the availability of work.

The impact on the Trio produced by wage-labour has been great but, as will be seen in Part II, it has not yet resulted in any radical and irreversible changes. The main reason for this is that the demands of the employers have not yet interfered with traditional Trio practices. This appears to be the result of luck rather than good management for most employers are not interested in the Trio except as wage-labourers, and while on the whole they treat them with the best intentions, they have only a shadowy idea of the Indians’ own needs.

II. TRIO SOCIETY AND CULTURE

II.1. DEMOGRAPHY AND DISTRIBUTION

An outline description of the location and size of the modern Trio villages was given at the beginning of Part I. Here these topics will be examined in greater detail.

In April 1964 there were approximately 220 Trio Indians at Paloemeu, and 160 at Alalaparoe: a total in Surinam of 380. If one includes the various minority groups living at Kwamalasamoetoe that total today is near the 900 mark. This dramatic increase can be accounted for in two ways. First there has been further migration of Indians from the Brazilian side of the frontier, and second there has been an enormous natural increase in the population. Directly as a result of medical care life expectancy has increased greatly, and a side effect of this is that the death rate has been artificially low during the last decade. There has also been a dramatic drop in the infant mortality rate from somewhere near 60% 14 years ago to
around 10% today — the death of a baby is now an unusual event compared with the past. At the same time it is probable that the birthrate has increased, but the absence of reliable figures for pre-missionary years makes this only guesswork. Assuming the birthrate has increased it is not possible to know whether this results from an increase in natural fertility, possibly as a result of improved health, or from the decrease in such practices as abortion and infanticide, both of which undoubtedly occurred although with what frequency it is impossible to estimate. For social purposes it is not all that important whether the higher birthrate and survival rate result from improved health, from a reduction in cases of abortion and infanticide, or from increased fertility, and it is most likely to result from a combination of these factors. What does have social and economic implications is that approximately 50% of the population is under 15 years old, or below reproduction age. While this is a significant indicator of the part played by natural increase in the growth of the Surinam Trio population, it also contains the warning of a potential population explosion when this under-15 age cohort starts reproducing. The medical personnel are already alert to this situation, and are making certain contraceptive devices available to Trio women. This policy has proved successful, and unlike the reluctance of populations in many parts of the world to accept contraception, the Trio have welcomed it. One reason for this is almost certainly their own tradition of family planning and their practice of limiting the number of children.

The increase in life expectancy is also having certain social consequences, especially for the structure of the family. The facts will be noted here, and their implications are discussed in II.4. In the past two-generation families were usual, three-generation rare, and four-generation non-existent. Today the three-generation family is common, there are several cases of four-generation families, and the existence of the occasional five-generation family can be predicted.

As well as the gains in the Surinam population resulting from immigration there have also been some losses through emigration, almost entirely from village of Tepoe. About fifty Trio from there have moved back to Brazil in the last decade. Some of these have
gone to the main area of Trio settlement near the Roman Catholic
mission on the Paroe savanna, and the rest have formed a relatively
isolated village further to the east.

Alongside these fairly permanent changes in residence there are
continual temporary movements with smaller or larger groups
travelling between the Surinam villages and backwards and for-
wards to Brazil. These journeys are undertaken to see relatives, to
trade, to look for work, for the fun of travelling, or evade problems
at home. These population movements are traditional and to be
expected. It is safe to assume that they will continue for as long as
the Trio maintain their social organization since such journeys
have an important function to play in it.

A less traditional reason, that of wage-labour, accounted for the
absence of men from the villages, in particular Tepoe, during the
period of research. In all cases these absences were regarded as tem-
porary even where whole families had moved to Paramaribo. These
families were seen in Paramaribo and outside. In every case the In-
dians referred to their ties with the interior and voiced the expecta-
tion that they would make regular return trips.

In the earlier report considerable space was given to discussing
the viability of the large settlements. This examination was conduc-
ted in terms of centrifugal and centripetal forces, i.e., those pressur-
es acting to make the Trio disperse, and those working to maintain
the large settlements. The future of Trio society was seen to depend
on which of these two forces proved stronger. The present exist-
ence of two settlements, even larger than they were 14 years ago,
proves that the centripetal force has so far proved stronger. How-
ever this is not necessarily a permanent condition since the struggle
between the opposing tendencies continues, and there is evidence
to suggest that the centrifugal forces are becoming stronger. The
nature of the various factors involved will emerge in the following
sections. All that need be noted here is that even if the centrifugal
forces gain the upper hand only a limited dispersal is likely to oc-
cur. The great majority of Indians will not want to lose touch with
the existing settlements which will continue to act as medical,
educational, commercial, and religious centres. This development
has already taken place in Brazil where it appears to work perfectly
satisfactorily.
II.2. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The basic Trio subsistence economy has remained unchanged. The fundamental reliance on slash-and-burn agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering remains, and the diet continues to depend on the exploitation of a very wide range of resources. Some additional crops have been successfully introduced but these are of a supplementary nature, like fruit, rather than staples. The Trio like rice but the chances of getting them to grow it for themselves are slim. Given the extra time and effort required and other disadvantages that rice has, especially when compared with cassava, the Trio are probably right to be hesitant about it. Experiments with domestic animals have been made but have proved a failure (as was anticipated in the earlier report).

The only imported food present in the diet in any quantity, and then still in minute amounts, is rice. There are certain other imported foods on which the Trio are keen, such as tinned fish and tea, and others, such as tinned meat, which they tend to dislike (as might be expected there is great personal variation in likes and dislikes). However foods of this sort are rarely available and play no significant part in the diet.

The Trio have adopted a large range of manufactured goods. In many cases these have replaced traditional items without bringing about any radical changes in practices and techniques. Thus the shotgun has largely replaced the bow and arrow for hunting, although the latter is still an important aid for fishing. A brief review of the more common imported items will be made, and where appropriate their more profound side effects commented upon.

Trio pottery has been totally superseded by manufactured metal pots of all shapes and sizes. Some types of basketwork have suffered the same fate, although those items concerned with the processing of cassava, for which there are no manufactured substitutes, are still made and used. Many men and women still know how to make baskets and pots.

Western clothing has partly replaced traditional dress. In the case of women there has been a complete switch. The traditional, small cloth apron is never worn except by one or two of the very old...
3. Outboard motors have brought many changes to the Trio way of life. Here a dugout canoe, much larger than the traditional size, sets out on a journey up the Sipaliwini River.
women, and bead aprons are now curiosity. The very least worn by a woman today is a pair of underpants and a length of cloth wrapped round as a skirt, often supported by elastic. Western style dresses are worn by many. The men still wear the traditional loin clothes; some men rarely wear anything else, while others only wear western clothes. Some Indians have learnt to look after their clothes well and always look clean and neat; in other cases the clothes are unwashed and tatty. Men’s clothes are mainly bought readymade, but the women usually make their own from rolls of cloth. There are a number of sewing machines in both villages, and these are used by both men and women. Most Indians wear thong sandals, and some have canvas or leather shoes. Gumboots are also popular.

The use of body paint, especially the oil-based red paint, has declined, and this is clearly a response to the adoption of western dress. Other ornaments and decorations are less used than previously, but large quantities of beads are still often worn. The Trio have become far less conservative in their choice of colours, and they will now include yellow, green and other colours in their beadwork which they would not do formerly. Red has also ceased to be the dominating colour for clothing, and although men’s loin clothes are still invariably red, many colours and patterns are found on other clothing.

At the moment one of the most expensive but most sought after objects is an outboard motor. During the first half of 1978 there were 16 of these at Kwamalasamoetoe and 10 at Tepoe, and the number was growing steadily. The outboard motor is used to extend and to make easier traditional activities. For example, the distance from a village that one can travel in a day in order to hunt using an outboard motor far exceeds that which it is possible to cover on foot or in a canoe with paddles. The area over which natural resources can be exploited is greatly increased by the outboard motor. Thus it might appear to be a centripetal force, but in fact it is a neutral element since Indians can just as easily disperse and use the motor in order to exploit the various facilities of the main villages.

There is also a great range of other consumer goods that the Trio now have: transistor radios, tape-recorders, some cameras, soap, toothbrushes, toothpaste, towels, lamps, hair lotions, lipstick, etc.,
etc. It is difficult to see that these things have brought any profound social or economic repercussions. However, there is one item which no Indian owned 14 years ago but is universally possessed today; that is the hammock cover. In passing it might be noted that the Trio still make their own hammocks, although they may use machine-made imported thread rather than their own cotton. The existence of hammock covers has had several interesting side effects. First they provide relative privacy; something very difficult to come by in an Indian village. Second the traditional positioning of the husband’s hammock immediately above that of his wife is not feasible with a cover. Thus one of the symbols of marriage has fallen into disuse.

Third, and perhaps most interesting, the hammock cover has brought about a change in the pattern of daily, or at least nightly, life. The marked drop in temperature at night used to mean that few Indians slept undisturbed; there was constant movement as people stoked up their fires, and in the coldest hours before dawn many abandoned their hammocks to sit round the fire. Much of the basketwork was done at this time which was said to be ideal since the material is damp from the night dew and thus more pliable. The view was also expressed that a ‘good’ Trio would be up early doing such jobs. This pattern of behaviour has now changed completely. People, warm in their hammock covers, are more prone to sleep through the night, and if they wake early are more likely to stay in bed listening to their transistor radios than to get up and make baskets. As mentioned above certain basket objects are essential for the processing of cassava, but the basketwork is now done during the day with the material dampened with water in order to obtain the required pliancy. The notion of the ‘good’ Trio as an early riser has also waned.

Although individually manufactured objects may not have produced any radical alterations in Trio society and economy, their presence does raise certain questions. In total these goods and external contacts have produced many superficial changes. The Trio look very different today from what they did 14 years ago, and most people will decry the decline of traditional crafts. But the major problem for the Trio is that their new possessions cannot be provi-
sioned from the environment. Outboard motors need petrol; shotguns need cartridges; and transistor radios, tape-recorders, and torches need batteries. The Trio are becoming decreasingly self-sufficient and increasingly tied to an external cash economy.

The vital question is how far has their reliance on manufactured goods gone? The answer is not too far for them to be able to resurrect their traditional techniques. The knowledge of old skills is still there even if it is not often put into practice. The Trio see themselves more dependent on manufactured goods than they actually are. The Trio would claim vehemently that metal pots, shotguns and other manufactured objects are now necessities, and this would not be surprising since no one likes to be deprived of things to which they have become accustomed and have to revert to former ways. In fact, at the moment, with their subsistence economy intact, it would still be possible for the Trio to re-adopt their material and technical culture of 14 years ago.

The possession of manufactured goods depends on the Trio having a supply of money. The cash economy of the Trio, perhaps better described as the means by which they obtain money, can be examined separately from the traditional economy. This is because, while objects purchased with cash have been incorporated into the traditional economy, money per se has not been. The two economic spheres are to a large extent still autonomous.

Fourteen years ago, money if not unknown to the Trio was little understood by them, and the opportunities for obtaining it very limited. At Alalaparoe casual work for the missionary and the sale of artefacts were the only possibilities. At Paloemeu, as well as these means, there were also a few jobs available working on the airstrip or for the Mines Department. At that time there were also two salaried Government appointed officials.

Today the situation is rather different, and the number and kinds of sources of money have increased greatly. The most general source is employment in various roles by official, semi-official, and private organizations. The availability of work varies, and the Trio have in the past, and will almost certainly in the future, experienced alternating periods of affluence and deprivation. The case of Tepoe illustrates this. In the late 1960s there was a period in which many Indians were able to find employment. This was followed by
some years when there was little work available. Recently this trend has been reversed and there has once again been plenty of work available. No such opportunities for earning money presented themselves at Alalaparoe, but on moving to Kwamalasamoetoe many Indians found work constructing the airstrip there. This provided 15 months employment but on completion of the airstrip the workforce was reduced to an handful of maintenance men.

During periods of work the Indians enjoy considerable affluence. They are paid relatively well (Sf 6-8 a day, compared with Sf 1 a day 14 years ago), and they do not have to spend any of it on subsistence. Accordingly they are much better off than many better paid workers on the coast who are faced with the cost of food and housing. Given these facts it is not difficult to understand how some Trio have saved enough money to buy outboard motors which cost approximately Sf 1,500 delivered at Kwamalasamoetoe.

Other, more casual labour, such as building houses for mission personnel, still occurs. Indians also undertake such minor but routine tasks as recording meteorological data, cutting grass on the airstrip at Tepoe, and minding the electricity generator. For these jobs they receive a small but regular income.

The largest, steady supply of money into the villages comes from the salaries paid by the Government to the Indian officials. The number of posts and the size of the salaries have both increased greatly in the last 14 years. Whereas in 1964 there were just one captain and one lieutenant (both at Paloemeu), today there are 2 Granman, 3 captains, and 18 lieutenants including 4 women. In the past the captain received Sf 360 a year and the lieutenant Sf 100. Today a Granman gets Sf 3,000 a year, a captain Sf 1,800, a male lieutenant Sf 1,200, and a female lieutenant Sf 960. These officials are very well paid for what they do, for with the exception of the women whose job it is to clean the village, their duties are ill-defined to the point of being non-existent. However the salaries do provide a reliable income of around Sf 32,000 a year for the Trio, and many more Indians than just the recipients benefit from the money.

The Government-appointed officials are not the only Trio to receive salaries. The eight Trio clinic helpers, four in each village, get
just over Sf 100 a month each. However, unlike the officials, the clinic helpers earn their money doing a responsible job. The Trio school masters also receive a monthly but much lower salary.

There is still money to be made by the manufacture of traditional artifacts for sale. Enthusiasm for this varies since the Trio have worked out that in terms of time and effort this business gives a very poor return when compared with the rewards obtainable from wage-labour. The sale of articles provides an income for those unable to work, and acts as a stand-by when other sources of cash dry-up.

What influence has the presence of wage labour and the Trio’s genuine desire to obtain money had on traditional life? The most obvious concern is how far the Indians’ engagement in a cash economy has prevented them from participating in his own subsistence economy. There are a number of points to be made on this subject.

First, many of the objects bought with the cash earned save the Indian time. Manufactured items substitute for traditional articles on which an Indian would have to spend time making. An object such as an outboard motor eases traditional tasks as well as permitting their more rapid completion. Second, within his traditional life a Trio did not spend more than 20 hours a week on average directly engaged in obtaining food. At some times of the year, for example during the cutting and planting of fields, the figure would be higher than that but in other seasons it would be much lower.

In other words the hours engaged in wage labour are not all used at the expense of the time that would normally be devoted to subsistence activities. It is possible for the Trio to practise both economies simultaneously without his subsistence base suffering any serious decline. This does not mean that there is no cause for worry since some additional factors have to be taken into account. The first of these is the location of the work, and the second is the proportion of men involved in it. The contrast between the situation at Kwamalasamoetoe and that at Tepoe in 1978 provides a useful illustration of this point.

At Kwamalasamoetoe the work, the construction of the airstrip
and the building of the schoolteacher’s house, was local. Although nearly half the adult men were engaged in these occupations, even during the busy planting season the traditional economy was clearly not under any strain. However, an important additional factor here was that rarely were the Indians working on the airstrip expected to do a full day’s work and they were left ample time in which to tackle traditional tasks.

At Tepoe all available work took men away from the village, in some cases for two to three months at a time. At the time of the research approximately half the able-bodied men were away from the village and their absence had placed a burden on the remainder, mainly the young and the old. The village was visited during a not very busy time of year (April-June) and the strains observed tended to be more social than economic. The situation would have been more serious in seasons of intense economic activity.

Most of the other occupations mentioned above can be readily integrated with traditional economic activities. However the potential difficulties attached to involvement with wage labour cannot be ignored. The fulltime employment of a large proportion of the population holds inherent dangers for the traditional subsistence economy. At the moment it is intact, and while it is the Trio will have no trouble in surviving years of economic regression. At present there is no sign that the traditional economy is threatened. One good piece of evidence for this is that money is still one remove from causing any radical changes in social, economic and political relationships. No Trio has yet started paying another Trio to do things for him, and in particular food is not regarded as something for which one gives money to another Trio.

The fact that money is not used internally in Trio society does not mean that it is not employed elsewhere. Most transactions with non-Indians involve cash, and with non-Indians even food is exchanged for money or goods. The Trio are becoming increasingly knowledgeable about money and its worth. Those who live on the coast or visit it often are beginning to understand the nature of an economic system in which everything, even food and shelter, has to be paid for. However, for the majority of Trio an economy involving a complex division of labour in which objects
and services are all tied in a cash nexus is incomprehensible.

There are some exceptions to the claim that the Trio do not use money among themselves. Two cases that were recorded are on a small scale. One concerns the man who has been working on the Paloemeu airstrip for more than 15 years, and he resides there. The Indians who moved there temporarily in order to work obtained on occasions cassava from this man who charged them for it. The other case involves one of the few Trio who has moved more-or-less permanently to the coast. This man took his family with the exception of a teen-age daughter whom he has left with another family, and he pays them to look after her. The family in question has visited North America, and its head is the Trio who best understands the ways of western culture.

A third case is an altogether different matter. In the earlier report it was suggested that some provision be made in the interior for the Trio to spend his money without their having to go to town. This requirement was met by the missionaries who set up and operated stores in both Trio villages. Indian assistants were employed in the running of these stores, but the present policy is to hand them over completely to an Indian storekeeper. This has now happened and in both villages the stores are owned by Indians who, still with some supervision from the mission personnel, run the whole business themselves, including ordering goods from Paramaribo, arranging their transport, fixing prices, and doing the bookkeeping. It is too early to say whether these Indian storekeepers will be successful, and they face many difficulties such as fully appreciating the notion of profit and loss, and being able to withstand the demands from kin for special consideration — a common reason for the failure of such stores in many developing countries. However, if properly managed the potential rewards are very high although these will naturally fluctuate with the general affluence of the Trio. Some idea of this can be given by figures from Kwamalasamoetoe where in a period of affluence the store took S$ 72,000 in 18 months. (During the same 18 months the total cash income of the village was in excess of S$ 100,000.)

The important point to be made here is that the Trio now have among their own number Indians with whom they engage in regu-
4. Both Trio village contain stores which are now managed and run by Indians with some supervision. Not everyone who turns up is there to buy since much of the interest is in seeing what other people buy.
lar cash dealings and who will have to work within the commercial constraints of profit and loss if they are going to succeed. However the impact of this will be diminished since the storekeepers are only acting as brokers for externally derived goods and currency. There is no reason to expect them to extend their newly learnt commercial notions into the sphere of the traditional economy, no more than that they can allow traditional economic ideas and practices to invade the commercial sphere. The two economies, subsistence and cash, are still separate entities, although interconnected by simple links. Accordingly no radical change will take place until the cash economy intrudes into traditional economic relationships.

One further, economic-related, change that has taken place in the last 14 years is that the notion of work *per se* has arisen. A word for it (oro/èowe) has been adapted from Sranan. This concept is not just applied to the new economic activities (although almost certainly responsible for its occurrence) but is equally used to describe traditional practices which would not have been so distinguished in the past. The idea of work has also been accompanied by that of leisure although this is less well developed and more infrequently referred to. Work is seen as a good thing in its own right and not simply for the rewards it brings. However, one must be hesitant about explaining this as the Puritan work ethic implanted by Gospel teaching. A not dissimilar idea distinguishing energetic from lazy people existed in traditional Trio thought.

II.3. AUTHORITY

No discernible development of any traditional system of maintaining order or settling disputes has occurred. The authority structure of the Trio, as far as it exists, is ill suited for developments that can cope with the present situation. In the earlier report it had been forecast that a new authority structured would emerge round the groups of Church Elders. This has not happened and it now seems unlikely that it will, since the opportunity has passed. As far as it has been possible to reconstruct what happened it seems that a few years ago the Church Elders had managed to gather considerable authority into their hands (with the tacit and not-so-
tacit support of the missionaries). However, recently this power seems to have diminished again. Several reasons for this can be posited. These include changes in mission personnel, greater familiarity with Christianity and experience of other Christians on the part of the Trio, and the fact that the generation now coming to adulthood have lived all their lives under the missionary regime, do not have the innate understanding of their old beliefs, and thus are less dependent upon and less enthusiastic about Christian beliefs than were and are the original converts. The behaviour of many Church Elders or their close kin has not always been above suspicion, and a number of them, especially at Tepoe, have resigned because of this, or have used it as an excuse to rid themselves of a burden with which they had become disenchanted.

Another factor in all this is the creation of a group of Village Leaders who are meant to have responsibility for secular affairs, leaving spiritual matters to the Church Elders. While a good idea in theory, in practice this separation of secular and spiritual authority has not been successful for a number of reasons. First, in many cases it is difficult to decide what is a secular rather than a spiritual matter. A state of affairs only to be expected in such societies as the Trio where institutions tend to be embedded in one another. Second, this situation is compounded by the fact that there is a high degree of overlap between the Church Elders and the Village Leaders; this is particularly so at Kwamalasamoetoe but less so at Tepoe. This means that a Village Leader will use the opportunities presented to him in church as an Elder to speak on matters that would appear to be purely secular. Nor does it stop a Village Leader who is not a Church Elder from using the same arena to give sermons on what are more clearly spiritual affairs. The church provides a captive audience for both.

Both Village Leaders and Church Elders are chosen by the Indians themselves with the main say going to the existing members of the group and guiding pressure being exerted by non-Indians. The Village Leaders have to have their position confirmed by the Government which then pays them a monthly salary. The details of this have already been given in II.2. In the earlier report it was recommended that the whole system of Government-appointed Officials be discontinued. In fact the opposite has happened and
whereas 14 years ago there were two such officials costing Sf 460 a year, there are now 23 costing over Sf 32,000 a year. The system is working better today because some individuals for whom the other Trio hold respect have been appointed, unlike the original two officials who still hold office and are still regarded as a joke by the other Indians. This is still true of many of the present officials who are not simply unlikely ever to do anything for their money but are in no position to do so since they lack any authority. If the practice of appointing officials in the present numbers is to be defended it can only be on the grounds that it is a covert way of providing the Trio with a steady cash income.

It should also be pointed out that even those officials whose advice and opinions are respected and acted upon are mainly not competent to act as intermediaries between the Trio and outsiders because they do not speak Dutch or Surinamese. There are a number of young Trio men who can speak some Dutch, and it is more than possible that, as has happened elsewhere in the world, their linguistic ability will allow them to gather power which traditionally they would not have had because of their lack of knowledge about Indians ways. This sort of thing is already beginning to happen, and a particularly interesting example arose as a result of the Kwamalasamoetoe Granman's manipulations to have his Dutch-speaking but very young brother's son made a Village Leader.

While such developments as these may bring changes in the future, at present whether an individual be a Church Elder, a Village Leader, both, or neither the respect in which he is held and the authority he has do not derive from the office he holds. The traditional competences for a Trio leader were to be able to lead and to persuade. For the first he had to be able to do things at least as well if not better than anyone else; for the second he had to have 'strong' talk. These are still recognised by the Trio as the important characteristics of a leader, and it is very much on them that the leaders rely today for maintaining orders and settling disputes. However the present size of the settlements greatly weakens the influence of these informal means, and no new methods of mediation or coercion, perhaps backed by sanctions, have appeared. Rather unsuccessful attempts at applying sanctions have been made. These have included the whipping of Indians as punishment for misde-
meanours. (It is not at all certain where the notion of corporal punishment arose since it is not a traditional Trio practice. A possible explanation is that it is an overzealous application of certain Biblical admonitions). Other sanctions have been discussed and tried but no satisfactory ideas have been forthcoming. One reason for this is that the traditional Trio response to conflict or coercion is migration. This is still the normal reaction to such situations even if it is only threatened rather than put into practice. This problem was highlighted at Kwamalasamoetoe as a result of a severe dispute between the two senior Village Leaders, who happen also to be the two senior Church Elders. Without mediation on the part of non-Indians it seems fairly certain that one or other of the two men would have left the village for a longer or shorter time, perhaps with a sizeable group of followers.

In the absence of any new forms of dispute settlement and the presence of the traditional reaction to conflict, the unity of the large settlements remains at risk. This problem will worsen with the withdrawal of mission personnel and the lack of any competent outsider to arbitrate in disputes.

II.4. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Although not all the data collected on this topic have been analysed as yet it is clear that Trio social organization has not undergone any important changes. In fact it has remained remarkably intact while adjusting itself to new conditions that have arisen. Some examples of this can be given.

The large settlements are not simply disorganised agglomerations of houses, but are divided into groups separated by well defined physical and social boundaries. The composition of these groups is almost identical with that which existed in traditional villages. The Trio continue to follow their traditional marriage rules, and the pattern of exchanges of objects and services between different categories of kin and affines remains as it was 14 years ago.

Some further comment on this last aspect is required since some Trio claim that the relationship between affines is changing. It is
said that the conventional avoidance behaviour is no longer observed and that in-laws now talk to one another. Avoidance, it was explained, was part of their bad old way of life. However, observation failed to detect any obvious diminution in the practice, and Trio of all ages, allowing for normal individual variation, still behave in the traditional manner. On the other hand, the Trio consider that the conventional obligations and duties owed between affines should continue. Some people complain that various services are not being fulfilled because the individual owing them was too occupied with wage labour. It is not known whether the present incidence of failing to fulfil obligations is any higher now than in the past when it resulted from other causes, including residence in different villages, but for the moment it is not resulting in any serious unrest except in the odd individual case. Although a number of Indians had received sums of money from affines, usually in order to acquire some specific item, money is not recognised as a substitute for traditional affinal prestations.

In II.1. mention was made of the increasing number of three-, and even four-generation families whose existence results in the main from an increase in life expectancy. One of the side effects of this is that a man’s obligations to his parents-in-law last much longer than in the past. Formerly a man who had a mature son-in-law would not normally have a surviving father-in-law, and he would gradually have been able to retire from the more energetic activities, leaving these to his son-in-law. This situation is not so common today, and a man with a mature son-in-law often finds himself with a father-in-law to whom he still owes prestations. Behaviours and expectations have not yet adjusted themselves to this new situation, and it is not possible to predict how they will. However, the new vertically increased extended family would seem to present a good institution through which to accommodate to the demands made on its members’ time and energy by both the subsistence economy and wage labour.

Finally, on this topic, it should be stressed that it is the combination of an intact social organization and a fully functioning subsistence economy which has allowed Trio society to maintain its fundamental integrity.
II.5. HEALTH

It would be superfluous to make any detailed observations on the state of Trio health since this has been carefully monitored for over a decade and detailed information on it is available. It will suffice to say that the general level of Trio health is good, that they receive excellent medical attention, and that all those concerned in bringing this state of affairs about deserve congratulations for what they have achieved.

However, some comments on Trio ideas relating to the causation of sickness and death need to be made in order to warn of certain problems that may arise in the future. This is a complex subject and since it can only be dealt with briefly here some oversimplification is necessary.

Traditionally the Trio did not just become sick or die. Sickness and death were the result of the maleficent activities of some agent, either human or spiritual, or both acting in coordination. For example, accidental death resulting from a tree falling on someone required for a proper explanation a further agency than the falling tree. The Trio perfectly well understand that if a tree falls on someone it is likely to kill him, but there are further questions: why did the tree fall, just then and on that particular person? The answer was to be found in some malevolent agent, human or spiritual.

The same sort of explanation was given in cases of sickness. Sickness was not simply a matter of the body as a physical entity, but a phenomenon that was equally symptomatic of social problems. In other words, for the Trio the individual’s being consisted of a network of social relationships, and sickness indicated the malfunctioning of these just as much as of the body. Diagnosis and cure concerned both the physical and social aspects of the individual, and the traditional medical practitioner, the shaman, was involved in restoring both physical wellbeing and social harmony; health depended on both. A vital component in the causation of sickness and death was cursing, the idiom in which disrupted social relationships were expressed.

These notions have not undergone any fundamental changes although they have adapted themselves to the new teaching about the
5. Under missionary guidance, the Trio church has become nearly self-sufficient with services being conducted by Church Elders.

6. A large proportion of the Trio can now read and write in their own language and are becoming familiar with arithmetic. Elementary teaching is carried out by Indian teachers.
spirit world and to western medical practices. The vital influence on the individual’s health of the state of his relationships with others is still of paramount importance. The idiom in which this is now commonly expressed is that of people’s spiritual integrity, their relationship with God. The sinfulness of others, as much as one’s own, can bring about sickness and death. The efficacy of medical treatment is incorporated in this set of ideas, for it is claimed that God withholds the power of medicine if its giver is not a ‘proper’ Christian. The Trio definition of a Christian is strict, but the assessment of an individual can be made post facto, depending on the outcome of a particular event.

This is of some importance to the future of medical work among the Trio. Most of the Medische Zending voor Suriname nurses have been the focus of accusations by Indians. The Trio blame the nurses for the deaths of certain individuals, saying that the medicine had failed to work properly. While unpleasant and disturbing for the nurses such accusations have no further implications because they are directed against outsiders who have a different value system. However, this will not be the case when the medical care is left in the hands of the Trio clinic helpers. These Indians will face grave difficulties when the medicine which they have dispensed has failed to cure. The problem is serious enough to undermine the future possibility of a self-sufficient Trio medical programme. This situation is not helped by the fact that seven out of the eight Trio clinic helpers now being trained are women. Given the nature of Trio society and the position of women in it, this is a mistake. The female clinic helpers, even more than the man, will be the object of great social and psychological pressures.

There is one further problem in the creation of a self-sufficient group of clinic helpers, and this is a linguistic one. The aim is that while the clinic helper will operate within her own society she will be using western medicine and be backed by medical resources from outside. It is difficult to see how, within the foreseeable future, any of the clinic helpers are going to achieve adequate fluency in Dutch to allow them to communicate with non-Indian speakers from the coast.
II.6. EDUCATION

A very large proportion of the Trio are now literate in their own language, being able both to read and write it. A few are able to speak and write a little Dutch and/or Surinamese. A growing number of Trio is also numerate to the extent of being able to do basic arithmetical exercises. Counting, which in the absence of numerals did not exist formerly, is now a natural part of everyday life for many Indians. Given the Trio’s increasing and inevitable involvement with money this has proved a particularly useful additional skill.

Another aspect of numeracy has been an increasing understanding of western notions of time. Many Indians have watches and know how to read the time; they have started to adopt a western calendar, and there are signs of an adoption of a chronological framework by which past events can be dated.

The Trio schoolmasters who are being trained are competent to teach reading and writing in their own language, and also elementary arithmetic. However, once again there is the problem about how the Indian teachers are to gain sufficient fluency in Dutch in the near future so as to be able to teach it.

At the moment no adult education is given, but schooling is provided for boys and girls up to approximately 18 years old. School hours are arranged so that they do not interfere with the Indians’ normal daily and weekly routine. Holidays are arranged to fit with the interests of all parties. The value of schooling is recognised by many of the Trio, and in particular they appreciate the advantages that are to be derived from knowing arithmetic and being able to speak Dutch and/or Surinamese.

II.7. RELIGION

Almost all the Surinam Trio are nominal Christians although the enthusiasm of the years following conversion has waned and a rather more balanced approach to religious practices is now taken. Less time is spent in church, and many Indians no longer find it necessa-
7-8. The policy of training Indian medical assistants is paying off, and there are now a number of Indians capable of treating with Western medicine a wide range of complaints.
ry to go more than once a week. There has been a decline in praying before embarking on almost any activity, and when prayers are said their duration is much briefer.

All this is particularly true of the younger generation which has grown up in a nominally Christian society. Young people are generally more casual towards Christian beliefs, and fail to appreciate the part Christianity played for their elders vis-à-vis traditional beliefs. For example, aware of but insensible to the central importance of tobacco in communication with the spirit world, many young Trio can see nothing wrong with smoking and do so. A further contributing factor is the Trio's widening knowledge of the outside world where are to be found good and trustworthy people who do not adhere to the strict Christian tenets taught by the missionaries.

Even if there has been some falling away from strict Christian ideals, this does not mean that the Trio are going to or are in a position to revert to their traditional beliefs. To a surprising degree the form and content of the traditional religion has been forgotten (even by the older people) or become blurred through the incorporation of Christian themes. The present religion is an amalgam of old and new ideas which has its own internal dynamic, and the withdrawal of direct missionary contact with the Trio will not halt or reverse this process.

In the spheres of social and economic organization the missionaries have had little influence, and only a temporary one in the political arena. However, Bible teaching has had a profound affect on many facets of Trio life, although it is not always easy to distinguish the changes brought about by the missionaries from those resulting from secular contacts. For example, during the last 14 years, the Trio have become much more selfassured, especially in their dealings with outsiders. Of course this could be explained as the natural adjustment to the vastly increased experience of outsiders which they have had. However, there are too many examples from elsewhere that indicate that it is not a necessary natural response to wider contact. Nor does it explain in the case of the Trio why they are no longer so frightened of the Bush Negroes, people with whom they have interacted for over one hundred years, and more in the past than the present. At least in part, the source of
this new-found self-confidence is attributable to Christian teaching, and to the simple but explicit faith that God will answer the Trio’s prayers and protect them.

One final point here, and this is a conservative rather than an innovative aspect, is that all Christian teaching has been done in the Trio’s own language. While this approach speeds up the rate of evangelisation, at the same time it leads to a greater distortion of the original message. In the case of the Trio it is also an important contributory factor to the more-or-less total monolingualism that continues to characterise the Trio.9

II.8. CONCLUSIONS

Trio society and culture have changed in the last 14 years, but not all that much and in certain crucial ways not at all. There has been a gradual and on the whole successful adaptation to their changed and changing circumstances. The socio-economic structure has remained intact; their health is much improved and demographically they are in a strong position; and the various agencies involved with them are making strenuous attempts to prepare the Indians to understand and be able to partake in the wider Surinam society. There has been a loss of traditional knowledge and practices but not to the point where it represents a threat to the society’s autonomy. Given changed conditions techniques and skills not at present practised would be revived. At present and as far as things have gone the Trio case can be regarded as a success story, especially when compared with what has happened in similar situations elsewhere. That this is so is almost entirely due to the efforts of a few dedicated individuals who have spent many years working on their behalf.

However this does not mean that there are not difficulties ahead. There are tensions in Trio society which can best be summarized in terms of the centripetal and centrifugal forces operating there.

At the moment the main elements of the centripetal force, that acting to maintain the large settlements, are the various services available in them; medical, commercial, educational, and spiritual. The potentially strongest centrifugal force, that acting to disperse the large settlements, is the Trio desire for money. If work is avail-
able in or near the villages this force is neutralised, but there is no guarantee that employment will be so located. The strength of this force nearly became evident in 1978 when it looked as though Paloemeu would continue as the main centre of work for the people at Tepoe. If this had happened there is every indication that a proportion of the Tepoe inhabitants would have moved their residence back to Paloemeu.

There are other centrifugal forces at work. In particular can be mentioned the lack of any sound means to regulate disputes and the traditional tendency to move in the face of tension and conflict. There is also a greater awareness on the part of many Trio of the disadvantages of living in large settlements. They complain of the lack of peace and quiet in the large villages, and realise that there tends to be a local scarcity of many essential items from agricultural land to game, and from firewood to house thatch.

It is difficult to predict what the future developments will be but on existing evidence the following forecast seems safe. Both Tepoe and Kwamalasamoetoe are sited on rivers which provide good means of communication, and this asset has been made even more useful by the ownership of outboard motors. This means that the Indians, while maintaining a house in the main village, can more readily have a secondary settlement some distance away. To some extent this has already happened at Tepoe where Indians have houses and have cut fields away from the main village. Observation from the air suggested that something similar had happened at Alalaparoe, it has happened on a larger scale among the Brazilian Trio, and it would be surprising if it did not occur in due course at Kwamalasamoetoe. This pattern of dispersal round a focal village which is a service centre is almost certainly the best way in which the Trio can merge new ways with traditional practices.

**SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS**

— That the status of the Trio Indians as citizens of Surinam, with all the rights and privileges that entails, be confirmed, but that due and appropriate allowance be made for their unique social and cultural tradition together with the right to develop in their own way.
That the Trio be granted inalienable land rights to an appropriate area of the interior of Surinam.

That the Medische Zending voor Suriname and the West Indies Mission be encouraged to continue their operations among the Trio. If this is not possible, that a well qualified advisor/coordinafor of Indian affairs be appointed whose task it will be to mediate between the Trio and the non-Indian world.

That no work, development or other schemes be introduced without careful consideration of their aim and likely outcome.

That the current practice of making gratuitous gifts and excessive promises to the Trio be replaced by more reliable and realistic forms of subsidised assistance.

That the Government be prepared to introduce legislation to prevent the exploitation of the Trio by wage labour and to ensure the maintenance of their traditional subsistence economy.

That some provision be made for giving a few Trio a technical training.

That, beyond these recommendations, as little disruption as possible be allowed to the present path of Trio development.
1 The authorities responsible for giving me permission to carry out research among the Trio stipulated that I should report to them on the state and condition of these Indians. The report was in fulfilment of that requirement. Because a number of other official and unofficial bodies and concerned individuals expressed interest in the results of my investigations, and because no terms of confidentiality were imposed on me, the report was circulated fairly widely. At the moment of revising the report for publication (January 1980) I have received no reaction or comeback to it.

I am extremely grateful to the Surinam authorities for giving me permission to do my research, and to the many people, above all personnel of MEDISCHE ZENDING VOOR SURINAME, the MISSIONARY AVIATION FELLOWSHIP, and the WEST INDIES MISSION, for all the help, kindness and hospitality they offered.

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2 Other recent reports on the Surinam Trio include Bos (1967) and BRANDS et al. (1969), and for the Brazilian Trio there is FRICHEL (1971). Accounts of change in other Cariban societies of the Guyanas can be found in ADAMS (1972, 1979), KLOOS (1971), SCHWERIN (1966), and THOMAS (1973).

3 FRICHEL & CORTEZ (1972). This figure was composed of 222 Trio, 64 Kaxuyana, and 13 Ewarhoyana.

4 THOMAS (1973: 74) has concluded that it is the improved infant survival rate rather than changes in female fertility which accounts for the recent rapid growth of the Pemon population.

5 A not dissimilar state-of-affairs is reported from the Karinya (SCHWERIN, 1966: 85-6, & 174).

6 A similar change among the Brazilian Trio is noted by FRICHEL (1971: 83).

7 For changes in the pattern of cooperation within the Barama River Carib family as a result of the introduction of wage labour see ADAMS (1972: 104-5; & 1979).

8 From 1965 onwards first the Surinam Interior Fellowship and then the Medische Zending voor Suriname issued twice yearly statistics on health and health care among the Trio and Wajana.

9 For accounts of missionary activity and its effects among the Trio in Brazil see CORTEZ (1977) and REWES (1977).

10 For the situation in 1970 see FRICHEL (1971: 43-5). Since then the process of 'decentralisation' has continued (personal communication from FRANCISCO CERQUEIRA currently carrying out fieldwork among the Trio in Brazil).
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