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# The *Too-too* of Suriname and French Guiana: Side-blown Trumpets in the African Diaspora

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Side-blown trumpets have long traditions in many parts of the world, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and some parts of Asia,<sup>1</sup> but their use in the Western Hemisphere has been limited to a few rather isolated cultures. Drawing largely on reports of early writers, surviving instruments, and oral histories, this article examines the use of these trumpets or horns by the Maroons of Suriname and neighboring French Guiana. The Maroons of this region are descendants of African Americans who escaped from slave-owning plantations from the seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries and formed their own communities.

## ***John Gabriel Stedman and His Narrative***

Suriname, formerly the colony of Dutch Guiana, lies on the northeast coast of South America, situated between the Republic of Guyana on the west, French Guiana on the east, and Brazil on the south (see map, fig. 1). Between 1772 and 1777 John Gabriel Stedman, a Dutch-English soldier serving as a captain with the Dutch colonial forces, kept a journal of his experiences there, which later served as the basis for his book, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796).<sup>2</sup> Among the eighty illustrative plates in Stedman's book is one showing eighteen musical instruments, all crafted by the enslaved peoples and free Maroons in that country (fig. 2). My principal interest is the side-blown trumpet or horn Stedman called *too-too*, or "trumpet of war" (fig. 2, no. 16).

Stedman was a complex individual, but also a keen observer and an artist of some accomplishment. Though ultimately he did not believe the enslaved Africans should be free, his book recounts with considerable

1. See Jeremy Montagu, *Horns and Trumpets of the World: An Illustrated Guide* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 2014).

2. J. G. Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1796).



FIGURE 1. Map of Suriname. Drawn by Paul Marley.

compassion the horrors committed against them by plantation owners.<sup>3</sup> Joseph Johnson, an ardent abolitionist who published the first edition of the *Narrative*, sought to use Stedman's book for his own political purposes. The book was quite popular in Europe and was translated into six different languages in the first few decades after its initial publication.<sup>4</sup>

Stedman wrote about all aspects of the Dutch colony: animals, vegetation, arts, crafts, social mores, and people, including enslaved Africans, Maroons, Creoles, Europeans, and native Americans. Music and musical instruments constitute a minor topic in Stedman's book, yet his is the most detailed account of the music and instruments of enslaved Africans and Maroons in Suriname prior to the twentieth century. In 1790 Stedman presented to his publisher the manuscript of his *Narrative*, based on his journals. This manuscript, which survives today in the James Ford Bell

3. Sugar initially was Suriname's principal agricultural export, but by the 1740s coffee and cocoa were also exported in considerable quantities, and by the 1760s, cotton as well. Tobacco did not become an important cash crop until the late 1770s. See Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 411.

4. For a list of early editions, see John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam: Transcribed for the First Time from the Original 1790 Manuscript*, ed. Richard Price and Sally Price (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), lxxiii–lxxxiii.

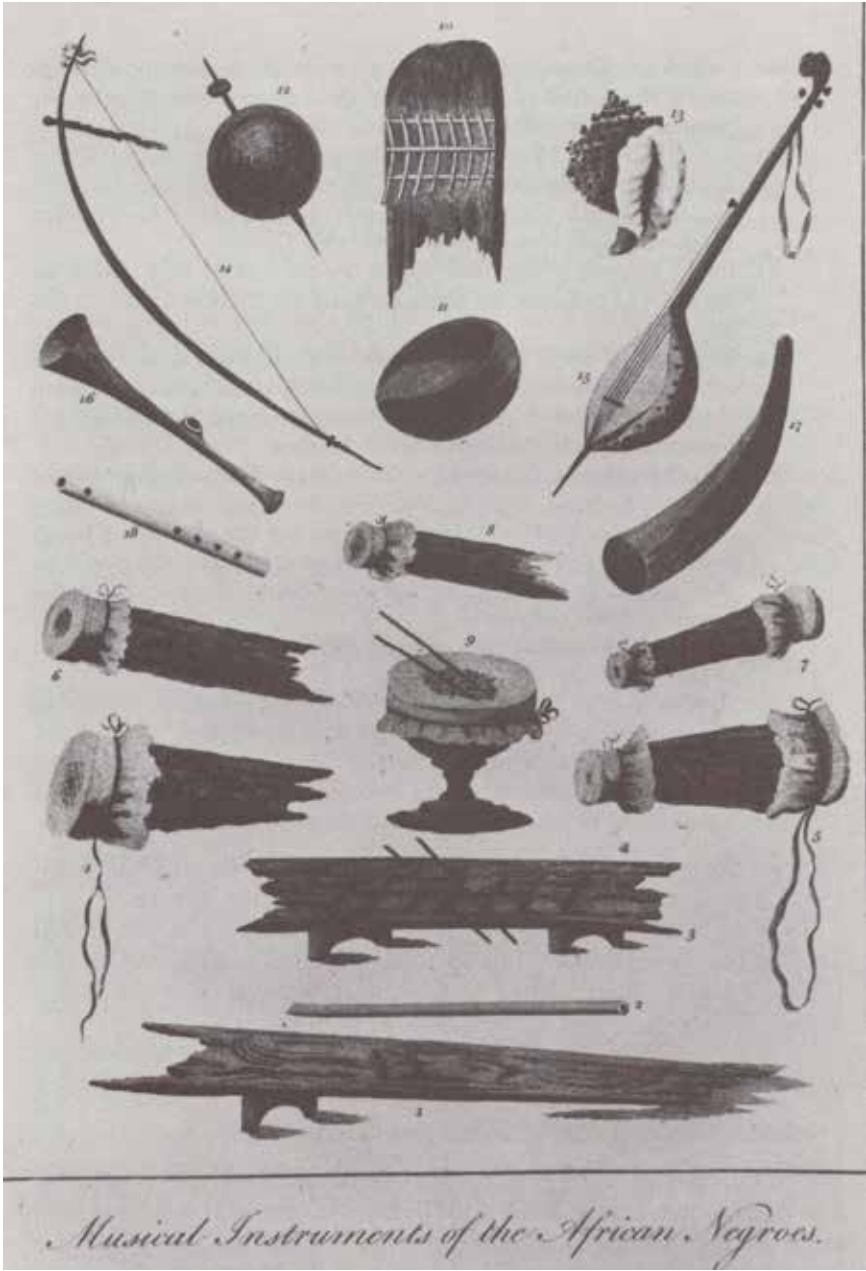


FIGURE 2. John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative* (1796), pl. 69, "Musical Instruments of the African Negroes."

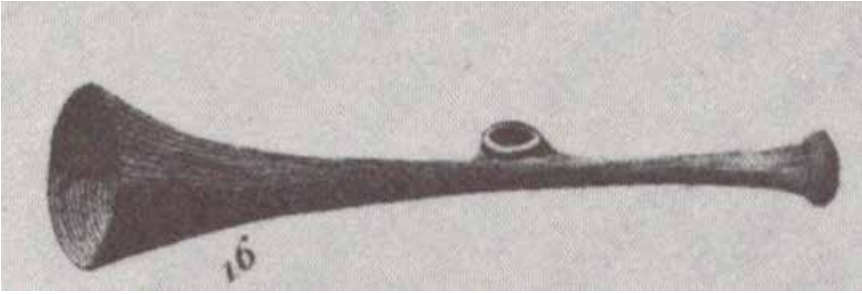


FIGURE 2a. Stedman, *Narrative* (1796), pl. 69, “Musical Instruments of the African Negroes,” no. 16.

Library at the University of Minnesota, was edited for publication in 1988 by Richard and Sally Price.<sup>5</sup> A close examination of the Prices’ edition reveals that Johnson’s first edition of 1796 romanticized and sanitized Stedman’s experiences in Suriname considerably.<sup>6</sup>

Plate no. 69 in Stedman’s book, entitled “Musical Instruments of the African Negroes,” shows eighteen different instruments, which the author says “are not a little ingenious, ... all made by themselves”<sup>7</sup> (see fig. 2). Unfortunately, when referring to “Negroes,” Stedman often did not distinguish enslaved Africans working on plantations from free Maroons, nor did he usually differentiate among the six distinct groups of Maroons who lived in Suriname and French Guiana—the Saamaka (Saramaka, Saramacca, Serameca), Ndyuka (Djuka, Auca, Ouca), Aluku (Boni),<sup>8</sup> Paramacca, Kwinti, and Matawai. The Ndyuka signed a peace treaty with the colonial government of Dutch Guiana in 1760; the Saamaka, in 1762. The Dutch forces of which Stedman was a part fought primarily against the Aluku and to a lesser extent, the Kwinti.<sup>9</sup> All of these groups consisted of enslaved Africans who had escaped from servitude on plantations, or were descended from escapees, and took refuge in the dense rain forests away from the coast. As we shall see, the side-blown trumpet, too-too (tutu) or

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, 22.

7. *Ibid.*, 377.

8. The names “Aluku” and “Boni” relate to two eighteenth-century Maroon leaders who are regarded as the founders of this group. See Wim Hoogbergen, “Aluku,” *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids / New West Indian Guide* 63, nos. 3–4 (1989): 175–98, here 175. Hoogbergen states that Aluku died in 1791; Boni, in 1792. See also Kenneth Bilby, “L’Aluku: un créole surinamien en territoire français,” French transl. by Michel Launey, [https://www.academia.edu/25850295/LAluku\\_un\\_cr%C3%A9ole\\_surinamien\\_en\\_territoire\\_fran%C3%A7ais](https://www.academia.edu/25850295/LAluku_un_cr%C3%A9ole_surinamien_en_territoire_fran%C3%A7ais)

9. Hoogbergen, “Aluku,” 185–86.

“trumpet of war” (no. 16 in fig. 2), was commonly used by these Maroons in earlier times.<sup>10</sup>

Stedman offers brief descriptions of all the instruments in fig. 2. Of the three lip-blown aerophones, he says,

13. This is the *Conch* or *Sea Shell* Which /by the Lungs/ they Sound for Pleasure, or to cause and Alarm &c but it is not Relative to their Dancing. . . .

16. Is the *trumpet of war*, to command advancing, retreating, &c—and is call'd the *too-too*.

17. A *Horn* used to supply [i.e., replace] the other, or on the Plantations to Call the Slaves to Work—<sup>11</sup>

The conch (no. 13) and the simple end-blown horn or trumpet (no. 17), made of wood or animal horn, are common in many parts of the world, but the side-blown trumpet (no. 16) is rare in the Western Hemisphere. Its name, *too-too*, is somewhat ambiguous, since no. 18 in fig. 2, a cross-blown wooden flute, is also called *too-too*—specifically, *Loango too-too*. (He also applied the name *too-too*, without the adjective “Loango,” to a small Indian flute, depicted as no. 21 in his plate 40, entitled “Arms, Ornaments & Furniture of the Indians” [not shown here]; he used the name *kiemba-toetoe* for a nose flute, no. 2 in fig. 2). Loango, the name of a pre-colonial African kingdom near the mouth of the Congo River, is also the name Stedman often applied more or less indiscriminately to many of Suriname’s enslaved Africans and Maroons. Both *tutu* and *etutu* can mean “flute” in the Kongo (Kikongo) language of central West Africa.<sup>12</sup>

Stedman gave 106 of his own drawings to his publisher, Johnson, who hired at least eight professional illustrators to prepare eighty engravings for publication. A few of the engravings were made by the noted poet and artist William Blake, who was a friend of Stedman’s. Blake signed some

10. Kenneth Bilby, liner notes to *Music from Aluku: Maroon Sounds of Struggle and Survival* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Folkways, CD 50412, 2010), 2, 12.

11. Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790 (1988), 518.

12. W. Holman Bentley, in *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language, as Spoken at San Salvador, the Ancient Capital of the Old Kongo Empire, West Africa* (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1887), defines *etutu* as “flute” and also as “a grass having long internodes.” Bentley defines *tutu* as “calabash (small), powder-flask.” The *Kokongo-Kituba-English word list*, <http://www.kupsala.net/risto/kongo/kituba-english.html> (accessed 4 January 2021), defines (*di*) *tutu* as “flute.” According to the introduction to this word list, “Kikongo-Kituba is a creole language that is based on some Bakongo languages. . . . It is spoken by several peoples in the Republic of Congo (a.k.a. Congo-Brazzaville), the Democratic Republic of Congo (a.k.a. Congo-Kinshasa, ex-Zaire) and Angola.”

of his own plates but left unsigned a few others that have been attributed to him. All of the illustrators apparently worked from Stedman's original drawings, of which several survive today. Stedman was quite satisfied with Blake's illustrations, but less so with some of the others.

In 1999 Richard and Sally Price noted that

Wooden signal horns or trumpets (*tutú*), found today only in a few villages in Saramaka, were until recent times a ubiquitous feature of council meetings, funerals, and certain other public gatherings. . . . During the wars of liberation, they were used "to Command Advancing, Retreating, & c". . . <sup>13</sup> and the European commander arriving in Saramaka to seal the peace in 1762 was greeted "with horns blaring". . . <sup>14</sup> During the eighteenth century, wooden trumpets were used for general celebration: "They are blowing *tutú*, some men have returned from the city". . . <sup>15</sup> Well into the early twentieth century, each important man (and some women) had a "horn name," which was blown on the horn to summon them to council meetings and important rites, particularly funerals. (A separate system of drum names has always been used . . . in many of the same contexts.) As with the *apinti* [talking drums], horns not only called names but also spoke in proverbs, and older Saramakas are still able to give verbal "translations" of certain horn phrases.<sup>16</sup>

The "talking trumpets" of the Saamaka are thus related to their "talking drums," or *apinti*. These drums were always more widely used than the trumpets and unlike the talking trumpets they are still in use today. Stedman apparently was unaware of the "surrogate speech" associated with these instruments, for he said nothing about it.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from the descriptions relating to the illustrations of musical instruments in plates 40 and 69, Stedman never used the word *too-too* in his

13. Price and Price refer here to Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790 (1988), 540.

14. Price and Price refer here to Richard Price, *First Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 178.

15. Price and Price refer here to Hugo Schuchardt, *Die Sprache der Saramakkaneger in Surinam* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1914), s.v. "tutu."

16. Sally Price and Richard Price, *Maroon Arts: Cultural Vitality in the African Diaspora* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 260.

17. On the surrogate speech of side-blown trumpets of the Asante Kingdom in Ghana, see Joseph S. Kaminski, *Asante ntahera Trumpets in Ghana: Culture, Tradition, and Sound Barrage* (Farnham, Surrey / Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 107–24. See also Kaminski's article, "Asante Ivory Trumpets in Time, Place, and Context: An Analysis of a Field Study," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 15 (2003): 259–89.

*Narrative*. He did, however, mention “horn” a few times, apparently in reference to the “trumpet of war,” no. 16 in his plate 69 (fig. 2). This instrument was used in battle not only by the Aluku or Boni, the group Stedman and his Dutch compatriots fought against, but also by the so-called “Rangers,” a corps of about 300 manumitted slaves who fought alongside Stedman and the Dutch troops. He wrote in glowing terms about the bravery of these Rangers, enslaved African men who had been purchased from plantation owners by colonial officials and trained to fight against the Maroons. “[E]very ten privates have one Captain who Commands them in the forest by the different Sounds of his horn—the boatswain Commands the Sailors or as the Cavalry of Europe are Commanded by the Trumpets in the field, by which they advance, retreat, attack or Spread &c.”<sup>18</sup> The similarity of this language to that in the description of the too-too accompanying plate 69 suggests that this “horn” was side-blown. Stedman further notes, regarding the careful design of the Rangers’ engagement strategy illustrated in plate 54 (not shown here), “[T]he fring is repeated by the Red Lines **A** and **B**,<sup>19</sup> and thus add [*sic*] infinitum till by Sounding the *horn* one of the parties gives way by flight & the Battle is over.”<sup>20</sup> In yet another passage, Stedman referred to an attack by his troops on a rebel village: as the rebels torched the village to cover their retreat, the “Noise of the Firing, Mixed with a Confused Roaring, Halloing, Damming and Sinking, Shrill Sound, the Crackling of the Burning houses, the Dead & Wounded all Weltering in Blood . . . Were such a Scene of Beautiful Horror.”<sup>21</sup>

The battle lasted a few days. As the sun rose on the last day of the battle, a fiery dialogue ensued between the Rangers and the rebels, “After which they insulted each other with a kind of War hoop, then Sung Victorious Songs, And Sounded their Horns in Defiance.”<sup>22</sup> Shortly thereafter the fighting began again in earnest. A few days later, the rebels attacked again. “Among [the Rangers] there was a Valiant Fellow call’d Captain *Valentine* Who While Sounding his Horn, to Animate his Companions, it was not only shot away, with his Pouch also, but Himself Dreadfully Wounded in

18. Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790 (1988), 82.

19. The term “Red Lines A and B” refers to troop positions illustrated in Stedman’s plate 54 (not shown here).

20. Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790 (1988), 398.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*





FIGURE 3. Saamakan trumpet, collected 1928–29 by Melville J. Herskovits in Dangogo. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, Herskovits Collection, 30.51.60. In Sally Price and Richard Price, *Maroon Arts: Cultural Vitality in the African Diaspora* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), p. 260. Reprinted by permission of Museum für Volkerkunde.

5 Different Parts of his Body.”<sup>23</sup>

Stedman’s end-blown trumpet, no. 17 in fig. 2, which appears to have been made from a cowhorn, has been drawn reasonably accurately, but the side-blown trumpet, no. 16 (figs. 2 and 2a), is somewhat problematic. Comparison with the surviving side-blown trumpets shown in Figures 3–7 reveals that Stedman’s *too-too* is too slender, particularly in its mid-section. Stedman does not say that this instrument is a “talking trumpet,” but it probably is. It should then have a small hole in its proximal end, like the Saamakan instrument collected by anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits in Dangogo, Suriname in 1928–29 (fig. 3). Opening this hole with the thumb on a side-blown trumpet raises the pitch by an interval varying in size from less than a semitone to as much as a third.<sup>24</sup> This manipulation of pitch facilitates surrogate speech.<sup>25</sup> No. 16 indeed appears to have some sort of hole at its small end, though it is probably too large for this purpose; it looks more like an integral mouthpiece that might be found on an end-blown trumpet. Stedman’s *too-too*, however, does have a protuberance on its side that contains the mouth hole or embouchure, a typical feature of side-blown trumpets from the Loango or Congo region (see fig. 9).

23. *Ibid.*, chapter 21.

24. Montagu, *Horns and Trumpets*, 29.

25. Manipulation of pitch is particularly important in the surrogate speech of the side-blown trumpets of the Asante kingdom in modern Ghana. See Kaminski, *Asante ntahera Trumpets in Ghana*, 107.

### ***Side-blown Trumpets of the Aluku, the Ndyuka, and the Matawai***

The Aluku or Boni apparently were the group of Maroons with whom Stedman, his fellow Dutch soldiers, and Rangers most frequently engaged in battle. The longest battle with Maroons in which Stedman took part occurred in August of 1775. As was described above, both the Rangers and the rebels blew their horns in the course of this battle, which lasted for several days. The Dutch-Surinamese forces never actually defeated Boni and his band, though the frequent raids of the former group forced Boni to relocate his people to the Maroni River, which forms the border between Suriname and French Guiana, in 1776–77.<sup>26</sup>

After moving to the Maroni River, the Aluku engaged in a war with the Ndyuka, who were now their neighbors. André Pakosie, a scholar of Maroon history and poet who is himself an Aluku, reports that according to a tale from Aluku oral history, told to him by his father, “Djaki and Boni went to the grave of the paramount chief Pambu [in the Ndyuka village of Animbaw]. Djaki blew his *tutu* (horn) and Boni carried out the instructions of his *obiaman*.<sup>27</sup> He danced on top of the paramount chief’s grave and challenged him to a fight.”<sup>28</sup> A slight variation on this tale has been recounted by Da Kasiayeki, oral historian of the Ndyuka Maroons, who related that Djaki joined Boni in dancing on Pambu’s grave, but a young Ndyuka man from the village of Animbaw, Kentu, “who did not have any *obia*,”<sup>29</sup> shot the *tutuman* Djaki.<sup>30</sup> As Wim Hoogbergen writes in his book *The Boni-Maroon Wars in Suriname*,

Blowing the *tutu* was common practice in Boni-warfare. Boni had his own *tutuman* (hornplayer). Blowing the *tutu* was not only aimed at intimidating the enemy, but at giving instructions as well. The elimination of the *tutuman* was taken seriously by the Boni. Boni’s *tutuman*, Djaki, was killed in the attack on

26. Hoogbergen, “Aluku,” 185–86.

27. *obiaman* = essentially, a shaman.

28. André Pakosie, *De dood van Boni* (poem: “The death of Boni”) (n.p., [1972]), cited in Wim Hoogbergen, *The Boni Maroon Wars in Suriname* (Leiden / New York: E. J. Brill, 1990), 171.

29. *obia* = essentially, “good karma.”

30. Wilhelmina van Weterin and H. U. E. Thoden van Velzen, *Een zwarte vrijstaat in Suriname*, vol. 2: *de Okaanse samenleving in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw* (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2013), 253.

the Ndjuka village of Animbaw in August 1792.<sup>31</sup>

In the liner notes to the recording *Music from Aluku: Maroon Sounds of Struggle, Solace, and Survival*, Kenneth Bilby reports,

During the time of war (18th century), the Aluku ancestors used carved wooden horns known as *tutu* to communicate across long distances and exchange crucial military information. These wooden horns disappeared generations ago, but the paralinguistic system of tones on which their messages were based, known as *botoo tutu*, has been retained by a few elders. By being transferred to flutes—and, most recently, to the European recorder—portions of this language have been maintained to the present.<sup>32</sup>

Track 23 on the album in question is a recording of Aluku musician Papa Tobu, playing a plastic recorder, demonstrating the surrogate speech of the *tutu*. On track 17 of the same album, Papa Tobu plays a solo, not related to surrogate speech, on his plastic recorder. Bilby's notes for this track state that

More than a generation ago, the traditional wooden flutes (*tutu*) were replaced by a new fad: handmade flutes produced and sold by French convicts living in the infamous penal colony that was once synonymous with the coastal part of French Guiana (known to English speakers as “Devil’s Island”). These flutes were once used in courting Aluku women.<sup>33</sup>

As Bilby notes, the handmade flutes have been replaced by plastic recorders. As a means of connecting the terminology for Stedman’s “trumpet of war,” Aluku wooden flutes, and Papa Tobu’s plastic recorder, it should be remembered that Stedman’s engraving of musical instruments (fig. 2) includes an illustration of a transverse flute, which he calls *Loango too-too*.<sup>34</sup>

31. Hoogbergen, *The Boni Maroon Wars*, 229, n. 13

32. Kenneth Bilby, liner notes to *Music from Aluku: Maroon Sounds of Struggle, Solace, and Survival* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 2011), 12. Also on p. 12 of Bilby’s liner notes is a photograph of the side-blown trumpet (*tutu*) shown in this article, above (Figure 3). See also Bilby, “L’Aluku”

33. Bilby, liner notes to *Music from Aluku*, 11.

34. Another recording, *Les Bushinengé–Neg Mawon de Guyane* (Buda Musique, Musique du Monde, CD 7707504, 2019), track 15, has a similar recording of a *tutu* solo, played by Papa Anéli. Apollinaire Anakesa’s liner notes to this recording state that “Traditionally, young men played the flute to woo girls, or it was used by sailors to communicate between

Like the Aluku, the Ndyuka apparently once used the side-blown trumpet known as *tutu*, but the tradition has disappeared in recent generations. George Huttar gives “horn” as the meaning of *tutu* in the Ndyuka language and traces its etymology to the Kongo (Kikongo) word *tutu*, meaning “bamboo, tube, pipe, flute.”<sup>35</sup> Another lexicon of the Aukan language defines *tutu* as “flute; recorder; bamboo tube. *Tutu na wan sani di den e bu pee poku*. ‘A flute is something they blow to play music’.”<sup>36</sup>

As for the Matawai, according to Kenneth Bilby, the late Dutch anthropologist Chris de Beet made a field recording of Matawai songs and other music in the 1970s and shared the recording with Bilby, who recently shared it with the present author.<sup>37</sup> The sounds on this recording, which reportedly were made on a side-blown wooden trumpet, resemble the surrogate speech heard on the plastic recorder of the Aluku musician mentioned above. They also resemble the sounds of the side-blown trumpet of the Jamaica Maroons known as *abeng*, as heard on the Smithsonian Folkways recording *Drums of Defiance: Maroon Music from the Earliest Free Black Communities of Jamaica*.<sup>38</sup> Like the Surinamese *too-too*, the Jamaican *abeng* is capable of surrogate speech.<sup>39</sup>

Language in general is a rather complex issue in Suriname and French Guiana. André Pakosie divides languages spoken by the Maroons into two principal categories, Afro-Portuguese (Saamaka, Matawai, Kwinti) and Afro-English (Ndyuka Pamaka, Aluku).

The Maroons distinguish two more main groups in the sphere of language, which lie in between the original African languages and their current language-

boats on the river.” Anakesa further states that traditionally the Maroons made these flutes themselves, though today they use manufactured instruments. He does not identify the specific group of Maroons to which he refers. See <https://hal.univ-antilles.fr/hal-01969598/document>, accessed 17 January 2021.

35. George L. Huttar, “Sources of Ndjuka African Vocabulary,” *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids / New West Indian Guide* 59 (1985): 45–71, here 60. See also George L. Huttar and Mary L. Huttar, *Ndyuka* (London / New York: Routledge, 1994), 620, where in a section on “basic vocabulary” of these people, “horn” is translated as *tutu*.

36. *A buku fu Okanisi Anga Ingisi wowtu = Aukan-English Dictionary and English-Aukan Index*, second ed., ed. Louis M. Shanks, Ever D. Koanting, and Carlo Velanti (Paramaribo: SIL Suriname, 2000).

37. Personal communication, January 2021.

38. CD SF 40412 (Washington: Smithsonian Folkways, 1992), track 16.

39. See Kenneth Bilby, *True-born Maroons* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 15; 165–66, et al.

ges. They are languages which are predominantly used on religious occasions. One group will . . . be referred to as the “instrumental languages” and the other group as the “vocal languages.” The “instrumental languages” include Wanwi, Kwadyom, Agbado, Benta, (Botoo) Tutu and Abaankuman. . . .

The instrumental languages are not spoken languages. Wanwi and Kwadyo are played on the drum. Agbado on the Agbado [also *agwado*], a string instrument.<sup>40</sup> Benta on the Benta, a percussion instrument, and (Botoo) Tutu on the (Botoo) Tutu, a wind instrument.<sup>41</sup>

Pakosie relates the Wanwi language of the *apinti*, or talking drums, to a similar phenomenon among the Akan (Ashanti) people of present-day Ghana.<sup>42</sup>

A few other lexica of Surinamese languages mention the *tutu*. In 1778 Christian Ludwig Schumann, a Moravian missionary apparently sent to Suriname to work primarily with enslaved Africans, native Americans, and the Saamaka, compiled a dictionary with the title *Saramaccanish Deutsches-Wörterbuch*. Schumann’s manuscript, which resides today in Moravian Archives in both Paramaribo and Utrecht, was transcribed in part III of Hugo Schuchardt’s *Die Sprachen der Saramakkaneger in Surinam*.<sup>43</sup> Schumann/Schuchardt defines *tutu* as “horn” and also as a tree from which the African Americans of Suriname make *Blasröhre* (“blowing tubes”). The entry includes a quotation in the Saamakan tongue, “dem bro tutu bakkramen komm” (roughly, “the tutu was blown when the men returned from city”).<sup>44</sup> This dictionary also mentions the relationship between *tutu* and

40. “[A] three-string bow lute (pluriarc) consisting of a large gourd resonator through which three small bows are inserted.” *Oxford Music online*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, s.v. “Suriname,” by Terry Agerkop, Kenneth Bilby, and Peter Manuel.

<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/search?q=agbado&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true>

41. André R. M. Pakosie, “Akan Heritage in Maroon Culture in Suriname,” in *Merchants, Missionaries & Migrants: 300 Years of Dutch-Ghanian Relations*, ed. W. M. J. van Kessel (Amsterdam: KIT / Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan, 2002), 121–31, here 126.

42. *Ibid.*, 128.

43. Hugo Schuchardt, *Die Sprache der Saramakkaneger in Surinam* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1914), 44–116. Some scholars question the faithfulness of Schuchardt’s transcription of Schumann’s original text. See Margot van den Berg and Adrienne Bruyn, “The Early Surinamese Creoles in the Suriname Creole Archive (SUCA),” in *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2008*, ed. Marjo van Koppen and Bert Botma ([Amsterdam]: John Benjamins, 2008), 25–36, here 26.

44. This passage in Schumann/Schuchardt is also mentioned by Price and Price, *Maroon Arts*, 260. See the quotation from *Maroon Arts*, above.

the Kongo word *etutu*, meaning “flute.”<sup>45</sup>

### ***Surviving Instruments***

The engravings of musical instruments and other inanimate objects depicted in Stedman’s *Narrative* apparently were not prepared from sketches he made while in Suriname but were modeled after real objects he brought back to Europe. It is possible that all of Stedman’s musical instruments as well as a few other items were acquired after Stedman’s death in 1797 by the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzamheden (Royal Cabinet of Curiosities) in The Hague. Stedman donated a few items directly to The Netherlands’ Prince of Orange, but some objects passed into the hands of James Parkinson, who wanted them for his Leverian Museum in London. The Leverian collections were then sold at auction in 1806.<sup>46</sup> A few of Stedman’s objects survive today in the National Museum of Ethnology (Museum Volkenkunde) in Leiden, having been moved there from the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities in 1883.

In 1880, three years before the collection of the Cabinet of Curiosities was transferred to the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (today, Museum Volkenkunde), museum staff prepared an inventory of all the ethnographic objects. Descriptions of the musical instruments from Stedman’s *Narrative*, as well as a few other items, were copied into museum records directly from the Dutch edition of Stedman’s book.<sup>47</sup> Richard and Sally Price discovered that many of these descriptions no longer match the few surviving items identified by their associated inventory numbers. These include the following items from Stedman’s Plate 69 (fig. 2): nos. 4 (*Great*

45. Schuchardt, *Die Sprache der Saramakkaneger*, 112. *Tutu* is similarly defined in another eighteenth-century Saamakan manuscript lexicon, Joh[ann] And[reas] Riemer, *Woerter Buch zur Erlernung der Saramakka Neger Sprache* (1779). This lexicon has been transcribed, with an English translation, in Jacques Arends and Matthias Perl, *Early Suriname Creole Texts: A Collection of 18th-century Sranan and Saramaccan Documents* (Frankfurt / Madrid: Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana, 1995), 251–374.

46. Richard Price and Sally Price, “John Gabriel Stedman’s Collection of 18th-century Artifacts from Suriname,” *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids / New West Indian Guide* 53, no. 4 (June 1979), 121–40, here 140. Regarding James Parkinson and his Leverian Museum, see also *The Journal of John Gabriel Stedman 1744–1797: Soldier and Author*, ed. Stanbury Thompson (London: Mitre, 1962), 392, 396.

47. Price and Price, “John Gabriel Stedman’s Collection,” 122. The Dutch edition of Stedman’s book is *Reize naar Surinamen, en door de binnenste gedeelten van Guiana* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allert, 1799).

*Creole Drum*, inv. no. 360-5685), 15 (*Creole-Bania*, inv. no. 360-5695),<sup>48</sup> and 18 (*Loango TooToo* [transverse flute], inv. no. 360-5699).<sup>49</sup> The *Creole-Bania*, incidentally, is the oldest African American banjo known to survive, hence undoubtedly the most historically significant of all of Stedman's instruments.<sup>50</sup> The Prices were unable to locate any of Stedman's other instruments, including the three lip-blown aerophones.

Another collection consisting of thirty-four items from Suriname was donated to the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities in 1824 by F. A. Kühn, Surgeon General of Dutch Guiana. Portions of this collection also survive in the Museum Volkenkunde, though as with the Stedman collection, several items are missing and/or misidentified. The 1880 inventory describes three musical instruments from Kühn's collection, though only one of these, a small rattle called *sacca sacca*, can be located in the Museum Volkenkunde today.<sup>51</sup> An instrument described in the 1880 inventory as "a horn (*blas riet*) which the Bush Negroes use to signal, called by them *toe-toe*"<sup>52</sup> (inventory no. 360-1599) is misidentified and cannot be located. Quite possibly this instrument was another side-blown trumpet, like Stedman's *too-too*. In his letter of 1824 Kühn stated that many of the objects he donated to the Cabinet of Curiosities were collected "by my late brother on an expedition to the maroons in 1818,"<sup>53</sup> but without specifying which group of Maroons.

### ***African Origins of South American Maroons***

As was mentioned above, Stedman also did not often distinguish among the various groups of Maroons in Suriname. The word "Maroon" in fact does not appear at all in his book. He had considerable contact with en-

48. The inventory numbers for these three instruments are, respectively, 360-5685, 360-5695, and 360-5699.

49. Price and Price, "John Gabriel Stedman's Collection," Table 1, pp. 128–32.

50. *Ibid.*, 138.

51. Museum inventory no. 360-1602.

52. Price and Price, "John Gabriel Stedman's Collection," 134. Price and Price translated the description of this instrument from the Dutch, from a list of objects that accompanied F. A. Kühn's letter of 1824, sent when he donated these items to the Cabinet of Curiosities.

53. *Ibid.*, 124.

slaved Africans on plantations, but much less with Maroons, as his principal mission in Suriname was to fight against them.

The Maroon communities in Suriname initially were organized according to the plantations from which they had escaped, not on the basis of their specific places of origin in Africa.<sup>54</sup> Large numbers of Africans were shipped to the New World from the “Gold Coast,” in the southern part of modern Ghana, though in many cases this was not their original home. This area and the nearby inland regions were and still are inhabited by the Asante (Ashanti) people, a sub-group of the Akan. The Asante have a long tradition of side-blown trumpets, to which I shall return later in this essay. Stedman wrote that the “Negroes are composed of different Nations or, Casts,”<sup>55</sup> and then proceeded to name, at various points in his book, fourteen of these “casts.” He further claimed that the Maroons

know each other from the different Marks And insisions made on theyr Bodies; for instance the *Coromantyn* Negroes /Who are the most Esteem’d/ Cut 3 or 4 Long Slashes on Each of their Cheeks ... And the Loango Negroes /who are Reckon’d the Worst/ Distinguish themselves by Puckering, or Marking the Skin of their Arms Thighs &c With Square Elevated Figures like Large Dice . . . [and] Also Sharp point the foreteeth which makes them look frightful & like those of a Shark.<sup>56</sup>

It is virtually impossible to know if Stedman’s descriptions of these markings accurately identifies the African origins of these groups of Maroons, particularly since many of them were second- or third-generation African Americans by the time Stedman came to Suriname.

Two of Stedman’s “casts” of enslaved Africans, “Coromantin” and “Loango,” may have a bearing on African models for the side-blown trumpet known as *too-too*.<sup>57</sup> The term “Coromantin” appears rather infrequently in the *Narrative*, though one of the Maroon chiefs was known as “Coromantijn Codjo”<sup>58</sup> and a cognate term, “Kumanti,” has a spiritual meaning, referring to “a group of possessing gods.”<sup>59</sup> Neither term desig-

54. Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790 (1988), xxii.

55. *Ibid.*, 175, 640–41.

56. *Ibid.*, chapter 26.

57. *Ibid.*, 640–41.

58. *Ibid.*, xxii.

59. Bilby, liner notes to *Music from Aluku*, 10.



nates a particular ethnic group, but rather the region around the fort of Kormantin (modern Kormantse) on the Gold Coast, which was a busy shipping point for enslaved Africans.<sup>60</sup> “Loango,” however, is a term that Stedman used frequently and at times employed rather indiscriminately to refer to enslaved Africans in general, seemingly without evidence that these people or their ancestors originated from the old Loango kingdom, located in the region around the mouth of the Congo River. As was noted above, he applied the term “Loango” as an adjective to several musical instruments and he also commented enthusiastically about the “Loango dancing” of enslaved Africans,” though he offered no evidence for the source of these dance movements. The identification “Loango” was applied by some of the Africans themselves, though in Suriname there was and continues to be a wholesale blending of African traditions and identities.<sup>61</sup> According to Richard Price,

Throughout the Americas, slave masters pinned labels—something like brand names—on the newly arrived Africans they purchased. (Often, they were merely accepting labels that had been devised by traders, whether in Africa or on shipboard.) In particular colonies at particular times, Africans’ imputed behaviors directly determined prices: Congos and Loangos, Ibos and Coromantees, Nagos and Mandingos—each had their characteristic work habits and temperament (so the planters believed).<sup>62</sup>

As concerns instruments, Stedman identified, in addition to the flute known as *Loango too-too* (fig. 2, no. 18), a *great Loango Drum* (no. 5), a *small Loango Drum* (no. 7), and a species of thumb piano or lamellaphone he called the *Loango bania* (no. 10).<sup>63</sup> Side-blown trumpets were and still are common in the Loango/Congo region of Africa, though Stedman did not identify his side-blown *too-too* with that region, nor indeed with any particular region of Africa. Large numbers of enslaved Africans were forcibly transferred from Loango to Suriname in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the period 1675–99, Africans from the Loango/Congo region outnumbered those arriving in Suriname from other parts of that

60. Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790 (1988), 293.

61. Richard Price, personal communication, 24 August 2020.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Stedman, *Narrative*, 1790 (1988), pl. 69 (see fig. 2), and pp. 538–40.

continent.<sup>64</sup>

The Dutch slave trade was a key force in the transfer of enslaved people from Africa to Suriname. The Dutch West India Company was heavily involved in this trade, beginning in the late seventeenth century, bringing nearly half a million enslaved Africans to Suriname before slavery was finally abolished in the mid-nineteenth century. The trade was concentrated in ports of the so-called Loango region, near the mouth of the Congo River, and on the Slave Coast and Gold Coast, together covering the length of the coast of present-day Ghana and eastward to Lagos, Nigeria.<sup>65</sup> Though not the only enslaved Africans shipped to Suriname from this region of West Africa, members of the Akan group constituted a large portion of them.<sup>66</sup> According to Richard Price, in the period 1625–1725, thirteen percent of the enslaved Africans had originated from the Gold Coast (“Koromantees”), forty-five percent from the Bight of Benin (the “coastal regions of present-day Togo and Benin and the western coast of Nigeria, called ‘Papas’”), and thirty-eight percent from the region of Loango/Angola (“Loangos” or “Kongos”). Smaller numbers came from the Windward Coast (“Mandingos”) and the Bight of Biafra (“Calabaris”).<sup>67</sup> Alex van Stipriaan states that by 1730–59 the percentage of Koromantees among those shipped to Suriname had risen to forty-one.<sup>68</sup>

Africans were not allowed to take personal possessions with them on slave ships, so they made their musical instruments in the New World, modeling them after instruments they had known in their homelands. Elephant tusks are a very common material for African trumpets, but since elephants are not native to South America, enslaved Africans and Maroons in Suriname used materials they had at hand, cow horns for end-

64. Alex van Stipriaan, “‘Een verre verwijdere Trommelen’: Ontwikkeling van Afro-Surinamse muziek en dans en de slavernij,” *De Kunstwereld: Productie, distributie en receptie in de wereld van kunst en kultur*, ed. Ton Bevers, Antoon Van den Braembussche, and Berend Jan Langenberg (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), 143–73, here 145.

65. See <https://academic-eb-com.go.libproxy.wakehealth.edu/levels/collegiate/article/Gold-Coast/37213> and [academic-eb-com.go.libproxy.wakehealth.edu/levels/collegiate/article/Slave-Coast/68165](https://academic-eb-com.go.libproxy.wakehealth.edu/levels/collegiate/article/Slave-Coast/68165)

66. See Stefania Capone, “Recomposición de las identidades religiosas ante el Estado-nación. El caso de las cultos afroamericanos,” in *Identidades en juego identidades en guerra*, ed. Leticia Reina, François Lartigue, Daniele Dehouve, and Christian Gros (Mexico, D. F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología, 2005), 39–66, here 49.

67. Richard Price, *Travels with Tooy: History, Memory, and the African American Imagination* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 291.

68. van Stipriaan, “‘Een verre verwijdere Trommelen,’” 145.

blown trumpets, such as no. 17 in fig. 2; wood—and later, tin—for the side-blown models (see figs. 3–7).

### ***The Collection of Axel Klinckowström***

While on an expedition to Suriname in 1891–92, largely for the purpose of collecting zoological specimens, the Swedish explorer and zoologist Axel Klinckowström collected two side-blown trumpets, one made of wood, the other of metal. Both instruments apparently derive from the Saamaka people and both survive today in the National Museum of World Cultures (Världskultur Museerna) in Göteborg, Sweden. The wooden instrument, inventory number 1892.01.0152 (fig. 4), is quite similar to the instrument in fig. 3, collected by Herskovits. Museum records state that the decorations on the instrument were made “by cutting and burning” and that it is of “Kreole” (“Creole,” i.e., mixed African and European) origin.<sup>69</sup> This statement of origin is inaccurate, however; such instruments are not known to have been associated with any Surinamese people other than Maroons.<sup>70</sup>

A drawing of the same instrument, showing its distinctive markings, appeared in a book by Gerhard Lindblom published in 1924 (fig. 5). Lindblom quotes Klinckowström as saying that the Maroons used the instrument “for hunting, during boat trips, etc.”<sup>71</sup> Lindblom also cited Stedman’s remark that the instrument was used for signaling in war, “to command advancing, retreating, etc.”<sup>72</sup>

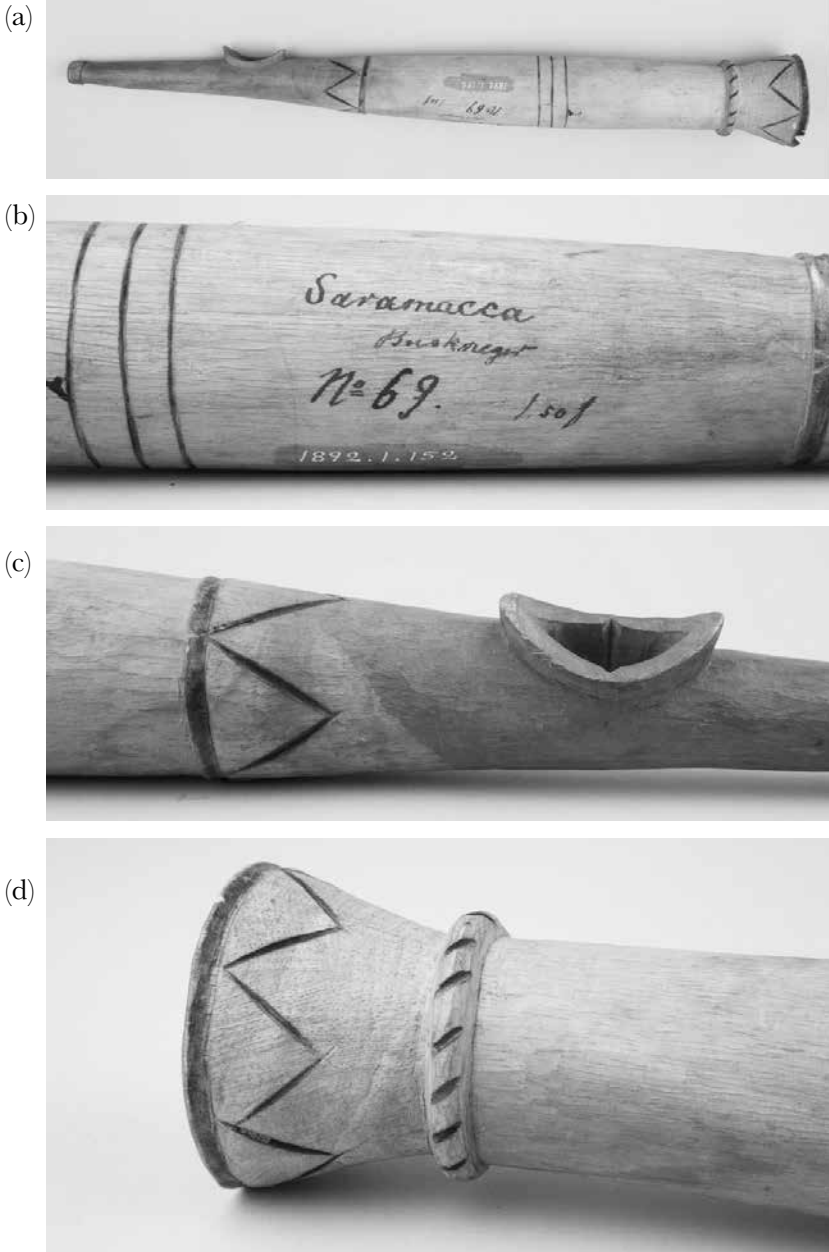
A second side-blown trumpet, made of tin but probably also associated with the Saamaka people, survives in Göteborg’s Museum of World Cultures (fig. 6). It was collected by Klinckowström in Berg en Dal on

69. See <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1599920>

70. Richard Price, personal communication, July 2020.

71. “Bei Jagd verwendet, während Bootfahrten u. a.” Gerhard Lindblom, *Afrikanische Relikte und indianische Entlehnungen in der Kultur der Buschneger Surinams: Eine vergleichende ethnographische Studie* (Goteborg: Elander, 1924; facs. rpt., Delhi: Facsimile Publishers, 2020), 58. Lindblom credits this remark to “Klinckowströms Katalog,” but I have been unable to find it in the manuscript catalog of his Suriname collection now in Göteborg’s Museum of World Cultures, inv. no. 1892.01 001.

72. *Ibid.*, 58–59.



FIGURES 4a–d. Wooden side-blown trumpet (tutu; length, 51.5 cm): (a) full view; (b) detail, showing inventory number and the identification “Sararamacca / Buschneger”; (c) detail, showing mouth hole; (d) detail, showing distal end with decorations. Göteborg, National Museum of World Cultures, Klinckowström Collection, inv. no. 1892.01.0152. Reproduced by permission.

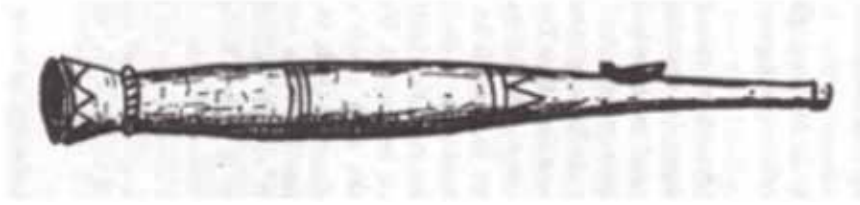


FIGURE 5. Drawing of the instrument in fig. 4, in Gerhard Lindblom, *Afrikanische Relikte und indianische Entlehnung in der Kunst der Buschneger Surinam* (Göteborg: Elander, 1924), p. 60.

the Suriname River. As with the wooden instrument in fig. 4, museum records misidentify its provenance as “creole” (*Kreol*).<sup>73</sup> One might question whether nineteenth-century Saamakans, who traditionally were not known as metalworkers, possessed the skills to construct such an instrument, but according to Richard Price,

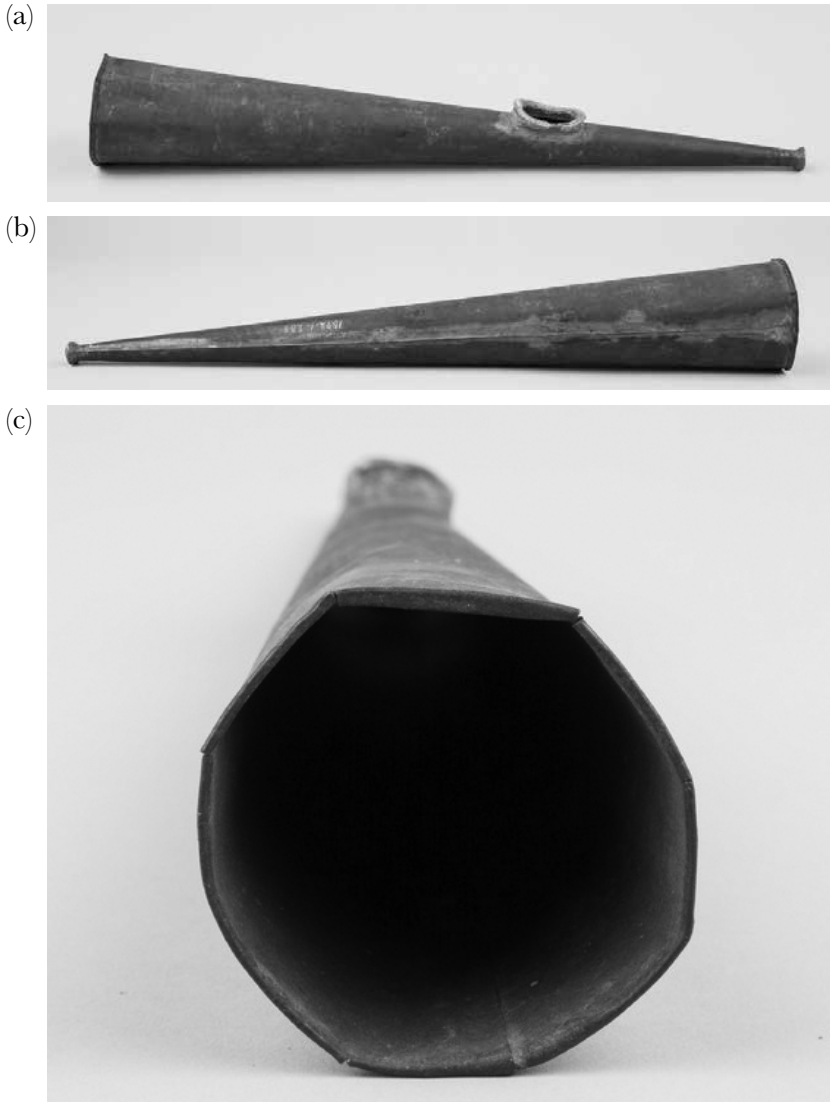
[M]any Saamakans came up and down the river and some lived around Berg en Dal by the late 19th century. That place was also part of the late 19th century gold rush area, where some Saamakans worked and might well have had access to metal-working equipment (connected to commercial gold mining). Since the form of this metal trumpet matches so exactly Saamaka wooden ones, I would guess it was made by a Saamaka who had access to the necessary equipment at Berg en Dal and fashioned it out of some other object, then attaching a blow piece that he made out of another object.<sup>74</sup>

Like the wooden trumpets in figs. 3–5, the tin instrument in fig. 6 has a mouth hole that sits in a protuberance, which probably was soldered onto the instrument. The distal or “bell” end of this trumpet (fig. 6c) resembles an irregular octagon; perhaps this shape helped to simplify the instrument’s construction.

The instruments in figs. 4–6 were included in an exhibition of Klinckowström’s Suriname collection at the Art Academy (Konstakademin) in Stockholm in 1913, though they are rather difficult to see in the photo-

73. See <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1858946>

74. Richard Price, personal communication, July 2020.



FIGURES 6a–c. Side-blown metal trumpet from Suriname, probably Saamakan (length, 34 cm). Collected 1891–92 by Axel Klinckowström in Berg en Dal: (a) full view, showing the mouth hole; (b) full view, opposite side, showing the seam; (c) distal end. Göteborg, Museum of World Cultures, inv. no. 1892.01.0289. Reproduced by permission.



FIGURE 7. Exhibition of Axel Klinckowström's Suriname Collection, Stockholm Art Academy, 1913. The wooden trumpet is no. 27; the tin trumpet, no. 28 (see detail, fig. 7a). Göteborg, Museum of World Cultures, Bilkarchiv, 0110.0027. Reprinted by permission.



FIGURE 7a. Detail of fig. 4. Front, tin trumpet; rear, wooden trumpet

graph of the display (fig. 7),<sup>75</sup> even in the detail in fig. 7a.

### ***African Origins of Surinamese Maroon Trumpets***

The side-blown trumpets of the Saamaka people were modeled after African instruments. We have seen that West Africa, particularly the Ivory Coast/Gold Coast region, was the putative ancestral home of many of these people, sometimes called Coromantin; while the Loango region, near the mouth of the Congo River, was the presumed home for people of that name. We have also seen that in Suriname, enslaved Africans or Maroons identified as “Coromantin” or “Loango” did not necessarily come from those regions. The term “Akan” does not appear at all in the *Narrative*, nor does “Asante,” but one of the most vibrant traditions of trumpet playing in the region that is now southern Ghana is the *ntahera* tradition of the Asante people, a sub-group of the Akan. Joseph S. Kaminski has written about this tradition in his book *Asante ntahera Trumpets in Ghana: Culture, Tradition, and Sound Barrage*.<sup>76</sup> The trumpets of the Asante *ntahera* ensembles are typically made of elephant tusks. Individual trumpets are called *abɛn* (plural form, *mɛn*) by the Asante.

Ascribing Surinamese side-blown trumpets to Asante models, however, raises some questions. fig. 8 shows an *abɛn* with the characteristic curved shape of an elephant tusk and the equally characteristic rectangular mouth hole, cut directly into the concave side of the tusk. To judge from surviving specimens, the mouth hole on a Saamaka trumpet, how-

75. <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/2422666>, accessed 17 August 2020. The photograph is also reproduced in Lindblom, *Afrikanische Relikte und indianische Entlehnungen*, 106.

76. See n. 13.





FIGURE 8. Asante trumpet, *aben*. Photo by Joseph S. Kaminski, Ghana, 2001. Printed by permission.

ever, is typically oval or diamond-shaped and is set in a protuberance on the side of the tube (see figs. 3–7). On the other hand, the Saamaka have a tradition of talking trumpets as well as talking drums (*apinti*), as do the Asante.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, it appears that the Surinamese *too-too* owes more to the traditions of the Loango people of west Central Africa than to the Asante people of West Africa, though it is possible that both traditions influenced the design of the Surinamese *too-too*.

The term “Loango” appears frequently in Stedman’s *Narrative*, even, as we have seen, in connection with some of Stedman’s instruments shown in fig. 2, though it is not associated with any of his lip-blown aerophones. It is difficult today to know the exact extent of the historical Loango kingdom, but many side-blown trumpets survive from that region, broadly defined, of West-central Africa, encompassing the modern Republic of the Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and much of northern Angola. Undoubtedly the largest collection of side-blown trumpets from this region resides today in the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Ter-

77. Kaminski, *Asante ntahera Trumpets in Ghana*, 107–24.

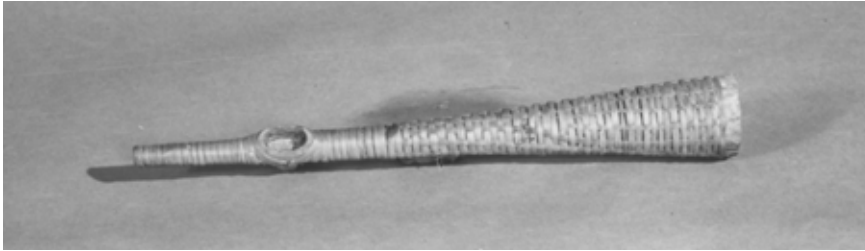


FIGURE 9. Wooden side-blown trumpet, wrapped in plant material, from the Ituri region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Collected by R. P. Leysbeth, 1959; length 38.3 cm. MO.1959.48.167, collection RMCA Tervuren. Photo by J. Van de Vyver, RMCA Tervuren © (photo PRO).

vuren, Belgium. Photographs of more than 1,000 trumpets or horns from this region appear in Jean-Sébastien Laurenty's catalog, *La Systématique des aérophones de l'Afrique centrale*.<sup>78</sup> These instruments are usually curved in shape, since many of them are made from elephant tusks, like their counterparts of the Asante people, or from the horns of antelope or other animals. Some of them, however, are made of wood and are more or less straight in form. Moreover, the mouth holes of the majority of the wooden instruments are set in protuberances from the side of the tube and are either oval or diamond-shaped, like their Surinamese counterparts. Approximately sixty percent of the side-blown trumpets in Laurenty's catalog appear to have modulating holes in their proximal end,<sup>79</sup> so they may be "talking trumpets" like the *too-too*, though little has been written about surrogate speech of trumpets from this region of Africa. Fig. 9 shows one of the straight-form wooden trumpets from the Royal Museum of Central Africa, collected in 1959 by R. P. Leysbeth in the Ituri region in the northeastern part of the present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo.<sup>80</sup> The body of the instrument is wrapped in plant material, probably some sort of reed like that used in basket-making. It seems, then, that the physical characteristics of Surinamese trumpets are more "Loango" than "Akan" in origin.

78. Jean-Sébastien Laurenty, *La Systématique des aérophones de l'Afrique central*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Det Konglige Bibliothek, 1974).

79. Ignace De Keyser, personal communication, August 2020.

80. See Laurenty, *La Systématique des aérophones*, 1: 336.

### **Conclusion**

Although side-blown trumpets are ubiquitous in sub-Saharan Africa, the Maroon too-too of Suriname and French Guiana represents a nearly unique tradition of side-blown trumpets in the Western hemisphere.<sup>81</sup> The side-blown horn/trumpet known as *too-too* apparently was used by most of the Maroon groups in Suriname at one time, though it has virtually disappeared today. The only known surviving specimens of the instrument can be linked to the Saamaka, but written reports, oral traditions, and recordings link these instruments to the Aluku, Ndyuka, and Matawai as well. Enslaved Africans apparently brought the knowledge to make this instrument with them in their passage from Africa. The probable models for the physical form of this instrument are side-blown trumpets from Central Africa with their mouth holes set in protuberances from the side of the tube. For the South American Maroons the side-blown trumpet was generally an instrument of communication, not a musical instrument *per se*; that is, they generally did not play melodies on it nor, as far as is known, did they use it to accompany singing or dancing. Plastic recorders, however, are used by some of these groups today for both music and communication, often under the name *too-too*. Historically, every important member of some Maroon communities had their own “trumpet name,” which could be used to call them to meetings and important events. In this way these instruments are related to the talking drums of the South American Maroons and the Maroons of Jamaica, as well as the talking trumpets and drums of the Asante people of Ghana.

*I should like to thank Kenneth Bilby, Richard Price, Joseph S. Kaminski, Ignace De Keyser, Catharina Winzer, Jenny Ringarp, Paul Marley, George Huttar, Anne Welschen, and Avigail Rotbain for their assistance in the preparation of this article.*

81. According to Jeremy Montagu (*Horns and Trumpets*, 27), wooden side-blown trumpets are known in the Amazon region of Brazil. As was mentioned above, Bilby, in *True-born Maroons* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2008), has written about that side-blown instrument of the Jamaica Maroons, called *abeng*, made from a cow's horn. Both the Saamakan *too-too* and the Jamaican *abeng* are associated with surrogate speech.