

THE NORTH BANK OF THE GAMBIA: PLACES, PEOPLE, AND POPULATION:

(C) THE NYOOMI, JOOKADU, and BADIBU DISTRICTS.

By

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As with previous volumes on the South Bank districts- this continues an attempt to build up a series of District Reports based on notes in the files of my own collection, official publications, books, the study of old maps, etc. This developed from an attempt to determine the general pattern of the various ethnic groups, and to identify the villages and places mentioned by early travellers

Major headings under which data were collected are:

- Name of District
- Maps consulted
- Area of District
- Legends of origin/ early history
- Boundaries
- Main geographical features
- Early travellers' accounts
- Early village lists
- Population (Assessment and Census data)
- Village names and location
- Ethnic groups
- Descriptions of specific places at different times
- Archaeological features. Ancient monuments
- Photographs available, or seen in various publications
- Articles appearing in recent years
- Material on certain major warriors or rulers.

The material available varies greatly from district to district.

Many gaps were found and many questions remained unanswered.

It is hoped, however, that it may stimulate further research, particularly by Gambians themselves.

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1: 50,000	1948 (Revision Sheet 1 & 2 1963 11 1964)
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NYOOMI (NIUMI)

Boundaries The Nyoomi Districts are bounded :

On the north - by the Gambia-Senegal boundary

On the west - by the Atlantic Ocean

On the south - by the river Gambia

On the east - by the Jurunku Bolong, and Meme Bolong (which separates them from Jokaduu). The Bolong turns west until it meets a dapo just beyond Ker N'Gojan (Ker Sele), then follows its boundary north to the international boundary.

Upper and Lower Nyoomi are separated by a dapo - a tract of land which is left for cattle grazing and cattle movements, and in which farms are not supposed to be made. It varies in width and runs in a north-east direction "between the towns and lands of Bakkendik, Niana Farra, Madina Sering Mas, and Kebbe on the Lower Niimi side, and the towns and lands of Bakalar, Pakala, Bafuloto, Hamjatta, Chisi, and Kabba Koto on the Upper Niimi side."

The name . The name is pronounced Nyoomi (with a long o) by many people, and is so written by the linguist Gordon Innes. However, some, e.g. the people of Jaara, say it with a u sound. Nyuumi. In 1935 it was termed Nuomi. (Annual Report). In Government publications it is generally spelled Niimi.

The first written mention of the name is in the account of Cadamosto (1482/56) where Gnumimenssa (i.e. Nyoomi mansa -King of Nyoomi) occurs. A few years later in Diogo Gomez's voyage the name Nomymans is found.

In old French writings the Nv is written Gn , e.g. Gnomy on Delisle's map (1726).

Locally people refer to Nvoomi Bato (Sea-side Nyoomi) - the coastal

region of swamps and estuaries - inhabited by people largely dependent on fishing, salt making, oyster gathering etc. and Nyoomi Banta the upland area of forests and farms.

The first north bank port on the river is Barra (Phonetically Baara), which may well be derived from the Portuguese term for a harbor entrance. There might have been some confusion with the word for bar (French barre) - a bar of shifting sand being characteristic of such river mouths as the Senegal, though the river Gambia had deep channels. In French writings we have Point de Barre (Barra Point), Roy de Barre (King of Barra), Port de Barra (Portuguese writer - Donelha - 1625), Royaume de Barre, etc. So from the 17th century onwards travellers and map makers generally referred to the Kingdom of Barra, not the Kingdom of Nyoomi.

However, when the Protectorate was established in 1897, the term Niumi came back into general use.

Vegetation

Early writers, particular those coming from the barer areas of Senegal, were impressed by the rich vegetation of the area. De La Courbe (1685) writes: "The country is well wooded close to the sea (river ?), and well cultivated in the interior. They have plenty of fruit trees, particularly bananas, palm trees, figs, and some limes. They have large and small millet (bulrush millet and sorghum) and rice. They keep cattle and goats, but not sheep."

M. Adanson (1750), was particular enthusiastic about the area:

"The soil is rich and deep, and amazingly fertile: it produces spontaneously and almost without cultivation, all the necessaries of life, as grain, fruits, legumes, and roots. On the high and somewhat drier grounds you see guavas, acajous (cashews), two sorts of papaws, with orange and citron trees of exquisite beauty... The roots of manioc, igname (yams), and batatee (sweet potato) multiply greatly in open places. The black and moist clays are taken up with forests of bananas, at the feet of which both pepper and ginger grow. Everything matures to perfection, and is excellent in its kind. They likewise made a great deal of date wine (palm wine ?)^a, which is very delicious. The pepper of this place is not the same as that of India...

Rice is almost the only grain sown at Gambia, in the lands overflown by the rains of the high season*. The Negroes cut all these lands with small causeys (causeways, bunds), which withhold the waters in such a manner that their rice is always moistened.

Leaving the river, we found a rich soil of red sand, extremely fine, and unconceivably fruitful: this appears by the trees with which it is covered. Here you see thickets impenetrable, not because of the thorns, for there are very few, but by reason the trees stand so close...."

Even in the mid 19th century, visitors such as Poole commented on the lofty and magnificent trees, but later intensive groundnut cultivation led to much destruction of the vegetation.

* Translation of the French Haute Saison, which was used for the rainy season, when the river waters rose.

^a Wine can be made from the dwarf date palm, which is tapped near the ground.

NYOOMI

Donald R. Wright, who worked extensively in the region, has provided an excellent general review of the history of the area in The World and a Very Small Place in Africa, Armonk, New York / London, England, 1997.

My own notes presented here concentrate on places and populations, and are meant to be used as a basis for further research, rather than as representing a definitive account.

The earliest inhabitants of the region were probably fishermen and shellfish gatherers who lived on the coast, perhaps related to some of the present day Serer, But gradually Mandinka settlers moved in from the east and from the south, and established villages along the river banks and near the sea-shore. Traditionally the Jamme clan from Badibu, related to the rulers at Iliasa, founded Bakendik as their first settlement, and later Sitanunku. The site of Bakendik has changed several times. The earliest rulers were said to be Queens, and the first king, Samake Jamme, took over after a group of Mandinka rulers from different regions in the Gambia had gone to the Emperor of Mali to seek authority for their rulership. (See the legend given in Gambian Studies No.9 - "A Mandinka narrative- Manding Kuno," by A.K.Rahman, September 1977, and outlined in Gambian Studies No.31, page 45 (1996). Rahman gives the name of the king of Nyoomi as Jurunding Koli Jamme. But this does not appear in the list usually given. In a version of the tale by K.F.Damfa (1933), the writer refers to Samake Manneh (should be Jamme) as the King of Nyoomi. This legend also provides the justification for a special "joking relationship" between the people of Nyoomi and those of Jaara.)

Early on a substantial salt trade developed with the interior, and the rulers of Siin and Saalum derived much of their wealth from this trade (Richard Jobson, 1623, p.80). The people of Nyoomi also had a large number of canoes used for both trade and carrying warriors. Early Mandinka settlers were expected to pay tribute to the rulers of the Wolof/Serer states (Francis Moore, 1730, p.19).

Next came a group of nyancho (warrior) families with the surname Maane from Kaabu in the south. These were the leading edge of Kaabu warriors who gradually conquered the indigenous peoples on the south bank in Kombo and Fonyi- the Jola and Bainunka. The Maanes settled at Brefet, a town on the river with trading connections to the north bank, and some moved across the river, ostensibly to help the Jammes ward off aggression from the Wolof and Serer. Jobson (1623, p.48) mentions that the Wolof were felt to be a threat to the south bank, but had no means of

moving their cavalry across the river. They then shared the kingship with the Jammehs and founded the towns of Kanuma and Bunyadu.

Finally another major clan arrived, the Sonkos. Here the traditions concerning their origin are confused. Writing of 1786 Golberry refers to them as Mandinka warriors, led by Amari Sonko, who came with a large number of warriors, followed by women and Islamic teachers. According to Donald Wright (The Early History of Niuni,...1977, 88-89) they were related to the Sonko Yabu clan who lived for centuries in Wuropana, along the south bank of the middle Gambia. Before living in Wuropana, elements of the clan lived in Sankola. Other traditions attribute a Fula origin to the Sonko, who were said to have come from Denia to Bankire, and were descended from Koli Tengala. (Cissoko & Sambou, 1974, 8). At first they were said to have settled on the borders of Siin-Saalum and have collected taxes for the Wolof/Serer rulers. Then they decided to help the Maanes and Jammes in their struggle for independence. In return for this they were to be allowed to share in the kingship. The united group of Mandinka were successful in their drive for independence, and the Sonkos established towns at Berending and Jifet. The family at Jifet later split, half going to Essau (Esseau) and a section to Sika.

In theory then seven towns of the three major clans shared the rulership in rotation:

Bakendik	Jamme clan	10 rulers
Kanuma	Maane "	9 "
Sitanunku	Jamme	8 "
Esseau Jelenkunda	Sonko	9 "
Bunyadu	Maane	7 "
Esseau-Mansaring Su	Sonko	8 "
Berending	Sonko	8 "

The old royal families have lists chronologically by village, showing the names of the rulers. At first sight it would seem there were ten rulers from Bakendik, then the kingship moved to Kanuma, where there were nine. In fact, as is evidenced by the names appearing in the records of travellers, missionaries,

government officials, traders, etc. the village and line was changed after each ruler. I know of no lists kept by the Mandinka which show the exact sequence. Donald Wright provides the dates recorded in recent centuries for a number of the rulers (pp. 95-8).

An English administrator, Lieutenant Governor Huntley (1840, p.97/ & 281) estimated that the average life expectancy of a ruler after attaining the position was about five years. The next town in line would prepare charms to shorten his life, and it is clear that often poison would be subtly introduced. An excess of alcoholic consumption also helped shorten the lives of many. When a ruler became incompetent, a regent could be appointed. (Golberry, 1802, p.161). The heads of the major trading towns of Albadar (Albreda) and Jufure were also powerful figures in the chiefdom, but the ruler normally had an official stationed there to receive his share of the taxes and duties imposed on traders.

With the influence of the English and French, the power of the Sonkos became increased, and it would seem that the legends of Fula origin were used to bolster their claims to power.

An article in the Daily Observer, 9 June 1993, describing a visit by students from Latrikunda Middle School to Esseu states:

"With the arrival of four Fulas from Mecina (=Masina), a new page was opened in the history of the area. The Fulas who came were Buba Tengala, Yoro Tengala, Laba Tengala, and Colley Tengala. On arrival they settled in Bakendik, and later realised that the chiefs of that and other areas such as Kanuma and Essau were paying tribute to the King of Saloum. The Fulas felt that this was not proper and persuaded the chiefs of the neighbouring states to refuse payment of taxes. The representatives of the king of Saloum were sent away empty handed and warned never to come back to collect taxes. The king was very angry when he heard the news and sent an army of soldiers to collect the taxes : by force and to punish the Fulas who were responsible for the rebellion. The main families of this area, the Jammehs, Maanehs, and Sonkos, with the help of the Fula warriors, were able to mobilise an

army to defeat the soldiers. During this battle, one of the Fula warriors is said to have been riding his horse in pursuit of the fleeing soldiers when suddenly his horse came to a tree and tried to climb it (its hoof print can still be seen.) A swarm of bees came out of the tree and chased the soldiers. After the defeat of the king of Saloum, the main families in the seven settlements united to form a new kingdom of Niimi. They all agreed that the crown would rotate among the families that were responsible for the victory."

Though this is a journalistic account in a newspaper, this narrative suggests a distinction between the Sonkos and the Fula warriors (9 lines previously). Obviously further clarification needs to be sought.

Following Lorimer's Report. (1942)

The Wolof in Nyoomi.

"The immigration of Wolof...has been continuous from before the period of the Marabout-Soninke wars up to the present day.It appears that a Wolof family, Jobe ? that of Ma Saar Lobe (?) came and founded the village of Ndungu Charem from Toro Taim in Lower Badibu, in the time of the Queens of Nyoomi ruling from Bakendik.

The main Wolof villages of Ndungu Kebe, Fafanding, and Bantanding are said to have been built in Demba Sonko's reign, when Ma Ba was still a youth. A later and smaller immigration accompanied Sedi Mati Ba when he fled from the French to Albreda. They settled around Bakendik Wolof, and the Pakau villages in Upper Nyoomi."

The Serer in Nyoomi

"The Serer who lived in Saalum and Nyoomi Bato seem to have been driven south ...during the wars of Ma Ba.The oldest Serer village was at Kangale, near Esau, but this was destroyed by Abdu Ba, and the people moved to Soto Koto, and thence to Mbolet.

After the Marabout-Soninki wars, considerable numbers of Serer returned to their own land, until the French were in a position to impose military conscription, when large numbers came over to Nyoomi. "

The Fulbe

"The advent of the Fulbe is much more recent, and they are not in large numbers, not have they exercised any influence upon the political development"

DOG ISLAND/ CHARLES ISLAND

French: Lislet aux Chiens (1685)...Isle aux Chiens.

Courlanders: Honde-Eylant.

An island off the coast of Nyoomi, probably named Dog Island from the sounds made by dog-faced baboons.

It was visited by the Courlanders in 1651 (Log of the 'Crocodile'). They reached it on 25 October 1651 and refer to it as Honde-Eylant. They made a petition to the King of Bare (Baara) to work on the island, and pegged out fortifications on the 29th. Later, they were to make their main fortification on an island further up river in mid river which they called St. Andrews Island.

Dog Island was renamed Charles Island in the 1660s when Holmes led an expedition to the Gambia. A report from Colonel Vermuyden to Prince Rupert in 1660 states: "We sailed as high as Charles Island, four leagues from the mouth of the river, where we anchored in nine fathoms of water....did view Charles Island, and found it to be in compass about three acres, and when the water highest, the earth surmounteth two fathoms, the bases whereof is wholly a rock of bastard iron stone, seated on the north of the river, above an arrow flight from the main, fordable when low water, but then the passage craggy; the island affordeth lime and stone sufficient for a royal fort, but cannot command the channel."

Even after the Courlanders had been dispossessed from St. Andrews Island, which the English renamed James Island (1662), the main English garrison remained on Dog Island (119 men being there, compared with 29 on James Island), and it was not until 1666 that Dog Island was abandoned.

Gray (p.99) records that a Frenchman called Ducasse entered the river Gambia in 1678, and established a short lived post on the island, but his forces were massacred by the natives. This is mentioned in the writings of Le Maire (1695), and Barbot (1732), but not in contemporary English records. An extract in

Churchill's Voyages (p.620) relating to the period around 1682, reads:

"The isle of Dogs, to which you may go dry-foot at low water, is directly opposite, in the river. The French did formerly inhabit it, but they had their throats cut by the negroes. Since when it has been wholly deserted, being of no consequence."

Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa...1738 writes:

"Charles Island, which lies on the North side of the River, very close to the Shore of the Kingdom of Barraah (p.13)....about six leagues from the sea, lying within a musquet-shot of Barraah Shore, on which Island there formerly was a Fort, but now it is gone to ruin." (p.19).

The name Charles Island was dropped, and that of Dog Island came back.

When Bathurst was being built stone was mined at Dog Island for construction.

"The stone used for building (in Bathurst) appears to be a sandstone strongly impregnated with oxide of iron, and containing oyster-shells; it is all brought from Dog Island, a few miles further up the river."

(Bowdich, Thomas Edward: Excursions in Madeira and Porto Santo...1825)

Appendix: A description of the English settlements on the River Gambia, by Mrs. Bowdich.)

Donald Wright in The World and a Very Small Place, p. 168, writes:

"Niimi residents know that Dog Island has always been the location of Sitanunku's spirits. This explains why villagers were adamant about having no one settle on the small island that appeared to have no particular value."

P.150 1831..An English agricultural society wanted to establish a colony of pensioners and liberated slaves on Dog Island, off a point of land on the Ceded Mile, to experiment with the growing of hemp. They did not realize that Dog Island was where residents of one of Niimi's seven royal villages, Sitanunku, harbored their most precious fetishes and animist spirits.

No one was to reside there, let alone foreigners. Within a matter of weeks, Sitanunku villagers had run off the Dog Island settlers and Niumi's mansa had closed all paths to trade and stopped canoes from going to Bathurst with supplies. On August 22 and 23 a large force from Sonko's village (Fort Bullen) burned a British settlement of discharged soldiers outside the fort's walls, engaged the fort's garrison, and forced it to flee for safety across the river."

FORT BULLEN

Gray: History of The Gambia, p. 337-339.

" The next acquisition of territory was due to the alarm caused by the vast increase in the civil and military establishments of the French in Senegal and the defenceless state of St. Mary's Island. The French has reoccupied Albreda in 1817. Their activities there and the unfriendly attitude adopted by the people of Barra led to the fear that the French might obtain possession of further territory on the north bank of the river. Experiments, which Major Grant had carried out in 1823, showed that the largest guns in Bathurst had not sufficient range to reach the Barra shore.....The 'king' of Barra was approached in 1823 with a request to allow the British to erect a battery on the shore opposite to Bathurst, but he declined to do so. In 1826 matters came to a head. For some time previously the "king" had been proving troublesome by reason of his exorbitant demands upon Bathurst merchants trading in his country. The Governor of Senegal paid him a visit in that year and it was clear that the king was coquetting with the idea of granting the French some further territory.

(Using the influence of the first steam vessel (the African) and Commodore Charles Bullen's ship H.M.S. Maidstone, the king of Barra (Burunqai Sonko) was induced to sign the Ceded Mile convention.)

"Commodore Bullen conveyed a couple of cannon over to Barra Point and formal possession was taken of the ceded territory in the name and on behalf of George IV to the salute of the guns of the Maidstone, African and the shore batteries at Bathurst. A military guard was placed over the two cannon and the site was named Fort Bullen."

Huntley in Twelve Months on The Gambia (1850), writing of 1840, did not think much of the fort.

p.39 "on the opposite side of the river stood Fort Bullen, a square building, mounting twelve pieces of cannon, and just within mortar range of Bathurst. This fort was unquestionably intended by the projector to command the entrance of the river, standing as it does upon a low point, for which ships coming in must steer, but cannot approach within a mile, but as if every good intention was to be frustrated, by some want of precaution in those to whom the performance was confided, only three guns have been pointed to seaward; the others, generally are directed inland, from whence, to prevent the approach of a native enemy, any light field piece would have been sufficient. In this fort, as in those run up more recently, the walls are far too slight, nor has the security of the foundation received sufficient attention; and it is certain that a frigate and brig might with ease have destroyed both the town and defences which later, were in a deplorable state, arising from position, plan, or dilapidation."

In World War II modern guns were mounted there to command the approach to the river.

THE CEDED MILEReport of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of
Sierra Leone

Second Part. I Dependencies in the Gambia. 1827

p. 4 "Barra Point was first occupied in June 1826, when a tract of land upon the northern bank of the river was ceded to His Majesty by the "King of Barra." This tract of land is one mile in breadth, and about thirty-six miles in length; extending from Boonyadoo Creek at the entrance of the river up to Junkarda Creek. But the King of Barra reserved a small portion of it (about 400 yards by 300) at Albrida, where the French factory is established. The land thus ceded, possesses many advantages; it is nearly level, but sufficiently elevated above the river; the soil appears to be excellent, and some portions of it have already been cultivated by the inhabitants, for the production of the millet or Guinea corn, which is the principal article of their food. At Barra Point, a small battery has been formed, and it is occupied by a few black troops. Its distance from St. Mary's is two miles and a half; and although the anchorage is not so good as at the latter place, it is better situated for commanding the entrance of the river, as no vessels of considerable size can enter, without approaching the northern shore.

The territory of the King of Barra is altogether upon the north bank of the river, but he has, nevertheless, exercised a right of control over the whole navigation. It would seem that he was formerly considered powerful, more from the weakness of his neighbours, than from his personal character, or the extent of country under his sway. But being possessed of numerous and large canoes, and his people being expert in their management, he succeeded in maintaining his claim to the sovereignty of the river, and for a time laid heavy duties upon all vessels trading on it. The duties upon British vessels had latterly been commuted for a small sum, to be paid annually by the government;

but this arrangement was abolished by General Turner in 1825, and the claim was finally relinquished in 1826. A treaty was then concluded by which, in consideration of the cession then made by him, and in lieu of all other claims whatever, the King of Barra was in future to receive from the Colonial Government an annual payment of 400 dollars."

"Gambia Colony and the Civil War," Colburn's United Service Magazine, 1863, p. 240. "The Colonial Government of Bathurst had never attempted any jurisdiction beyond Berwick Town, although from Jinack to Jacardoo Creek the one mile inland is British territory."

(Essow was claiming help from the Governor against Amarfaal on the grounds that it was within the one mile from the river, and might be considered British according to the treaty of 1826. The Governor "felt in a better position to treat with both parties (Soninkees and Marabouts) by strictly retaining a neutral policy, reserving to himself the right of protection when the fugitives arrived at Berwick Town.." Two hundred women who were on Dog Island ..were rescued by sending canoes ..manned by the liberated Africans of Berwick Town.)

THE BAARA WAR OF 1831

The war of 1831 started with a minor incident, but had wide repercussions, and brought to the surface fears and tensions that had grown up between the people of Nyoomi and the recent settlers at Bathurst.

The fact that the English had established a fortification at Baara Point was felt to be a threat to local sovereignty, though the guns were pointed seaward,^a and intended to deter aggression from the French. But the income of the ruler of Baara had been largely derived from the slave trade, and the duties demanded from ships coming into the Gambia River - mainly slavers. With the suppression of the international slave trade, and the obligations that merchants now had to pay duties at Bathurst, this created severe loss of income for the old rulers. Under the system of paying duties at Jufure, merchants had to wait until a representative from Essau came to collect them. The fees demanded by the English were less, and quickly dealt with. Though the English were to pay a proportion of the fees to the King of Baara, no satisfactory agreement was reached. From at first paying a proportion of the fees, the English decided on a fixed payment, then, because merchants from Bathurst were being badly treated in Nyoomi, they cut the amount. As the king was an alcoholic this did not help negotiations.

On 21st August 1831 two men armed with cutlasses and muskets came from Essau to Fort Bullen in the late evening, entered the canteen and demanded to be served rum (Gray : 344). They were probably already drunk, and the canteen keeper refused to serve them. One of them fired off his musket at the canteen keeper but missed. Then the two men went back to Essau. The Commanding Officer was alarmed by this intrusion, and had the alarm gun sounded. The next morning a party of 30 soldiers was sent over, accompanied by the crews of merchant vessels and some civilians. A party went to Essau to demand the surrender of the culprits of the night before, but a large armed party met them, a fight broke out, and heavy fire was poured on them. They retreated to Fort Bullen, and, as they were badly outnumbered, decided to take to their boats, abandoning the Fort. In the fray

^a Only a small detachment was normally stationed there. In the 1860's Burton refers to 1 officer and 17 men.

about 23 of the soldiers and a number of the civilians were killed. One of the merchant captains who was killed was decapitated, and his head displayed in triumph, the people believing that he was the Governor.

Everyone felt that an attack might be launched on Bathurst, and urgent appeals for help were sent to Sierra Leone, and to the French Governors at Goree and Saint Louis. The Baara people began receiving reinforcements from other areas, but contented themselves with making entrenchments at Baara Point.

The French at Goree responded by sending Commandant Louvel with a Man-of-war (A Brig). He went first, with the help of two commercial vessels from Bathurst, to evacuate the French traders at Albreda, whom he feared might also be attacked, and they and their goods were taken to Bathurst (7th-9th September). Then he turned his attention to helping the people of Bathurst defend themselves. A blockhouse (later known as Fort Louvel) was built, and a barricade across the island constructed, for the Governor feared that the people of Kombo might join those of Baara in an attack, coming from the landward side, and various merchant vessels were armed.

The anxiety felt in Bathurst is described by the Methodist missionary, the Rev. William Moister in The Story of my Life and Missionary Labours... 1886, 80-82. "This war continued for five months, during which we were kept in a state of painful suspense, not knowing what the issue might be. Everything that human prudence and foresight could suggest was done for the defence and protection of the settlement...The militia force of the colony was strengthened and drilled from day to day, every man capable of doing so being required to take up arms in defence of the settlement. A new fort was built immediately behind the Mission House, from which a deep trench was dug and a strong stockade erected right across the island with a view to defend the town in the event of the enemy effecting a landing on our shores. Nor were the necessary means for attacking and dislodging the hostile natives from their stronghold on Barra Point neglected. Military aid was called in from Sierra Leone and Senegal, and other preparations were made for a vigorous attack upon the rebels in their intrenchments, when the favourable

season should come. The missionary's wife and her school girls...were called on ...to make sandbags of strong calico for the construction of temporary batteries, to be moved forward by our troops."

An attempt was made to recover Baara Point on 15th September, but the local warriors were firmly entrenched, and, though bombarded from the sea, were not driven off. The attempt was given up, and an appeal sent to the French Governor for further help. A second bombardment on the 25th also achieved little.

There was disagreement between the Lie^utenant Governor (who was ill from fever most of the time) and the commander of his own forces. The first ~~was~~ suspended from duty, then his successor had a nervous breakdown. A junior (but experienced) officer, Lieutenant Berwick, eventually had to assume command.

On October 10th the Senegalese Governor arrived with troops. At first he offered to mediate, but the English rejected his offer. He continued to help, however, in strengthening the Bathurst fortifications. Shortly afterwards British troops arrived from Sierra Leone (23rd October), so the Senegalese withdrew leaving only a token force behind, feeling that their duty as a protective force had been fulfilled. The traders from Albreda remained in Bathurst.

Forces from Badibu took advantage of the situation to invade Jokadu, and this drew off warriors from Essau (Early November). The Governor decided this was an opportune time to stage another attack, and under cover of a heavy bombardment troops were landed (November 11), and after fierce fighting the Mandinka forces were dislodged from Baara Point. The English landed guns, and refortified Fort Bullen, building a sandbag battery. On the 17th they went on to attack Essau, but this was strongly defended and casualties were heavy. The English forces had to withdraw to Fort Bullen. A second attempt was also made but this too failed. But further forces came from Sierra Leone on December 7, and on learning of this the King of Baara made overtures for a peace settlement.

So on 5 January 1832 a convention was signed at Jufure with Brunai (Burungai) Sonko, in the presence of 900 warriors, confirming the cession of

the Ceded Mile (made in 1826), but this was now extended to the sea coast, the people of Essau agreeing to give up their ordnance including those captured from the English, and compensate traders for their losses. The missionary was invited by the Governor to be present at the peace ratification ceremony. On return to Bathurst a day of general thanksgiving for the restoration of peace was proclaimed. The French traders returned to Albreda.

Afterwards there was much argument as to who should pay the costs of the war. The French naturally expected their expenses to be paid by the English, but the English claimed they were not the ones who finally took back the area, and their presence earlier was necessary to protect their own people at Albreda. They then put in a counterclaim as an offset, claiming the costs of evacuating the French and their goods from Albreda to Bathurst. The French considered this absurd. The merchants put in a claim to the British Government for the use of their vessels during the war, but this was denied, on the ground that it was their own interests that they were protecting.

Maybe all this served to discourage governors from making war on their own account, but it did not improve French/British relations. The view expressed earlier that in times of danger Europeans ought to consider themselves one nation did not last long, and friction with the French at Albreda escalated. The fact that local slave trading continued through Albreda for a number of years did not help matters.

The only gratitude was shown by the people of Bathurst who subscribed a hundred guineas to present Commandant Louvel with a sword, and rallied to the defence of St. Germain, the French Governor at Saint-Louis, when he was assailed in the French press for his role in sending forces to aid the English.

The Serahuli affair

In 1840 the king, Demba Sonko, hired a private army of 700 Serahuli mercenaries. Their leader, Ansumana Jaju (the name sometimes appears as 'Jaggi'), married a daughter of the king, and sought further power for himself. But as a result of his deprivations, the local people turned against him, and in 1856 open warfare broke out. To prevent a general massacre of the Serahulis, the English Governor arranged a truce, and had the Serahuli force sent back up river in a Government vessel (The Dover) to Fatatenda, from which it was expected they could make their way home again. (1857). A few other followers of the Serahuli leader who were Bambaras were allowed to settle in the Kombo region.

The dumping of a large force of Serahuli warriors at Fatatenda did not please the ruler of Wuli. However it is not clear what eventually happened to the Serahulis.

English policy towards Nyoomi

In spite of the yielding of the Ceded Mile, over most of it traditional rulers operated as before. The British held on to Fort Bullen and the nearby settlement at Berwick, as a barrier against any invasion, by sea or by land. The number of settlers at Berwick was few, and the garrison of the fort small. English influence was limited to treaties, payments of stipends - through which they hoped to bring about co-operative behavior, and the use of limited force, generally employed to bring punishment where the rights of traders had been violated.

The Governor would attend the installation of a new chief of Nyoomi as a matter of courtesy and respect, and was generally prepared to act as an arbitrator to settle disputes between warring factions. Governor O'Connor (1852-) had the reputation for being particularly good at 'palavers'. Later (1862) when D'Arcy was Governor, and the people of Essau asked for help against invading Muslim forces, he tried to maintain a neutral position, but provided safety for women and children who had fled both to Fort Bullen and Dog Island. Probably his personal influence was a factor in persuading Hama Ba to withdraw his forces. In 1863 he brought about an arrangement where both Soninke and Marabouts destroyed their strongest stockades.. The general policy of Governor D'Arcy was to try and settle people favorable to British interests -- liberated Africans, retired military personnel, refugees from wars, being settled both in the Ceded Mile and in the Kombo.

In later years the hostility of the English was not directed at the people of Nyoomi, so much as at the French establishment at Albreda, which began to assume great importance with the growth of the export crop of groundnuts. It was felt that much smuggling was taking place, and duties were not being paid to the English at Bathurst.

The Soninke-Marabout War in Nyoomi

(based primarily on Gray, 420-422)

After the death of the ruler Demba Sonko, there was an interregnum, and before his successor, Buntung Jammi, was elected, one of Maba's captains, a Wolof named ^{(Amar} Amer Faal, took advantage of this to cross the Njawara Creek and invade Nyoomi. He speedily overran Jokadu, where he compelled the local ruler to accept Islam. From here he made his way across Nyoomi, carrying everything before him. On learning of this Maba collected a force and followed him. The remaining Soninke population fled to Berending and Essau. The new king took refuge in Bathurst, but the Sumas (headmen) of Berending and Essau prepared to make a stand, and sent to the Governor to ask his aid. Colonel D'Arcy had few forces at his disposal at the time, and was trying to maintain neutrality between the Marabout and Soninke factions, but agreed to protect women and children at Fort Bullen. He evacuated British and French subjects from Albreda, while the people of Berwick rescued women and children who had fled to Dog Island. The Soninkes abandoned Berending and concentrated their forces in Essau which was strongly stockaded. Berending was destroyed. However, in response to a request from the Governor Maba withdrew his men and did not attempt to take Essau, As he depended largely on Bathurst for his supplies of guns and ammunition, he did not wish to antagonise the Governor and the merchants. In addition as soon as he was occupied in Nyoomi the ruler of Siin-Saalum had invaded Badibu, so he had to take his forces to meet the challenge there.

The Governor met with both factions- Soninke and Marabout - to try to arrange peace, but the truce was soon broken. Maba had captured the cattle belonging to the royal family, and on his retreat had left them with Amer Faal. led by Fulas who had deserted Amar Faal. The people of Essau set out to recapture these cattle./A raid was also carried out by Marabouts from the south bank, who came by sea to Jinnak Creek. Eventually the Governor brought about another truce (February 1863), both sides agreeing to destroy their stockades.

From earliest times there had been Muslims in Nyoomi, and some clans, such as the Sonkos had both Soninke and Muslim sections. A great deal of the trade at places like Albreda and Jufure was in the hands of Muslims, and a working relationship between them was established. In general they were not in support of Muslim armies invading their territory from other regions, with forces which were often Wolof or Tukulor.

The Ceded Mile was next confronted with a flood of refugees of Wolof and Serer origin whose country had been devastated by Maba. They were given the site of Kanume (Kanuma) which had been previously destroyed. Part of the group later moved to Bantang Kiling, renamed Fitzgerald Town. Later the town was raided by Amer Faal's people, who seized their cattle. Col. D'Arcy could not settle the dispute by negociation, and a decided on a punitive expedition against Amer Faal's town of Tubab Kolong (July 1866). In this he was aided by the Soninke forces of Essau. Quinn (Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia, 1972, p.135) states that the cattle were some of those abandoned by Maba on his retreat, and had been given by the Governor to the head of the community where the refugees were settled. The Muslims under Amer Faal therefore still regarded them as Maba's cattle. After the victory at Tubab Kolong the Soninke forces went on to burn the predominantly Muslim villages of Lamin, Albreda, Jufure, and Sika. The inhabitants seem to have fled these settlements because of bombardment from the river by the English.

The Soninkes still felt bitter about the Muslims because Ama Ba (Maba) had had the body of the late king of Baara dug up, cut into pieces and scattered around.

VILLAGE LIST 1902

C.M. = Ceded Mile		Population
CM	Albreda	247
	Aljammadu	345
	Bajonko	72
CM	Bakkendik	672
	Bakkendik (Fula)	-
	Bankama	249
CM	Bantannding (Juman Sek)	33
CM	Bantannkilling	504
CM	Barra	240
	nBawlett (=Mbolet)	87
	Berrending	237
	Berretto	39
CM	Bunyadu	210
	Duniaju (Joll.)	760
	" (Sainya Ba)	-
	Dunku (Ibra	-
	" (Mattar)	-
	Essau	300
	Fafanding	141
	nGur Juf	27
CM	Jakkai	182
	Jamma Geri	33
	Jamnia (Tumbu)	-
	Jen Kunda	300
CM	Jerri	72
	Jibawro	39
CM	Jillfri	258
	Juman Sek -see Banntanding	
	Jurunku	786

	Juvenn	114	
	Kannuma	123	
	Karang	63	
	Kassewa	66	
	Ker mBassa	18	
CM	Kunjuru Ba	-	
CM	Lammin	300	
	Mademba	84	
	Makawdu nDau	-	
CM	Namang	-	
	Pakkau Ba	762	
	" Sam	-	
	" Biram	-	
	Sainya Kunda -see Duniaju		
	Samba nDure	-	
	Sanimi	150	
	Sanchi Keba	132	?
	Sanchi Tuba	84	
CM	Sika (Man.)	468	
	" (Jollof)	-	
CM	Sita Nunku	267	
CM	Subannta	153	
CM	Tuba Kolong	486	
	Wawro	132	
	Totals Ceded Mile	4123	
	Niumi	5962	

No explanation is given for the various names for which no population figures are provided.

The early kings of Nyoomi

Based primarily on Donald Wright: The Early History of Niumi, 1977, pp. 95-98.

Full references for each date are provided by him.

<u>First names</u>	<u>Surname</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Major events</u>
Jenung Wuleng	Sonko	1686	Berending	
Almaranta	Sonko	1717	Essau	
Dusu Koli	Sonko	1725 ?-May 1736	Berending	
Siranka Wali	Jamme	July 1736-1750	Bakindiki	
Jelali Kasa	Maane	1751-1754	Kanuma	
Sambari Naji	Jamme	June 1754-Dec.1759	Sitanunku	
Nandanko Suntu	Sonko	1760-1776 ?	Essau	
Nyiti Soma Jamme	Sonko	1783	Essau	
Tamba Jabunai	Sonko	1786	Berending	
Koli Manka Jambung Jiti	Maane	1815? -1823	Bunyadu	Ceded Mile Treaty
Burungai (Brunai) Jeriandi	Sonko	1823- Jun 1833	Essau	War with English
Demba Adama	Sonko	1834-1862 (died)	Berending	
Buntung Saane Sonko	Jamme	1862-Jan 1867	Bakindiki	Marabout wars
Mamadi Sira (Madi) Jamme	Maane	1867 ?- mid 1870s	Kanuma	
Wali	Jamme	mid 1870-11 June 1883	Sitanunku	
Maranta	Sonko	1883-1910	Essau	signed Protectorate Treaty. Became part of Protectorate 2 Jan 1897. Appointe head chief. Break off of Upper Nyoomi.
Mfamara	Sonko	1906-1911	Essau-	First <u>Sefoo</u> appointed Gilenkunda by the British.

CHIEFSLOWER NYOOMI

		Probation	Appointed	
Maranta Sonko	-Essau -Gilenkunda	1899 ?		
Mfamara Sonko	" "	1906	1911	Dismissed
Mfamara Sira Sonko	Essau- Sumakunda	1921	1923	Died 1927
Mamadi Sonko (son of M.S.S.)	" "	1927	1928	Died 1943
Lamin Binta Sonko			1943	
Lamin Sali Sonko (son of Lamin Binta Sonko)		1951	1952	Died March 1981

UPPER NYOOMI

Braima Sonko	Sika		1903	
Omar Sonko		1916	1916	Died 1924
Omarinding Sonko (a.k.a. Omar Sonko)		1924	1926	Died 1940
Nyunko Sonko (Nyonko)		1941	1942	
Landing Omar			1961	Removed. Feb 1971
Dudu Sonko			1972	(Installed Mar.73)

POPULATION

LOWER NY00M1

UPPER NY00M1

Area	134 sq.miles	143 sq.miles
1944	5098 Assessment data	5465 Assessment data
1945	6890	5704
1946	6917	5153
1947	8916	8094
1948	9663	9199
1949	11678	9363
1950	12186	8952
1951	12589	8990
1952	11126	9731
1953	13558	9099
1954	13661	10047
1955	10298	7465
1956	8218	8080
1957	8975	6723
1958	10392	8472
1959	-	-
1960	-	-
1961	7113	4934
1962		
1963 CENSUS	10342	7965
1973 "	18752	13329
1983 "	23805	15280

ETHNIC GROUPS

	LOWER NYOOMI %	UPPER NYOOMI %
Mandinka	34.7	53.3
Wolof	37.2	20.3
Fulbe	5.8	12.1
Tukulor	3.0	8.1
Laibo	0.7	-
Jola	0.1	
Manjago	0.9	2.6
Mansuwanka	0.6	
Serer	14.7	2.9
Mauretanian	1.4	0.6
Bambara	0.5	
Aku	0.6	0.1
	<hr/> 100.2	<hr/> 100.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Based on data from 1946 Assessment Lists.

There is quite a high rate of mixture in the villages.

Lower Nyoomi	23%
Upper Nyoomi	18
Jokadu	4
Lower Badibu	9

Based on ratio of minority groups in a village to total population.

The major Mandinka villages are close to the river, the Wolof, Fulbe, and Serer being inland.

THE NYOOMINKA

At present the term , meaning people of Nyoomi, is applied to those who live primarily in Gandoun, the coastal region of Saalum on the south bank of that river estuary, in a world of islands, creeks, and mangrove swamps. For centuries they have been prominent in fishing and in the salt trade, coming to the Gambia river both to fish, and to take salt up-river to various villages. The trade in fish and salt was described as early as 1684 by Francisco de Lemos Coelho.

They consider themselves as Mandinka-cised Serer, though V. Martin and C. Becker (quoted by Régine Van-Chi-Bonnardel) regard them as Mandinka who had come from Kaabu in the 14th century, and became influenced by the Serer. They are generally multi-lingual, speaking Wolof, Serer, and Mandinka.

The people move between farming settlements in the rainy season, and fishing settlements in the dry season, though some sites are occupied all year round. Rice is the main crop cultivated. Many people migrate during the dry season for trading purposes, carrying salt, shells from which chalk is made, dried molluscs (yeet), mangrove wood for fuel, coconuts, and some palm oil, made from kernels generally gathered by immigrant Manjagos who sell the nuts to the Nyoominka women.

Initially they used to pay tribute either to the Buur Saalum (The Ruler of Saalum), or to the Mandinka royal families in Gambian Nyoomi, but during the Soninke-Marabout wars of the last century they gradually became independent.

A variety of fishing techniques are used, adapted to local conditions, the habits of the fish, and seasonal variations. Long nets are set out and pulled in by canoes at each end. Cast nets are used by individuals. Lines to which floats are attached are set out, along which are fastened lines with hooks and bait. Fish traps are also used in suitable places.

In their migrations to the Gambian estuary they set up settlements close to the river, in the mangrove swamp areas. Further up river they settle at recognized

trade settlements like Tendaba, Balingho, Kau-ur, Kuntaur, Kudang, etc. Fresh fish may be sold at markets such as Brikama (Kombo) and Banjul, but most fish, especially the tambajang (*Ethmalose* sp.) is dried for trading later up river. There they exchange salt and dried fish for millet, which they take back to Gandoun. In many cases there is a long term relationship between the fishing families and local Mandinka hosts. For example, at Badibu Kerewan in 1948 circumcision ceremonies were performed there for the Nyoominka visitors. There is also an ancient 'joking relationship' between the Nyoominka and the people of Jaara, which guarantees their safety and good treatment.

In 1866 Borel described how the Nyoominka carried up-river the product of their fishing, where they exchange it for cotton, wax, and hides. These in turn are exchanged at Bathurst (Baniul) for utensils, rice, tobacco, rum, etc., to be taken back home.

In recent years they have also been involved in general transportation, conveying groundnuts from smaller ports to the major processing centers, carrying firewood for consumption in Banjul (though this is now restricted), and taking wood back to their home country to build fencing and houses.

They have an intimate knowledge of the Gambia river. Regine Van-Chi-Bonnardel gives a list of 33 names from the river mouth to beyond Fatatenda. These are easily identified, though she does not seem to have consulted a recent and detailed map of the river. In some cases bad handwriting may have led to peculiar spelling, so she gives Koniata^{ba} instead of Toniataba, Bihabugu instead of Diabugu, etc. In other cases the pronunciation seems to have caused confusion, so Carroll's Wharf is transformed into 'Kareuaf' !

At present, on returning home they carry goods acquired in The Gambia, and with the complex system of islands and channels obviously are able to avoid customs officials. Some of the goods are for their own use, but much finds its way into markets such as those of Sokone and Kaolack. Desired goods at present are medicines, textiles, items of clothing, transistor radios, canned tomato paste, tea, sugar, canned milk, cigarettes, etc.

Their network of trading is not limited to The Gambia. Apart from coastal trading to Dakar in the north, canoes go to the Casamance (Ziguinchor), Guiné Bissau, and Sierra Leone, specially large ocean going canoes being used.

References

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Le Globe: Mémoires de la Société de Géographie de Genève, 5, 1866, 5-31.
- Van-Chi-Bonnardel, Régine: "Exemple de migrations multiformes intégrées: les migrations des Niominka (îles du bas Saloum, Sénégal),"
Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., vol. 39, ser.B, no 4, 1977, 836-89.
- Francisco de Lemos Coelho; Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684).
(Introduction and English translation of the Portuguese text by P.E.H.Hair) - October 1985. Chapter 2. 1 & 2.

LOWER NYOOMI

<u>LOWER NYOONI</u>		1946 Assessment	1973 Census	Phonetic spelling
Amdalai (Hamdalai)	S/W/F	116	375	
Bakendik	M	296	733	BAKINDIKI
Bakendik Jolof	W	159	160	
Baara	S ++	254	1203	BAARA
Berending	M	626	964	BERENDING
Biji Ba	F	66		
Bohum (Ker Bohum)	F	61		
Bunyadu	M	230	485	BUUNYAADUU
Chamen	W	99	325	
Chandakunda	S	38	134	
Dunyajo Manding	M	115		
" Misira	M	145	343 (= Misiranding)	
Essau	M	453	951	YESEU/ YESEWU
Fafanding	W	85		
Fas	S	76	1276	
Herabe kono	B	8		
Jatakunda	S/W/F	115	296	(Ker Jata)
Jifet	W/S	72		
Kajati ?	M	92		
Ker Njata - see later				
Kanuma	M	158	493	
Ker Ali Sar	W	11		
" Mbuguma	W	66		
" Njata	S	69		
" Samba Yasin	M/W/F	84	169	
+ Ker Omar Jawara			226	
" Samba Sala			416	
" Samba Njabe			239	
" Sanyang			331	
" Wali			292	

LOWER NYOOMI (cont.)		1946 Assessment	1973 Census
Lewna	W/S	37	175 (Leona)
Loyen	W	97	133 (Lowen)
Maka Bala Mane	W/F	219	427
Malik Sar	W	95	181
Mayamba	(mixed)	98	158
Mbankama	M? W?	183	224
Mbolet	S	449	716
Mbulum	S	18	241
Medina Kanuma	M	277	301
" Seriny Mas	W	409	659
Misira Jawara	W	92	
Musa Dabo	W/B/M	24	
Ndofan	S	73	317
Ndungu Charen	W	86	321
" Kebbe	W	311	1185
Niji	M	55	(See Jinak Niji)
Njoben	S	45	
Njoofen /Njufan	W	95	129
Pate Kala	W	110	165 (Ker Pate)
Same	W	69	
Sam Mbolet (nding)	S	105	237
Samba Jaabi (Njaabe)	W	99	
(Ker) Samba Kala	W	156	
Samba Seka	W	10	
Suu-koto	W	11	
Taiba	T	13	
Towar	W	61	
Tuba	W	97	393

LOWER NYOONI cont.

1946 Assessment

1973 Census

39

Welingara	T	28	
<u>additions 1973</u>			
Jinak Kajata			314 (Ginak)
" Niji (cf Niji)			107
Jamagen			163
Mbayen			137
Medina Daru			349
Njongon			367
Sam Joben			115
small settlements			1327
Total		<u>6916</u>	<u>18752</u>

Other features

Barra Point

Fort Bulien

Kanq Point (South of Essau)

West African Review. September 1961. p.

BAARA WHARF & GROUNDNUT CNAOES



Above: Ground-nut cutters on the Gambia River. Gambia's ultimate independence is taken for granted but its form is uncertain.

small version. West Africa, 17 May 1969, p. 560.

BARRA POINT (BAARA)

Reeve (1912) "The mouth of the river faces the north, and from Bathurst
p. 146 across to Barra Point is about two miles. These two points
form the inner mouth of the river, and behind them is a bay
measuring seven to eight miles across each way, being nearly
circular...."

Sieur de la Courbe (1685) La Pointe de Bare/Barre

William Smith (1726) Barra Point

Francis Moore (1730) " "

S.M.X.Golberry (1802) Pointe de Barra

In Mandinka this point is referred to as Kungo-to (lit. at the head).
Setting off from Banjul one might say "M be taa Kungo-to," "I am going to
the Head,"

(Based on 1863 account).. "a small peninsula of ground...only a few feet above
the level of the sea, joined to the mainland by a narrow strip of marsh ground,
having the river on the (south) side. Essow is situated about 1000 yards
inland.. "

PAVILION OF THE KING OF BARRA = Clump of trees on Baara Point

1695 Froger, Francois: A Relation of a Voyage made in the years 1695, 1696, 1697 on the Coast of Africa... by a squadron of French Men of War, under the Command of M. de Gennes.

In Churchill, A. A Collection of Voyages and Travels...17
p. 590.

" ...we all entered the river with English colours, and, ...we saluted, with three cannon-shot, a thick and very high tree, which serves instead of a pavilion to the king of Bar, and which the English are likewise wont to salute, as often as they come into, or go out of the river.

1728 J-B. Labat: Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale. T. IV

p. 265-6.

"On remarque en entrant dans la Rivière à bas bord, c'est-à-dire à gauche, une pointe sur laquelle il y a une grosse touffe d'arbres, au milieu desquels il y en a un beaucoup plus grand & plus haut que les autres, que l'on appelle le pavillon du Roi de Barre.

Les Anglois si fiers des Nations qui vallent infiniment mieux que les Negres, se sont abbaïsez jusqu'à saluer avec le canon, & sans y manquer toutes les fois qu'ils passent, ce prétendu Pavillon, & y ont si bien accoutumé ce Roi Negre, qu'il exige cette soumission de toutes les Nations qui entrent dans la Riviere, à faute de quoi il leur interdit la traite & leur fait tout le mal dont il est capable."

BAARA

A description given in the newspaper The Nation in 1966 is as follows:

".... Fort Bullen built by the British some one and a half centuries ago is still a pleasant tourist spot.

Barra villagers are mainly small canoe builders and occupy themselves in groundnut transit with their canoes during the trade season from which they earn a decent living. Most of the boats no longer use oars and sails, but "outboard engines." At least 100 big canoes could be seen on the lovely silver sand beach almost from end to end, some unseaworthy, some badly needing repairs, some being constructed.

(When the ferry boat service has been completed for the day, Barra becomes one of the loneliest towns in the country...)

The Police Post serves the entire Niomis. There is a very small market which needs extension...The market was virtually empty, but busy during the trade season.

Restaurants mainly operated by Senegalese during the trade period cater only for local people, provide local food stuffs only....The 'restaurants' do very good business for it is a saving grace to hungry travellers who patiently await crossing.

The postal agent at Barra is Mrs Abourizk, the wife of Mr. Emile Abourizk, whose brother is a transporter and runs a shop with commodities ranging from beer to second hand clothing. The Abourizk family have been living comfortably in Barra for five years now, and hope in the very near future to open a small hotel and a petrol station.

The population of Barra is about 400, mainly Wolof or Serer. The children attend school at Esseu, about a mile away. Most of the villagers cross over to Bathurst for medical treatment, when they are ill, instead of reporting to Esseu."

Writing in 1987 Michael Tomkinson states "Barra at first sight is all groundnut installations: the evacuation belt along a lengthy pier, lighters, lorries and the wire-fenced compound of CPMB 'bins'.

But taxis also clamour for fares to Dakar. Serers build boatson the bank

and, half-mile seaward, Fort Bullen is unmistakable. With Police Station and as many garages as shops, this odd assemblage is all that remains of the 'kingdom' that featured so prominently in The Gambia's pre-independence history....."

Etienne Edberg (1982) in A Naturalist's Guide to The Gambia provides a sketch map of the area around Barra (p.38), and describes the opportunities for bird-watching..

Rod Ward in A Birdwatchers' Guide to The Gambia (1994) pp. 81-84 also describes the opportunities to be found at Barra and Essau.

Jim Hudgens and Richard Trillo in West Africa: The Rough Guide, (1995) mention accomodation at Barra. "Near the fort is the unspeakable Rest House, which unlucky travellers have been known to resort to if they miss the last ferry to Banjul, at around 6.30 pm. A much safer bet...is the Lingaire Hotel by the ferry dock. They do good food here, and the rooms are reasonable.

BERENDINGTHE CROCODILE POOL

When I visited the famous crocodile pool in 1946, there was still plenty of water, and women were washing clothes amid the crocodiles. The alkalo told me that there was only one instance known to him of a person being bitten. A woman stepped on a young crocodile's tail, and the animal not knowing any better, turned round and bit her.

A long article on the pool was written by Karamo N.M. Sonko for the Gambia News Bulletin, 25 May 1981, p.3, describing the plight caused the recent drought, which had dried out the pond. The trees and creepers that used to shield it had been burnt by a violent bush-fire, which also burnt a crocodile to death. He describes the traditions associated with the pool.

" The (first) settlers started bringing sacrifices to the pond. Ceremonies would be held on the banks..people would eat, drink, and make merry.. A large tree was where many many sacrificial sheep and goats were slaughtered... If the crocodiles held diplomatic rather than personal power, the sovereign (spirit) was supposed to be living in the tree.....In times of troubles people would go to the pond and look on the crocodiles as their only saviours....When someone important was about to be born or die, or disaster was about to take place, the crocodiles would come out....'crying' and 'shouting' wildly. In their turn the villagers would take sacrifices to the pond and throw food in it for the crocodiles... (The result was) that the village was always victorious over its enemies... and seated the Sonko dynasty.... On special (and rare) occasions a human sacrifice might be made (at times of coronations or major circumcision ceremonies)... When the country became Islamised, the crocodile pools became 'blessed places' where Allah manifested his power through the crocodiles who acted as emissaries between God and man. People with problems and illnesses went to the pool to have their problems solved. In Berending a man was appointed to collect charities from travellers and look after the pond...

In addition, it was a place where women could wash clothes, and a swimming pool for village children...

Locally the villagers believed that the pond dried because of the evils of man... the divine mystery had been neglected, and the powers of God were no longer being manifested.

In 1987 Michael Tomkinson writes of the pool...."The attraction of the hollow.. (is) the riverine greenery of the small pool, and the lattice of air-roots that edge it. Someone soon materializes to show the way to the burrows of the tight-palm coppice in which the sacred crocodiles repose. He should be one of the Sonko family, descendants of Burunqai, and owners of the area. It was discovered so they say, by Sumar Bakary and Fodi Brama, Sonko brothers who lie buried where the women now wash.....

...if anyone in Berending is due to die by night, the crocodiles all cry the day before. "

A photograph of the area appears on page 73 of Michael's Tomkinson's Gambia.

Photographs of the crocodiles are given in Andrea Fletcher & M.D.Gosswiller: The Gambia, 1977 , p. 212 & 214.

A photograph of children playing in the crocodile pool at Berending is given in the Tourist brochure West Africa's The Gambia, 1980.

A brief article on Berending Village appears in The Nation, No.21, 1966, p.3. describing the former Soninke ruler Mansa Demba Sonko, the lake 'Woyo' home of the 'sacred crocodiles', etc.

Napier Hewett in European Settlements on the West Coast of Africa, dated 1862, describes a visit to Berending, where he hoped to obtain an escort to take him to the Wolof country of Saalum. The fortifications are described as follows:

▪ (p.256-) "The town was defended by a triple stockade, at least twelve feet high, irregular at the crest, so that ladders cannot be raised, and the gate is placed in a flanked interior angle. We entered, and appeared before another palisade in the centre of the town, which citadel encloses the king's palace, the houses of the royal family, seventy in number, and those of the king's one hundred and fifty wives..."

BERWICK TOWN (Lower Nyoomi)

"Gambia Colony and the Civil War," Colburn's United Service Magazine, 1863.

p. 240 "Berwick Town, a liberated African village situated between the
fort (Fort Bullen) and Essow."

The settlement was named after Lieutenant Berwick who had to take over command
of the British forces during the Barra War of 1831.

ESSAU The residential headquarters of the Sefo (Head Chief) of Lower Nyoomi District.

Population (1966) well over 700 people. Main occupation is farming, and the women do some gardening and palm oil extraction in addition to rice growing. A big school which children from Barra and Mayamba attend. A Health Centre open every day.

Just before Essau, the road from Baara forks, with one branch going north to Senegal, the other going through the village and on to Berending.

Hamdalie

Brief note in The Nation, No.20, 1966,
describing the site of the Customs Post at Hamdalie.

NJONGON Described in The Nation , No.19, 1966, p.2.

"Six and a half miles from Barra is the very small village of Njongon.
220 inhabitants... School built by the Roman Catholic Mission..

Problem of water shortage.

Vegetable gardening is the main work of the women who sell their produce to
Senegalese or Bathurst dealers.

Entertainments include occasional drumming and wrestling.

UPPER NYOOMI

Upper Nyoomi was also known as Nyoomi Hakalang, or Hakalang Banko.

UPPER NYOOMI

		1946 Assessment		1973 Census	Phonetic sp.
Albreda	M	129		299	ALBADAARI
Alfa Hamjatu	F	35		288	
Aljamdu	M	231		700	
Alhaji Yoro	F	55	(under Saare...)	189	
Baduma = Sika				327	
Bafuloto	F/Se	34		191	BAAFULOOTC
Bakalar	M/Se	196		256	BAKAALAAR
Bani Ismael	M	33			
Bantanding	M	4			BANTANDING
Bantang Kiling W		227		420	BANTANG KILING
Biram Kani				194	
Busura	W/F	44			
Chikam (Ker Chikam)	F	72		107	
Chila	W	66		216	
Chise	W	74			
Darame -see NDarame			(listed at end)		
Dasilami Jakai		5			
Darusalam				278	
Fass	W	327		855	
Hamdalai				145	
Inuman	W/F	40			
Jufure	M	157		250	JUFURE (NG)
Jurunku	M	401		703	
Jakai	Manj	7			
Jamweli	F	29			

Kaba Koto	F	40	237	
Karantaba	M	22		
Ker Mandemba	F/W	78	126	
Ker Sait Cham			147	
Lamin	M	320	939	
Malick Nema Jaw			184	
Medina Bafuloto	W	132	368	
" Mbowen	W	23		
" Mama	F	94		
" (Dasilami = (Chanchu	F	22		
" Nyofele			140	
" Sachebo			186	
" Seet Cham	W/F	109		
" Sidia		155	594	
Nema Kunku	M	339	432	
Nema Kutu	M	21		
Pakau Penku	W	113	200	
Pakau Ba	F	86	487	
Pakala	F/W	127	166	
Pasi Chali			292	
Prince	W	77	129	
Santasu ? (Sika ?)			340	
Sami	M	143	534	(S.Koto)
			337	(S.Bajonki)
Sanchaba			145	
Saare Abdulai Ja	F	19		
" Alhaji Yero	F	55		
" Dekode	T	44		
" Bali	T	39		
" Biram Sira	F	23		
" Mari			261	(Sara Mara)
Sitanunku	M	231	462	SITANUNKU
Sika	M	274		SIKA
Sotokoi	F	32	130	

		1946	1973	55
	Taiba	W 10		
	Tubabkolong	M 240	562	
	Yalal	F 33		

+	Ndarame	W 45		
	Ndarame Sutu	W 27		
			513	(less than 100 per village)
	Ngata Nor	W 4		
<hr/>				
		5143	13,329	
Secom=		5153		
<hr/>				

SANDI ?

SANDE MUNKU JOOY00 = James Island

SANDE MUNKU = San Domingo

JEERE KUNGO A point near Dog Island, from which crossings were made to the South Bank (including Banjul).

ALBREDA and the French Trading Settlement.

The data available are somewhat confusing, and the outline that follows is a tentative one.

The basis for the French claim in the Gambia was a series of treaties which the French made with the coastal chiefs of Senegal in 1679, in which they obtained exclusive trading rights over a strip of territory extending inland for 6 leagues, and stretching from Cape Vert to the River Gambia. A plot was apparently granted in 1681, though no building seems to have been made at the time. It was not uncommon for trading ships to remain offshore, while a house might be hired for trading or for the accomodation of traders. A building was put up in 1685 (by Guillemin of the Frigate L'Amitié).

The British, who felt they had control of the River Gambia, were never happy with their French rivals, and as relations and the outcomes of wars fluctuated in Europe, so this was reflected in relations between James Island and Albreda. The English had a trading place at Jufure, a few miles to the east of Albreda, and the King of Nyoomi probably deemed it advantageous to have competitors on his soil.

Francis Moore (1730) wrote "Albreda is a pretty large town near the river-side on the north, about a mile or two below James Fort, near which the French East-India Company have a settlement consisting of a factor, two writers, and four or five other white men. They have two or three very handsome houses built of clay, like unto the Portuguese houses, with walls about ten feet high, covered with thatch, being supported by strong forkillas, and a space left between the walls and the roof to let in the air. They are very neat and well furnish'd, and drive a considerable trade...". Moore states that an agreement was made in 1724 between the French Agents at Goree and the English at James Fort, to permit the settlement to be established. However they had to obtain the permission of the English to go further up river for wood and other supplies, but were not permitted to trade, nor go above Elephants' Island.

The French naturalist Michael Adanson stayed at Albreda in 1750, and was greatly impressed by the variety of vegetation he found and the hospitality of the people.

However in 1768 Albreda was bombarded by an English force, on the grounds that the people of James Island had been ill treated by the people of Nyoomi, their water supplies having been cut off. The town was destroyed, and many prisoners taken. In the process the French establishment was demolished. The Queen of Baragh (Baara) who had been visiting the place, had three of her fingers blown off by a hand grenade. The writer alludes to Albreda as "being like Bath in England, where the better sort of people come for the benefit of their health." Her Majesty was respectfully taken care of and was treated by the surgeons! The royal lady and thirty eight other prisoners were being held hostage until captives taken by the Barra people were released. However, the response of the ruler was to stage a counter attack on James Island, which was beaten off. But attacks were also made on trading vessels further up river. Reinforcements happened to arrive in The Gambia, in terms of two naval vessels, and their presence calmed things down, though they did not engage in any aggressive action.

In the years that followed French at Albreda suffered losses through illness- one woman was said to have had five husbands in three years.

When the British effort to control the Province of Senegambia came to an end (1776), the French began to restore their establishment at Albreda.^a Golberry (1786) wrote that Albreda was composed of more than 12 hundred houses, and the population amounted to more than 7000 people, occupying an area about 1200 yards square. Streets were well laid out, and the compounds were each enclosed, each quarter having strong palisades. There was a special burial ground, maintained with great care.

a. The Treaty of 1763 did not specifically mention Albreda, but as Goree was restored to the French, Albreda was considered a subsidiary outpost of Goree.

It was then the residence of the regent Ali-Sonko, a staunch Muslim. The alkalo of the town controlled the heads of the four quarters of the town and was regarded as the senior alkalo of the state. Ali Sonko had taken over with the consent of the elders from Bai Sonko, who lived at Berending, a royal village but was regarded as incompetent through overindulgence in alcohol. In 1784 the alkalo of Albreda led a revolt against Ali Sonko, on behalf of Bai Sonko, and made life difficult for the French who were close to Ali Sonko. However, in the end Ali Sonko prevailed, and the French were re-established.

After a meeting with Bai Sonko permission was given for a new factory to be built 400 yards west of the village, and near the bank of the river, so that in case of trouble the French could easily be evacuated. (Treaty of March 1785).

Then wars in Europe changed the situation. After the Treaty of Paris (1814) Albreda was re-established in 1817, with effective occupation taking place in May 1823.

Hecquard (1850) complains of the powerlessness of the traders at Albreda, trees and gardens had been neglected, and they were continually harassed by various individuals. But the value of commerce had increased, particularly in hides and groundnuts, the value of the latter increasing from 14 thousand francs in 1841 to 481 thousand in 1848. But this had aroused the attention of the English Governor at Bathurst, who attempted a blockade on the grounds that customs duties were not being paid. This resulted in a falling off of French trade.

Eventually in 1857 the French yielded the area to the English, who, in return gave up trading rights in the area at Portendick and the Mauretania coast.

Individual French traders were to be allowed to operate in Bathurst and elsewhere, where they continued to play a big part in Gambian commerce.

Photographs

A photograph of Albreda early this century appears in H.F.Reeve: The Gambia , 1912, p. 104 .

A photograph of the wharf appears with Douglas Botting's article "Dilemma of Africa's smallest nation," Geographical Magazine, 41, 1969, p.668.

Good photographs are provided in Andria Fletcher & M.D.Gosswiller's The Gambia 1977, pp. 44, 71, 96, 276.

Photographs of the old trading store near the wharf appear in many tourist brochures, and tourist guides, e.g. Michael Tomkinson: The Gambia: A Holiday Guide, 1983, p.92

An excellent photograph appears in Daniele Gosnave, Babacar Fall, Doudou Gaye: Sites et Monuments en Senegambie, 1988. Photo No.44 and page 100. The building was assumed to be associated with the slave trade, whereas it is in fact a normal commercial building, at the earliest dating from the early nineteenth century. The ruins of the old French establishment are further to the west, past the town.

BANTANG KILING (BANTA KILING) .

Gray (1940) p. 427 states that (in 1863 ?) part of the 2000 refugees from Sine Salum were removed from Kanume to Banta Kiling, which was renamed Fitzgerald Town, and their chief, Masamba Koki, was appointed headman of this portion of the Ceded Mile. But being a Wolof and a Soninke, he found it difficult to exercise any authority in his district. Amer Faal (one of Maba's lieutenants)'s people raided the cattle of the people of Fitzgerald Town. Colonel D'Arcy went to Albreda to try to settle the matter, but the Marabuts were defiant. So the Governor decided to teach Amer Faal a lesson and a punitive expedition was sent to deal with him. (1866). Amer Faal's stockaded village was at Tubab Kolong.

JUFURE - (Various spellings used in old books - Gilfroid, Gillfree, Gillyfree, Gylfrey, Gillofree, Gilofrie - as well as misprints- Tulfre Fillifree)

The original village of Jufure was about a mile further east than the present one. It has long been known to travellers to The Gambia and traders.

The Courlanders from a Baltic state set out to establish a colony in the Gambia in 1651, and acquired plots of land there along the river front a few years later. A map of these appears in Map III in Mattiesen's Die Kolial-und Ueberseepolitik der Kurlandischen Herzoge im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert. between pp.

288 & 289, with the date about 1654.

The place is also mentioned in papers relating to Prince Rupert's expedition in 1652, when he raided foreign shipping.

A description is given in Premier voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait à la coste d'Afrique en 1685. He was at Albreda - a French trading station - in 1686 and paid a visit to nearby Gilfroid, passing many banana trees on the way. He states that there were some Portuguese in Gilfroid, and mentions that there was a very large tree- presumably a baobab, in the middle of the village, which would indicate that it was already old then. The English had a trading establishment nearby built in the Portuguese fashion. This would be a square or rectangular building with a veranda in contrast to the tradition^a/Mandinka round house. It was surrounded by a fence and had a well cultivated garden in which there were European vegetables such as cabbages, cauliflowers, and water melons, as well as sweet potatoes, yams, cassava, and pineapples. This shows that this was an area to which many of the plants of South American origin were introduced by the early Portuguese.

The villages of this area would have supplied food to the inhabitants of James Island.

William Smith, engaged in mapping in 1726 (A new voyage to Guinea) describes the difficulties he had getting through the deep swampy mud of the shore at Gillfree. Other members of his party who "walk'd..within the verge of the wood " had trouble from "great black ants, and strange venomous wasps" which badly stung one gentleman.

A detailed description comes from Francis Moore in the 1730s (Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa.) Gillyfree was about a mile and a half from St. Domingo, where there had been a Portuguese Church - through tall grass. It lay on the shore opposite James Island, about three miles from it, and consisted of a few round huts occupied by slaves who were there to cut wood for the Fort, and take care of the well which the Royal African Company had there. The name has become Sandimunko in present day Mandinka, and James Island is known as Sandimunko Joyo, (St. Domingo Island). A spit of sand and rocks ran out to the N.N.W. from Gillyfree and many ships used to run aground on it. The Company had a trading factory and a garden at Gillyfree, and a burial ground nearby. The town was "inhabited by Portuguese, Mundingoes, and some Mahomedans, who have here a pretty little Mosque to pray in. This town is used to supply all private shipping with linguisters (interpreters), but the King of Barra, in the year 1733, made it no less than slavery for any of his subjects to serve as linguisters on board of any vessels, but what pay his customs, and trade in his country. " The mention of Mahomedans and a Mosque would indicate that Jaxanke teachers and traders had taken up residence there, and would be ready to receive long distance caravans from the interior bringing slaves to trade to foreign vessels.

"The Company have a factory here pleasantly situated, facing the fort, and likewise some gardens which supply the fort. About the town is fine shooting, and were it not somewhat too sandy, it would be pleasant walking. Here are great number of plantain and banana trees...there are also guavas...here are a great many orange trees and lime trees with the produce of which the fort is supplied to make punch, etc. He also mentions local trees such as (tabacombas), and the "physical nuts which induce purging."

S.M.X. Golberry (Fragmens d'un voyage en Afrique) visited Albreda in 1786, and mentions the baobab trees he saw near Gylfrey, describing the soil as rich and fertile and the vegetation as singularly beautiful and abundant.

Mungo Park (Travels in the interior of Africa) indicates the importance of the town in 1795. He writes : "The Kingdom of Barra, in which the town of Jillifree is situated, produces great plenty of the necessaries of life: but the chief trade of the inhabitants is in salt; which commodity they carry up the river in canoes as high as Barraconda (Baarakunda), and bring down in return Indian corn, cotton cloths, elephants' teeth (i.e. tusks), small quantities of gold dust, etc. The number of canoes and people constantly employed in this trade, make the King of Barra more formidable to Europeans than any other chieftain on the river; and this circumstance probably encourages him to establish those exorbitant duties which traders of all nations are obliged to pay at entry, amounting to nearly £20 on every vessel, great and small. These duties, or customs are generally collected in person by the Alkaid, or governor of Jillifree, and he is attended on these occasions by a numerous train of dependents, among whom are found many whom by their frequent intercourse with the English, have acquired a smattering of our language; but they are commonly very noisy and very troublesome; begging for every thing they fancy...."

At the beginning of the 19th century this part of the river was still an area where slaves were loaded for shipment overseas, and this ceased only after the establishment of Bathurst in 1816 on the island of Banjul to control the mouth of the river. Anchorage for large vessels was better on the south side of the river, and there was ample space on the island, while the peninsula at Baara was very narrow. Early 19th century writers, such as Durand, generally have little to add of their own, and merely repeat what previous authors wrote. However, Mrs Bowdich, whose account of Bathurst was published in 1825 mentions that a factory had been established at Jillafree (or Gillyfree) "for the inland trade, about a mile from the French factory at Albreda." It seems that a number of traders move to this area after the Ceded Mile Treaty in 1826 (See page 24) The Rev. William Fox, in his "A brief history of the Wesleyan Missions, etc." describing a visit in about 1839 writes "Jillifree is a small Mandingo town

on the north bank.... It is situated on a rising plain, five or six hundred yards from the river, is well stockaded with strong, tall mangrove timber, and has four entrances. The houses are built of mud, covered with grass (thatch) and tolerably substantial and comfortable, It contains a population of about one thousand souls....The house in which we are staying is a stone building belonging to Messrs Chown and Messervey of St. Mary's - the only stone house here; it is situated between the town and the river, contiguous to both, and is surrounded by shrubs, flowers, and evergreens of various descriptions; the guava, banana, paupi (i.e. pawpaw or papaya), lime, and orange are among the number of fruit trees which are in great abundance. "

Governor Ingram in 1842 refers to Jillifree as "a small village, though one of the best on the banks of The Gambia. Here were great numbers of very fine orange-trees, lime trees, and groves of bananas. Many of the native Mandingoes speak English..."

But soon the town began to decline in importance, the rivalry of Albreda, the growth of Sika, the Soninke-Marabut wars, the growth of trade further up river, all being factors involved. It became a place the steamer passed on the way up river. The Rev. T.E.Poole, visiting the Gambia, some time between 1846 and 1848, refers to it as a small native village, with two stone houses and factories, while neighboring Sika was a "large native town, with two English establishments."

The first traveller to seek it out in modern times was Richard Owen, following the route of Mungo Park (Saga of the Niger, 1961). He describes it as a small village of about a dozen mud-walled huts, most were thatched, but two or three had corrugated-iron roofs. His main interest was in the old remains, which an elder showed him. "We followed along an over-grown path across some well-wooded ground, and, there as much part of the scene as the trees and tall grass, was a large iron-stone structure, weathered and mellow, with the patina of age, tufts of grass sprouting from the crevices between the stones. It had been a two-storied building but the roof, the first floor and one side wall had fallen. Trees

(a) Soninke forces destroyed it in 1862, though not many lives were lost.

and a varied plant-life had taken advantage of the shelter of the broken walls and had thrived, but undoubtedly, in this overgrown ruin we had found old Jillifree- all that remained of it.

"The building must have been used as a stronghold as well as a store, for the walls were very thick and contained long apertures for musket fire. I was interested to note a number of bricks in the structure, many over the doorways; many of the English sailing-ships trading to The Gambia carried bricks as ballast. There were traces of other buildings in the vicinity and a caved-in well which had to be searched for in the shoulder-high grass. Conspicuous was a heap of stones, which the old man said, had been a dome-shaped baking oven: it had collapsed only fifteen or twenty years ago. He added that the place had been deserted as long as he could remember and he himself had been born in the new Juffure, but as a boy had brought the village cattle to a pond here. He pointed to a shallow depression, now dry...."

But the buildings he believed had sheltered Mungo Park were the structures built by Messrs Chown & Messervey early in the 19th century.

Douglas Grant, a historian, collecting material for his account of Job ben Solomon, (The Fortunate Slave) visited the town in 1965 and writes : "The headman...pointed out in detail where each of the Portuguese buildings had once stood, few of them marked at all, or only by broken walls. He even indicated the directions in which the roads had crossed, the good roads required by such a busy center of trade as San Domingo. Only after he and his friends, each complementing the other's information had disposed of the Portuguese who were the relations of several of them through ancient marriages, after all- did he lead me down through a dense wilderness of elephant grass towards the river and the burial ground of the English of Fort James. Stones with writing on them he explained, were to be found when the grass was burnt off annually, but now the thick grass hid all...."

#593 Richard Owen: Saga of the Niger. 1961.

opp. p. 32.



Ruins of Jillifree

The remains of an old trading store at Jufure, built early in the 19th century by the firm of Chown and Messervey of Bathurst.

With Alex Haley's discovery that his ancestor came from Jufure, and the publication of "Roots", followed by the TV Series, the life of the village was changed. The film (the TV series) bore no resemblance to the original village in The Gambia, and no filming was done in The Gambia itself... The village had moved a number of years ago from its original location to a site nearer to Albreda, and now became a place to be visited by tourists. Numerous articles appeared in newspapers and magazines describing the village.

A selection of these :

"To the Roots of 'Roots',"
Newsweek, 14 March 1977, 26-27.

Darnton, John
"Kunta Kinte's village in Gambia takes 'Roots' author to its heart,"
New York Times, 14 April 1977, 1 & 14.

Massaquoi, Hans J.
"Alex Haley in Jufure,"
Ebony, 32, July 1977, 31-42.

"Life Today in Kunta Kinte's Village,"
Sepia, 26, September 1977, 35-38.

"Plains and Jufureh: A Tale of Two Towns,"
TWA Ambassador, 11(1), January 1978, 23-25.

Devere, John
"Voyaging into Mandingo Country,"
Encore American & Worldwide News, November 1980, 18-23.
(A photo essay describing a visit to Jufure. The photographs by Jurgen Vollmer, are the same as those published in Black Genesis, by the same authors.)

Later developments are noted by
McBride, Bunny
"For African Villagers Fame is a Mixed Blessing,"
The Christian Science Monitor, 22 November 1985, 35-36.

LAMAYA

This name is mentioned by Golberry (II-196, 1785-7) as being a forest close to Albreda.

LAMIN POINT (given as LEMAIN in some old writings)

Francis Moore (1732) mentions that here was a "shoal of sand and rocks, 6 miles below James Island."

St. DOMINGO

Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa... 1738

(1730) p. 54 "I walked from St. Domingo to Gillyfree, about a mile and a half, all the way through grass eight or nine foot high... St. Domingo lies on the north side of the river, directly opposite James Island, about three miles from it. It consists only of a few round huts belonging to the Company, in which some of their castle-slaves live, who are there to cut wood for the use of the Fort and to take care of a well which the Company have there to supply the garrison, and to help fill the casks which are daily brought over from the Fort for that purpose."

SIKA

(Nyoomi District)

(Various spellings in old texts -

Chique (Labat) 1728, Seaca (1732), Sikkah (1862)
Sekar (1886), Sica (1881).Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa...

p.55 "About two miles above (San Domingo), on the same side the river,
a very small town, inhabited by Portuguese, who have a church, seldom
made use of, the priest being there but twice in a year....At Seaca
there is a large cotton tree.."

Poole: Life, Scenery and Customs in Sierra Leone and The Gambia, Vol.II, 1850"Siccaa large native town, inland, having two English establishments..."

Simpson, J.J. (1911)

"is a Mandingo town of moderate size and stands in a fairly extensive
clearing; it is situated some distance from the river and is surrounded
by dense bush." (tse-tse fly...sleeping sickness..)

SIKA POINTFrancis Moore...p.19 "shoal of sand and rock." Seaca Pointin Mitchinson (1881) written as Segar Point (p. 440)

TUBAB KOLONG (Lit. = The white man's well.)

In the middle of the 19th century this town had become the stockaded stronghold of Amer Faal, one of Maba's former lieutenants. As retribution for raids carried out against Bantang Kiling (Fitzgerald Town), Colonel D'Arcy decided to undertake a punitive expedition against Amer Faal. (July 1866). His forces were joined by 500 Soninke warriors from Essau. The artillery could make little impression on the stockade, and volunteers were called on to make a breach. Of the eighteen who undertook the task, two were killed, and thirteen severely wounded. But two survivors, Samuel Hodges and Boswell, managed to reach the stockade and started to hack it to pieces with axes under heavy fire. Boswell was killed just as the breach had been made. Colonel D'Arcy himself then led the way through the gap, followed by Hodges. More barricades confronted them which Hodges cut down. Troops poured through, and the town was captured with heavy casualties to the defenders. Samuel Hodges was awarded the Victoria Cross for his gallantry.

A description has been provided by Ebenezer Rogers " Campaigning in Western Africa and the Ashantee Invasion of 1874.." pp. 36-40.^a A painting, based on this narrative was made by Mr. Desanges^{c?}, the artist of the Victoria Cross Gallery. This was reproduced in the Crown Colonist, 7, 1937, 488, 508. (A painting by Chevalier Louis W. Desances, to be seen in St. John's Hall, Penzance, Cornwall .)

a. From an article ? "For Valour in Western Africa," by Capt. E. Rogers.

JOKADU

(JOKAADUU)

The District was called North Bank Number 1 District in 1895.

Maps Consulted

Leach's map	1732	
1: 1,000,000	1905	
1 cm to 2.5 kilometres	1931	
River Chart	1942	
1: 50,000	1948	Revised 1963
1: 125,000	1956	
1: 250,000	1980	
Senegalese map Sheet D.28-VIII	1924	Reprinted 1941.

Area: 109 square miles

Boundaries: On the east- the Mini-mini-yang Bolong (Suwarekunda Creek)

On the south- The River Gambia.

On the west - The Jurunku Bolong, then the Meme Bolon, following the stream until it meet a dappo, (a no man's land used for cattle movements and grazing), between Jokadu and Upper Nyoomi.

On the north- the Gambia-Senegal boundary.

The name on old maps.

On Leach's map (1732) Joccatoe is shown, labelled Deputy King of Barra's Town. In the map given by Wadstrom (1794), probably copying Leach, it is spelled Juketo.

Labat (1728) is the only person to show a Kingdom of Guicadou. He is an exception, as all other maps show the Kingdom of Barra running up to the Suwarekunda Creek.

Nevertheless when the Protectorate was established, Jokadu was accepted as a district distinct from Nyoomi.

POPULATION

1944	2405	(Assessment data)
1945	2416	
1946	3576	
1947	3748	
1948	4338	
1949	4281	
1950	4392	
1951	4903	
1952	4575	
1953	7429	
1954	7220	
1955	6943	
1956	3125	
1957	4069	
1958	7653	
1959	n.a.	
1960	n.a.	
1961	6695	
1962	n.a.	
1963	4320	Census data
1973	9973	" "
1983	9567	" "
1993		

HISTORY OF JOKADU

Based on interviews with elders of Kuntaya, Tambana, Karantaba, Bakang, & Dasilame. (February 1947).

The earliest settlers in Jokadu were Mandinka , and the first towns, Bakang, Bali, and Tambana.

The founder of Bali was Samake Demba who came from the east (Manding) and settled first at Dalaba, near Famorikunda in Lower Badibu, crossed the creek to Jokadu and founded Bali, then separated from other places by thick bush. He eventually decided to claim the kingship, and with the support of the rulers of Jaara and Kiyang travelled back to Manding to obtain the consent of the Manding Mansa. He was a great hunter, and while hunting in Nyoomi, he encountered the Queen of Nyoomi - Mama Handami Jame of Bakendik - fell in love, married her and decided to stay in Nyoomi. His brother Kijiba Demba took over the kingship.

The people of Bakang came next. The story is that they did not know of the existence of Bali until a bird flew over and dropped millet of a type which was not grown in Bakang. Men were sent out to explore the bush, and see what other people were nearby.

The founders of Tambana came from Iliasa in Upper Badibu. They agreed with the people of Bali to share the kingship, and this rotated between them.

The accounts of Nyoomi-Jakadu relations are variable. Nyoomi people maintain that the people of Jokadu owed them tribute, the Jokadu people state that they only made gifts to their relatives in Nyoomi. "The Jokadu king's sister was married to the Nyoomi King. As the latter did not grow much millet and Jokadu grew plenty, the King would collect tribute from his subjects and send it to his sister. When she died, Jokadu ceased to send the millet. The next Nyoomi king asked for tribute. Jokadu refused and Nyoomi made war on Jokadu." Fighting appears to have gone on intermittently over a long period of time.

It is said that one Sunkare - a ruler at Tambana was a nephew of the king Tamba at Berending. When one of Tamba's slaves escaped and took refuge with him, he refused to send him back at Tamba's request. The Berending people came to fight him, but were defeated near Tambana. Thereafter the Nyoomis never exercised any effective rule over Jokadu.

The fighting between Nyoomi and Jokadu is the background of the epic of Kelefa Saane, which is recounted by Mandinka griots. He was called in to help Nyoomi but died a tragic death. In one of the griot's accounts - the war was precipitated by fighting between cattle from Jokadu and those from Nyoomi.

One episode in oral ^dtradition is that the people of Jokadu obtained the services of a marabout to pray for their success and paid him a crock of gold. He then went to Nyoomi where he was offered two crocks to help them. He refused at first, but was persuaded by his wife to change his mind. As he had already prayed for the success of Jokadu, he could not pray for the success of Nyoomi, so he arranged for Jokadu to defeat itself. Two parties of men in war canoes came out of the Suwarekunda and Meme Creeks respectively into the main river. Each mistook the other for a Nyoomi force, and they inflicted heavy casualties on each other before they realised their mistake.

In the 19th century the country was torn by the raids of Ansumana Jaju, a Serahuli. He was joined by many others - Serahuli and Bambara, and increased his power by marrying the daughter of Demba Sonko, King of Nyoomi. But he wanted greater power for himself, and began raiding the district and seizing cattle. Demba Sonko ordered him to stop, but he refused, and open warfare broke out. Ansumana Jaju ousted Jaliya Jame, who was ruling in Jokadu. Eventually an alliance was formed between Demba Sonko and Jata Selang Jame, the King of Badibu, who sent his son with an army. They attacked Ansumana's village, Chila, and drove him out. He fled to Jurunku. At this stage the Governor intervened to prevent a general massacre, and arranged for the Serahuli to be sent up river in the Government vessel as far

or Fatatenda ?
 as Karantaba, from which they could make their way by land back to their home country. Some of Ansumana's followers - mostly Bambara were settled in the Kombo. (1857). Jaliya Jame was restored to power.

After his death Sunkalona Demba of Bali became King, and he was ruler (1862) when Ama Ba's forces came. The only towns which were Soninke were Bali and Tambana and both were easily defeated. Sunkalona fled to Kiyang. The rulership of the country passed into the hands of Wolof & Tukulor. Various generals were left at strategic points. Hamadi Ndonko, a Tukulor and Mafalai Hamdala, a Wolof, settled at Bali. The invaders then passed on to deal with Nyoomi.

When the power of Sait Mati was broken by the French and British there was no ruler until the British appointed a Head Chief. The position was first offered to the people of Bali, but the potential candidate was an old man with no descendants, and he said it was now the turn of Tambana to rule. The people of Tambana also refused, saying the rulership should go to Dasilame as it had been a Muslim stronghold, and the people knew how to administer Muslim law, and the main center of learning and the largest mosque were there. So the rulership past to the Fofana of Dasilame. They were probably of Jaxanke origin. They had not been rulers before, but had acquired influence under Seet Mati Ba, who lodged with the Fofannas.

The first sefo was Sambu Fofana who died seven years later. He was Buli, succeeded by his brother/who administered the district for 29 years until he was required to resign in 1924.

The people were unable to agree on a successor either from Dasilame, Bali, or Tambana, and the administration passed to the man of most experience, Alfa Nalla Khan, a Toranko of Kuntaya, who was senior court member, and a man of great experience and learning. He died in 1941 a short while after retiring on account of old age, and was followed by his son, Abu Khan, who had been acting as his deputy since 1939.

The Chieftainship of Jokadu

In 1895 Samba Fofana of Dasilami was shown as head chief.

He died.

1898 Buli Fofana appointed Chief.

Dismissed in 1924.

1924 Nalla Khan (Jallo), Alkalo of Kuntaya, and the Senior Court Member was appointed.

1940/41 Abu Khan, who had been a deputy w.e.f. 27 August 1939, was appointed in 1940 on probation and confirmed in 1941.

He died in March 1985.

EARLY VILLAGE LIST

In 1894 13 villages were named. In the 1902 list there were 24.

	<u>1894</u>	<u>1902</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Modern name</u>	
Antu Lebi			42		
Balli	x		96	Bali	M
Barria	x		120	Bariya	M
Bijjin	x		-		
Bokkun	x		180	Bakan/ Bakang	M
Dasillami	x		310	Dasilami	M
Demba Kadja			54		
Demba Jabu			105		
Fulikunda	x		-		
Giddo Juka So			200	Ker Gido	
Jaga Job			27	Ker Jarga Job	
Jugari Kunda			240	(Bali) Njugari	T
Karranta Ba	x		216	Karantaba	M
Kebe Kunda	x		-	Kebe	W?
Konte Kunda			72		
Kuntaia	x		150	Kuntaya	T
Kunti Kunda	x		-		
Meme Wharf	x		20)	
Meme			-) Meme	
Munya Gen			50	Munyagen	W
Naio			216		
Sajuka			360		
Sili			60		
Tambanna	x		210	Tambana	M
Tubu /Tuba	x		60	Tuba	
Walo Hali			207		
Willingurra			120	Welingara	F
Dukoman			24		

The Mandinka villages were all established in the early days of the district. as well as old Tukulor villages like Kuntaya.

On recent maps many places in Jokadu are left unnamed.

(A) Places on old lists not shown.

The old north bank road was further north than the present one. It went eastward from Bantanding to Bali, and along the road were a series of villages not to be found at present. The French map of 1924 shows

On road

Near road

Demba Jabu

Bunga/Banga (south of road)

Naiau

Sadir

Sare Sili (south of Sadir)

Ker Alasan

Ker Pate

Drame Joka (on present day maps)

Biran Penda (SSW of Bali)

Hantu Kebbe (SW of Bali)

(B) Karantaba and Bakang had wharfs on the main river (1931 map) called Somakung Tenda, and Tubukunku Kiti Tenda.

(C) In Old Lists the following names are found, which have not been identified:

Antu Lebi	1894
Bijjin	1894
Demba Kadja	1902
Dukoman	1902
Fulikunda	1894
Jude Jabi	1939
Ker Samba Tedi	
Ker Sambel	
Mabahen	1930
Mbirkilan	1936
Njareng	1936
Pasi Turen	1930
Sajuka	1902

(D) Some names identified from older maps

	Map	Location
Banga	1931	south of the old road, near Demba Jabu
Biram Penda	1931	SSW of Bali
Demba Jabu	1905	north of Tuba
Diaman (Jaman ?)	1905	near river
Diana (Jana ?)	1905	" "
Hantu Kebbi	1931 Fr	SW of Bali
Jalumbel	1931 Fr	north of Bantanto
Janna	1931	west of Kuntaya
Kantekunda	1931 Fr	north-west of Karantaba
Ker Alasan	1931	on old north road
Ker Majoji	1905	NW of Kuntaya
Ker Pate	1931	old north road
Naio (Naiiau)	1931	old north road
Sadir	1931	old north road
Sili	1931	near old north road
Walo Hali	1931 Fr	NW of Bantanding

Fr = 1924 French map

(E) Names located from 1980 (1:250,000) map.

Chila	north of Ker Sebe
Foru	near boundary, Bantanding area
Jamagen	on main road, west of Kuntaya
Jama Gonya (ng)	between Ker Sele and Chila
Joben (Njoben)	west of Chila
Kebe	between Dasilame and Bali
Ker Ganado	NE of Jissa - near boundary
Ker Jargo Job	east of Kuntaya (<u>Jago</u> on map)
Medina Modum	

Madina Talen	near Ker Omar Sa
Maka Jeen (Njenjam)	on frontier, west of Bantanding
Misira Alaji	north-west of Talen
Sare Gido/Ker Gido	west of Kuntaya
Welingara	NE of Munyagen

(F) Unidentified: 1946, 1950 lists. 1973 Census.

Bitayeen	1950 Assessment List	
Cheken	1946	" "
Daru Lohen		1973 Census
Madina Chamen	1950	" "
Madina Jama		1973 Census
Maka Omar Mane		1973 "
Ndemel	1946	" "
Passi Ngayen		1973 "

<u>JOKADU - VILLAGES</u>		1946	1950	1973	Phonetic spelling
Amdali (Hamdalai)	Serahuli	12	9		JOOKAADUU
Bakang	Mandinka	146	197	243	
Bali Mandinka	Mandinka	118	158	316	Baali
Bali Ngukari/Njugari	Tukolor	17	25		
Bali Ali Hawa	Tukolor	57	82	226	
Bantanding	Tukolor	54		223	
Bariyanding	Mandinka	52	113	113	Baariyaa
Bitayeen	some Serer ?		24		Baaringyaa
Cheken	Serer	10			
Chila	Wolof	48	67		
Chise Majaw = Ker Majaw ?				420	
Daru Lohen				155	
Dasilami	Mandinka	331	398	i 672 ii 155	Daasilame
Foru	Serer	51			
Jamagen				154	
Jama Gonyang	Serer	91		157	
Jisa	Tukolor	251	317	532	(Ngissa ?)
Karantaba	Mandinka	228	245	248	
Kebe	Wolof	99	159		
Ker Ganyado Nganyado	Wolof	33	11		
Ker Gido	Fula	73	134	122	
Ker Jarga Job	Wolof	175	280	558	
Ker Ngor	Serer	55	138	221	
Ker Majaw	Wolof	38	72		see Chise Majaw
Ker Omar Sen	Wolof	137	142	571	
Ker Sele (Kamara)	Wolof	54	63	134	

		1946	1950	1973	Phonetic spelling
(Kunta-ya (Kuntair) (Ker Kunta	Tukulor	232	293	375	Kuntaya
Maka Jeen /Njenjam)	Serer	21	87	103	
Maka Omar Mane			13	223	
Madina Jama				188	
Madina Modun	Tukulor	107	84	265	
Madina Chamen			18		
Madina Talen	Tukulor	34	56	124	
Meme	Wolof/Fula	137	193	440	Meeme
Misira Alaji	Tukulor	126		560	
Munyagen	Wolof	208	158	667	
Ndarame (Joka)	Wolof	55	115	184	
Ndembel	Fula	14			
Njama Ngonyan	Serer	91	153		
Njoben	Wolof	64			
Sam Njoben	Wolof	68	90	155	
Passi Ngayen				248	
Saare Gido = Ker Gido					
Tambana	Mandinka	233	223	397	Tambana
Toro Alasan	Tukulor	103	225	350	
Tuba Gumbaya				234	
Welingara i	Fula	44	30	122	
ii			10		
(pop. 99 or less)				120	
		<u>3576</u>	<u>4326</u>	<u>9973</u>	

ETHNIC GROUPS

The figures submitted along with the Annual Assessment vary from year to year - Groups recorded in one year disappear and reappear for no apparent reason.

As I checked the data for 1946 and discovered no obvious errors I prefer that year as a fairly accurate one

	%
Aku	0.3
Fula	4.5
Futa Fula	0.8
Futa Toro Fulbe	28.3
Mandinka	30.6
Serer/Nyoominka	6.9
Serahuli	0.6
Wolof	27.6
Others	0.4
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
	100.0
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>

The Mandinka villages are located along the Mini Mini-yang Bolong (the Suwarekunda Creek) and close to swamps bordering the River Gambia. Bali, Bariya, Dasilami, Bakang, Karantaba, Tambana. They can be regarded as an expansion of the Badibu kingdom for Tambana was founded by members of Jame family from Iliasa. Bali is said to be the oldest town in the District, founded by Demba clan. Dasilame was founded by Fofanas - who came from the east.

In the center of the District is a wedge of Futa Toro Fulbe villages (Tukolor, Toranko), Kuntaya, Toro Alasan, Jisa, Bantanding. Others are Madina Modun, and Misira Alaji.

Wolof villages are scattered through the District - the largest being Munyagen, Ker Jarga Job, Ker Omar Sen, Ndarama Joka. Most of the other Wolof villages are small. The earliest village was Ndarama.

It seems, however, that in later years the proportion of Wolof increased.

A few small scattered Serer communities are scattered in the north of the District. The first Serer settlement was at Ker Ngor,- the people coming at the time there was war with Nyoomi.

Salt industry

This is described by Kamla Nath: Women and Technological Change in The Gambia: A case history of the salt industry. Boston University, African Studies Center, Working Papers No. 107, 1935.

Salt, produced by sun drying saline water, is concentrated in the salt flats of Dasilami and Bakang, where women from Dasilami, Bakang, Tambana, and Barianding work. About 500 people are employed in the work. Pits are dug, about 6 to 8 feet deep, into which water seeps during the rainy season. They are allowed to dry out during October to March/April, when the deposits are gathered by the women. They are washed with stream water, then dried again, and packed into bags. Shopkeepers along the main road sell the salt to passing vehicles on behalf of the women, keeping a commission for themselves. Nath states that the people of Bakang and Tambana whose villages are away from the main road, have largely stopped manufacture because their salt remained unsold. A pit may last 50 years with minor repairs. The women now generally adopt a two pit method - river estuary water is collected, then mixed with fresh water, and drained into another pit where it is allowed to dry. In her text details and variations are described.

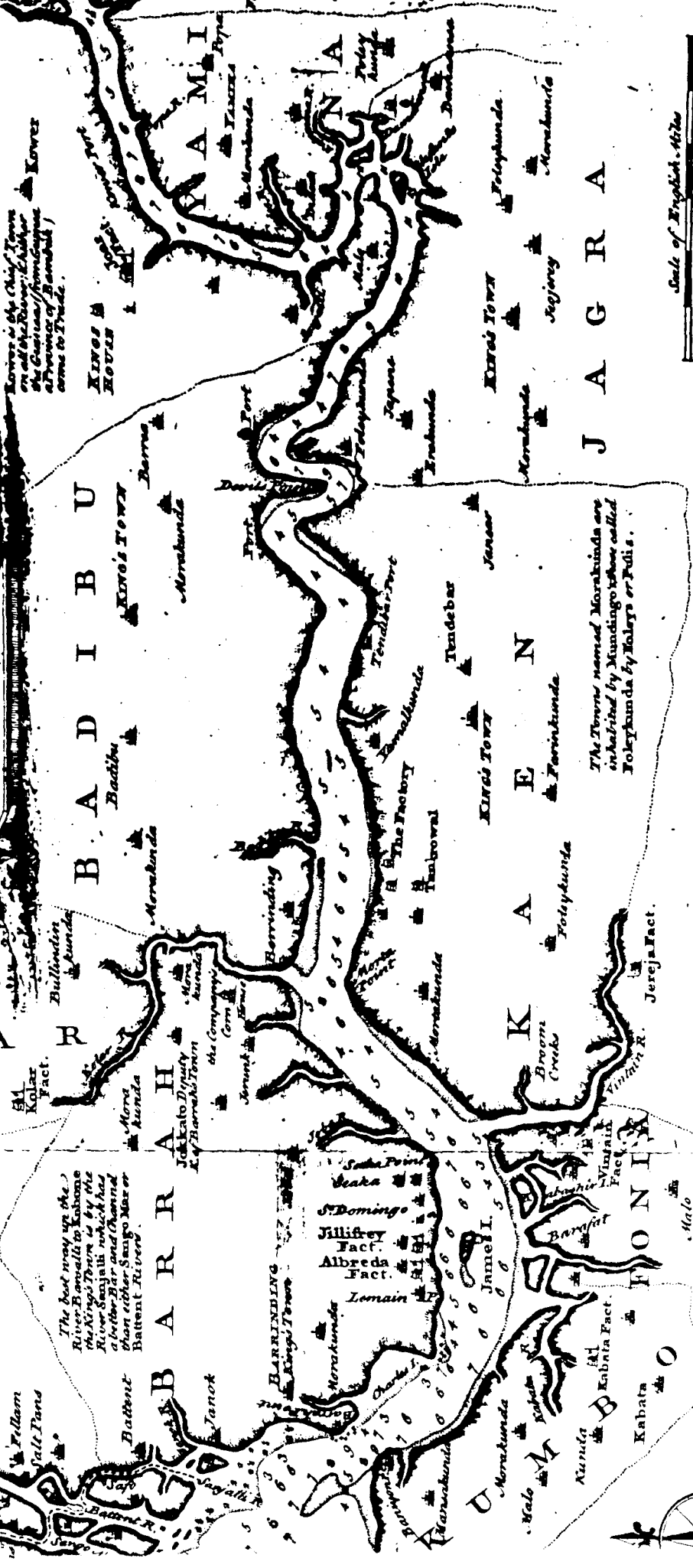
BADIBU - GENERAL

MAPS CONSULTED

Leach's Map/Francis Moore		1732	
TSGS No.1983	1: 1,000,000	1905	
No.1958	1: 250,000	1931	
DCS 15	1: 50,000	1948	
River Chart		1942	
From DOS 415P	1: 250,000	1980	
D.28-VII			
-IX	1: 200,000	1924	Senegalese map

OL
L A R
BARRA
K A M I
J A G R A
L U P S

GAMBRA
Mouth to Erupina
BY
Capt. John Leach
in 1739.



The best way up the River Barrabarra is by the River Sangalla and at the mouth of Sangalla is a small river called Sangalla Mar or Barrant River.

The Towns named Marabunda are inhabited by Mundingos whose called Fokiyunda by Malays or Papis.

Scale of English Miles
5 10 15 20 25 30
By this Scale the distances between places are greater than what they are computed by M. Moore in his Travels.

L U P S

J E R E J A

BADIBU (NAMES ON MAPS)

	Upper	Central	Lower
Swamps	None noted		
Creeks	Jurong) Jirrong) B. Katchang B. Bao Bolong Tunku B. Duntumalang B. Madina Kajamang Tambakoto Tumtenda	Mandori B. Salikini B. (2) (Jammeh Kunda B.)	Mini Minium B. Kerewan B. Jammeh Kunda B.
Points	Katchang Pt. Devil's Point		Salikeni Pt.
Hills	-		
Wharfs	Katchang Tenda (on creek) Balingho		Kerewan (on creek) Jowara (on creek)
Forest Park	Pakala 7	Dobo 5 Jalabiro 6	Marike (Kerewan) 4

BOUNDARIES

The boundaries of Badibu are:

- north- the International boundary
- south- the River Gambia
- east - a boundary with Lower Saalum
- west - the Mini-mini-yang Creek (Suwarekunda Creek)

In 1895 the District was split into two (North Bank District No.2) Lower Badibu and (North Bank District No.3) Upper Badibu, the boundary being made at the Bao Bolong, (between Kontikunda and Jumansar Koto).

In 1913 the present Lower Badibu was split off, and the remaining part controlled by Salikenye became Central Badibu.

Early Travellers

Very little is said about Badibu in the writings of early travellers. They would have sailed up the river, and the land of Badibu is separated from the river by tall dense mangroves, though there are gaps at a number of creeks, leading to large towns. But travellers would go instead to the south bank, where there were landing places at Tankular, Tubabkolongo, and Tendaba, etc.

Leach's map of 1732 shows : a Muslim town in the west, a town called Badibu, King's town (possibly about the area of Indea or Iliasa), and two unnamed ports before and after 'Devil's Point'. Another Muslim town is shown about where Farafenye is now, and Barrea (unidentified) further east just before the area called Sanjali is indicated.

In 1875 the Administrator in order to visit the Chief (Mamud Nderi Ba) at Nyoro (now in Senegal) sailed up the Suarekunda Creek 15 miles past Suwarekunda to nJian (Njayen) and from there went on horseback, a journey of about 35 miles.

In 1886 messengers sent to the Badibu Chiefs and Alkalos landed at Salikenye, where they met representatives of Janekunda, Bani, Sabi, Gunjur, Suwarekunda, Kerewan, and Rueta-coonda (not identified). Then they sailed up river to the Katchang Creek, and at Katchang met people from Jumansar and Alkalikunda.

The Log of the 'Crocodile' - a journey made by the Courlanders in 1652, mentions a place called Tante Cunda, which was visited. This would seem to have been a port in Upper Badibu, but no port of that name exists today.

BADIBU - EARLY HISTORY

Sorting out the different oral traditions is an extremely difficult task - much work still remains to be done. All that I can do here is to summarise certain leads.

The Badibu area was colonised by migrants from Mali. One of the earliest places to be founded was Farafenyi, founded by Walimanka Diba, who left his son (Manding Meta) there, and went on to Fonyi, where he died. The Diba name there was transformed into Koli, Jiba, and Baji. Farafen^yi was an early Muslim town and left the secular power to others.

and
Sora Musa Jame was the founder of Iliasa, /later went to found Tambana in Jokadu, then Bakendik and Jinatu in Nyoomi. He was a warrior and rulership went into the hands of the Marong of Jumansar. Their praise name was Jaasi Marong.

Another tradition states that Keba Jata from Manding had five sons who gave their names to five villages:

	These gave rise to: ¹
<u>Jumansar</u>	Sakoto*, Kulari*, Kachari*
<u>Iliasa</u>	Jamekunda, Kulikunda*, Jatakunda*, Biramkunda, Tambakunda
<u>Kubandar</u>	?
<u>Jajari</u>	Kontekunda, Nokunda, Marongkunda, Gunjur
<u>India</u>	Dai, Tunku, Alkalikunda

A sacred serpent (bida) located in a grove near India was said to choose the king. Succession was supposed to go round these villages in turn.

The original settlers were of Ja origin - and renamed the sub-clans so that they could intermarry - so one finds Jame, Jaju, Jadama, Jata, Jambure.

There was an occasion where a sovereign refused to abdicate, and called on the people of Kiyang to help in a war against his kinsfolk,
by

Later the region was invaded /the gelowar from Kaabu, who provided Siin-Saalum and Badibu with ruling families, Queens holding the power. Later kings took over, led by Mansa Mbay, of Jajari.

¹ Following list given by Cissoko & Sambou pp. 106-8. Those not identified marked *

THE BADIBU WAR - 1861

In August and September 1860 the factories of several British traders had been plundered by the people of Badibu, and compensation claimed had been refused. The Governor, Colonel D'Arcy decided to punish the area with a blockade to cut off trade, and in October 1860, and November a river blockade was in force.

While this was happening a wing of the West India Regiment, whose ship had been wrecked in the Cape Verde Islands, on its way to relieve the wing of the 1st. West India Regiment (in the West Indies), arrived in West Africa in various vessels, three companies coming to the Gambia, and three to Sierra Leone.

As the river blockade had achieved no results, the Governor took advantage of the large number of regular troops to organise an expedition against Badibu. A troopship had arrived to convey the stranded troops to the West Indies, and the Governor took advantage of it to bring up four companies of the West India Regiment from Sierra Leone. The expeditionary force now had six companies of the 1st West India Regiment, four of the 2nd West India Regiment, and the Gambia Militia. The detachments at MacCarthy Island, Cape St. Mary, and Fort Bullen were replaced by pensioners.

A vessel was first sent to the Suwarekunda Creek to try to establish communications with the King of Badibu, but returned with the news that the people had prepared stockaded earthworks, were assembled in large numbers, and refused to have any dealings with the ship.

So the expedition set off on February 15th, coming to the landing place for Suwarekunda. They opened fire on the earthworks until the defenders withdrew, and then effected a landing. Immediately they were attacked by a force of 800 defenders, aided by some 300 cavalry. The cavalry charge was repulsed, and the attackers held their ground, their positions being covered by fire from the ships in the creek. The next day further troops were landed, and they took and destroyed Kerewaan, and then Suwarekunda, which had been abandoned. A further naval force arrived, so it was decided to advance into the interior. Little opposition was encountered, and Kintekunda and Saba were destroyed with little loss of life to either side.

(Jeriba Marong's)

A campaign against Indiya, the king's/town, was being planned, but it was reported to the commander that the ruins of Saba had been re-fortified, so he decided to return and deal with this problem. An attack was launched against the stockade, fierce fighting took place, but eventually the fortifications were destroyed.

At this stage messengers came from the King of Jokadu asking for a 3 days truce, saying that he would bring the chiefs of the Badibu towns together to sue for peace. After a short extension of time, terms were agreed, the king promising to pay a considerable sum to the Government as compensation for the traders' losses, and leaving hostages in the Governor's hands, and promising to refrain from plundering in future. The compensation was paid in groundnuts and cattle.

Another source states that Hama Ba played an important role in persuading the chiefs to sign the treaty, and himself acted as a hostage during negotiations.¹ Though the towns which had been burnt were Muslim towns, the terms of the treaty fell most heavily on the Soninke - it being Soninkes who were taken as hostages, and required to pay the indemnity. The King of Badibu felt betrayed by Maba, and not long afterwards Maba was able to open his religious war, having been able to obtain arms and supplies from Bathurst traders.

In 1946 the people of Kerewan pointed out damage done to the tops of old baobab trees by a bombardment, which I presume was that of 1861. No sign can now be seen at Kerewan of any old fortifications.

Sources: E.Hamilton Currey: "Boat Actions and River Fights,"
United Service Magazine, XLIX, 1914, 124-133.

Ellis, Major A.B.
The History of the First West India Regiment.
London: 1885, 265-275.

¹ Apparently after the fall of Suwarekunda, Hama Ba had offered to take himself out and his forces out of the war, if his communities were spared. D'Arcy agreed provided Hama Ba came aboard one of the vessels as a hostage. According to the

Governor, he 'helped me greatly in the peace which followed....as head of the group of chiefs most anxious to sign the treaty."

(Charlotte Quinn: Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia, 1972. p.107.)

Colonel D'Arcy, though undoubtedly motivated by the desire for personal glory, was also urged into action by the merchants of Bathurst. At the same time they did not want Badibu so destroyed that future groundnuts production would be hindered !

The fact that the cost of the expedition was charged to the Gambia Colony, i.e. Bathurst, and not paid for by the British Government, also led the Governor to be more prudent in the future.

Maba, because of ill feeling from the Soninke element had to retire to Bathurst for a while, but was able to buy arms and ammunition from the Bathurst traders and when fully equipped was able to return home.

Not long after the British Expedition of 1861, Ma Ba, a Tukulor warrior from the Nyoro region led a Jihad , to convert the unbelievers and overthrow the non-Muslim (Soninke) rulers. (See also p. 6 GS 37 in the Saaluym section). On his invasion of Badibu he had the support of Muslim towns like Njabakunda, Salikeyne, and the villages in the west of the district. Jeriba Marong of Indea of Njabakunda, was captured and put to death. Jaite Jaba, who had strongly supported Ma Ba was given authority over the Mandinka of the region when Ma Ba was engaged elsewhere, though the people of Nokunda were reluctant to acknowledge him. A fort was built at Jarejare.

1863 Ma Ba crossed to the south bank, but suffered a major defeat at Kwinella. He then returned to the north bank.

1864 Ma Ba made a treaty with the French in which he was acknowledged as Chief of Badibu and Saalum, which he ruled under the title of Almamy .

1867 Ma Ba was killed during an attack on Siin. His brother Mamud Nderi Ba took over. Ma Ba's son Saer Mati (Seet Mati) was still a child.

1873 The British signed a treaty with Mamud Nderi in which he guaranteed to protect their traders. As Mamud had been the main purchaser of arms, particularly from Bathurst, during Ma Ba's Jihad, he realised the advantages of staying on good terms with the English.

1877 A civil war broke out with Biram Sise (who had been one of Maba's generals), and Mamud Nderi, whom he regarded as a stranger. Mamud Nderi Ba ended by controlling the western area, with his capital at Nyoro; Biram Sise, the eastern side, with a capital at Ndimbu. Fighting died down about 1892.

1884 Seet Mati (Saer Mati) now began to claim his father's territory from Mamud Nderi, and gained most of it except for the Nyoro region. The constant warfare disrupted agriculture and trade, and the British tried to get the warring parties to agree to cease from hostilities.

1887 Biram Sise and Seet Mati signed agreements to stop the war.

Seet Mati shortly afterwards went off to attack Saalu^m, but was defeated by their forces with the aid of the French. He fled to Albreda in the Ceded Mile (May 1887) and surrendered. He was taken to Banjul, and then allowed to live at Wasulungkunda beside Bakau, where he died in 1897, being buried at Cape Point.

In 1887 Mamud Nderi Ba and Biram Sise were recognised by the French as chiefs of Rip and Badibu respectively. However Mamud Nderi died in 1889. A number of his sons became important district chiefs under the French e.g. Mandiaye Ba at Nyoro. The French did not trust Biram Sise. It was claimed that a letter he wrote asking for help against the French which found its way into their hands was a valid excuse to arrest him and he was taken to St.Louis. Nderikani Ture filled the vacuum left by his departure-some say he had a hand in entrapping Biram Sise.

In the struggles between Seet Mati and Biram Sise various alliances and enmities were formed and memories of the antagonists are carried down to the present.

With the departure of Seet Mati and Biram Sise, the Mandinka exiles came back to a fragmented Badibu, and Jata Selang Jame began to resume power.

1889 As a result of the Anglo-French Agreement, a boundary was determined
1892 and in 1892 the first Travelling Commissioner (Ozanne) travelled through
Badibu, proclaiming the Protectorate.

1893 A flag was presented to Jata Selang Jame, making him chief of all Badibu,
by Governor Rowe.

1895 However, the Muslims in the western side of Badibu were unhappy about
still being under a Soninke ruler, and a division was made, Upper and
Lower Badibu being created, the boundary being made at the Bao Bolong.

It seems that a flag was then presented to the Alkalo of Jamekunda (which also had members of ruling clan), but this was a very small village, so the flag was handed over to the Alkali (Lang Sajo Diba) of Salikenye,

which was a large powerful Muslim town. The people of Jamekunda were mollified by the promise that one of the court members would always come from Janekunda.

Various sub-districts were created in Lower Baddibu - Saba, Jabba Kunda, and Nokunda. (1898).

Eventually the present district of Lower Badibu was created in 1913, the rest being known as Central Badibu.

From 1892 to 1931 the Province was administered by a Travelling Commissioner, but in 1931 Headquarters were established at Kerewan for the North Bank Province, the administrative officer now being called a Commissioner.

When the Central Division was created-1947, the Administrative Headquarters (in Jaara.) was formed, became Mansakonko./ In 1968 a North Bank Division/ Kerewan becoming a divisional Headquarters again.

BADIBU - POPULATION

Area	Lower Badibu 66 sq.miles	Central Badibu 113 sq.miles	Upper Badibu 270 sq.miles
1944	4116	3900	10,433
1945	4346	3661	12,884
1946	4811	6476	14,229
1947	4670	7475	14,996
1948	4663	6562	15,435
1949	4399	6361	15,004
1950	4480	6943	15,680
1951	5152	8360	16,130
1952	5524	8483	16,445
1953	5964	8624	16,887
1954	5347	6302	17,167
1955	5330	6652	16,989
1956	5348	7061	17,295
1957	5805	5458	17,280
1958	5388	6236	19,167
1959	-		
1960	-		
1961	6136	6284	18,843
1962			
1963 CENSUS	8062	3882	23,474
.....			
1973 CENSUS	10131	10867	30,494
.....			
1983 CENSUS	11845	11902	39,826

ETHNIC GROUPING

In 1946 I carried out an analysis of the Badibu area based on the Assessment data.

The results are as follows: *

	LOWER	CENTRAL	UPPER				
	%	%	Nokunda %	Iliasa %	Farafenni %	Sabax %	Sanjal %
Mandinka	75.9	87.4	80.2	80.2	63.9	28.9	31.4
Wolof	10.3	5.5	8.6	5.6	23.0	59.2	52.5
Fulbe	10.1	7.0	10.4	14.2	10.4	10.4	14.4
Jola	0.7	-	0.4	-	0.5	0.3	-
Maniago	0.1	-	-	-	-	0.9	0.3
(Serer (Nyoominka	1.3	-	0.3	-	2.0	-	1.1
Mauretanian	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bambara	1.3	-	-	-	-	0.3	-
Aku	0.1	-	-	-	0.2	-	0.3
	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* The percentages differ slightly from those based on Secom's summaries.

In the original data the different types of Fulbe do not seem to have been clearly distinguished. The majority would have been Futa-Toro Fulbe (Torodo), but many of the Badibu Fulbe go under the name of Habobe. There would have been a few Laibe (the woodworkers) scattered around, and possibly occasional Fulbe from Futa Jalon.

Aku would be found at Administrative or Trade Centers.

In the Serer/Nyoominka group - a number are fishermen who live in communities near the river.

The Wolof tend to be in villages near the frontier.

As one goes eastwards the Wolof are the majority in Sabax and Sanjal, though there are also some large Mandinka towns. The ratio of Fulbe is in the 10-15% throughout.

The situation would have changed with the enormous growth of Farafenni since the establishment of the Trans-Gambian road, and it has now become a large multi-ethnic community, attracting settlers both from Senegal and elsewhere in The Gambia.

STRANGE FARMERS

In an analysis of the location of strange farmers done in 1946 the proportion coming to the Sabax-Sanja area was greatest, lowest in the areas of Central and Lower Badibu where the land was worked out, and there was a shortage of food.

proportion of SFs to adult males

Sanjal	16%
Sabax	18
Farafenni	10
Iliasa	10
Nokunda	4
Lower Badibu	3
Central Badibu	2.

Strange farmers are unlikely to go to areas where the soil is poor, or where their hosts would have a problem feeding them.

LOWER BADIBU

THE SETTLEMENT OF LOWER BADIBU

SABA "Two brothers, Tum-Foodee and Tum-Madibaa (Singhate) came from the east..The elder, Tum-Foodee settled in Wuli. Tum-Madibaa settled in Kiyang at Bateling. He was a stranger to the people there (the Sanyang clan). He left there and went to Dai (Upper Badibu). Then he moved to Jamekunda (Central Badibu). It was Riramba who settled there. Then they told the king they wanted to settle further west. They came and named their village Saabaa. Then others came and settled nearby - The Gunjur (Kunjur) people came (they had also come via Wuli and Kiang), and were allocated land. Then Ndana Konte came (from Kontekunda), and we gave him Bani. (The Bani people say that they received land not directly from Saba, but from Gunjur and Jamekunda, between which they are located.) Omar Ba came and settled and was given Ntoro. Suware Ma was given Suwarekunda. Janne Kinte established Kintekunda. Kerewan was settled also. Then there was a large forest between Bani and Kerewan."

The names of Suwarekunda, Bani, Kunjur, and Kerewan indicate that the original settlers were of Jaxanke origin, but there is little difference now -between them and the rest of the Mandinka. But the area was from its primary settlement a Muslim area - one motive for the migration being the desire to be far removed from the influence of the Soninke kings of the Indea -Iliasa area.

In the religious wars of the 19th century the region supported Hama Ba in his jihad.

(For the description of Maba's jihad see page 98)

In the later stages when there was a struggle for power between Seet Mati Ba (Saer Mati Ba) and Biram Sise, the region generally supported Seet Mati, but some supported Biram Sise.

At Saba the Alkalo, Ansu Jante, was a follower of Biram Sise, while his younger brother, Sina, supported Saer Mati. Most of the people took Sina's viewpoint. Ansu then sent to Biram Sise for help, and forces were sent which surrounded the town. Sina sent an appeal to Saer Mati, and his men attacked Biram at Mayongfaro, a Fula village near Saba. Biram's forces were defeated. Saer Mati entered Saba and killed Ansu, Sina becoming alkali in his place. (Charlotte A. Quinn: Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia, 1972, p.169.)

When the Protectorate was established Jata Selang Jame of Iliasa was appointed chief over all of Badibu. But the Muslims in the western side of the district were unhappy about still being under a Soninke ruler, and a division was made into Upper and Lower Badibu, the boundary being made at the Bao Bolong, the alkali of Salikenye being chief of Lower Badibu.

In 1898 Lower Badibu was listed as having subdistricts - Saba, Jabba Kunda, and Nokunda. but these are not listed in Bisset Archer's description of the districts (1906).

However the present district of Lower Baddibu was constituted in 1913.* One of the reasons given is that the population was too large for one chief to look after efficiently, but there was clearly a desire of the people of Saba, Suwarekunda, etc. to be free from the rulership of the Dibas of Salikenye.

*Some reports give 1902 as the date of the division.

District Chiefs

When the District was created the first chief was

Ansu Jelima Singhate. (Saba)	appointed died	Mar. 1913 1918	Had been a Court Member of the old Lower Badibu.
Arafang Sisao Singhate (Saba)	appointed dismissed	1919 (?) Aug. 1923	
Lang Janti Singhati (son of Ansu Jelima) (Saba)	probation confirmed died	Feb. 1922 1923 Jul. 1925	

Saba was split into two factions, neither of which would support the other party's candidate.

The Commissioner, Hopkinson, was on leave. The South Bank Commissioner (Leese) came over, and decided to appoint Janko Kinte of Kintekunda Janiya to be in charge until Hopkinson returned. Janko Kinte had been a court member. He was a trader for B.T.C. at Suwarekunda and was also trading with Fonyi.

When Hopkinson returned, Saba was still divided between two hostile factions, and Janko Kinte was confirmed as chief.

Janko Kinte (Kintekunda)	probation appointed died	1925 ? Jul 1927 1948
Mfamara Singhate (Saba)	elected died	1948 196?
Alhaji Sherif Kinte (Kintekunda)	appointed died	May 1965 Jul 1980
Kitabu Singhate (Saba)	elected	Mar 1981

COMMISSIONER'S HOUSE, KEREWAN, LOWER BADDIBU (1947).

Photograph: David P. Gamble



The Settlement Pattern

A series of large Mandinka villages - Bani, Kunjur, Saba, Kintekunda, Kerewan, Suwarekunda, border the riverside swamps.

Inland towards the Gambia-Senegal frontier are small settlements of Wolof and Fula - a substantial Futa Toro element being at Ntoro and related hamlets.

The town of Jowara was a late creation as a major trade centre - designed as a place where groundnuts from Senegal and Jokadu could be purchased and from which goods such as textiles could easily be exported to Senegal. (See description on pages 112-14).

VILLAGES

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<u>LOWER BADIBU</u>			Population		Phonetic spelling
			1946	1973	
x	Bani (=Banni)	Mandinka	431	796	
	mBamorikunda Darusalam	Fula	20	148 109	(N.of Bani, near boundary ?)
x	Famorikunda	Serer/Fula	18		
x	Gunjur (Kunjur)	Mandinka	477	960	
x	Jowara (Njawara)	Wolof, etc/	515	709	(Njawara)
x	Ker Bano	Fula	23	160	
x	Ker Ardo	Wolof/Fula	119	422	
x	Ker Biram Yasin	Wolof/Fula	44		
x	Kerewan	Mandinka	793	2166	(Kerewan)
x	Kintekunda	Mandinka	549	765	(Kintekunda)
x	Kunjuru - see Gunjur				
	Madina Serin Bamba	Wolof	14		
	Njaikundaring	Mandinka	11		
x	Palen Wolof Palen Fula	Wolof	27	101	
x	Pane Ba	Wolof	52		
x	Saba	Mandinka	940	1613	(Saabaa)
x	Sambu Musa	Fula	26		
	Sare Demba Jalo	Fula	31		
x	Suwarekunda	Mandinka	412	863	(Suwarekunda)
	Talen Wolof	Wolof	43		
	Taiba Gebel Satu	Wolof	19		
	Talen Fula	Fula	48		
	Taimkunda	Torodo	14		
x	Toro Ba (Baien)	Torodo	121	101	
	Toro Tayanan			129	
	Welingara	Torodo	16	343	
	Welingara Fula	Fula	29		
	Yalal Ba	Fula	19	261	
			485	Others	
			4811	10131	

x = On 1948 Air Survey Map.

JOWARA (On maps). Diawara (French spelling). Njawara (Local)

On east bank of Miniminiang Creek, in Lower Baddibu District, near the frontier with Senegal. Trading center.

A history of the town is given by Dr. L. d'Anfreville de la Salle: Sur la Cote d'Afrique: Villes, brousses, fleuves et problemes de l'Ouest Africain, 1912, pp. 139-140.

When the author visited the place there were four major trading companies, three of which were French. One of the large companies established in Banjul, as well as Rufisque and Dakar, sent, in 1902, one of its best agents to study the possibilities of the creek, near which rice and groundnuts were grown. He selected a place which steam vessels could reach - a rocky ledge blocked navigation further upstream - and where the nearby land was not liable to be flooded. The place was then uninhabited, but a village had previously been located there. The people had been decimated by tse-tse flies. The land necessary for the trading post was marked out, and the British authorities gave their approval. A building was constructed, and a wharf made on the river bank, a short narrow gauge rail (voie Decauville) connected it to the building. The agent was ready to move in. Soon a second French firm followed, then a third, and finally a major English Company. Each chose their own plot, and set up their own establishments. Local people employed as workers built their houses nearby in some disorder, though attempts were made to produce more order, wells were dug. Donkeys and camels (the latter never went further south to the Gambia River), brought produce, and trade, especially in groundnuts, grew rapidly.

In 1947-1948, the U.A.C. (United Africa Company)- British; C.F.A.O., Maurel & Prom, & Maurel Freres (French), V. Q. Petersen, and Sarkis Madi had establishments there.

A number of Syrian & Lebanese traders were permanent residents.

In 1946 Jowara was the center of the groundnut oil industry in Theambia, where production was in the hands of four Syrian traders, of which the principal was Mr. Fuad Bijoudi who owned the majority of the 30 or more oil-presses in use.

The oil pressing season extended from the beginning of January to the end of May, and in the busiest period from January to March more than 100 women daily were employed in decorticating and pounding the nuts. The women came from various villages in Lower Badibu and were paid at piece rates. The heating and pressing was done by male labourers who were hired by the month, between 50 and 100 being employed during the peak of the season.

In 1946 about 30,000 gallons of oil and 250 tons of oil cake were produced. The oil cake is valuable as a feed for livestock. Mr. Bijoudi shipped over 18,000 gallons of oil to Bathurst, of which 12,000 gallons were purchased by the Sierra Leone Government, the rest being sold locally. Of the oil cake produced by Mr. Bijoudi most was sold to the Ministry of Food in England, some to the Gambian Agricultural Department, and some retailed for local consumption by people during a bad 'hungry season'.

MARKET AT JOWARA (LOWER BADDIBU) 1948 (Dry season)

Photograph by David P. Gamble.



CENTRAL BADIBU

Central Baddibu - District Chiefs

When the flag was given to Jata Selang Jame at Iliasa, from an old Soninke clan, the people west of the Bao Bolong were unhappy about being under a Soninke king again, and consequently a division was made creating Upper Badibu and Lower Badibu - the boundary being drawn at the Bao Bolong.

In 1895 a flag was offered to the head of Jamekunda, but as this was only a small village, it was agreed instead that it should go to the alkali of Salikenye - which was a large Muslim village.

Salikenye had supported Ma Ba against the Soninke rulers of Badibu.

When Ma Ba was attacking the Soninke alliance (Jajari, Indea, Iliasa, Jumansar, Kubandar)

it had a fortified position at Tunka, which was supplied with food by the people of Kiang. Salikenye built a stockade between the fort and the creek, thus cutting off their supplies, with the result that they were defeated.

This did not endear the people of Salikenye to their neighbors across the Bao Bolong. Lang Sajo (Lamin) Diba was presented with the flag in 1895.

Fode Bakari Diba was head chief in 1899. . . . But in 1901 after the murders of Sitwell and Da Silva on the south bank, Fode Bakari sided with the supporters of Fode Kaba, and began to express open hostility towards the British administration. The result was that a military expedition was sent up river to Salikenye and the dissidents were arrested. Columns were also sent to Nokunda and Saba, which had also shown signs of rebellion. Fode Bakari was deposed.

The next chief appointed was Arafang Buli Diba.

In 1903 the West African Frontier Force had their camp at Salikenye while their quarters at the Cape were being repaired - perhaps to serve as a reminder to the people of the area. During Arafang Buli Diba's rule, his district was diminished by the establishment of the new district of Lower Badibu (1913), the Salikenye area now being known as Central Badibu.

Next Kemo Njie Diba was appointed in March 1915, but died in 1920.

There was a temporary Sefo - Kekoto Damfa of Nokunda, who was the senior court member, until Karamo Diba Chako was appointed in 1921. He had to resign in 1933, and died the following year.

A composite Native Authority governed for a while - Tamba Jame - head chief of Upper Badibu, Kemo Fatajo, court member from Salikenye, Mamanding Jaite, court member from Njabakunda, Lang Kadi Damfa from Nokunda.

Bakari Diba (alkalo of Salikenye) was then appointed 193(4? 5?), but he was forced to resign in November 1938.

Seku Diba was chief from 1938-40 - he too was dismissed.

The position was vacant from 1940-1942, the Commissioner taking over the powers of a Sefo. The Nokunda area expressed a wish to transfer to Upper Badibu, and this was granted. Salikenye was split by factions which could not agree on a suitable candidate.

Arafang Keba Diba was appointed in January 1943, and governed with a native authority representing Salikenye, Jamekunda, Njabakunda, Kintekunda, Ker Katim, Dingari, Ker Pate Kore. He died in 1944, and the Native Authority continued to look after the district.

Finally Silla Ba Diba was appointed in 1945, and contrary to the short terms of his predecessors continued until 1963 when he retired.

He was followed by Mustafa Diba (the father of S.M.Diba, who became Minister of Finance.) - appointed July 1964.

Abdulai Diba came next - appointed July 1969.

The sefolu in ^{Salikenye} ~~Saliken~~ tended to be a law unto themselves, apparently caring little for the other villages in the District. The people of Njabakunda tended to resent the continuous rule of Salikenye, for power over the other people of Badibu had been given to Jaite Jaba of Njabakunda by Maba, and with the coming of British rule they had been ignored. There was major trouble in the village in 1940. Njabakunda was not far from the boundary with Senegal and there were numerous paths from the village across the border. Consequently it apparently developed into a major center for smuggling. The village of Nokunda felt closer to the people on the other side of the Bao Bolong than to Salikenye.

With the opening of a major road Salikenye was left isolated. It was no longer an important river-side town for trade. All of the large trading companies withdrew, the last firm- the C.F.A.O - leaving in 1940.

x = on Air Survey Map - 1948.	<u>CENTRAL BADIBU</u>	Population		
		1946	1973	
	Brikama	Fula	8	
x	Biram Penda Ya	Fula	41	
	Chamen	Wolof	7	
	Fula Mori Taba	Fula	40	
x	Jamekunda	Mandinka	70	
x	Katim Wolof	Wolof	145	224
	Katim Fula	Fula	20	
	Ker Pate Kore	Fula/Wolof	106	445
(x)	Kinte-marong-kunda	Mandinka	408	705 (shown on map. not specifically named)
	Kulikunda Fula	Fula	35	
	Kolikunda	Wolof	27	
	Maka	Wolof	33	
x	Mandori	Mandinka	369	477
x	Marongkunda	Mandinka	361	534
x	Mintekunda	Mandinka	273	605
x	Modi Tedi Ya	Fula	15	
x	Nawleru /Nauderu on map	Wolof/Fula/Mandinka	110	209 ? (Naulen)
	Nawleru Fula	Fula	36	
	Ndengeri Ya	Fula	33	
	NGata Nor Ya	Fula/ Wolof	65	
x	Njabakunda	Mandinka	1154	1876
	Njoben	Fula/Wolof	58	153
	Ouwar	Fula	19	
	Pate Kori Bajonko	Wolof	23	
x	Salikenye	Mandinka	2945	3312
	Samba So Ya	Fula	33	
	Wiyawur	Fula	22	
	Wiyawur Bajonko		<u>20</u>	
			6476	

On the maps a large number of Fula settlements are either not shown or not named, particularly in the area near the Senegal boundary.

A number of Wolof and Fula villages have settled north of Jammekunda, along the dappo, up to the frontier.

POPULATION

LOWER AND CENTRAL BADIBU

In the early days of the century, Lower Badibu was regarded as a densely populated district. The population of Lower and Central Badibu was estimated at 20,000 in 1902 and the Travelling Commissioner stated in 1905 that practically every inch of land was cultivated.

With the establishment of the Protectorate trade in slaves was stopped, and instead of slaves people began to buy cattle. Vast herds grew up, and there developed a system of agriculture based on regular manuring of plots and rotation of crops. In the period 1907-12 Lower and Central Badibu were thought to have 11 to 13 thousand head of cattle.

Though the fertility of land near the villages was being maintained by manuring, signs of overstocking became apparent. The cattle were becoming too numerous for the pasturage available, especially in years of low rainfall. In 1914 after a drought, the Travelling Commissioner (on the South Bank) wrote "...every year our cattle are always rather short of food and lose flesh by the end of the dry season, but this year this was much more marked and developed much too early, the shortage of food manifesting itself in the much too bony prominences and obvious ribs of the beasts I think I can safely say...I hardly saw a single animal, which the term "Bag of Bones" did not literally fit and exactly describe."

The advent of cattle disease in 1917-18 wiped out 80-90% of the herds, and a further outbreak in 1921 killed half of the remainder. Frequent outbreaks of disease in the next 20 years kept numbers low, and it was only in the 1940s with the introduction of cattle inoculations, that the numbers recovered.

In Lower and Central Badibu in 1946 the people had about a tenth of the number they had forty years previously. But so much of the bush had been cut away, that fodder for cattle was scarce.

UPPER BADIBU

DISTRICT CHIEFS- UPPER BADIBU

Jata Silang Jame	appointed 1893 died 1905	
Biramang Wude Jame	appointed 1906 resigned 1925 died 1927	
Tamba Jame	deputy 1925 appointed 1928 retired 1962	(son of Jata Silang Jame) died 1987
Keba Jame	appointed 1963	
Matar Gaye	" 1983	

The Upper Badibu District is a large one, and the chief administers it:

as five sub-districts:

Nokunda

Iliasa

Farafenni (Farafenye)

Sabach (Sabax)

Sanjal

In each he has a relative, a badge messenger, or the alkalo of a large town through whom he communicates.

The Nokunda area was once part of the old Lower Badibu District, which became the Central Badibu District. In the early 1940s it was clear that the people wished to sever their connection with Salikeni, and come under the jurisdiction of Tamba Jane of Iliasa. They were closely tied to this area by history and ties of kinship.

UPPER BADIBU - NOKUNDA SUB-DISTRICT

			1946	1973	
x	Biramkunda	Wolof	91	121	
	Biram Kardo ya	Fula	13		
x	Dai	Mandinka	156	317	
	Duntumalang	Mandinka	9		(South of Nokunda, close to river)
	Galo Ya	Fula	61		
	Jalikunda	Wolof	53	105	
x(Kidi Fula	Fula	29		
((Biom Gido Ya)				
	Kidi Wolof	"	9		
x	Kontekunda	Mandinka	407	873	
x	Kekutakunda	Mandinka/Wolof	134	320	
	Kidi Laibe*	Laibo	9		
	Majamekunda	Mandinka	70		
x	Niji	Mandinka	239	651	=Kontekunda-nding (east of Kontekunda Ba)
x	Nokunda	Mandinka	708	1392	
	Nokunda Fula	Fula	24		NNE of Nokunda, near boundary (Chamaya on map)
x	Njay-kunda-ring	Mandinka/Wolof	52		
	Saare Nyiri Ba Ya	Fula	24		
x	Saare Lali (Ker Leli)	Fula	38		

			2126		

* or Laibe-kunda

x On original Air Survey Map 1948

UPPER BADIBU - ILIASA (Sub-District)

			1946	1973	Major clan
x	Alkalikunda	Mandinka	309	670	
x	Bantang kiling	Wolof	54		
x	Demba Ka Ya	Torodo	17		
	Dai Fula	Fula	17		
x	Dembanding	Fula	85		
	Gumalo Ya	Fula	24		
x	Iliasa	Mandinka	490	965	Jame
x	India	Mandinka	230	400	Marong
x	Jajari (Jahajari)	Mandinka	252	591	Marong
	Jalikunda	Mandinka	25	105	
	Jali Ya	Fula	11		
x	Jumansar Ba	Mandinka	147	413	Jadama
x	Jumansar Koto	Mandinka	30	194	
x	Jurung	Mandinka	80		
x	Kachang	Mandinka	1039	1929	
x	Misera	Wolof	58		
	Misera Fula	Fula	41		
	Pakala *	Wolof/Fula	51		
	Tunku	Mandinka	21		
x	Turen	Wolof	20		
x	Yalal	Fula	162		
x	Yuna	Fula	57		
			<u>3220</u>		

* shown as abandoned 1956 map.

x On air survey map -1948.

#3811 "Crocodile Shooting in Gambia," The Field, 22 May 1937. 1352.



SHOOTING FROM THE LAUNCH WHERE KASHAN CREEK JOINS THE MAIN RIVER

TUNKU

This village is known as "Kunku-suo," Farm-home, owned by the people of India.

In 1958 it was reported that some of the yards had been abandoned, and its population dispersed to two new villages - Jalaba, near Yalal, and Tankanto, near Kubandar, so as to work further rice lands.

UPPER BADIBU - FARAFENNI (Farafenyi ?)

			1946	1973	
x	Balingho	Mandinka	104	263	
x	Bereto	Mandinka	38		
x	Duta-bulu	Fula	20	143	
x	Farafenni	Mandinka	716	3387	
x	Jigimar	Wolof	49	491	(Fafafenni Trading area)
x	Kalataba	Wolof	32		
x	Kubendar	Mandinka	79	156	
x	Kusa Mandinka	Mandinka	150	217	(Kusassa)
x	Maka Farafenni	Wolof	21	331	
x	Netiberi (later abandoned)	Wolof	7		
x	Ker Ali ? Ngere.	Wolof	22		
x	Ngeyen Bereto	Wolof	37	292	
x	Numukunda*	Wolof/Fula	141	141	
	Sinchu Ngeyen	Wolof	33		
	Taiba	Wolof	22		
	o ?				
x	Yalal Ba	Fula	113	186	
			<hr/> 1584 <hr/>		

*In 1936-37 appeared as Kusasai Numa.

x on Air Survey Map - 1948.

POPULATION - UPPER BADIBU

Though population in the villages along the main road has increased, it is clear that there has been a marked decline in the population of the small Mandinka villages which border the swamps - Duntumalang, Tunku, Jumansari Koto, Jirung, Danka-danka, Kubenda, and Bereto. In 1930 these had a population of 1093, in 1936 of 419, in 1946 of 257.

The most recent feature has been the enormous expansion of Farafenyi since the opening of the Trans-Gambian road, its population in 1946 being about 700, in 1973 nearly 4000,

BALINGHO

In the 1940s the town was a port of call for the River Steamers, and an important trade center for the region. It became a major transit point for groundnuts from Iliasa on the North Bank, and Tendabaa, Jenyeri, and Sankuya on the South Bank.

A ferry used to run from Balingho to Yelitenda, but after the construction of the Trans-Gambian road, there was a shorter crossing - from Bambatenda to Yelitenda, and the importance of Balingho faded.

There was a narrow strip of land flanked on the west by a steep laterite hill, and on the east by low lying swamps. Along the river was a thin fringe of mangroves. A narrow sandy road ran from Farafenye down to the river at Balingho.

In the town traders had built a series of stores with corrugated roofs and wide verandas, on which tailors would work. The line of stores was backed by the hill. On the eastern side was space where, in the trade season, large mounds of groundnuts were collected, ready for trans-shipment.

The descriptions in Ebou Dibba's novel Fafa are reminiscent of Balingho.

BAMBATENDA

Upper Baddibu District

On the north bank. The crossing place of the Trans-Gambian road, opposite Yelitenda on the south bank.

BERETO

Was inhabited by traders (some from Banjul), and fishermen from Senegal (Nyoominko). Many of the former local residents migrated to Farafenni.

DEVIL'S POINT

About 80 miles from the mouth of the river, just short of Balingho.

Reeve: The Gambia, 1912, p.143.

"....a sharp indentation into the river caused by an ironstone ridge coming in from the north...opposite to it on the south bank is the boundary between Jagra (Jaara) and Caen (Kiang)."

William Fox: A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions...1851, p.248-

"About seventy miles from the entrance to the river there is a sharp elbow-turn from left to right; the left (north) bank is rather hilly, and is covered with trees: this is called "Devil's Point." The river is here about two miles wide; and, in passing this place, the natives are in the habit of consigning to the deep some small portions of the ship's cargo, or eatables, in honour of his satanic majesty, and to insure a safe passage up and down the river..."

David P. Gamble (Personal reminiscence) June 1947.

"I remember travelling by canoe, crossing from Balingho to Toniataba."

When we were about midstream, the "devil" decided to seize a passenger in the canoe. He had an epileptic-type seizure, and wanted to stand up on the edge of the canoe and step into the river. We managed to restrain him, and persuade him to sit down, while we made for the north bank to put him ashore in the mangroves, with one man to look after him, before we were able to continue our journey."

Called Devil's Reach, 1723.

DUTABULU (Fulbe)

Descendants of Fula herders. The alkalo estimated the age of Dutabulu to be about 487 years...The first resident was Ndibari Juta Bah, the land being lent by the Makeh Kunda compound, a member of the Foday Kunda kabilo. The settlement was abandoned when the villagers had to flee slave raiders. It was resettled by Demba Bah, son of the original settler, but also had to be abandoned for the same reason. It was settled for the third time by Biram Debo Bah, grandson of the original settler. The village is reputed to have moved on six occasions, but always close to the present site. Movement was associated with the succession of a new alkalo.

They are now both herders and agriculturalists. 85% of the children attend school. Young people are permitted to worship as they wish, some have become Christians, others Ahmadiyya followers, in contrast to the dominant Tijan sect.

Outside bodies which have influenced the village are the Federal Republic of Germany, which provided a well, and the Baptist Mission which helped establish a village garden/orchard.

From Tenure and Resource Management in The Gambia: A Case Study of Upper Baddibu District.
Wisconsin: Land Tenure Center, 1994.

FARAFENYE

In the 1940s the village was a quiet agricultural community, from which a road ran south to the wharf town of Balingho. It had a large mosque.

There were no shops and groundnuts had to be taken to Balingho for sale.

A complete change came with the construction of the Trans-Gambian road. It met the new north bank trunk road near the village, and Farafenye now became a communications junction, attracting traders from Senegal and elsewhere. The wharf town of Balingho fell into oblivion. The ferry now crossed further up river at Bambatenda-Yellitenda, and traders moved from the river-side to Farafenye.

Gradually large numbers of shops, petty traders stalls, restaurants, etc. opened. Horse drawn carts (sarets), rapides (mini-buses) - the Senegalese forms of transport, were to be found everywhere. The market became like those in Senegal. Goods could be paid for in francs as well as dalasis, and the goods found came from both Banjul and Senegal,

A major lumo (market) is to be found on Sundays, when people from surrounding Senegalese and Gambian villages bring agricultural produce, fruit and vegetables, livestock, agricultural implements, arts and crafts etc. From Senegal people come from Ker Nderi, Ker Aib, Sinchu Sangat, Guiguimar, Ker Katim Ndimbu, Teyn Pol, Sinchu Bambara, Ker Ibrahim Touray, etc. From The Gambia, people from Nema, Yalal, Ker Samba Kuta, Kontekunda, Iliasa, Nokunda, Balingho, Tankanto, Yalal Ba, etc.

Transport from down river often stops here, so to proceed further one has to change to vehicles which run to Kau-ur and Kuntaur. Taxis and pick-ups run to the ferry at Bambatenda.

Eddie's Hotel is a night club, restaurant and hotel. It is described in detail in Terry Palmer: Discover the Gambia (1988), p.100.

The town now has electricity, a Police Post, Postal Service, a VHF Station,

The Anglican Church runs a Technical School.

One result of the rapid growth of the town is a land shortage , and problems of fuel supply. Forest reserves in the area have also restricted areas available to new settlers. A study was carried out - published by the Land Tenure Center, Wisconsin - Tenure and Resource Management in The Gambia: A Case Study of Upper Baddibu District. 1994.

An article on Farafenyeh appeared in The Nation, No.21, 1966, p.2 indicating its importance as a link between The Gambia and Senegal, as regards trade.

MAKA FARAFENNI

(From Tenure and Resource Management in The Gambia: A Case Study of Upper Baddibu District. Wisconson: Land Tenure Center, 1994).

p.11 The village was first settled by Mam Sait Touray, who migrated from the Saalum village of Ker Gumbo around 1884. The village remained at that site for nearly 30 years. It was abandoned in 1914 owing to wild animals destroying crops and livestock. The second settlement was headed by Musa Jainaba Touray, son of Mam Sait Touray, who came in 1944. The settlers remained for only 5 years before moving to Kataba, east of Farafenni. In 1952 Seringe Katim Touray, another son of Mam Sait Touray, resettled Maka Farafenni. A third child of Mam Sait Touray, Hawa Yassin Touray, also resettled with her half brother, Serigne Katim, at this time. Upon the death of Serigne Katim Touray, her son, Amadou Tijan Touray became alkalo.

The land on the southwest side of the village is bordered by the Pakala Forest Park, which has become a source of tension between the Department of Forestry and Maka Farafenni.

Of the 49 compounds, 45 are Wolof and 4 Bambara, the latter having settled about 20 years ago. The only school is a Koranic one. No children attend public schools.

17 Several external organizations are working in Maka Farafenni, including Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Gambia Youth Federation, Baptist Mission, Gambia Islamic Council, Gambian Opportunities Investment Center (GOIC), Indigenous Business Advisory Service (IBAS) and Women's Bureau. Donor-funded infrastructure in the village includes one pump well installed by the Federal Republic of Germany pump-well project, a Ministry of Agriculture (MOA) milling machine, and a sesame-oil expeller sponsored by a Belgian nongovernmental organization through the Gambia Youth Federation.

Nger (Ngueur Anglais)

A small Wolof village of blacksmiths.