

Gambian Studies No. 36

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

(A) NIANIJA, NIANI, SAMI, SANDU, & WULI DISTRICTS

By David P. Gamble

Brisbane, California,

August 1999

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.

CONTENTS

	PP.
1 NIANIJA DISTRICT	3- 15
2 GENERAL HISTORY OF NIANI, SAMI & SANDU	16- 20
3 NIANI DISTRICT	21- 45
4 SAMI DISTRICT	46- 72
5 SANDU DISTRICT	73- 96
6 WULI DISTRICT	97-140

NIANIJA (NYANIJAA)

NYANIJAA

Spelling on maps: Nianiya. Phonetic spelling - Nyaani-jaa

No detailed study was made of this District.

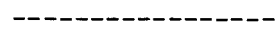
I did visit Chamen briefly in 1947, when I was staying at Njau, (Upper Saalum) crossing the creek by a canoe used as a ferry.

Carrol's Wharf was visited when I was travelling up and down river on the Lady Denham (1946). I obtained cane chairs and couches there.

Maps consulted:

1: 12672	1891	
1: 1,000,000	1905	(No names given)
1 cm to 2.5 kilometres	1931	
River Chart	1942	(No names given)
1:50,000	1948	
1: 125,000	1956	(Follows the 1948 map)
1: 50,000 Sheet 7	1976	(Many additional names given)
1: 250,000	1980	" " " "

Area: 60 square miles.

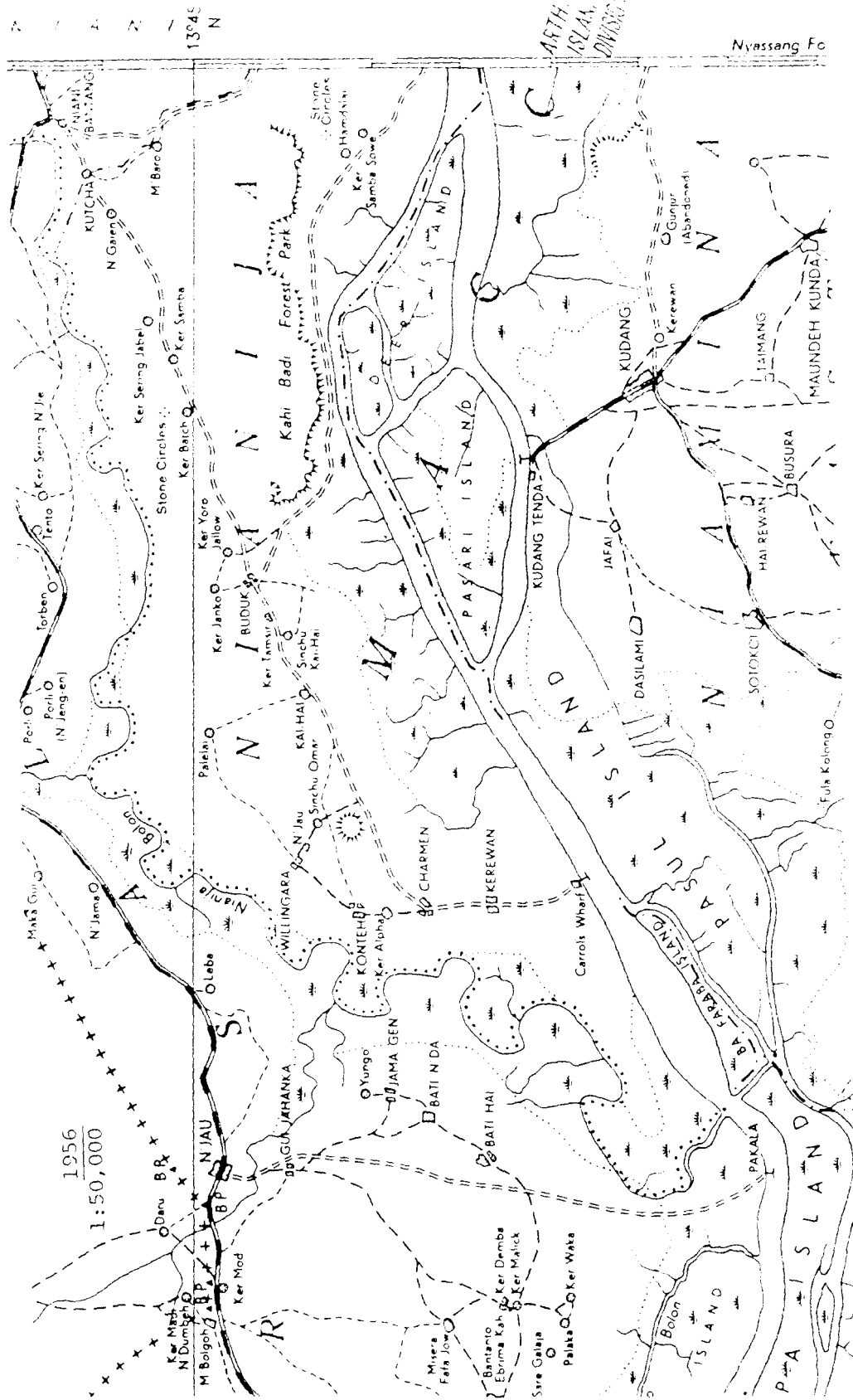


Wolof call this area Jaxa .

On Leach's 1732 map it is called Nani Jar / Nany Jarr

Coelho 1684 writes Nanhijaga

The present form arises from Niani (Nyaani) + Jaxa/Jaga, the latter forms having turned into Jaa , in Gambian Mandinka.



This district is separated from Upper Saalum by the Nianija Creek, is bounded on the south side by the River Gambia, and on the east by a boundary with Niani. (Nvaani), formed by a road from Kucha to Nianimaru. Ba Faraba Island also forms part of this district.

Stone circles show it to have been part of the socio-economic complex found in prehistoric times along the Nianija stream and other valleys. Iron working was then probably its main industry.

The area was extremely well wooded, and timber was cut for use in shipbuilding during the nineteenth century. Talo (Mand.)/ Ditax (Wolof) = Detarium Senegalense was commonly used for vessel construction. Rhun palms, raffia palms, and silk cotton trees were abundant.

For stone circles at Ker Batch see P.O.Beale: The Anglo-Gambian Stone Circles Expedition 1964/65: A Report presented to the Prime Minister of The Gambia. 1966. Bathurst: Government Printer.

Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea 1684 .

Translated by P.E.H.Hair.

"It is eight leagues from Manjagar to Nanhijaga. Nanhijaga can be recognised by a river on the same side which has a sibe (i.e. rhun palm) tree at the mouth. A ship can enter this river and travel up it six leagues to the village, the river lacking any obstacles or dangers. Very good hides are available here and a large quantity of the local staple foodstuff, which is milho (= millet). This obliges (us) to go there often, for although the river abounds (with milho) here it is both plentiful and very cheap. Some ivory is also bought here. This port is the first one in the kingdom of Nhani."

Nanhijaga seems to be on the tributary, not on the main river. Perhaps it can be equated with the present day Niani Bantang, on the edge of Niani District, at the boundary with Upper Saalum.

Leach's map (1732) shows his 'Nani Jar' to be about 10 miles in a direct line from the mouth of the Nani Jar river.

This area was also noted for grain cultivation in later centuries. The Methodist missionary Rev. Moister in describing his trips up river in 1831 mentions going to Bateda (= Bati Nda) "up a long creek, where the vessel took in corn," on both his first and third voyages. The Bati group of villages are in Saalum on the north side of the Niani stream.

Bisset Archer's Handbook (1906) lists the chief town as Nianiya, the chief then being Jero Cham. (Nianibantang was listed as the chief town of Lower Niani). It would thus be an early name for Chamen.

An estimate of the ethnic composition of Nianiya made in 1946 show the major element to be Fulbe from Fuuta Toro (Toranka), with a small number of other types of Fulbe. But Wolof from Upper Saalum had also begun to settle in the district in increasing numbers.

<u>1946 estimate</u>	%
Mandinka	4.6
Wolof	8.9
Fulbe	79.6
Jaxanke	2.4
Jalunka	1.8
Serer	0.9
Bambara	0.6
Serahuli	1.2
	<u>100.0</u>

It had a river port at Carroll's Wharf from which groundnuts, and various local products, cushions and pillows filled with kapok; beds, couches, and chairs made from raffia palm ^{mats,} etc. were exported. Groundnuts were generally shipped down to the major port of Kau-ur.

I have carried out no independent research on its history, and the account that follows is based, with a few minor changes, on a report by G.N.N. Nunn in 1933.

(Mandinka)

"Originally Soninke (i.e. non-Muslim /DPG), the District is now almost entirely Tukulor (i.e. Fuuta Tooro Fulbe), and this conversion to Islam was the result, according to one account, of the incursion of one of Hama Ba's captains, who, after Hama Ba had conquered Saalum and moved on to Badibu, defeated the Soninkes of the Kataba-Nianga Bantang confederacy of the Sabalis, and established himself there."

When the British Protectorate was established Ngari Sabali, of Nyanga Bantang was the de iure ruler of part of Nianija, the eastern end of the district. "Jaxa had revolted and attempted to throw off the rule of the Sabalis, and the tie was finally broken by the British who constituted the area a separate district under Ture Cham (of Chamen) as chief. The area became known as No.6 District and was administered from MacCarthy Island."

At first Nianibantang and Nianimaru were included in No.6 District but later were counted in the Niani District.

"According to another version the Tukulors established themselves in Nianija in the following way. There are said to have been three brothers of the Cham (a blacksmith family) family, who left Fuuta Tooro, and came to The Gambia where they divided. One brother took his followers to Kombo, where they are established today round Sukuta, the second went to Jaara Sutukung, and the third settled in Nianija."

Nunn writes "One may accept the legend of the Cham brothers and deduce that as newcomers...they first lived as a small Muslim colony accepting, temporarily, the rule of the autochthonous Soninkes. Later Hama Ba having conquered Saalum...the time was propitious for a revolt, and all that was needed was something to lend the movement the sanctity of a Jihad, and that was supplied by the arrival of one of Hama Ba's officers..."

"Two families claim the leadership of the western end of the District, the Chams and the Wanns. The Wann family is also Tukulor, and would appear to have been of a serf class under the Saalum kings...They were cattle owners, and to save their herds from the King of Saalum, they are said to have crossed the creek with them, and hidden themselves in the then uninhabited country between the creek and the river. The probability is that they merely used the new country as pasturage during the dry season. (In the 1940s I observed that in the dry season herds used to come **across** the border from Senegal to the water and pasturage of Upper Saalum and Nianija (DPG)).

At a later date they decided to settle and built the town of Ker Alfa. This is thus said to have been the oldest town in the District.

The story continues by saying that the Wanns received their land from Pakala (Upper Saalum), the head chief's town then being at Makaguy in Senegal. The claim is made by the Wolof of Pakala that they originally possessed rights of ownership over Nianiya.

The Chams found the Wanns already established at Ker Alfa, and it is said that when the time came to choose a chief for No. 6 District, the Wanns disclaimed any wish to have such a position, preferring their pursuits of "learning and stock raising."

NIANIJA - VILLAGE NAMES

DPG's spelling	1927 & 1930 Village Lists	1936 Village List	1946 Assessment	1948 Map	1973 Census
Bakadaji					Bakadagy
Bati Jaha					Rati Jaha
Buduk = Sukuru	Buduk	Buduk	Buduk	Buduk	Buduk
Carrol's Wharf	Carrol's Wharf	Carrol's W. Chamen	Carrol's W. Chamen	Carrol's W. Chamen	Chamen
Chamen					
Dankunku Lamin Ya		Dankunku Lamin Ya			
Hamdalayi				Hamdalai	Jailan
Jailan				Jamaqain	
Jamagen			Jamagen		
Jaqlé	Jaqlé	Jaqlé	Kahone)	=Ker Samba Sowe	
Kawoon			Kawone)		
Ker Alfa	K. Alfa	K. Alpha	K. Alfa	K. Alfa	Sare Alpha
Ker Amadu Aliyu	Amadu Aliu	Amadu Aliu			
Ker Bac				K. Batch	
Ker Jabel			K. Jebell	Sering Jabel	Ker Jabel
Ker Janko	Ker Janko	K. Janko	K. Janko	K. Janko	Ker Janko
Ker Makka	Ker Makka				
Ker Samba Tako	Ker Samba Tako	K. Samba Tako	K. Samba Tako	K. Samba	
Ker Sankuli Job	Ker Sankuli Jobe				
Ker Seriny Xoja	Ker Seréign Hoja				
Ker Sidi (Cham)	Ker Sidi Cham	K. Sidi Cham	K. Sidi		Ker Sidy
Ker Tamsir			K. Tamsir	K. Tamsir	Tamsir
Ker Yoro Jalo			Yoro Jallow	Yoro Jallow	
Kai-xai	Kai Hai	Kayai	Kaiyai	Kai Hai	
Kerewan	Kerewan	Kerewan	Kerewan	Kerewan	Kerewan
Konte	Konti	Konti	Konteh	Konteh	Konteh
Kuca	Kutcha				
Madina	Madina I				
	Madina II				
Maka	Makka				
Mbarro	Mbarro				
		Maka (Chali Sise)			
				M'Baro	

DPC's spelling 1927 & 1930 Village Lists 1936 Village List Assessment 1948 Map 1973 Census

Ngeeyen	Ngaien	Ngayen	Ngeyene	N'Gaien
* Niani Bantang	Niani Bantang			
* Niani Maru	Niani Maro	Nianimaru	Nianimaru	
* Niani Maru wharf				
Njaaykunda	Njai Kunda	Njai Kunda		Njau Jaha
Njau (Jaxa)		Nyoro	Nioro	Njau
Nyoro		Paleleleng	Palelai	Palelai
Palelai)				
Palleleleng				
Sincu Kai-Xai				Sinchi Kai-Hai
Sincu Omar				Sinchi Omar
Sincu Tamsir = Ker Tamsir	= Sinch Tafsir			Sinchi Tamsir
Welingara	Willingara	Welingara	Welingara-	Willingara
			Wolof	Willingara Buba
			Torodo	
			Kai-yai	
Yardulai	Yardulai			

* Counted in Niani at a later date

An 1891 map shows Kai Hai, Nianiija , and 3 not on later maps. Tubakuta, Jianshia, Suteu Boyon

In 1902 there were also: Additional names from the 1976/1980 maps are

Gendenn	Ceesay Kunday = Sise-kunda
Ker Dem Fati	Tubamadadi Tuba- Mamadi ?
Ker Heri	Jamwelli Jamweli
Kolikunda.	Nemasamba Nema Samba
	Katamina
	Sinchi Demba
	Sinchi Baya
	Mbaien Burama
	nDrammeh
	Darusalam
	Sincu Njedi (newspaper references)
	Sincu Tala

The 1931 map shows

Ker Sita Koto on road to
(Ker Wainwright) Carrol's wharf

Samba So (Kahone) - close to
Sanquilli Niani Maru +

Carrol's Wharf in the speech of visiting Nroominka becomes corrupted to Kareuaf.

NIANIJA- POPULATION

	1927 Village Lists	1930	1946 Assessment	1973 Census	
Bakadaji				417	
Bati Jaxa				376	
T Buduk	94	97	105	136	
Carrol's Wharf	6	3			
T Chamen	302	415	522	682	
Jailen				213	
W Jamagen			29		
Jaḡle	38	37			
T Ker Alfa	72	49	129	147	
Ker Amadu Aliu	111	54			
W Ker Seriny Jabel			32	183	
T Ker Janko	124	46	144	228	
Ker Makka	25				
F Ker Samba Tako	17	25	19		
Ker Sankuli Job	54	25			
Ker Seriny Xoja	89				
T Ker Sidi (Cham?)	105	45	62	156	
T Ker Samba Njie Jalo			112		(Ker Tamsir ?)
T Ker Yoro Jalo				184	
Se/M Kawone			57		
T/M Kai-Xai	97	124	151		
Ja/M Kerewan	225	111	153	233	
T Konte	248	340	348	361	
T Kuca	83	78			
Madina I	24				
Madina II	48				
Maka I	83	33			
II	25				
Mbaro	9				
W Ngeyen	148		38		
* Niani Bantang	115	107			
* Nianimaru	29		45		
* Nianimaru Wharf	125	173			
Njaay Kunda	47	30			
Njau Jaxa				102	
T Nyoro			65		
Palelai/Paleleḡ ?	138	16	98	161	
T Welingara (Kai-Xai)			49		
" Torodo (Li)	113	60	124		
" Wolof	27		37		
" Buba				190	
Yardulai	34	36			
others				797	(Villages under 100)
	2656	1904	2319	4566	

W = Wolof

T Toranka / Fuuta Toro Fulbe

Ja Jaxanka

Se Serer

F Fulbe

*Listed in Nyaani District at a later date.

POPULATION

Source: Annual Assessment Reports (Senior Commissioner's office)

1944	1150	
1945	1527	
1946	2295	
1947	2454	
1948	2082	
1949	2379	
1950	2991	
1951	2306	
1952	2308	
1953	2536	
1954	2903	
1955	3131	
1956	3511	
1957	3203	
1958	3304	
1959	n.a.	
1960	n.a.	
1961	2819	
1963	3289	(Census data).
1973	4566	(Census data).

PHOTOGRAPHS ETC.

Slide of crowd on Carrol's Wharf in Jill A. Wright's series "Journey down the River Gambia." 1973.

Photograph of Carroll's Wharf, showing groundnuts being loaded into lighters. with article by Francis Huxley: "Exploration in Gambia," The Geographical Magazine, 22, November 1949, p. 277.

HISTORY - NIANI, SAMI AND SANDU

In the 18th century (Francis Moore, 1728) Nyaani was divided into two, that he calls 'Lower Yany' and 'Upper Yani', divided by the Sami River.

The early history of this region is hard to determine. G.N.N. Nunn, a Commissioner, writing an account of the District in 1933 stated "The early history...is apparently a farrago of battles, sieges, victories and defeats, Muslim invasions and Soninke resistances, and the exact sequence of events is not, I think, clear, even in the minds of the old men of the Districts from discussions with whom these notes are compiled."

Cissoko and Sambu (1974) gathered a series of traditions in some of the major towns. But oral tradition tends to reveal the viewpoint of one particular village or clan rather than an overview of a larger region. The time depth of what is told is also hard to determine. An informant may refer to an event as happening '13 generations ago', or state that such and such a village had had '41 kings'.

Starting with an account of Kunting (in Sami)'s traditions. This was an early Muslim town, said to have been founded by a hunter from Manding, called Tombong Koma (the name being of Serahuli origin). But he left there and gave the rulership to a cousin Hafode Jawla (Jowla). Hafode defended his town against the attacks of the King of Ndungu Siin (Lamin Wali) who was a Soninke, and this king was killed. Hafode then seems to have attacked and killed Sunku Sabali at Tenkoto, who probably was a kanta-mansa, guarding the eastern side of Kataba's realms. Hafode was next attacked by the King of Kataba and killed. Power passed to the Koma clan. The next ruler, Suntu Koma, attacked the King of Kataba and killed him. The King of Ndungu Siin came to the aid of Kataba, but was beaten off. Nevertheless Suntu Koma was killed in the fighting. Not long afterwards the Europeans arrived.

Ndungu Siin (now in Senegal) was said to have been the old capital of Niani, founded by Dembele, a son of Koli Tengela. Apparently the settlers asked for land from the Buur Jolof, the ruler of the Wolof, and ruled more or less independently, while still acknowledging the ultimate authority of the Buur Jolof.



U P P E R

Y A N Y

L O W E R

Y A N Y

J E M A R R O W

E R O P I N A

M I N A

A R S A L L Y

Bafy

Madcanga Port

Paakaba Port

Moracunda

Daruba

Sutema

Wally Factory

wally

Yamya-macunda Factory

Moracunda

Samy

Samy Factory

Crow

Pattico

Pindela cunda

Pholeycunda

Tantacunda

Moracunda

Chaucunda

Cuttejar Factory

Cuttejar

Star Hill

Parre

Quintan

Pruf

Moracunda

Port

Sandalacunda

Dubocunda

Pholey's Isls

Brucoe Factory

Brucoe

Sabacunda

Pholeycunda

Lemain

Juncocunda

Lemain Islands

Jaramy

Moracunda

Capan Port

Sappo Island

Port

Sappo

Yanimaren Port

Paboon Island

Pholeycunda

Moracunda

Paboon

Dear Islands

Malo

Moracunda

Pholeycunda

EROPINA

Pholeycunda

Nany Jarr

Papa

Pholeycunda

Danafensa

Coner

Coner Port

Tombacunda

Indea

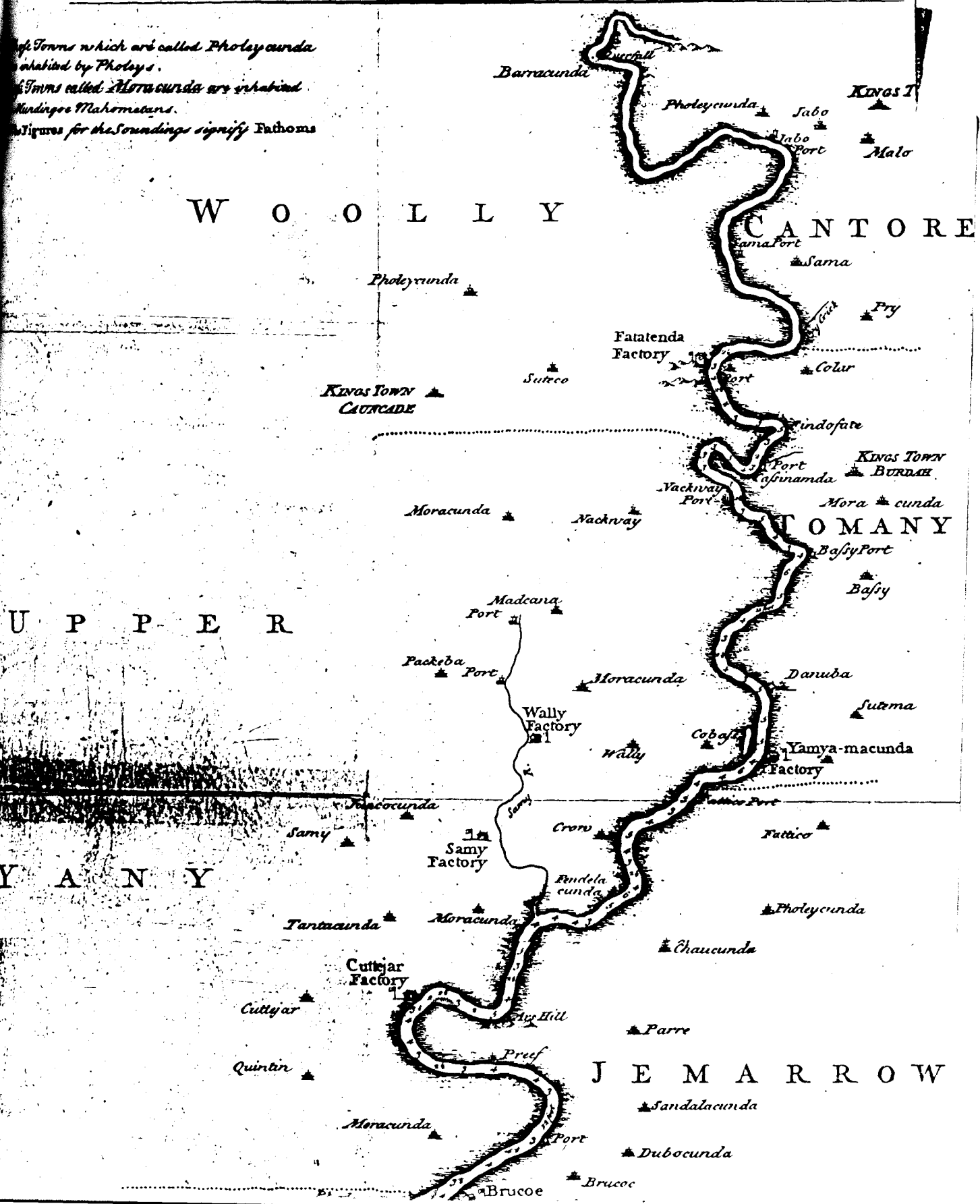
Elephant Island

Moracunda

Pholeycunda

*DRAUGHT of the RIVER GAMBIA with the Soundings; also all the Kingdoms
of the principal Towns, and the Royal African Companies Factories Situated up
it, in a Course of 500 miles up the same.*

*Large Towns which are called Pholey cunda
inhabited by Pholeys.
Small Towns called Moracunda are inhabited
by Kingees Mahometans.
Numbers for the Soundings signify Fathoms*



The ruling family had the surname of Kamara.

Cissoko and Sambu describe the selection and appointment of a traditional king. He was chosen by a spiritual force (jalang), often appearing in the form of a serpent. (The same tradition applied to Badibu). He was given a special bracelet to mark his status, then went to consult the marabouts, and seek powerful charms. The day of his formal investiture, carried out by the head of the royal slaves, is marked by the beating of the royal drums (junjung), he drinks dolo (a traditionally brewed alcoholic drink), and is 'crowned', i.e. invested with a 'royal hat'. He predicts the future of his reign based on what he has learned from the marabouts. The king bears the title of dontan - he who does not work. Kanta-mansa were appointed to guard the frontiers. Warrior chiefs were known as faring-mansas.

Unlike Siin-Saaluum where the gelowar migrated from the south bank to become the royal dynasty, there were no Queens, only Kings.

The region was eventually divided into two:

Kasia in the west

Mansala in the east.

It is said that the names came from two brothers. The supreme kingship was supposed to rotate between the two divisions.

One of the Kamaras fell in the river and was believed drowned, but discovered several days later, still alive. His branch of the clan took the surname Sabali (He who does not die), the other branch keeping the surname Kamara. The titles (praise names) used of the royal branches were Kamara folo Dembelikoto, and Sabali mangajenu.

The Kamara are found at Janna, Jambur, and Ndungu Siin.

The Sabali are found at Pandang, Nianibantang, and Kataba, and formerly at Tenkoto (once opposite Georgetown).

Palang became the capital of the Kataba area, and had 41 rulers. Nianibantang had 17, the last, Kari Sabali, being removed by the French.

The rotating kingship which is implied by this seems to have confused Nunn, who could not account for the changes from Kamara to Sabali and back, and from place to place.

Ndungu-Siin achieved notoriety in the 19th century, when a powerful warrior named Kimintang (Kemintang) Kamara, killed his brothers and assumed power. The British had by this time taken possession of MacCarthy Island, obtained from the King of Kataba, who was regarded as an enemy by Kemintang. The British were not at this time attempting to establish any foothold on the mainland, but but were primarily concerned about the security of their traders on MacCarthy Island. Kemintang in 1834 had seized a vessel belonging to a British trader. Negotiations to obtain compensation failed, and at a dinner party in Bathurst a hurried expedition was put together against Ndungu-Siin. (The name appears in English writings as Dunkaseen (Fox), Dungasien (Poole), Dunnyasseen (Huntley.)) Field pieces, rockets, ammunition, etc were hurriedly assembled, and an expedition of less than 200 men, many of them amateurs, and strangers to living in the bush, set off. Ndungu-Siin had strong fortifications, and was prepared to stand a long seige. The expedition's food and water were insufficient, their rockets had little effect - Kemintang had had the thatch removed - and their ammunition ran out. Consequently they had to beat a hasty retreat, leaving their guns behind. Luckily Kemintang's forces did not pursue them, being content to take the guns as trophies. The disastrous affair is described in detail by Huntley (1850), pp. 271-80.

In 1881 Mitchinson describes the futile attempts of a Governor to obtain the release of individuals captured by the people of Barajali, and impose a fine. (pp.451-453).

However, by the time the Anglo-French boundary was established, the power of the old (Soninke) royal families had effectively been destroyed by Muslim forces. Hama Ba's generals had raided the western side of Niani. Each powerful town that remained carved out a sphere of influence of its own.

The only Soninke ruler left was in the west of Niani, where the ruler, Ngari Sabali of Nyangabantang (Nianibantang) still held sway, though surrounded by Muslim elements. He was appointed a chief under the British but was soon dismissed for embezzlement.

Various Districts and Sub-Districts were made, and the boundaries frequently modified in the early days. In a 1894 list Niani is bounded by an area called Bambuk. The first delimitation of Niani (1895) drew its boundary at Brandy Creek near Wassu.

In 1906 Bisset Archer lists:

- (A) LOWER NIANI Chief town: Nianibantang 34 towns
Head Chief: Ngarry Sabali

North Bank District No.7

(From Palen Creek in the east to NJai Kunda No.2 in the West, and North to Mbaïen.)

- (B) UPPER NIANI (1897 status)

- 1 Principal District : Chief town: Manna No.1
Head Chief: Sunta Koma

North Bank District No.8

(From Bani in the East to Paleng Creek in the west, and North to Kibiri.)

- 2 Subdistrict No. 1 Sub-Chief: Ha Fodi Jowla (of Kunting)

(Toniataba in the east to Kujow in the west).

- 3 Subdistrict No. 2 Sub-Chief: Omar Backi

(From Kunchow Creek in the East to Sinchi Baia in the west, and a boundary pillar 1/4 mile from Sami in the north). (Tamsir Njol)

There were originally two more subdistricts i under Njaol Ka of Fitu, (comprising villages of Demfai, Ker Sauma, Timbakolong, Tabanani, Keleng, Fitu) and ii under Lang Kaba Ture of Karantaba, but these were amalgamated with the others.

In the early days chiefs were frequently dismissed for embezzlement. In Lower Niani Ngari Sabali was dismissed, and went to Senegal where he died many years later (1931 ?) Part of his district was added to Upper Niani. The next chief, Sankule Mbye, was also dismissed. Then several of his towns were added to Nianija. Sankule Mbye was followed by Ousman Salla, who had a short reign before he died. The next chief, his brother, Ahmadu Salla, was dismissed. Sidi Njie (a Tukolor) was tried, but he too had the same fate. The District was then amalgamated with Upper Niani (1927).

Omar Mbaki ruled first in the eastern part of what is now Sami, as a sub-chief under Suntu Koma. Towards the end of his rule, his district was enlarged by a section of the area ruled formerly by Suntu Koma. Omar had as his deputy Momodu Mbaki. Eventually Omar resigned in 1933 on account of old age, Momodu Mbaki taking over. In 1949 Omar Mbaki (who was later to become Minister of Works) became chief.*

In Upper Niani Suntu Koma had had Ha Fode Jowla of Kujeu as a sub-chief.

After Suntu Koma's death, Nakolang Koma was appointed, but was dismissed, (1924).

In 1927 there was a reorganisation of the Districts.

Niani : under Sader Mane, who continued as chief for a long period of time, though not related to any of the traditional families.

Sami : under the Mbakis.

An experiment was tried by having sub-chiefs to represent the major minority ethnic groups, but this idea was discontinued a few years later.

But the system of District Chiefs had become stable, both Sader Mane and Omar Mbaki remaining in power for long periods of time.

* An important article on Chief Omar Mbacke by Massuoum Ceesay appears in the Weekend Observer, January 31- February 2, 1997, p.11.

Boundary

Commencing on the left bank of the Nianija Creek at the point where it intersects The Gambia-Senegal boundary, follows the boundary in a south-east, south, and south-east direction to a point midway between the two boundary pillars to the north of the towns of Kanuma and Kibiri respectively, thence by a line to a point of intersection of the Jamali-Fitu road and the Kibiri-Lamin Koto road, thence following the road till it meets the edge of the ironstone ridge to the east of Jamali, thence following the edge of the ridge in a west and south-west direction to a point on the River Gambia 1½ miles to the East of Jarume Kuta, thence following the right bank of the river down to Nianimaro, where it meets the eastern boundary with Nianija, following the road northwards.

Bird Island and Kai-ai (Sapu) Islands are also included in the District.

Area: 178 square miles.

Maps Consulted:

Francis Moore/Leach		1732
TSGS 1983	1: 1,000,000	1905
No.1958	1: 250,000	1931
River Chart		1942
D-28-1X	1: 200,000	1923 (Senegalese map)
D-28-X		
DCS 15	1: 50,000	1948
DCS 502	1: 125,000	1956
	1: 250,000	1980

Archaeology

There are numerous stone circles in the Niani District, the most famous group of which is at Wassu, near Kuntaur.

They are also found at Kuntaur Fulakunda, Bakadaji Mandinka, Pallol, Madina, Madina Njaien, Dingirai, Kass Mala Ba, and Kucha. Near the boundary with Niani, is a circle at Nianimaru.

NIANIPOPULATION

1927	4235	(Assessment data)
1930	6175	
1945	5421	
1946	7515	
1947	9405	
1948	8068	
1949	8220	
1950	8974	
1951	9087	
1952	9205	
1953	9014	
1954	6143	
1955	6134	
1956	7331	
1957	5961	
1958	6054	
1959		
1960		
1961	5522	
1962		
1963	7260	Census
1973	12949	"
1983	15734	"

1948 Map - Squares

1	2	
3	4	5
6	7	8
	9	

NIANIVILLAGES & POPULATION

M = Mandinka village Jah = Jaxanke
 W Wolof
 T Tukulor F Fula (in general)

			1946	1973
M	Bakadaji		8 30	158
	F "	Fula	62	
M	Barajali		6 280	534
	Barajali Tenda		6	
W	Chalen Ker Bakari Sala	1	58	
W	Darusalame	Wolof	16	
T	"	Fula	4 43	
W	Dingiri		2 119	240
M/F	Doke Alla		4 129	130
	F Faraba		5 66	
W	Fas		7 62	
	Firedawsi			109
	Gasang Forest Park		-	-
M-(Jah)	Jakaba		7 390	569
	Jalakunda (Jalo ?)		1	
	Abdu Sek ?			
W	"	Mat Mbav	141	195
W	"	Samba Nyang	64	
	"	Saini Sise		104
	"	Dembo Jalo	67	
W	Jamagen		85	
M-(Jah)	Jarume Kuta		9 167	263
W	Jokul Ndawen		2 224	349
	T Jungore Mustapha		4 65	125
W	"	Wolof	4 32	
	Kai-Hai Islands		9 -	
M (Jah)	Kai-Hai		7 269	688
	Kajakat Island		9	
	-part of Kai-Hai group			(1980 Map)
W	Kass - Yallal		2 137	
F	- Malal Ba		1 124	
T	- Njaibah		1 111	
	- Wolof		1 130	372

(1980 map- E.of Jungore)

(1980 Map)

			1946	1973	
	Kassang Hill	4			(1956 map)
	Kataba	5			
"	Ali	5	171		
T	Sam Ka	5	84		
	? Samba Ndow ?		119	298	
M	Kayai - see Kai-Hai Ker Ndene		17		
T	" Ngaien	4	73	113	
W	" Sangule		12		
W/F	" Seet Maram	8	64	135	
F	Konko Koto	3	41		
W	Kucha	1	119	134	
Bamb.	Kuyarang	5	23		
	Kuno	2		154	
T	Kunso		54		
M/F/W	Kuntaur	4	475*	1632	
F/M	" Fulakunda	7	n.r.	615	
M	Madina B. Konte	4	131		
W	Madina Njaien	2	80		
W	" Nyangen	1	110		
W	" Jakul		31		
	Lamin Kanteh			106	
W/M	Maka	4	161	116	
(W) T	Makagui	2	54		
W	Mbaien		110		(1980 map. east of Jungore, nr. frontier)
F	" Fula	5	52		
W	Mbaiman		12		
W/T	Mbaro		52	100	(1931 map. S.of Niani Bantang)
W/F	Mbolbuk	8	18	118	
	Mimang Island ^a	9			(1980 Map) nr. 'ai Hai Island)
	Misira Ngaien Tanu			188	(1980 map. far east of District)
M (Jah)	Nema	7	128	137	(Nema 'andinka)
T	" Fulakunda		33		
T	Nyakov	2	111		

* Figures missing from my data. 475 supplies the correct total.

	(- See nyanga-Bantang	1946	1973	
	(Niani Bantang	1	163	
"	Njaien	15		
	Niani-matu	3		
T	Njalal	100		(Near Niani Bantang)
T	Njoben Tukulor	1	256	175
T/F	" Fula	1	78	
W/F	Nyanga Bantang	1	90	
W	Nyanqen	1	89	173
M/F	Palang Mandinka	4	114	206
T	" Tukulor	4	66	
W	Palloi Wolof	2	120	114
F	" Fula	2	125	119
W	Ramatulai	1	112	117
F	Saare Tombong		123	
T	Sanda	5	103	130
F	Sincu Garuba	8	63	
M	Sukuta	6	400	951
W	Taibatu	3	34	
W	Tanu	8?	21	
W	Toben	2	56	
M	Tubakoto	7	108	333
M	Tubakuta	7	136	186
M	Wassu	4	176	614
T	Woy Bur Mbay		37	
	-less than 99			1931

7515	12949
------	-------

a Mimang Island. On some maps appears as Miniang (Python) Island, which seems more probable as the name.

Places named in early lists and maps (Not in 1946 Assessment, nor 1973 Census)

burom	1931 map		near frontier, north of Kass
Fana	1936	list	
Gambisara	1927	"	
Gassan	1927	"	
Gunta	1931 map		near frontier. E. of Konkokoto
Hamdalai	1930	list	
Jaggli			
Joben	1931 map		NE of Jalokunda
Kai Hai Fulakunda	1956 map		
Kanuma	1931 map		far east of district
Ker Jen	1931 map		near Kuntaur, between Pallen & Kuntaur
Ker Mudu (2)	1930	list	
Ker Sa Bachi	1931 map		south of Faraba
Ker Sawali			
Kuong	1936	list	
Manna	1931 map		east of Kai-Hai
Manjumba	1980 map		
Ngungen	1931 map		east of Niani Bantang
Niahen	1956 map		= Njaien ?
Niani Maru	1931/1956 map		
Njai kunda			= Njaien ?
Njapto	1936	list	
Pirom	1936	list	
Sinchu Heri	1930	list	
Sukoto	1930	list	
Sibikuroto Forest Park	1956 map		

Niani- Ethnic groups

	1946	%
Aku	13	0.2
Bambara	100	1.3
Fula		
-Futa Fulbe (Futa Jalon)	307	4.1
- Futa Toro	1078	14.3
- Lorobo	1051	14.0
Jola	15	0.2
Mandinka	2274	30.3
Manjaqo	69	0.9
Mauretanians	21	0.3
Serer	33	0.4
Serahuli	32	0.4
Wolof	2404	32.0
Others	118	1.6
	<hr/>	
	7515	100.0
	<hr/>	

There were minor discrepancies in totals for 1948 & 1950 - the numbers in the total population list and ethnic group lists not corresponding. So I decided to work with a year considered reliable, rather than with later material. There were some peculiar figures in 1950, & 1949 which would seem to have been due to errors by the recording clerks rather than to any real change.

Ethnic distribution

There is not a uniform distribution of the different ethnic group in the district.

In the south, bordering the river, are a series of Mandinka and Jaxanke villages (Barajali, Sukuta, Tuba Koto, Tuba Kuta, Kai-hai, Jarume Kuta).

Inland from these are a few scattered small Wolof settlements.

To the east of Kuntaur runs the Pallan Bolong. Close to this are important Mandinka and Jaxanke villages - Jakaba (J), Pailan, Nema (J), Bakadaji, Faraba, & Wassu, with some Fula (Tululor) villages scattered further inland.

North of Kuntaur, behind the old hill of Kassan, is a belt of Fula and Tukolor communities, which continues into Nianija District.

Slightly further to the north one is in a predominantly Wolof area, though there are some Tukolor villages interspersed.

Ethnic groups - Degree of mixture in villages.

One element only	14	(11 being small Wolof villages, 3 being Mandinka)
One elements only - counting the varieties of Fulbe as one element	14	
		28

Two elements		
Wolof with some Fula (Tukulor)	11	
" others	1	
Mandinka with Fula	4	
" others	2	
Fula + Wolof	4	
" + Mandinka	1	
Bambara + Wolof	1	
		24

Three elements	11	
e.g. Wolof, Fula, & Mandinka		
Four elements	5	
Five or more	4*	
		20

		72

* Kuntaur - as a wharf town contains people of many different ethnic origins, as do some of the nearby villages, Wassu, Nema. At Kuntaur one finds: Wolof, Mandinka, Aku, Manjago, Susu, Jola, various types of Fula - from Futa Jallon, and Futa Toro etc.

The Futa Jallon Fulbe here do not form villages of their own, but generally join existing villages, whether Wolof, Mandinka, or Tukulor.

BARAJALI

This is described by Mitchinson (1881).

"Sixteen miles from MacCarthy's Island....a native town about twenty minutes' walk from the shore, surrounded by a thick mud wall and a strong stockade."

He then describes in detail the seizure of some traders from MacCarthy's Island, and the attempts to free them and impose a fine on the village chief.

In more recent years it is better known as the birthplace of D.K.Jawara.

A photograph of the new mosque (under construction) appears in the Senegambian Sun, 5 September 1983, p.7.

An official account of the affair at Barajali is contained in Correspondence respecting the limits of British Jurisdiction in The River Gambia. London: 1877. C-1827. (Reprinted in Colonies Africa. Vol.56, Irish University Press, pp. 353 onwards.)

The town is described as follows. (P.356)."The size of the town is about 300 yards in breadth, surrounded by a thick mud wall with a stockade round it. It stands in an open plain, and is about 300 yards from the bush, which is distant from the river about 1,800 yards by the track."

KASANG

This town was visited by Jobson in 1620. The English crew of a ship brought out by Thompson had been massacred a few years before by the Portuguese but they were no longer resident there. Kasang was as high as Jobson's vessel went. The river takes a sharp turn south as one proceeds up river, and navigation is difficult for sailing vessels, the river being too narrow for tacking against contrary winds, the main channel itself being narrow, and the shallower parts fraught with sandbanks. Jobson had to proceed in small boats which could be rowed.

Donelha (1625) (pp. 149-155) provides a full description: "The town ... stands a pistol-shot away from the port. The port is handy, we disembark on dry land, and there is a certain amount of sand. Near the port are some high trees, under which the ground is as bare as if it had been swept, and here the black women hold a market when ships are in port; they bring for sale rice, milho (grain) cuscus (steamed millet), hens, eggs, butter, country fruits, and other things. Below these trees, boats are caulked, masts are shaped which are cut on Cabopa Island, and rigging and ropes for the ships are repaired.

The town is small, and built in a circle, with round houses of baked brick, white-washed with a white clay that resembles lime. There are some houses with an upper floor, such as the houses of the duke or sandequil,^{*} and most of them have benches of brick within, to sit on. All have doors, the wooden locks and keys being the first I had seen.

**

The town is entirely surrounded with high timber stakes, called tabanca ; outside this, a deep and wide ditch which runs around the whole town is full of water in winter-time. There are four bridges and four gates: the bridges being of palm trees. At the east gate is an open space, with some high trees. In their shade is a paved square covered with thick mats. They make their 'imshallah' (prayer) in this paved area. Nearby on the west side, there are bowls of water, in which they wash their feet and hands when they come to pray.

He goes on to describe a court session held by the 'duke' and then deals with crafts and commerce. "Here at Casan excellent round shields are made, and if we order them are made in our style. They are covered with leather and painted. And the tangomaos (renegades) have sheaths made for their swords and daggers, and have them decorated, since there are good craftsmen here. There is great trade in cloths, cotton, wax, ivory, gold and hides of various animals, but all the gold, wax, ivory and hides they take to the Jalofo Coast, to the French, English and other nations. (These foreigners) even come up the Gambia to undertake this trade with the blacks, and they draw immense profit from this river."

Jobson also describes the fortifications in some detail (p.44).

Francisco de Lemos Coelho (1684) gives a very favorable account of the place. "The port of Cacao is very attractive, the houses of the village being visible from the river. Whites have always lived there, but in a village separate from the heathen, which is not the case in any other port. In this village the whites live in greater freedom than elsewhere. Only from this place can they remove themselves at any time they wish to do so, without the king impeding their removal or doing them any harm...For the blacks, the bravest and most spirited on the whole river, are very affable and homely towards the whiteman, and his very good friends. The black females are the most beautiful women on the whole river; and are unsurpassed by any on the Coast of Guinea. Even if a white man gets into trouble with one of these women - and may God deliver him from this - not even then will the blacks rob him. The land has much trade in hides, as well as in blacks, cloths, and some ivory. Cola sells there extremely well. The blacks have many foodstuffs such as hens, husked rice - all high quality and cheap, plenty of milk, and excellent fat (butter), both unprepared and prepared. This is because the whole kingdom of Nhani (Niani) is full of villages of Fulos (Fulbe) who have these foodstuffs in abundance. A cow costs only a pataca (a small silver coin) or its equivalent. There are many sheep, which are unlike those of Europe in that they have no wool; but their meat is most tasty...also many goats, which are equally excellent, and a large

quantity of game, both animals and birds, and of many species. Thus everything for human existence is found in this land in great plenty and sumptuousness. There are very good facilities for repairing ships, because of the timber available in bulk at every point along the bank of the river....Above all, this is a very healthy land, well cleansed by the winds, and since it is sixty leagues from the mouth of the river seldom sultry...."

-

The town has long since been abandoned but the site is marked on the river chart of 1941, as well as the 'Red Hill of Kassang', down river from the site. An archaeological survey of the area was carried out by Professor Matthew Hill in 1974, but no major archaeological work has yet been undertaken there.

- * The title sand^equil is undoubtedly the Serer title of santigi, which implies a leader who also has exceptional powers to foretell the future, and control over magical forces.
- ** tabanca is a Sierra Leone term (Temne) as is the name of the island Ka-bopa. (named after a tree type).

Francis Moore (1732) writes: "Cassan is a small town on the north side of the River Gambia, pleasantly situated about a musquet shot from the water-side, about three tides above Joar, fortified with a great number of sticks set in the ground and filled with clay, there being holes left for musquets, and watch towers at proper distances. This was a noted town for doing mischief, was always at war with some of their neighbours, and would often seize upon the Company's messengers and merchants, as they were on the road to Cower (Kau-ur), with their slaves. In the year 1724 most of the people of this town were taken prisoners, and the slattee (Sila-tigi), whose name was Mackamarr, was obliged to fly, and lives now retired at a place called Medina, up the River Samy; and since that time people have passed peaceably through the town, being at this time one of the civilest in the whole river. (The next port lower down was Yanimarew - i.e. Nyaanimaru.)

Hecquard (1855) briefly visited the town. He stated that it was inhabited by Mandinka traders in the service of the English. His party, however, had trouble finding provisions, and he complains about the lack of hospitality there.

From Kassan they travelled next to Pallam.

References:

- Jobson, Richard: The Golden Trade..... 1623.
- Donelha, Andre : Descricao da Serra Leoa e dos rios de Guine do Cabo Verde..(1625)
(Edited by Avelino Teixeira da Mota and P.E.H.Hair. 1977).
- Coelho, Francisco de Lemos: Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684).
(Translation by P.E.H.Hair, 1985).
- Moore, Francis: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa.... 1738.
- Hecquard, H. Voyage sur la cote et dans l'interieur de l'Afrique Occidentale..1855.

KATABA

Gray & Dochart (1825) describe it as being 20 miles from Kayaye, and the residence of the chief. It was "a walled town, of no very great extent or respectable appearance."

Hecquard passed nearby in 1891. He stated that the town had about 2000 inhabitants, but the fortifications were falling in ruins. However he did not stop to visit the king.

The fortifications mentioned here are not to be confused with the fortifications at Kataba in Sanjal, just east of Farafenyi, as seem to have been done by Tomkinson [Michael Tomkinson's Gambia] where the photograph on p.89 seems to be of the fort in Sanjal.

KAYAYE (KAI-HAI)

Gray (1825) wrote:

"Kayaye is but a very small and insignificant village and is remarkable for nothing but its situation, and the residence of a Mulatto lady, who possesses considerable influence in the country. The town does not contain above fifty huts; its inhabitants are all either relatives to, or dependants on Madame Eliza Tigh, whose name the place takes, being called by the native Tigh Cunda, or the town of Tigh. The people of Kayaye, and the neighbouring towns, are a mixture of Mandingoes and Sousous; the former from a country in the interior so called, and the latter from the south bank of the river. They are chiefly engaged in trade and agriculture, and are a very shewd active race, subject to the king of Katoba, and **professing** the Mahomedan religion; but I believe the greater proportion of them do so, not from any religious motive, but in order to ensure to themselves that protection which the followers of Mahomet invariably meet with wherever they go in their trading excursions. Caravans from the interior frequently stop there, on their way to the settlements on the coast, and dispose ^{of} some of their goods to the masters of some of the small trading vessels from St. Mary's, or to the native merchants, who carry on at that place, and the towns lower down the river, a very considerable trade in gold, ivory, and bees' wax; in exchange for which they receive fire-arms, powder, India-goods, coral, amber, glass beads, iron, tobacco, rum, and cutlery.

.....The huts and yards of these people are extremely clean, and, although small, are comparatively comfortable. The walls of both are, for the most part, composed of split cane formed into a sort of wicker work resembling hurdles. The roofs of the former are conical, and covered with long dry grass, fastened on with a small line made from the inner bark of the monkey-bread (baobab) tree..... "

He goes on to describe dancing, the ballafo (xylophone), and the visit of a kongcorong (kankurang). He also witnessed "the carrying off" of a bride by her husband.

KUNTAUR In Mandinka: Kuntauuru (NLAC)

Reeve: The Gambia 1912 p.140.

p. 140 "At the bottom of the islands (Baboon Islands) is Kontu-ur, on the right bank, a port which is fast rivalling McCarthy in importance as a depot for ground-nuts, owing to the fact that the vessels can load there to their full capacity and sea-going draught."

Dod Orsborne: Voyage of the Victory 1956 pp.69-70.

"After six days (sailing) ..we reached Kuntaur..which lies 152 miles from Bathurst. It is a depot where groundnuts are collected from outlying districts and shipped down to the coast. This is generally done in lighters. But the river is considered navigable up to this point for vessels drawing not more than 16 ft; and we arrived in time to see the first groundnut decorticating plant set in motion, and the first seventeen hundred tons of the product being put on board the Swedish freighter that had brought the machinery, as cargo for its return journey to Europe."

Robert W.H.Campbell (#3196) 1948

"Kuntaur..is built on what amounts to a small island of land fronting on the river and surrounded by a belt of swamp.....During the trade season the town becomes a busy port and the population is increased by three or four times...."

A plan of the town was published in the Annual Medical and Sanitary Report for the year 1919.

Research in the Kuntaur Area

In 1948 a team*from the Oxford University Exploration Club led by Francis Huxley, carried out research around Kuntaur.

A general account of the agricultural system was published ("Exploration in Gambia," in the Geographical Magazine, XXII, Nov.1949, 270-277, by Francis Huxley.

A stone circle was excavated, but apparently nothing was published.

A land use map was made . Gordon, E. "A Land use map of Kuntaur in the Gambia," Geographical Journal, 116, October/December 1950, 216-217. The map was also reproduced in Francis Huxley's article.

J.P.Ruxton produced an article "A preliminary note on the vegetation of Gambia," Journal of the Oxford University Forestry Society, 1949, 35-40.

John R.Clarke studied the effect of the hippopotamus on local rice growing.

"The hippopotamus in Gambia, West Africa," Journal of Mammalogy, 43(3), August 1953, 299-315.

* The team included four zoologists, three geographers, a botanist and a soil-chemist.

Photographs

Kuntaur	Riverside at Kuntaur	West African Review, January 1956, p.15
	Market scene (R.A.Webb)	<u>Gambia: Annual Report 1954 and 1955.</u>
	Market Scene	<u>The Gambia.</u> 1964
	Street scene	(Postcard. Bought 1986)

NIANI-BANTANG

In the early literature this town sometimes appears as nYanejar. or Nyahneger. e.g. Administrator's Report dated 30 March 1875. (p.272 Irish University Press -British Parliamentary Papers. Colonies Africa 56. The Gambia Papers, 1845-87) "I proceeded to the creek of nYanejar, and early in the morning of the 19th, steamed up the creek twelve miles, until I arrived off the town. The creek being narrow and very winding, we came suddenly in view of the wharf, where we saw a few natives gathered together, with guns, &c." The administrator's messenger was attacked after landing...

...I had seen armed men running in the direction of the mouth of the creek with axes; I therefore conjectured they intended to fell trees to block the passage, and so hem us in..."

"The town of nYanijar is not a solitary one, in that part there are three others, and the inhabitants in all number over 4,000; they are renegades and scoundrels from every sect or tribe; they own allegiance to no one and are therefore only to be subdued by force...."

An agreement had been signed in 1842 with Sandebah, Chief of Nyanibantang, in which the English hoped that the people of Nyanibantang would abolish the trade in slaves, that the English should be allowed freedom of travel and trade in Nyanibantang country, and their property should not be seized.

A present of muskets, gunpowder, gun flints, blue baft, rum, tobacco, scarlet cloth, sugar, and amber was given to the Chief.

(Similar agreements were made with the Chief of Caroo, the Chief of Cantalakunda, the Chief of Wooli, the Chief of Chacoonda, and the Chief of Debaconda).

= Wuli, Kantalikunda, Chakunda, Dibakunda.

NYAANI-MARU

Nyaani District, near the boundary with Nyaanija.
on the north bank of the river.

- (1) Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa...1738

p.22 "Yanimarew, which is the pleasantest port in the whole river,
being delightfully shaded by palm and ciboa trees, the leaves
of which are made use of for covering houses....

Here the Company have a small house, with a black factor, to purchase corn for the use of the fort. In 1734 several separate traders coming to Joar, and finding themselves ill used by Serin Donso, the chief broker, they one and all came up to the place, and made the merchants bring up their slaves from Joar after them, which had like to have occasioned a quarrel between the King of Yany (Nyaani) and the King of Barsally (Buur Saalum), the latter thinking that the former had sent messengers to decoy the ships from his port of Joar.

- (2) Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea...1684

(Translated by P.F.H. Hair.)

#26 "After passing these islets and proceeding along the main channel of the river, you come to the port of Nanhimargo, a journey of four leagues. The village, which is the same as the port, is on the waterside on the North Bank. It is very attractive, has very friendly inhabitants, and offers a large quantity of foodstuffs, as well as hides, cloths, and blacks, also some ivory. Cola can be profitably sold here. From Nanhimargo to the port of Casao is four leagues...."

* = rhun palm trees (Mandinka : siboo, Wolof: sibi)

(3) During the 18th century Captain Robert Heatly used Nyaani-maru as a base. Gray: A History of The Gambia , p. 291.

"He first arrived in the river in 1763 during the last days of the regime of the Committee of Merchants. He appears to have left finally in 1788. During that time he traded principally at Nyanimaru. He made a number of voyages to North America and the West Indies, but stayed on one occasion for a period of five years in the river, on another for three years, and on another for close on one year. Heatley spoke Mandinka fluently. He dealt in ivory and wax, but his principal trade was in slaves whom he carried to Jamaica, Dominica and South Carolina. " (Based on Report on the Slave Trade, pp. 5, 114, 132, 133.)

Terry Alford: Prince Among Slaves also summarises material on the slave traders and Niani-Marú, pp. 24-28. He also gives a quotation from Harry Gandy of Bristol: "Yanimaroo is a delightful country abounding with provisions...(and) inhabited with honest, hospitable people; their houses are provided with various kinds of household furniture, etc.."

- (4) Major William Gray & Staff Surgeon Dochart
Travels in Western Africa in the years 1818, 19, 20, and 21.....
1825

p. 50 "Yanimaroo. It is beautifully situated at a short distance from the river-side, on an elevated spot, thinly sprinkled with large shady trees of the mahogany kind, and interspersed with evergreens and other shrubs, and a great number of that kind of palm from which ⁱis extracted the palm wine.

The greater proportion of the inhabitants are pagans; a few, however, profess the Mahomedan religion, retaining many of their pagan superstitions. The latter are much respected, and enjoy a considerable degree of influence over their unenlightened brethern. The soil about Yanimaroo is a light yellow sand, mixed with stiff clay of the same colour, except where there are groves of palm trees, and then it is invariably a dark, rich, vegetable mould, mixed with a light red or white sand. "

functions
In recent times it has been abandoned by traders, but/as a place where Nyoominka fisherman can reside and catch fish, and trade salt brought up river.

WULI-WULI

Jobson : In Purchas His Pilgrimes.

1621 On the seventh, we passed thence by a towne on the north-side
 called Wolley Wollev, bigger than any wee had yet seene, and
 in the after-noone came to an anchor at Cassan.

Barbot states "Borsalo (i.e. the Buur Saalum) has only one tributary prince
 call'd Wollo Wolly ."

The place is mentioned by Portuguese writers - "the depot for salt is in a town
one league from the port of Cacao called Oulaoula." (Almada, 1594, p.57).

Donelha refers to it as Ola Ola. It is shown on G. Douuily's map (post 1623) as
Wolouuole, and in Vingboons Atlas (1660) as Wolla Wolle.

(Following footnote 248, p.290 in Da Mota and Hair's edition of Donelha.)

This port was probably at the site of present day Nyaani-Maru.

SAMI DISTRICTMaps Consulted

Francis Moore/ Leach		1732	
TSGS 1983	1:1,000,000	1905	
No.1958	1: 250,000	1931	
River Chart		1942	
D-28-X D-28-X1	1: 200,000	1923	(Senegalese map)
DCS 15	1: 50,000	1948	
DCS 502	1: 125,000	1956	
	1: 250,000	1980	

Area 189 sq . miles

District not studied during my stay in The Gambia.

Boundaries - Sami

From a point midway between two boundary pillars (near Kiberi and Misira Ngaien),
(Sami) (Niani)
follows the Gambia-Senegal boundary to the Sandugu Creek, then follows the Creek
to the River Gambia. From there it follows the River Gambia to a point on
the river South West of Salikeni, South East of Kai-Hai. (Old definition gives it
as 1½ miles East of Jarrume Kuta.). There a short northerly line takes it to the
edge of a ridge - a most irregular line - back to the road junction between the
Kiberi road, and the Fitu Wolof Lamin Koto road. From there a line is drawn to
the starting point on the frontier.

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION (SAMI)

Based on 1946 and 1955/56 Data

The figures for each of the years 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949 are ~~much~~ ^{ed} the same.

They look as if they have been round/off to nearest 50 or 100.

	1946 %		1955/56 %	
Bambara	1.0		1.3	
Fulbe - Futa	1.3)		3.8)	
Torobe	13.7) 20.7		17.7) 26.3	
Lorobo	4.7)		-)	
Others	1.0)		4.7)	
Mandinka	57.4		57.9	
Mauretanian	0.1		-	
Serer	0.1		-	
Serahuli	0.1		0.5	
Wolof	19.9		14.1	
others	0.7		-	
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	100.0		100.0	
	<hr/>		<hr/>	

Figures for Lorobo are given from 1946 - 1949, but not in later years

Firdu Fulbe and Jombonko are included in the early figures, but Jombonko do not appear after 1950. These groups have been listed above as "other Fulbe".

If one splits up the data by region one finds the following differences:

	Sami west	Sami north	Sami east
Mandinka	79.8%	5.5 %	50.2 %
Wolof	2.8	41.3	3.4
Fula	13.7	51.0	38.2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	96.3	97.8	96.8

Essentially the large Mandinka & Jaxanke villages are close to the river,

Wolof and Fula inland. Jaxanke and Mandinka were not distinguished in the assessments.

Jarume, Kunting, Yona are Jaxanke villages. Bani is also a common Jaxanke village name.

SAMIPOPULATION

1927	4573	(Annual Assessment)
1930	6360	
1944	8472	
1945	10250	
1946	10571	
1947	10906	
1948	10879	
1949	10903	
1950	12186 *	9313
1951	10366	
1952	10488	
1953	10639	
1954	9414	
1955	8667	
1956	7284	
1957	8211	
1958	7750	
1959	-	
1960	-	
1961	7335	
1962	-	
1963	7599	Census
1973	11120	"
1983	13647	"
1993		

* The figures for 1950 in the Commissioner's List are clearly a misprint. The correct figure is 9313. (Figures for another District have been transposed.) (Lower Niimi)

Map reference DOS 415 ed.3 - 1966

Sheet 9 1 2 3
 4 5 6

Small segments on sheet 18 = B
 8 = C

SAMI

Villages and Population

		1946	1973	Map
M	Bani	366	426	4
Jal.	Bantangel	73		
T	Bayba (Bayaba)	225	401	6
T/W	Changai	181	174	1
W	Daru	178		
F	Dembakunda	48		1
W	Demfai Kunda - Karimu	15		1
T/W	" " Njaga	394	238	
M	Dobo	572	463	B
W	Fitu Wolof	94	233	(Fitu Fula)1
W	Fori Wolof	38		
F	" Fula	55		
T	Jalokoto	4		
Fu	Jalube	115		2
T/W	Jamagen	105		
W	Jamali - Baba	57	138	C
T	" - Ganado	67	105	
T/F	" - Yero	23	104	
M (jah)	Jarume	608	928	C
T	Kaleng (Kelleng?)	76		1 ?
W/F	Kaneru	431		
M	Karantaba Tabokoto	216	163	2
	" Dutakoto		330	2
M	" Tenda	57	116	5
T	" Tukulor	193	257	5
W	" Wolof	165	142	2
	Keleng -see Kaleng		104	
M	Ker Sa Omar (Saouma)	41		
M	Kerewan Lang Kov	252		(=Dutakoto ?)

		1946	1973	
	Kiberi (Kibiri ?)		189	
T	Kolikunda	403	279	C
W	Korra	29		C
M	Kujeu (Kujaw?)	76		4
M (Jah)	Kunting	816	668	4
M	Lamin Koto	225	268	C
				6
T	Madiyana	118	267	
M	Manna	223	354	C
T	Mbapapau Monkey Court	25		4/5
T/F	Ndimbu Kalen	108	120	
T	Njalal Fula	88		2 3?
T	Njalal Tukolor	422	215	2 3?
	Raneru (Reneru ?)		233	2
M	Salikeni	187	228	C
M	Sambai Kunda	22		4
	Sami			
	" Medina		477	6
T	" Omar Jula	119	118	6
M	" Pachonki	1128	943	
T/W	" Surwa Kunda	342		6
W	" Wolof		360	
Bam.	Saare Jide	3		
T	Saare Jonel	14		
T	Sinchu Baya	204	158	2?
T	Tabajang	88		
W	Tabanani	396	212	2
M	Tandikunda	59		3
M	Tandi Malang		141	
T	Tandi Bara	93		5
M	Tankong Kunda	315	218	4
M	Tasili	23		4

	1946	1973	
W Timpa Kolong	15		1? 2?
T Toniataba (Njaykunda)	30		
Wakilar	39		5
F Welingara	73		
M (Jah.) Yona	319	320	4
less than -99		1030	

10651	11120
-------	-------

- M Mandinka
- Jah Jaxanke
- W Wolof
- T Tukulor (Futa Toro Fulbe)
- F Fulbe (Fula)
- Fu Futa Jalon Fulbe
- Bam Bambara

Villages not in 1946 Assessment or 1973 Census list

FP = Forest Park I = Island

	Bantanto	1931	map	
	Borong Kunda	1956	map	
	Bowar	1931	map	
	Dembakali	1980	map	- see Ker Demba Kali
	Gelel	1931	map	
	Jallal (M) (F)	1931	map	
	Jane Kunda	1956	map	
	Kaien (Demba kunda)	1936	list	
	Kanialia	1931	map	
	Kanti kuntu			
	Kara	1956	map	
FP	Kata Forest Park	1956	map	
	Ker Demba Kali	1930	list	Dembakali on 1980 map
	Kerewan Duto Koto	1956	map	= Karantaba Duto Koto of 73 Census
	Kodilia	1931	map	
	Konko-doma	1956	map	
	Kunchau			
	Kuntuwata	1956	map	
	Kusalang			
	Madina	1936	list	
	Mbawar	1956	map	
	Nema			
I	Pangon Island	1980	map	
FP	Sambo Tumang Forest Park	1956	map	

Sare Demba (Kellekon)	1931 map
Sinchu Musa	1956 map
" Ousman	1956 map
Sukuta	
Tabanding	1931 map
Yongo	1931 map

JARUME, JURUME

Stibbs (1724) mentions anchoring at Germi.

Gray & Dochard (1825) mention Jaroomy. He describes extensive cotton and indigo plantations. It was about an hour and a half's journey west of Jonkaconda.

JONKAKUNDA

No longer existing.

Shoberl (1821) - (translated from book dated 1814)

II- p.117 writes "In Lower Yani is the English factory of Jonkakonda which is a place of great traffic."

It was probably on the river close to the western end of MacCarthy Island.

Gray (1825) states "We left Jaroomy (=Jurume) at six o'clockand travelled east over a gently ascending country, beautifully wooded, until half-past seven, when we came to a small town called Jonkaconda, inhabited by Bushreens (Muslims), and very prettily situated on a little hill under the shade of some few large trees (silk cotton trees...)

At half after eight, we reached another small village (Lemaine = Lamin)...."

KARANTABA

A description by the Manager of MacCarthy Island in 1874:

"..We anchored at the Trading Wharf of Carantabah....The town is situate about two miles inland (North Bank). Between the river side and the town a bush intervenes, and close to the town (Mandingo, and stockaded) is another Jolloff town, also a stockade, and about a mile distant further inland is another town (Toronkos), all three lying within easy access of each other; and I have ascertained that there are about 200 men in the Mandingo town. The two others (Jolloff and Toronko) can muster a large number respectively."

A fine was imposed for an attack made on a cutter belonging to Thomas Brown, opposite the landing place. One sailor was killed and another wounded (April). It was impossible to identify the men who did the shooting. The fine was paid in groundnuts. Dobo, Kunting, Yona, and other villages participated in paying the fine.

Description by Peter Hudson: Two Rivers, 1991.

"Being a wharf town, Karantaba Tenda was somewhat different from the rest of the villages in the neighbourhood as it was cosmopolitan and had the structure of an old riverside trading post. Guineans and Senegalese as well as Gambians of the Mandingo and Wolof tribes lived there, and there were old ware-houses and many merchants' stores and a small pier. Of course today, as with all the old wharf towns, there was little trade in which to indulge and so the warehouses were mostly disused and many of the merchants had left. In the groundnut harvesting season, however, there was still a small amount of trade because barges stopped off here on the way down to Banjul. Karantaba Tenda had the advantage of holding the area's weekly market, so there still remained the slight air of a town about it."

Market day in Karantaba Tenda is described on pages 52-54.

KOLIKUNDA

A photograph and land use map of Koli Kunda are given in

John Bruton et al. Whose Development ? - Geographical issues in West Africa-
from The Gambia and Senegal. Birmingham, 1987.

pp. 42-43.

KUNTING

Gray & Dochart (1825), pp. 66-67 refer to Coonting as

"...a considerable town, partly surrounded with a mud wall, about six feet high. It is in three divisions, each separated from the others by a clear space of about two hundred yards, in which stand some fine large evergreen trees.....

The town is pleasantly situated in an extensive plain, and bears the marks of cultivation to a considerable distance, surrounded on all sides, except the south-west, by gently rising hills, covered with wood. The town is plentifully supplied with water of a good quality, from wells nine fathoms deep, at the bottom of which is a stratum of solid rock...."

There was at one time a port of this name just below Monkey Court. It was mentioned by Poole in his travels in the 1850s, and by Lieutenant G.B.Spicer Simson, R.N. engaged in a survey of the River Gambia in 1911. (A photograph shows H.M.C.S. "Rose" anchored at 'Kuting' in 1911, as well as a 'kankurang' who had come out on the completion of a large canoe.)

KUTTEJAR FACTORY (On Leach's map, 1732)

(Present day: Sami District, Karantaba Wharf area).

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

p. 115 " Cuttejarr, about ten leagues above Dubocunda. It lies on the North side of the river ; the town is a mile from the river side, between which the company once had a factory; but being overflowed in or about the year 1725, by which the company lost a great many goods, they moved it to Samy, about eight miles from Cuttejarr by land, but by water a great deal farther. "

(Sami is on the Sandugu Creek, the boundary between Sandu, and Sami Districts).

(In Francis Moore's time, the boundary between Upper and Lower Yany (Nyaani))

LAMIN KOTO

Gray & Dochart (1825) p.65 describe the village of Lemaine

"..an hour from Jonkaonda...a small village about a mile and a half from the river."

Its name gave rise to Lemaine Island as an early name for Janjangbure, later renamed MacCarthy's Island (McCarthy Island).

MARSANSANG

-The suffix sansang indicates that it was a fortified town, and was probably established at the time of an early Mandinka invasion.

It seems to have been located at or near the present day town of Karantaba.

Its location is shown on Vermuyden's map (1661).

MONKEY COURT

On the north bank, north of Doobo & about ten miles up river from Bansang.

- (1) Rex Hardinge: Gambia and Beyond , 1934, p. 120.

"Fali told me that a short distance above MacCarthy Island is a hill called the Monkey Court, where the king of all the monkeys lives, and every Friday the monkeys can be seen there in solemn conclave. This gathering of the monkey court takes place on Fridays, and the natives insist that monkeys are seen travelling towards the court during the week, doubtless to present their cases for judgment."

Hardinge's 'monkeys' were clearly 'baboons.'

- (2) Another description of troops of monkeys, relating to the same general area, comes from an early Portuguese writer- Andre Alvares de Almada: Brief Treatise on the Rivers of Guinea, c. 1594.

"Going up stream from Fulos' Pass, there came to our notice troops of monkeys the size of hares, of a reddish colour, more red than orange, and in each troop there was one monkey who rode on the back of another, like a man on a horse, and those who rode were neither the largest nor the smallest of the monkeys. The blacks of this country said that the one who rode was the king or captain of that group. The blacks spoke to them in the language of the country, and they replied loudly in a grotesque voice, as if they were speaking words. In all the troops we met, there was always one monkey riding in the manner described."
(Translation by P.E.H.Hair).

- (3) Sire So of Kaolack provides a vivid (if somewhat fanciful) account in Notes Africaines, No. 40, October 1948, 4-5. "Le tribunal des singes de Monkey Kote."

The translation is as follows:

"There exists on the banks of the Gambia, not far from the village of Monkey Kote,¹ a fine clearing around which grow trees without thorns, black hard trunks. A tall coconut² tree, at one side, leans its ruffled head over the black waters of the river.

It is a solitary corner, hidden and little known. There, the river flows full of mud and fish. Scaly crocodiles on the backs of which grow oysters and little mangrove shoots, float like tree trunks on the waters.

1. I doubt if there is a village of that name.
2. Probably a rhun palm tree. Coconuts would be exceptional so far from the coast.

This clearing is not inhabited, but it is haunted by beings who respect it and work there in peace. A sense of respect like that which we feel towards our mosques, churches and courts, emanates from the trees and rocks.

In fact it is a sacred place, a tribunal with its permanent president, and his assessors. He sits every year. It is the tribunal of the monkeys.

I was following a harnessed antelope that I was hunting on the banks of the Gambia, when from my hiding place, I saw this assembly of round heads. The president was powerful, the assessors were often drowsy. In front of them, the public surrounded the litigants, all covered in dust, serious, immobilized by the attention that they brought to the discussions of the clearing. No one scratched himself. No one was in the trees, except for the sentinel who this time was deceived, since she had not discovered me. The accused was there, entreating. It was a male, young and robust. The two complainants were side by side, and of different sexes. It must have been, from what I saw, a divorce, or case of adultery.

On the other side of the circle, behind the judges, in the muddy waters, there came and went against the bank, crocodiles drawn by hunger. They must have been accustomed to this spectacle for they uttered cries from time to time as if to give warning of their presence.

Still quiet, however, the sentinel watched over the bush and the deserted waters. She went from branch to branch, moving carefully. Once her eyes were fixed on me. Remaining still she spent long looking in my direction. Finally, she turned away and moved to another branch, and continued her watch.

The young monkey on which there rained gesticulating complaints must have been an old offender.

The session continued, still more curious and more serious.

The tribunal reached its verdict. Faces darkened, eyes shone, hair stood up on the napes. Three dog-faced police separated themselves from the group and advanced full of pride. Their short, strong jaws, bristling with white, hard hair, added to their faces a fierce ugliness. They approached the delinquent and surrounded him, with the habitual silence of those used to action. The guilty one looked at them with terror, the die had been cast. All at once the representatives of the law of the monkeys seized him and a struggle ensued. Nothing drew my attention more than the cold and dignified calm of the president. Indifferent to the cries of the condemned, he remained unmoved, his eyes red. "The law demands," he seemed to be saying in his stillness.

Then the sound of a body thrown in the water made all the monkeys stand upright. Those endowed with tender feelings, and there were some among them, turned away, jumping slowly, ready to return to the bush. The crocodiles were already fighting over the body of the one condemned to death. Then all disappeared in the muddy water.

Go and see this spectacle, but above all wait for the moment carefully. Their sessions are annual but the dates unknown.

A certain Ibra Niang, living at N'Didieng, can without a doubt, lead you to the place.

(Translated by D.P.G.)

- (4) A.W.Mitchinson: The Expiring Continent....1881, pp.455-457

interprets the place as a Monkey Parliament.

"Majombo-me, or Monkey Hill," about a mile in length, is a sort of terraced hillock nearly round, about thirty-five feet high, and having six steps narrowing as they ascend. The hill is only a few yards from the rock, the intervening space being filled up with bushes. The clear channel at this spot is some twenty feet wide, the rest of the river being blocked up with rocky banks rising above the water. The depth in narrow places is only two feet, while in the channel proper it is from five to seven feet.

Upon this hill monkeys, called by the natives "Dombu" (dog-face), have for many years held their parliamentary sittings in ludicrous resemblance of many distinguished European assemblages. The monkeys usually meet soon after the heat of the day has subsided, and remain in solemn conclave until sunset, when, at a given signal, all retire.

On the lower steps the junior members of monkey parliament are gravely seated in expectation of their turn, probably by election, to take their places on the highest or treasury bench. Progresssively, according to age, ability and eloquence, monkeys of various ages are arranged. The oldest simian, by virtue of seniority and his second age of childhood, perches high above all the rest, the the proud position of premier, directing the destinies of the four-handed nation. He, like his human prototype, is invested with supreme authority, and conducts the debates with dignity and decorum. The ordinary members in baboon fashion, when their distinguished orators make clever intonations and gestures, express their monkey feelings and approbation with deep and repeated sounds, "Heah! heah!....."

Wonderful is the sympathetic influence of these sounds upon all the members assembled. Even those who sit on the other side of the hill, not knowing from which side the sounds emanate, whether the "ins" or "outs," re-echo sonorously "Heah, heah," smacking their tongues and fidgeting on their seats in token of approbation, while the venerable premier with an absent-minded look, titilating his person in various places, scrutinises the members on the lower benches and utters a cry of assent or dissent.

..This hillock (Majombo-me) is well known, and when this monkey parliament is held, all men, white or black, passing by are obliged to procede slowly and dance in front of the assemblage.

(Previously he has mentioned the hill"called Manidungabi, where, according to tradition, a spirit resides, whom the natives invariably salute in passing.")

PISANIA

J.M.Gray in A History of The Gambia identifies it with Karantaba.

A note-Abstract of Mr. Park's Journey, p. 442 states that Pisania is also called Kuttijar Factory .

Gray writes: "In 1786 there was another factory sixteen miles above Junkakunda at Pisania (Karantaba)...It appears to have been originally established by some brothers of the name of Aynsley. A Robert Aynsley was amongst the settlers, who were made prisoners at the taking of James Island in 1779, and it would appear that he was already established at or in the vicinity of Karantaba at that date. He appears to have returned to the Gambia soon after the taking of Goree. In 1791 he and his brother had been joined at Karantaba by a surgeon, named John Laidley, who acted as banker to Houghton and Park and in many other ways rendered these two explorers very valuable assistance. Laidley died in 1797 in Barbadoes whilst on his way home to England, but the Aynsley brothers carried on the tradition of assisting African explorers. Park paid a warm tribute to them on his second expedition in 1805. Sometimes before 1818 the factory had to be abandoned because of the hostility of raiding parties from Bondu and Wuli..."

Mungo Park: Travels in the Interior of Africa (= 1795..)

provides the following description: "Pisania is a small village in the King of Yany's dominions, established by British subjects as a factory for trade, and inhabited solely by them and their black servants. It is situated on the banks of the Gambia, sixteen miles above Jonkakonda. The white residents, at the time of my arrival there, consisted only of Dr. Laidley, and two gentlemen who were brothers, of the name of Ainslie, but their domestics were

numerous. They enjoyed perfect security under the king's protection; and being highly esteemed and respected by the natives at large, wanted no accomodation or comfort which the country could supply; and the greatest part of the trade in slaves, ivory, and gold was in their hands.

S.M.X.Golberry : Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique, T.II, 1802, p.150 mentions it as "...one of the principal English establishments, situated in Upper Yani, almost 80 leagues from the sea. Merchant ships can reach this large trading centre, and the tide is still strongly felt."

The Rev. John Morgan found one of the Ainsley brothers at Tentabar
 (1821?)
 (= Tendabaa, in Kiang)/to which he had moved. Reminiscences of the founding of a Christian Mission on the Gambia, 1884, pp. 12-13

Gray and Dochart: Travels in Western Africa in the Years 1818, 19, 20, and 21, 1825, p. 70 write:

"The town of Pisania, which formerly stood within a short distance of Tandicunda, was then a heap of ruins, having been some years since abandoned by Mr. Amsley (sic), in consequence of the annoyance he frequently experienced from the people of Bondoo and Woolli. Its situation was extremely beautiful, being close to the river-side, on an elevated spot shaded with large trees, and most conveniently placed for commercial purposes."

Lady Southern: The Gambia, 1952, p. 33. writes

"Its site proved difficult to identify when it was decided to erect a monument to Park's memory there."

* Or was it a son? "He was a black man, dressed like an English tradesman, and, having some knowledge of the English language, claimed the respect due to an English merchant, being very fond of their calling him tobaub ("white man")."

#758 + Philippe David: "Invitation a la decouverte historique de la Gambia,"
Notes Africaines, July 1976, 77-88.

p.82

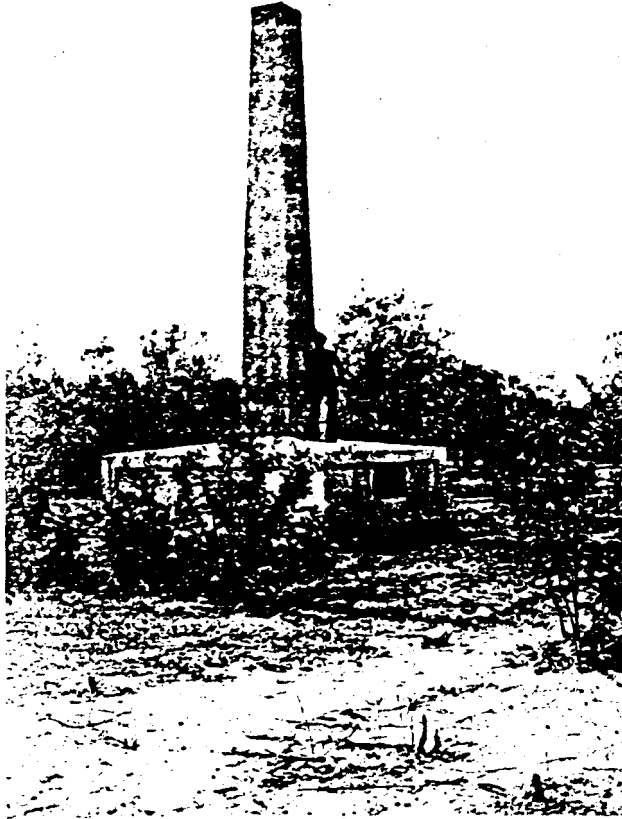


FIG. 2. — Obélisque érigé en souvenir de Mungo PARK
à l'emplacement de Pisania.

PISANIA (Peter Hudson, Two Rivers, 1991. 48.)

"Pisania was only a short distance away from Karantaba Tenda. It was in a lonely spot, not directly near any place of habitation or cultivation. Only boys took herds of goats there to browse on the thick but dry vegetation that grew thereabouts. I met two of these herd boys on the way and got them to lead me to Mungo Park's monument, which was difficult to locate in the bush. When we arrived they stood looking curiously at me as I stood looking curiously at the small and unimpressive cement obelisk, solitary and incongruous, in a clearing by the river. On a metal plaque on its base were written the words, 'Near to this spot Mungo Park set out on the 2nd December 1795 and the 4th May 1805 on his travels to explore the course of the Niger.' A few feet from the obelisk was a rectangle of stones in the sand, said to be the foundations of one of the buildings of old Pisania.."

"Pisania was in the domains of the Kingdom of Niani... "

SAMI On north bank. Sami District.

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

p. 115 The next day we arrived at Samy River's mouth, which is on the north side of the river; it is famous for great numbers of allegators....

 About twelve miles up the river is the town of Samy, noted for good trade: The Company had here a factory under Mr James Lemaigre, a Frenchman, who bought a great many slaves, and remitted them to James Fort, at a settled price. He dying in the year 1733, one Valentine Mendez, a black Portuguese, contracted with the Company to remit them slaves at a certain price, and now lives at his own house at Wallia, about four miles above Samy .

(The River Samy in Francis Moore's time was the boundary between Upper and Lower Yany (Nyaani))

Gray and Dochart: Travels in Western Africa in the years 1818, 19, 20, and 21. , 1825, p. 70

After travelling east from Tandicunda..came to Samee, "a small walled town containing about a hundred and twenty huts. The inhabitants are Sonikeas or Pagans. Dyeing with indigo is here carried on to some extent. About a quarter of a mile to the south-east (they came to) a creek. "

Gray & Dochart (1825), p.70, locate Pisania "a short distance from Tandicunda."

On p.69 it is described as "a very respectable town, defended by a strong stake fence interwoven with thorny bushes, and wholly inhabited by Bushreens."

SANDU DISTRICTMaps consulted

1: 1,000,000	1905
1 cm to 2.5 kilometres	1931
River Chart	1942 (not applicable)
1: 50,000	1948
1: 125,000	1956
1: 50,000	1966
1: 250,000	1980

Area: 127 square miles.

Surprisingly I apparently never visited Sandu during my stay in The Gambia. When I travelled up river on the north bank road, I used to cross the river at Georgetown and continue on the south bank up to Basse. I have very little data of my own on the region.

This account is therefore based on published data, and unpublished reports, namely:

Rancon , Dr. Andre
Dans la Haute-Gambie: Voyage d'exploration scientifique, 1891-1892.
 Paris, 1894, pp. 98-112.

Bisset Archer, F,
The Gambia Colony and Protectorate,
 London, 1906.

An intelligence report by the Commissioner, Upper River Division, in 1933 "Short History of the Sandu or Sanduga District." (unpublished.)

Sheehan, Nancy Ann
Tenure and Resource Management in The Gambia. A Case study of the Sandu District.

Michigan: University of Michigan, Land Tenure Center, 1994.

Boundaries

At one time Sandu was a province of Niani. It stretched from the Sandugu/Sandu bolong to the Tuba Kuta bolong on the east. Its southern boundary was the River Gambia which separated it from Fuladu. It extended north into Senegal, the Senegal/Gambian boundary cutting off the southern section from the more sparsely populated northern section.

In the east, a section of present day Wuli, the Nyakoy area, opposite Basse, was also under its influence, being colonised largely from Niani. During the present century the Nyakoy area was part of Wuli. It was transferred back to Sandu in 1901, but later was given back to Wuli (1917).

Rancon estimated that Sandu stretched for 53 km. from north to south, and 18 km from east to west.

Physical features

The northern part of old Sandu is flat with a poor sandy soil. Villages are situated near the bolong, e.g. Kolibantang; Sandugumana & Lamén.

To the south, the soil is better, the vegetation richer. The various creeks add to the fertility of the area. The region has more low hills often about a mile from the river, covered with thick vegetation. Trees include taba, silk cotton trees, ficus sp., baobab etc. Rice can be cultivated in the swamps near the river.

SANDU POPULATION

1927	4464	(Assessment data)	
1930	5615	"	"
--			
1944	6300	"	"
1945	6884	"	"
1946	6909	"	"
1947	6851	"	"
1948	6263	"	"
1949	7091	"	"
1950	6974	"	"
1951	6131	"	"
1952	6329	"	"
1953	6236	"	"
1954	6795	"	"
1955	6150	"	"
1956	5710	"	"
1957	6254	"	"
1958	6200	"	"
1961	6175	"	"
1963	6893	(Census data)	
1973	10641	"	"

M= Map L= List from Government Gazettes etc. C= Census listing
 * In lists only. Not located on maps. 1973

*Afia		1936 L	
Alimaka (Naude Tenda)		1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M.	On Sanduqa Bolong
Alligator Rock		1948 M 1956 M .	Gambia River.
*Amdali [See Hamdallai]		1902 L	
*Ballokunda		1927 L	
Barinabi	C	1948 M	(Variants: Barry Narbeh (1956), Berreh Narbeh (1948)
		108	
Baya Hamadi		1936 L, 1948 M, 1956 M	(Variants: Bia Hamady)
*Bubutabanding		1902 L	
Bulembo		1930 L, 1936 L	A Serahuli village. Part of Dasilami complex.
	C	539	
Burlel		1902 L	
B. Samba		1931 M	
B. Kope		1927 L, 1930 L	(Fula)
B. Salum		1931 M	
*Burrangva		1902 L	
Changal Cheudo	171 C	1931 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	
" Lang Kadi	C -396	1956 M 1980 M	
Chudaia		1931 M	
Darsilami	247 C	1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	
Dasilami (Daasilame)			A major town on the eastern side. There is also a small village of the same name on the western side near the Sami Bolong.
Takulata	551 C		Darsilami is in fact three separate villages - the original Mandinka settlement, which was joined by Serahuli settlers, forming Taxotala (Takulata in C), and Bulembu (C). There was also a Fula settlement Sena N'Gye Kunda, west of Darsilami, which later moved.
D.Seqa Secka	130 C		Lists provide variations. D.Fode (1936), D. Jaula (1936) D. Kemo (1936), D. Seqa Secka (1973 C), D. Saloum (1927)
Dasilame Tenda		1948 M, 1956 M., 1980 M.	1927 L, 1930 L

* Demba Wallija		1902 L	
Demba Wali		1931 M	
Dembawande		1906 L	
Demba Wanda		1931 L	
Demba Wando		1927 L	
Demba Wendu		1921 M, 1948 M 1956 M	
Demba Wandu	C 116	1930 L, 1936 L,	
Damba Ba Kunda		1902 L	
Demba Laba Kunda		1927 L, 1930 L 1931 M 1936 L	(Tukulor)
Diabugu	C 1635	1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M.	SERAHULI
		1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L 1902 L	
Diabugu Tenda		1948 M, 1956 M	
* Fodi Kaya		1902 L	
* Fodige y Kunda		1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	<u>See</u> Sare Fodige y
* Gallo Yah		1927 L	(Fula)
* Ganiado Yah) Ganyado Ya) Gunyado Ya)		1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	
* (Gelaio Kunda (Galago Ya		1930 L, 1936 L	
* Gubova		1902 L	
Hamdallai		1931 M, 1936 L	(A Hamdallai was part of the Nyakov area- now in Wuli)
Jaha Madina (Jaka Madina)		1948 M, 1956 M 1936 L	
* Jaia ya		1927 L, 1930 L	
Jakaba	C 291	1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M	(1948 map has Jababa) JAYANKE
Jakaba Wharf		192 L, 1927 L, 1930 L 1902 L	
Jakajari	C 197	1931 M, 1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	
* Jaka Mamadi Sisi		1930 L, 1936 L	
* Jalal Kaly (Kandi ?)		1927 L	(Fula)
* Jallo Ya		1902 L, 1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	(Fula)
Jamweli Jarja Ya		1948 M, 1956 M, 1926 L	(Near Naude) (Fula)
* Jawo Kunda		1936 L	
Jende		1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L, 1956 M	= Kundum. (Near Kuta Bolong, south of Darsilame) (The Jindey visited by Mungo Park...?)

Kandandi		1931 M	
* Karawan		1902 L	(Fula) (Now Nyakoy area of Wuli ?)
* Karrikunda		1902 L	
Kundum (Kundam)		1931 M, 1902 L	See Jende (Mandinka)
Koro = Kurau		1902 L	
Korrow		1906 L	
Kuonko) Kuwonko, Kuwonku)	C 657	1931 M, 1902 L, 1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	
Kurau		1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M.	(Earliest mention is by Stibbs (1723), and Leach's map (1732) - spelled Crow)
* K. Arafang	C 510	1973 C	
* K. Kemo	C 155	1973 C	
K. Bakari		1930 M, 1927 L, 1936 L	1956 M
* K. Famara		1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	
Kemo Arafang		1956 M	
Kurau Kuto		1980 M	(French: Couraho) MANDINKA
* Madeya		1902 L	
Madina		1902 L, 1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M	(There is a Madina in the west of the District, 1948 M. A Madina in the eastern side is marked as abandoned.) Gray and Dochard, 1825, describe Sandu Madina, p.76. Also a Madina in the Nyakoy area - now in Wuli.
Madadi Sise		1956 M	**
Madiya			
Fode Ka Kunda		1931 M	(cf Madeya)
Medina - see Madina			
*Mballo Kunda		1926	(Fula) -near Wuli & Senegal boundaries.
Mamadi Sise Kunda	C 251	1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	(Western side of District)
Momodu Ceesay			
Mbye Kunda	C 132	1948 M, 1956 M	(South of Daasilame)
Misira	C 800	1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	MANDINKA
		1906 L, 1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	
* Narling Kunda (Nirling?)		1902 L	
Naude (Nawdeh)	C 401	1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	(Western side of District, on main road)
+ Naude Tenda		1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	
* NGai Kunda		1927 L, 1930 L	(Fula)
* Njie Kunda		1927 L	
* N'Gai Golori		1931 L	
Niebeh		1973 C	
See Sare Niebeh	C 124		

** More probably they meant Sandu Manna. (in Senegal)

Nyankuve	C 471	1902 L, 1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L, 1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 (Variants: Niankui, Niankwo, Niankwi)
* Neqi = Niji		1930 L (near river) Mandinka
* Nigi		1936 L
* Niji Ansuman		1927 L
N'Jaqqa Jarrv		1948 M, 1956 M
N'jakajar		1902 L
* Njallal Kali		1930 L, 1936 L
* Njallalle		1902 L
* Njamuyella		1902 L
Njai Kunda)		1931 M, 1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M
Njie Kunda)		1902 L, 1930 L, 1936 L
* Nondi		1902 L
Pachunko (Wharf)		1956 M 1966 M
Passonko		1930 L (Opposite Kosemar in Fuladu. The port for Chanqali Lankadi & Misira.)
* Peri (Perayi ?)		1902 L (Mandinka) (Now in Nyakoy area of Wuli)
Plinky Bakary		1948 M, 1956 M, 1902 L
Plinky Wopp		1948 M, 1956 M
(Pilinke		1927 L
(Pelinki		1930 L
* Plinky Fulakunda		1927 L
Plinky Mori Fye		1926 L (Wolof)
* Samba Meta Kunda		1930 L, 1936 L (Near boundary)
* Sami		1902 L (Sami Makama was part of the Nyakoy area, now in Wuli)
Sanka Bari		1948 M, 1956 M 1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L (Variants: Sankabarry, Sankabarre)

Sare Demba	C 161	1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	
" Fodiqey	C 171	1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	Variant: Sare Fodieh 1973 C)
" Ganardu		1948 M, 1956 M	
* " Gelaio		1927 L	
" Gubbu	C 148	1948 M, 1956 M	(Sare Gubu Basiru - 1973 C
" Jallo	C 118	1948 M, 1931 L, 1956 M, 1980 M	
" Kuba		1931 M	
" Lalla		1948 M, 1956 M	
" Muntaqa		1948 M	
" Ngai	C 135	1956 M, 1980 M	
cf Sare Samba Ngai		1936 L	
" Sare Salieu		1948 M, 1956 M	
* " Sare Salum		1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	(Fula)
" Samba		1948 M, 1956 M	
* " Samba Ngai		1936 L	
" Sambaru		1948 M, 1956 M, 1936 L	(Variants: Sambaro, Sambaro Ba)
" Silere	C 102	1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	
" Sili		1936 L	
Selari Kunda		1927 L 1936 L	
" Tiuso		1931 M, 1994 M	
" Wonku		1948 M, 1956 M, 1980 M	
* " Yoro Mara		1930 L	
" Vorori		1948 M, 1956 M	

Selari Kunda = Sare Selari 1930 L

Silla Kunda 1966 M(Near Plinky)

Sinchu Bachy			1948 M 1956 M	
" Demba	C	106	1948 M, 1956 M	
" Kusala			1948 M, 1956 M,	(Near Naude)
" Musa	C	116	1948 M, 1956 M	(Near Naude)
" Njiebeh			1948 M	
" Wallbeh			1948 M, 1956 M	
* Walia			1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	
Sumakunda	C	138	1948 M	(Variant: Somakunda 1902 L)
" Mamudu				
" Samba				
* " Juburu			1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	
* Sutowo			1902 L	(Mandinka)
			Sutukoba was part of the Nyakoy area - now in Wuli	
* Taibatu			1902 L	(Now in Nyakoy area of Wuli)
* Tabaiang			1936 L	
* Tabavel			1927 L, 1930 L	(Variant: Tabavale) Fula
* Taqo Tala			1930 L, 1936 L	
Torben Chindeh	C	175	1948 M, 1973 C, 1956 M, 1980 M	(Variant: Tobe Kunda 1936 L)
* Tonvataba			1927 L, 1930 L	(Fula)
Tuba Kuta			1931 M, 1902 L, 1927 L, 1930 L, 1936 L	JAHANKE ?
Tuba Sandu Koto	C	152	1948 M, 1956 M	(Near Kuta Bolong)
Welingara Edrisa			1980 M	
* " Alfa			1936 L	
" Demba	C	100	1973 C	
* Voli			1936 L	
(Yorobawol				(now in Nyakoy area of Wuli)
(Yarobawol				

Illokunda			n.d.	(formerly in Nyakoy area (now part of Wuli. Fula.)

POPULATION

		(Annual Assessment)		(Census)
		1951	1953/54	1973 (Villages over 100 people)
Alimaka	Mand.	67	64	
Barinabe	Fula	127	114	108
Baya Hamadi	Fula	12	13	
Bulembu	Serahuli	242	233	539
Changali Cheudo	Fula	100	106	171
Changali Lang Kadi	Mand.	200	294	396
Daasilami Jaje	Bambara	31	29	
Daasilami	Mand.	181	197	247
Demba Wandu	Mand.	82	106	116
Diabuqu Santasu	Serahuli	731	737	1635
Diabuqu Tenda	Mandinka- Julakunda	32	32	
Gubukunda	Lorobo Mand.	168	174 11	
Hamdalai (Baci Jawo)	Fula	24	25	
Hamdalai (Sedi Jalo)	Fula	15	18	
Jagajari	Serahuli	102	116	197
Jaha Bakari	Man/Fula	167	199	
Jaha Madina	Mand.	24	37	
Jakaba	Mand.	184	204	291
Jalakoto	Mand.	25	31	
Jamweli	Fula	7	7	
Jende	Mand	61	60	
Kerewan	Fula		19	
Kurau	Mand	206	154	510
Kurau Kemo	Mand	133	112	155
Kusalang	?	11	7	
Kuwonko	Mand.	319	260	657

		1951	1953/54	1973 (Villages over 100 people)
Misira	Mand .	561	568	300
Mbaykunda	Mand	89	72	
Naude	Toroobe	163	141	401
Niav Kunda	"	25	11	
Nyankuve	Mand.	309	232	471
Niiti	Fula	22	18	
Pasonko	Mand.	12	12	
Pilinki Bakari	?	20		
Pilinki Wopa	Fula	52	57	
Sanka Bari	Tukulor + Wolof	108	81	
Samba Njai Kunda	Fula	11	12	
Sare Demba	Fula	113	173	
Sare Demba (2)	Fula	35	35	
Sare Fodige	Fula	124	116	
Sare Fode	Fula	19	21	
Sare Gubru	Lorobo		86 + 5	(Gubukunda is also on the list with different population figures.)
Sare Ganvado	Fula	16	21	
Sare Jalo	Fula	42	52	
Sare Lalla	Fula	23	22	
Sare Muntaga				
Sare Ngai (Njai ?)	Fula	28	52	
Sare Salieu				
Sare Samba	Fula	60	87	
Sare Samba (2)	Fula	17	12	
Sare Sambaru	Fula	23	24	
Sare Silere	Fula	71	61	
Sare Vorori	Fula	34	41	

		1951	1953/54	1973
Silla Kunda	Mand.	13	20	
Sinchu Demba Sare ?	Fula	42	52	
Sinchu Walia	Fula	84	114	
Sinchu Woka	Fula	10		
Sinchu Wolpa ?	Fula		11	
Suma Kunda (Momodu Jalo)	Fula	16	10	
Suma Kunda (Ello Bah ?)	Fula	44	25	
Thakutala Thakutaba ?	Mand.	162	170	
Tobuchinde) Tabuchinde)	Mand	159	113	175 (Torben Chindeh in 1973)
Tuba Momadu	Mandinka	123	131	
Tuba Samba	Fula	19	20	
Welingara Samba	Tilibonko	36	20	
Welingara Muntaga	Fula	108		
Welingara Jime ?	Fula		39	
Others		7		

6131	6156
------	------

Discrepancy with
SECOM's figures

130

Perhaps Welingara Muntaga
was missed in 1953 figs...

6286

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

The ethnic composition of the area, based on data submitted at the time of the annual assessments is as follows:

	%	
Bambara	3.0	
Fulbe -		
Firdu	2.3	
Futanko	1.0	
Toroobe	3.1	
Doroobe	24.1	= Lorobo (Mandinka)
Mandinka	42.0	
Serahuli	24.0	
Valunka	0.4	
	99.9	

The percentages are based on the average of the data for the years 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950 and 1956.

Though there were slight fluctuations from year to year, no general trends could be determined.

Since the 1950s there are indications that the Serahuli population has grown considerably.

In the Assessment data no attempt was made to separate the Jaxanke from the Jakhabe (Jaxaba) was a Jaxanke community. Mandinka. Surprisingly there no Wolof villages recorded in the area.

The Futa-Tooro Fulbe (Toranko) were concentrated in the west of the district, in the villages of Nyankui, Naude, and Alimaka. They seem to have been left to lead an independent existence. The Serahuli, some of whom came from Gabu (Kaabu), others from Gmidoume in Kaarta, settled near Daasilame, in Bulembo and Taxotala, and in Diabuqu. Mandinka villages tended to be close to the river - Daasilame, Misira, Kurau, etc. Fulbe villages were scattered throughout the district. At one time there were a few Wolofs, for the most part refugees from Bondu.

The Rulership of Sandu

Sandu was originally part of Niani, but eventually revolted against the ruler.

The Rev. John Morgan went up river with Major Grant in 1823 as far as Barrakunda. On their return voyage downstream, they stopped at Janianbure Island, and sent a messenger to the King of Kataba requesting an interview, so that they might bargain for the island. At this time a ruinous war was going on between the ruler at Kataba and Kemintang Kamara. Kemintang's father had been killed by the king of Kataba's father, and he was out for revenge. The king apparently felt that the island with the British presence would be a good place of refuge for him, and agreed to yield the island. The name Macarthy's Island was given to it, and a mud walled fort was erected called Fort George.

Kemintang had seized a small trading vessel belonging to a British trader ; a hastily prepared expedition against him at Dunkasseen/ended in disaster; the place was strongly fortified, and the British were forced to retreat, leaving their cannons behind. Kemintang did not pursue the retreating forces, but was content with carrying the abandoned stores and guns into his town.

However the Muslim faction in Niani/began its attacks upon the Soninkes, led by the Jowlas .) In 1841 Kemintang Kamara was killed by Ha Fode Jowla, and was succeeded by Mansa Burama Sabali. The capital (Kataba) was later captured by the Muslims. It was then moved to Palang where the last Soninki King was Mansa Koli Sabali. He too was killed by the Muslim faction, and the Jowlas took control of the country.

Ha Fode Jowla made his capital at Kunting and continued war against the Soninkes. His son, Mamadi Fatuma Jowla, continued the conquest. He Fode was succeeded by Pantamang Jowla who died without issue, and was followed by Sitafa

Jowla who ruled from Kobas near Misira. He was succeeded by Mamadu Fatuma Jowla, a son of Ha Fode Jowla.

Sitafa was ruler of Sandugu under Mfali Jowla, King of Niani at Kunting. He is alleged to have revolted against Mfali Jowla, and Mfali laid a plot against him in which Musa Molo, the King of Fuladu, assisted, and Mamadu Fatuma was murdered at Naude. (French sources, e.g. Rancon, state that the French military commander, Captain Fortun, was the one who urged Musa Molo to attack Modi Fatuma.) Jimbermang Jowla, who also may have been involved in the plot, took Mamadu Fatuma's compound and proclaimed himself chief. It is said that Jimbermang Jowla was nothing more than a usurper, his father being a maker of clay pots, not a person from a ruling lineage. Sandu came under the protection of the French in 1887.

When the Anglo French boundary was established, and part of Sandu came under British rule, Jimbermang was made the first sefo in 1897. As a result of complaints against him, he was deposed and banished in 1916.

Fodering Jowla, headman of Nvankwi, who was a slave of Mfali Jowla, King of Niani, was appointed sefo in 1917. The same year the whole of the group of court members was dismissed, and new members appointed, namely the headmen of Tuba Kuta, Jendi, Diabugu, Kuwonko, and Naude.

Fodering died in 1920, and was succeeded by Konoio Jatta, the headman of Misera, who was then a court member. He had come from Sutukoba in Wuli District. He was called upon to resign in 1925.

of Diabugu,
Batapa Darame, /a Serahuli, was then appointed chief. He was popular with the Fulbe, and had a big personal following. He was sefo from 1925 to 1942, being succeeded by his son Yugo Kasi Darame in 1943, the old sefo being too frail for the task.

SPECIFIC PLACES

DAASILAME

JINDEY

DASILAME (SANDU)

(1) Rancon in his travels (1891-1892) describes it as follows:

"Dalesilame is a village of about 650 inhabitants. Its population is formed by equal parts of Muslim Malinke and Serahuli (Sarracoles). There are, in fact two villages and two chiefs, a Malinke village and chief, and a Serahuli village and chief. Both groups are fanatical Muslims. The Serahuli formerly were living on the other bank of The Gambia, in Kaabu. Harassed and plundered by the Fulbe of Fuladu, they crossed the river, and established themselves at Dalesilame.... (They)..belong to the family of Diawaras.

The two villages are separated by a wide street, about 200 meters in length and six wide, the Malinke being in the west, and the Serahuli in the east. Neither towns are fortified. No fort, no palisade . Each dwelling is surrounded by a fence made of millet stalks and bamboo, about two to two and a half meters high. At this season of the year the roofs of the houses disappear completely under calabashes of all sorts. This gives the village a curious dark green appearance, melding into the surrounding countryside, the smoke from the roofs alone indicating its presence."

Rancon also met a Jula - a trader, who had been caught by the rainy season and could not continue his journey. He had been provided with a house and food.

Rancon proceed on to Sumakunda.

DASILAME (Sandu) (DARSILAME) DAASILAME

- (2) This now consists of three distinct villages, the original Mandinka settlement and the Serahuli villages of Taxotala and Bulembu, each with their own alkalos, imams, and kafo organizations.

The village was founded by Fode Mamadu Baro who came from Hireh in Fuṭa Toro. He stopped there, and the same day a Serahuli man Nfa Alimaneh Sila arrived. Later in the day they were joined by Siramang Daabo, a Mandinka. They decided to settle, and the place was named Kutafara. Eventually Nfa Alimaneh died, and his followers migrated to Kumbija and Sabi in Fuladu. The village was renamed Fi Dari Islam, which became Dasilame. The village was estimated to be about 150 years old.

The Serahuli villages of Bulembu and Taxotala arrived together each with an imam and an alkalo, leaving the Casamance because of labor demands and military service imposed by the French. The Mandinka housed them until they were able to build houses and transport their possessions from French territory, and land was allocated to them to farm. A Fula village (Sena N'Gve) also moved from the area and the Mandinka allocated some of their land to the Serahuli.

Increasing Serahuli population, and the need for lands for cattle path and grazing have led to bitter disputes between the Mandinka and the Serahuli, the conflict culminating in a dispute over a Serahuli burial ground.

Source: Sheehan, Nancy Ann
Tenure and Resource Management in The Gambia: A Case study of
the Sandu District.
University of Michigan: Land Tenure Center, July 1994.

JINDEY

Gray & Dochart: Travels in Western Africa in the years 1818, 19,20, and 21. 1825

p.71 "We arrived at Jindey, a small village situate on an eminence, within less than a quarter of a mile west from the Wallia Creek... "

(The chief of Wallia -a province of Katoba, but over which the king has little control - lives about five miles south (of Jindey).)

Richard Owen: Saga of the Niger , 1961, p. 41

"Park crossed the Walli Creek to reach Jindey, yet here I was in Jindey without having crossed the creek. It seemed at first that Park, a meticulous observer, had made a mistake, but on questioning the alkali I learnt that across the creek was a village named Wallia that had once been known as Jindey. Long ago, I was told, there was one village divided by the creek, but as the fertility of the soil decreased each half shifted its farms farther and farther apart. The huts were rebuilt near the farms and the widely separated parts became two separate villages, and, in time, one adopted a new name. "

MISERA Rancon (1891-1892) writes:

(Translated) Misera (Missira) is a large village of 900 inhabitants.

It is entirely formed of Muslim Malinke. It is the capital of eastern Sandu and the residence of Guimme Mahmady, its chief. The village is relatively clean and well kept. One sees only a few ruins, and the streets are well set out. The town square is large, and one does not see the heaps of garbage, that one usually finds in the majority of Malinke villages. In the middle is a superb Taba tree.

The houses of the village are made in the Malinke fashion, and each dwelling is separated from its neighbors by a fence of millet and maize stalks. Misera does not have a fort, and a simple fence incloses it, but does not constitute a serious means of defence. The inhabitants, lukewarm Muslims, are peaceful agriculturalists, who cultivate their vast fields, and raise their cattle, goats, and sheep. This village supports the French cause. Situated five kilometers from the Gambia, it is included in the zone we have yielded to England. I learned since that not wishing to come under the British, they migrated en masse to French territory, abandoning without hesitation lands of a remarkable fertility, to settle in a less favored region. Many other villages in Sandu followed their example....

still,
There is, however, a large village in The Gambia, SW of Darsilami and Sumakunda, called Missira.

Places visited by him further on include Oualia (Waliya) and Tabandi (=Tabanding) which are now in Senegal. The villages he mentions after leaving Misera - namely Diakaba (Muslim Malinke), Sidiqui-Counda (Fula), Sare Fode (Fula), and Sare-Demba-Ouali (Fula) cannot be identified with certainty, though there is a 'Demba' marked on a Senegalese map, south-west of Tabanding, not far from the present day frontier. (Not shown on Gambian maps)

SUMAKUNDA Rancon in his travels (1891-1892) describes it as follows:

(Translated).

Sumakunda is a Fula villlage with about 300 inhabitants. It is buried in the middle of its fields which are immense. The houses are of straw (i.e. millet stalks etc.). When we passed there almost all of the inhabitants were away, being busy in the fields.

Rancon then passed through a bamboo forest, before coming to the millet fields of Misera, where there were a few farming huts,.then about half an hour later he reached the main village.

THE SANDU-WULI BOUNDARY

Leach's map of 1732 shows the boundary running from the top of the riverbend near present day Barokunda northwards. This is repeated by Galloway in her thesis on Wuli history. The 1948 map based on an air survey shows a stretch of 7-10 miles west of Barokunda which is uninhabited, and this is typical of frontier regions- a no man's land being left, which could be used by hunters, herders, people gathering wild products, etc.

The area east of the Tuba Kuta Bolong, opposite Basse, was for long known as Nyakoy. Francis Moore (1732) refers to it as Nackway. Tradition has it that the area was opened up by slaves of the King of Sandu, and a town built called Mamadi Kunda. Later a famous marabout (from the south ?) established himself there, and the town's name was changed to Kerewan. Some people say that the name of the marabout was Nyakoy (White Eye) ("Far seeing eye ?") and the area took its name from him. The old port which Leach's map shows as Nackway port is now known as Madina Tenda. Settlers from different regions, but particularly from Bundu, started coming to the district. Charms relating to the traditional rulership of Sandu were reputed to be buried at Kerewan, which is one of the reasons why there was objection to the inclusion of the town in Wuli.

In the period from the 1870s to the 1890s a substantial number of people from Bundu settled - the order of arrival of the villages being.

Original village - Mamadikunda, renamed Kerewan

Next Sutuko - Jaxanke and Mandinka. From Bundu. Now known as Sutukonding to distinguish it from Sutuko in Wuli.

Taibatu. Jaxanke from Bundu.

Hamdalai. Mandinka from Sandu Dasilame

Bani Israel. Jaxanke from Bundu (1930s ?)

Bajankoto, Perai Mamadi. First inhabitants were Mandinka from the South Bank.

Then came Jaxanke from Bundu .

Madina. Mandinka. People migrated from Kular near Findefeto on the South Bank.

Farato Lorobo(Fulbe) Ab old village

Saare Badi is a more recent Lorobo village (1940s ?).

Several other small Fula communities were located in this general area e.g. Ilokunda.

Nyakoy was considered to have stretch up into present day Senegal.

The British established a boundary between Wuli and Sandu in 1897. This was listed as the "Chamoi Creek". But this is further to the east, ends in a swamp rather than the river, and does not reach to the international boundary - elements suitable to a clear boundary marker. In drawing up lists of villages the British also had to state the though Chamoi Creek was the westernmost boundary, certain villages west of it were to be considered as part of Wuli.

The result was that Sandu was deprived of a number of its villages, though Madina and Sutuo (=Sutuko) were to be included in District No.9 (Sandugu). The chief protested to the Governor about the loss of his villages, and in 1901 the matter was rectified. Galloway gives a map showing the boundary in 1901 as running in a straight line from the Sandugu Bolong south west of Madina to the River Gambia, just west of Barokunda.

The Governor visited the area in 1902 and stated (Letter dated 10 February 1902), published in the Colonial Annual Report for 1901: "...it is clear that both Sandu and Wuli are now quiet and at rest. The arrangement with regard to the boundary between the two places, which was arrived at in April last, is working satisfactorily. N'Yakudu [Chief of Wuli] is quite contented with it, and if Jimbermang [Chief of Sandu], then living at Misera, has not enlarged Sandu as much as he intended....he is wise enough to keep quiet on the subject. So far as can be seen only Yorobawol was left in Wuli instead of being restored to Sandu.

But the situation did not last. A great deal of corruption was discovered in Sandu. Jimbermang was deposed in 1916, and in 1917 all the court members were

dismissed. Seemingly as a punishment, the group of villages which had been restored to Sandu was taken away again, and placed under the Chief of Wuli. The boundary was proclaimed and ordered to be the Tuba Kuta Creek. (Proclamation dated 16 February 1917.)

It was not until self-government (1961) and independence (1965) that the people of Nyakoy area got to reassert their identity as belonging to Sandu and not to Wuli. When electoral districts were being drawn up, it became clear that the people did not want to vote as part of the Wuli Electoral District, but as part of the Sandu ED, and the boundary was drawn close to the old division as shown in 1901. The new boundary had a dog-legged shape. Njakunda (which was a Jula town)¹ remained in Wuli ED, but Kolibantang and Yorobawol were now in the Sandu ED. In subsequent elections we find Yorobawol as one of the major polling stations in Sandu.

1. The head of Njakunda as the surname Baro, so it looks as though the town was founded as an expansion of Barokunda -though I have not yet been able to confirm this.

WULI

Area 222 square miles.

Maps Consulted

Francis Moore/ Leach		1732	
TSGS 1983	1:1,000,000	1905	
No.1958	1: 250,000	1931	
River Chart			Does not reach Wuli
D-28-X D-28-XI	1: 200,000	1923	Senegalese map
DCS 15	1: 50,000	1948	
DCS 502	1: 125,000	1956	
	1: 250,000	1980	

Written sources

1. Rançon, Dr. Andre
Dans la Haute-Gambie. Voyage d'exploration Scientifique, 1891-1892.
Paris, 1894. Wuli: 53- 71.
2. P. Holderer
"Notes sur la coutume Mandingue du Ouli (Cercle de Tambacounda)," Coutumes Juridiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française: Sénégal
1939, 323-348.
3. W.F. Galloway
"A history of Wuli from the Thirteenth to the Nineteenth Century,"
Ph.D. Dissertation, Bloomington, Indiana, 1974.
4. Weil, Dr. Peter
"Fighting Fire with Fire: The Mandinka Sengko Mask,"
In West African Masks and Cultural Systems.
Edited Sidnev L. Kasfir.
Tervuren, Belgium, 1983, pp. 153-194.

"Slavery, Groundnuts, and European Capitalism in the Wuli Kingdom of Senegambia, 1820-1930,"
Research in Economic Anthropology, 6, 1984, 77-119.

- 5 Cissoko, Modu & Kaoussou Sambout
Recueil des Traditions Orales des Mandingues de Gambie et de Casamance.
Niamey (Niger): Centre Regional de Documentation pour la Tradition Orale,
1974.

Accounts of travel across Wuli include those of Mungo Park (1795-7), Gray & Dochart (1813-21), William Fox (Methodist missionary) 1837 & 1840s, Governor G.C.Denton (1902) [contained in the Annual Colonial Report for 1901.] For Mungo Park and Gray & Dochart most of their routes were in what is now Senegal, only their starting or ending points being in The Gambia.

Visits to Wuli

- a I visited Bantunding briefly with Dr. Peter Weil in July 1972.
- b The Nyaakoy area was visited in March 1953.

The name of the state

In Diogo Gomez's writings (1456?) we have Ulimays & Ollimansa
mansa being the Mandinka word for king , i.e. king of Wuli.

Jobson (1620) writes Wolley

Stibbs (1723) " Woolly

Park (1795) " Woollie

French writers substitute Ou for W .

Adanson (1756) Ouolli

Labat (1728) Ouli

Mollien (1818) Oulli

Modern English writing uses both Wulli, and Wuli.

Wulli with a double l is the way the local inhabitants call it. It is
to be distinguished from wuli - the verb to 'rise up'.

History

Holderer states that the founder of the ruling family was Mansali Konate, whose grandfather had migrated from Mali. He defeated the Fulbe, and founded a village 30 km. north of Tambakunda. Because of his courage he became known as Dialal (Jalal), and he also changed his surname to Ouali (Wali). One of the sons of Sunjata Keita (Mansa Oule) also had Ouali as a surname.

Dialal had five sons who founded the major clans of the Wali.

- 1) Souna Makan who founded the segment of the clan established at Seouor.
- 2) Kope " " " " " " " " " " Madina
- 3) Dioumama His mother was a Toucouleur named Sane, he was
(Diawna ?)
(Diaouna ?) excluded from the succession, but he founded the
Sane clan established at Koussanar
- 4) Farin Bougari Clan now extinct " " Kerouane
(Kerewan)
- 5) Mansabari Kandan Banished by his father for evil behavior.
Founded Bame clan.

Holderer relates how Kope obtained power through a trick. (1939, p.330)
"Dialal, several days before his death called his eldest son (Souna Makan) and told him that he was going to bequeath him the power (of the kingship). He gave him a silver bracelet, and asked him to return in the middle of the night to receive the ablutions of sacred water. An attendant who heard the conversation reported it to Kope, who claiming an assignation, asked Souna Makan to lend him the bracelet for several hours, promising to give it back before nightfall. But once the bracelet was in his possession Kope went and hid in the bush, and by a roundabout way, went to Dialal's house at the appointed time. In the darkness of night, the ancestor thought he recognised his eldest son by the bracelet. He entrusted to him the magical formulae and secrets of royalty, and invited him to bathe himself with the sacred water contained in four jars at each corner of his bed. When it was finished they broke the jars. Kope was henceforth invested with the royal power. When Souna Makan, having sought his brother in vain, went to Dialal's compound, he was told "Since you let Kope take your place,

you and the others should submit to him'.

Variations on several of these traditions are given in narratives in Cissoko and Sambou's account. Sonaman (Souna Makan) was reputed have been born after his mother had died.

Near the frontiers of Jolof, at Tambakunda, Kusanar, Kundidia-Sandiba (Kumbija ?), and Katobu-Tinton-boulou, and on the Bondu side at Fatafinda, kanta-mansolu (warrior rulers of border towns) were established, but there were apparently none on the Niani side.

For a valiant attempt to sort out the various traditions, consult Galloway's dissertation.

Medina has long been regarded as the capital of Wuli. The old town was located in the west of the district, protected on three sides by swamps and the stream. Francis Moore and Leach's map of 1732 give the name of the capital as Cauncade, which Galloway equates with Kankadi, and Thomas Hull (1735) as Concord. Cissoko and Sambou (1974) refer to a tradition that leatherworkers from Kaabu established themselves at Kankadi near a farmer, and the king at Madina brought them to Madina itself. It would seem that Kankadi and Madina were not far apart. One might wonder why a Soninke town would have an Arabic name - did this represent a later name change ?

Medina was visited by all the early travellers who paid their respects to the King. Gray (1818) writes "Madina is a respectable walled town, containing about two hundred and fifty huts, and from eight hundred to a thousand inhabitants, all Sonikeas; it is the capital of the kingdom of Woolli, and the residence of the king. Outside the walls is a strong stake or palisade fence, about five feet high, which gave to the place the appearance of a large fortified redoubt. The interior of the town was beautifully shaded with large trees of the fig and palm kind, and altogether had a very good outward appearance. There are three gates to it; two in the north, and one in the east, which are shut every night. The interior of the town does not accord with its external appearance, being filled with small round grass, and mud huts jumbled together without any regard to order or regularity and between which are heaps of filth of every description. The house of the king is separated from those of his subjects by a mud wall about nine feet high, and stands nearly in the centre of the town; that of his son, and some of the chief men are similarly inclosed, but the walls of the latter are not so high. Two wells situate within the wall at the east end of the town, of tolerably good water supply the inhabitants with that necessary article in sufficient abundance. The ground, to the extent of half a mile all round the town, was cleared, and bore the marks of cultivation."

Medina was eventually destroyed by Biram Sise, from the west, in the Soninke-Marabout struggles in the latter half of the 19th century, the people fleeing to Tambakunda.

In 1863 Bokar Saada of Bondu allied with Khasso and Futa Toro to invade the area of Tambakunda. This raid was unsuccessful, and he tried again the following year, but failed. In 1865 he raised a new army, and conquered the village of Gunjuru, enslaving the women and children. In 1866 he attacked again, this time destroying the British trading factory at Fatatenda. The British Governor tried to get the French to restrain the rulers of Bondu, but the French claimed that Bondu was still an independent nation. In 1867 Bokar Saada launched a major attack and reached Medina. The king surrendered, but Bokar Saada was content with simply imposing a heavy tribute, and continued raiding Wuli annually from 1868 to 1879. In that year he made an alliance with Alfa Molo of Fuladu, and Alfa Ibraima of Futa Jalon, and Wuli was further devastated by this powerful alliance, though Niani was the target on which Bokari Saada had set his eyes. Alfa Molo was more concerned with consolidating his power in Fuladu than extending it to the north bank, and Alfa Ibraima was also mainly interested in suppressing opposition in his own territory. Niani, however, defeated Bokari Saada's force at Kusalan, and thereafter his activities in the Gambia began to come to an end. But the damage had been done.

The British had tried through diplomatic means to open up safe trade routes from the Gambia to Bondu. An agreement was made in 1827. In 1844 the Governor crossed Wuli and reached Bulibani in Bondu, attempting to ^{negociate} / a treaty which the ruler had signed with the French to block trade with the Gambia. In 1869 a further treaty was signed, by which the British hoped to secure a safe route to Bondu, but the rulers of Bondu resumed their raids on Wuli in the following year.

In 1872 the Acting Governor Colonel Anton, in Her Majesty's gunboat "Growler," Captain H. Verney, paid a friendly visit to the King of Wuli at Fatatenda.

"It is only due to the King, chiefs, and people of Wuli to say that from the year 1827 down to the present date, a period of 50 years, these people have always been friendly to us ; we have traded there without any inter^ruption; they have never themselves committed any outrage against British subjects; they have on the contrary always been friendly to us, although they have themselves been in trouble. Their country was ravaged by Barcary Sardho's army in 1866; the British merchants suffered at the time considerable losses, but through no fault of the King of Wuli or his people, beyond their inability to protect us against a superior force.lately their capital (Medina) has been destroyed by the Marab^eut hordes of Mahmoud Dare Bah (Mamud Nderi Ba), the Almamy of Badibu.....who exacts large customs from our traders, but on this occasion British subjects and British property were respected.

The war between these parties is a religious one, the Marabouts of Badibu desiring to convert by force the pagans of Wuli to Mahometanism."

It was after the raid in 1866 by Barcary Sardho that the late Governor Blackall made the treaty with him.

The King and people of Wuli are most friendly to us, and have sent several messages to the Government offering every facility for trade and settlement amongst them, and are desirous to receive missionaries to reside amongst them.

The merchants in the Gambia interested in the trade are at a loss to conceive the reasons that have so suddenly induced Her Majesty's Government to withdraw the protection....."

(Letter from David W.E. Brown to Colonial Office, February 8, 1877.

In Correspondence respecting the limits of British Jurisdiction in the River Gambia, p.12. (C.-1827), 1877. London: H.M.S.O.)

* Another source - see previous page- names Biram Sise as the leader.

Geographical features

Rancon describes Wuli in detail, writing before its division into French and British sections/ He estimates its size as 130 km. from east to west, and 70 from north to south. It thus ranged from open savanna vegetation in the north to thicker forest near the river Gambia. The region has numerous streams which drain into the Gambia-from east to west - Sine Bolong, Brifu Bolong, Bajakunda Bolong, Chamoi/Barokunda Bolong, Sutuko Bolong, and the Tuba Kuta Bolong. The Sandugu/Sami Bolong, which now forms the boundary between Sandu and Sami Districts goes far to the north, then swings east across Wuli to Sinchu Malem on the rail line west of Tambakunda, with subsidiary streams draining into it, while another branch continues north to Kusanar.

These streams largely determined the location of the major towns. Flooding in the rainy season created fertile land where rice could be cultivated. The soil in the southern zone was richer and more fertile than that in the north - millet, groundnuts, tobacco, tomatoes, cotton and rice could all be grown. The eastern zone was sparsely inhabited and had an abundance of animal life - antelope, wild boars, elephants, hippopotami, etc.

The old Soninke - the Wali and their allies - dominated the east-west zone along what is now the railroad line- Bokarikunda, Likunda, Tambakunda, Kotiare (Kochari), Kumbija, Kussai, and a zone near the river Gambia, Siin, with Makajan and Kolinding. The latter zone became more prominent after the destruction of Medina as a capital. The southern section along the river Gambia tended to become the zone of the Muslims - the Jaxanke (religious teachers) and Julas (long-distance traders , for the most part Muslims).

The boundaries of Wuli are somewhat ill defined, an uninhabited zone separating it from Bondu (on the north-east) and Tanda (on the south east). In the west the Wali (Sandu) Creek formed most of the boundary, but the Western section, the Nyakoy area, was regarded as being part of Niani, though it is now included in Wuli. It was assigned to Sandu from 1901-1917.

Galloway (1975) regards Wuli as the confederation of a number of great families (clans), kabilolu in Mandinka. The leading group were non-Muslims (Soninkes), belonging to the noble warrior class, the major clans being the Walis, the Jattas, the Kamaras, the Nankis, and the Sanes. The Walis were the rulers, by virtue of conquest in the 16th century, defeating whatever indigenous groups preceded them, such as the Konijis, Bainunka, etc. and subsequent validation by the Emperor of Mali.

The ruling branch was established at Madina (Medina). The Sanes were prominent in north western Wuli in the Koussenar area. They were a branch of the rulers dominant in Kaabu and lived "uneasily side by side with the Walis," remaining powerful and proud of their princely origins in Kaabu.* The Jattas were originally Serahuli warriors from Gajaaga, loyal to the Walis. They had their own town, Kontu, which they ruled more or less independently, but later moved to Tambakunda. They were renowned as elephant hunters. In lifestyle they became like the surrounding Mandinkas, intermarrying with the Walis and other prominent families. The Nankis were originally at Kankadi, but after the town was destroyed in the 19th century wars, scattered to Katobutin-tombulu, Sine, Welingara, and Kerewan. The Kamaras were closely related to the Kamaras of Niani, and were friends, relatives and supporters of the Walis. (*Spelling of names and places follows Galloway*)

A second element was the trading community, the Julas, the main clans being Dansos, the Bayos, Signates (Singate ?)/and Darbos (Daabo). The Bayo dominated trade in the west of Wuli, the Signates the eastern part. The Darbos were centered in the north around Kanapekoto near Tambakunda. Many of the Julas had been resident in Tanda before moving into Wulli.

The ruling class and the Julas treated each other with mutual respect. The Julas were responsible for trade, and provided the mansa (king) with items such as horses, guns, gunpowder, and alcohol. A large proportion of the Julas were of Jaxanke origin, and there was also a close association between them and the Muslim teachers, who provided prayers, blessing, and charms for protection and

*But see Holderer's account of the Sanes.

successful journeys, as well as safe places to stay on their journeys.

A third element was the Muslim community, consisting of the Jaxanke, and the Manding Sula Moros. The Muslim town of Sutuko (presently named Sutukoba, and Setico in old writings) came to dominate the section of Wuli near the river Gambia, and attracted numerous settlers, scholars, traders, and artisans. The Manding Sula Moros were Mandinka of high rank who had converted to Islam at an early date. They did not participate in the secular wars and raids, which were the main occupation of the Soninke rulers. Yet they continued to be respected, for their ability to provide amulets, foresee the future, and pray for the success of individuals. When the Mandinka migrated west into the Gambian valley, some of the Manding Moros may have come with the warriors. Others migrated later when the land was more settled, perhaps also accompanying the long distance traders. Clans such as the Ture, Sise, and Baro belong to this group. Present day griots use the phrase 'Manding Mori' (Learned men of Manding) when praising these clans.

There were other minor elements, but few Serahuli until the second half of the nineteenth century. Wolof were numerically small, for the most part refugees from more troubled regions, but the Wolof rulers of Saalum and Jolof in the early days demanded tribute from Wuli. Once the Wali clan had established firm control, they refused to pay any further tribute, and the Wolof could not enforce their demands. The Fulbe were cattle keepers, mobile in their constant search for water and pasture, but taking little part in politics. They were in general respected by the ruling Mandinka, but were expected to contribute cattle to the mansa and local chiefs, when they needed them for a ceremony or to feed guests. The nyamalolu were the smiths, leatherworkers, and griots, and were generally attached to high ranking groups for whom they performed their services.

Slaves who contributed most of the agricultural labor belonged to the freeborn lineages. Slaves were of two categories-those born in the family

who could not be sold unless they committed a crime, and those taken in wars and raids, who could be sold to traders. Criminals could also be sold as slaves. People of slave origin also provided a large proportion of soldiers and office holders under the mansa, 'crown servants' responsible to the reigning monarch. They provided advice, collected taxes, delivered messages, arrested criminals, etc. Slaves who were officials could themselves own slaves.

In general major clans looked after their own affairs, and the towns were independent units, controlling their own land, regulating marriages, divorces, inheritance, circumcision ceremonies, and disputes within the community. Matters of general policy would be decided at a village meeting (bengo) of adult men.

The mansa was concerned with maintaining an army, and making war, levying taxes to support a large number of dependents, and entertain visitors, dealing with serious crime, and maintaining the safety of trade routes. An important element in the rulership in Wuli was persuading ('coaxing') various people passing through Wuli to settle in what had been a sparsely populated region. Agreements (dankutolu) would often be made that the new settlers would live for ever in peace with the rulers, and not be maltreated.

The revenue of the mansa was based on an annual tax on the harvests and herds of his subjects. This was levied once a year, after harvest time, unless there was any other special need. It would be paid with millet, locally produced cloth, livestock, salt, or any products which the mansa might need. Duties were also imposed on julas and European traders travelling through the country or trading there. Judicial fines, presents from chiefs and people wanting favors, also added to his revenues. To keep the soldiers satisfied, there were often raids carried out to acquire plunder.

The authority of the mansa depended on a number of qualities, seniority within the kabilo, a large following, which meant that he had to show himself generous, destiny to rule, and the possession of 'the invisible crown'; strong spiritual and magical means (including the innate spiritual strength called nyamo), powerful magical charms, the support of Muslims through their prayers, and a knowledge of fero or cunning. During his installation ceremonies, all the elements in the state had special roles to play.

The king would appoint local officials (farangolu) to keep him informed and carry out his wishes, and there was also a deputy (Ferambra).

The present day western boundary of Wuli¹ is drawn at the Tuba Kuta Bolong, but in earlier centuries the section north of Basse, known as the Nyakoy area (The Nackway of Francis Moore, 1730), was under the control of Niani and Sandu. Tradition has it that the area was settled by slaves sent by the King of Sandu. They founded Mamadi Kunda, later known as Kerewan. Five villages grew up around it, Sutuko, Taibatu, Bajonkoto, Bani and Madina. Later a Fula marabout named Nyako Bandeh arrived from the Casamance. Many people would come to consult him, and the area became known as Nyakoy after him.

Certainly the Western area of Wuli was long subject to raids by the people of Niani & Sandu.

1 The northern and eastern boundaries are the Gambia-Senegal boundaries, the southern, the River Gambia.

WULI - POPULATION

1927	6,598	Assessment figures	
1930	7,478	"	"
1944	9,700	"	"
1945	10,309	"	"
1946	10,317	"	"
1947	10,690	"	"
1948	10,530	"	"
1949	14,348	"	"
1950	14,770	"	"
1951	10,167	"	"
1952	9,934	"	"
1953	10,382	"	"
1954	9,540	"	"
1955	9,156	"	"
1956	8,620	"	"
1957	9,435	"	"
1958	9,277	"	"
1959	-		
1960	-		
1961	11,908	"	"
1963	13,724	Census data	
1973	18,316	"	"
1983	22,745	"	"

ETHNIC GROUPINGS

Based on the Senior Commissioner's figures - made at the time of the Annual Assessment.

Statistics given for 1946 and 1947 are highly improbable, but from 1948 onwards the figures seem more reasonable, though there are strange increases and decreases.

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>Average Percentage</u>
Bambara	131	244	191	143	1.4%
Fulbe - Firdu	379	277	279	122	2.1
-Futa (Jalon)	95	299	104	68	1.1
-Torodo	202	399	475	347	2.9
- Lorobo	2140	2373	4090	1721	20.9
Mandinka	5695	9038	7237	4999	54.7
Serahuli	1378	2155	2342	1756	16.5
Wolof	-	6	-	-)
Yalunka	10	23	42	-)
Others	-	34	1	-)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10530	14848	14761	9156	99.8

In a 1926 "Report on a Disturbance in the Wuli District....." the following percentages are given:

Mandinka (Muslim)	%	Percentage from above
(Soninke)	52) 55
	11)
Fula	26	27
Serahuli	9	16
Others	2	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100

These figures are consistent, for undoubtedly the Serahuli have been increasing in recent years, while many Mandinka have migrated.

In the assessment data no distinction is made between the Jaxanke and the Mandinka. Historically Sutukoba was predominantly Jaxanke, and many of the villages in the southern zone, also seemed to have been founded by Jaxanke religious teachers, or by trading families (the Julas), so that the Brifu and Pasamasi area, the Limbambulu area, and the Nyakoy area (comprising Kerewan, Taibatu, Sutuko(ning), Bani Israel, etc.) were Jaxanke in origin.

The Soninke element controlled the land further inland, along the Kochari and Sandugu Creeks, (Tambakunda, Bakarikunda, Likunda, Kolinding, Gunjur, Medina (Wuli), Fajakunda, etc.).

Bantunding, the centre of Wali power in The Gambia, was founded "in the last decade of the nineteenth century, following the fall of Wuli Madina, and the collapse of the state, due to constant warfare with Bondu. Bantunding reproduces the design of the original village of Medina (See P.Weil, 1983, quoted on page 121).

WULI - PLACE NAMES

(Identified by squares on 1948 map)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>		<u>Location</u>
	1951	1973	
Andieri Tenda			1931 map = Nyaa-koy Tenda= Medina Tenda
Bajakunda	964	2017	1948 (6)
Baja Fulakunda			
Bajonkoto			1948- (12) - west of Sutuko
Bakadaji	9		
Bani (Israel)	66	194	1948 (11) " " "
Bankuwuleng			1948 (8) -west of Barokunda
Bantangkoto			1948 (11)- on river, south of Sutuko
Bantunding	322	432	1948 (8)
Barokunda	549	784	1948 (8)
Beritenda			1931 map - wharf near Limbambulu
Boro Damfakunda		169	
" Kanda Kase	347	508	1948 (6)
" Manjangkunda			" (6)
" Modi Bane	90		" (6)
" Samba Ya	134	131	" (6)
Brifu / Birifo	286	572	1948 (3) (<u>Berief</u> on old maps)
Brifu Fulakunda	45		
Chamoi	143	275	1948 (8)
Dabokunda	28		
Damfakunda	80		
Daramane	45		(See under Limbambulu)
Dasilami (a)			1948 (4) (South of Brifu)
" (b)			1948 (3) (North-west of Brifu)
Dumfova			1948 (10)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>		<u>Location</u>
	1951	1973	
Duta Bas			1931 Map near frontier 2-3 miles from Barokunda
Fadiya Kunda	158	213	1948 (10)
Farato	21		1948 (11) North of Sutuko
Fatatenda	9		1948 (9) Old wharf town
Fodekunda	191	448	1948 (4) South-east of Brifu
Fulakunda			1948 (5) near Murekunda
Gayo			1948 (7) near boundary
Gunjur Fadia	16		
" Koto	110	146	1948 (5)
" Kuta	231	533	1948 (7)
Hamadisire ya			(In 1920s and 1930s)
Hamdalie	12		1948 (12) -west of Sutuko
Ilokunda			1931 Map. Nyakoy area
Ja-kunda	302	632	1948 (10)
Jaha madina	46		
Jahatuje			1948 (7) near boundary
Jambaruya			1948 (10)
Jam. Jam Koli	97	169	
Jammekunda		160	
Jameya			1948 (5) near boundary
Jawula	30		1948 (12) NE of Sutuko
Jeka Sambaru	33		1948 (7)
Kambele			1948 (1) north-east of Brifu
" Tambanding	91		
Kanape	137	152	1948 (3)
(in 1930s - K. Bohum & K. Bulong)			
Kandekunda			1948 (6)
Kendalu (Kuonku)			1948 (10) north of main road

<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>		<u>Location</u>
	1951	1973	
Kerewan	371	399	
Kisimasu - see Tabajang			
Koinda Tenda	9		1948 (2)
Kolibantang	199	232	1948 (10) - main road
Kolikunda	75		1948 (3)
Konkoto			on map as general area
Konkokoto (= Kandikunda ?)			1931 map
Kulari	42	107	1948 (10)
Kumbali			1931 map
Kunjibili			1948 (2)(4) = Forest Reserve
Kunda			1948 (2) - near boundary
Kunjur - see Gunjur			
Kusai	29	106	1948 (2) (Coussaye of old reports)
(In 1930s Kusai Faramba & Kusai Walinging)			
Kusi ?	44		
Kuwaiku	51		
Kuwonku (Kuonku)		120	
Layba Swamp			1948 (
Limbambulu Bambo	41	209	
" Dramane	see	under D	1948 (8)
" Jaha			1948 (8)
" Yamadu	96	177	1948 (8)
Madina			1948 (3) south-east of Wilingara
"			1948 (11) east of Sutuko
" Tenda			1948 (11) " " "
" Bala Sila			1948 (8) west of Chamoi
" Koto		602	
" Kuta			

(1951 list has Madina.10.Madina Mahang -32, Madina Jigiba - 23, Madina Tabanding-35, Madina Fode -231.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>		<u>Location</u>
	1951	1973	
Maka			1948 (6) nr. Borokandakase
Maka			1948 (3) nr. boundary
(Maka Masire (Makama Sire Maka Julakunda	184	405	
Maka Sinjan Danso	7		
Makajan			1948 (1) nr. NE boundary
Makama Sire -see above			
Malubaliya			1948 (5) west of Sutukoba
Manyang	53		
Mana koto	24		1948 (7)
Marsuto/ Mare Sato/ Marisoto			1948 (6) no place name on map but near 'dispensary'.
Modu Jawo Kunda			1948 (2) nr. NE boundary
(Morekunda (Murekunda	253	312	1931 map
Musa Kunda	92	149	1948 (3)
Nkeakunda			1948 (10). north of main road.
Pasamasi	132	312	1948 (2) south-east corner
" Fula	72	244	1948 (2)
Perai Mamadi	134	401	?
Pirai Tenda			1931 map
Ribo	39		?
Samba Gabude	102	134	1948 (10) - north of - main road
Sami Tenda	(wharf on north bank - town on south bank)		
Sankabari	29		
Sanchabari			1948 (10)
Saare Ali			1948 (3) E of Kanape
" Belali			1948 (9)
" Buhum/Bahoum		286	1948 (3)
" Dadi	41		1948 (11) NW of Sutuko
" Damfo	20		

<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>		<u>Location</u>
	1951	1973	
Saare Demba = Wallikanda			1948 (3) N.of Brifu
" Eli	56		
" Gano	30		
" Gayo	69		
" Geda	74		1948 (5) NW of Sutukobaa
" Gia			1931 map
" Gelel			1948 (10)
" Gubu (Kubu)	104	133	1948 (3)
" Hamadi	116		1948 (10)
" Jami	45		
" Jane	48		
" Modi	132	153	
" Ngaba	95		1948 (1)
" Salum	40		
" Sandigi	22		
" Sandi	25		1948
" Silere	25		
" Teneng	25		
Sarkulikunda			1948 (1) near NE boundary
Sinchu Kali			1948 (3) north of Brifu
" Sambar			1948 (9)
Sutuko(nding)	422	804	1948 (11)
Sutukoba	477	1526	1948 (6)
Sututa			1948 (6) -ruins. near Boro. riverside
Tabajang Kisimasu	7		1948 (5)
Tabajang			1948 (5)

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>		<u>Location</u>
		1951	1973	
	Tabanding	144	211	1948 (2)
	Taibatu	351	706	1948 (11)
	Temanto			
	Tuba Bure = Fulakunda	20		1948 (10)
same ?	(Tuba Kuta	344		1948 (10)
	(Tuba Wuli		427	
	Tuba Wopa	75	168	1948 (10)
	Wassadung			
	Welingara Yare	197	207	
	Wilingara	19		1948 (3)
	Wilingara Fula Tenda			
	Yorobawol Wuli	116	161	1948 (10)
	small villages		2020	
		<hr/>		
		Totals	10167 18316	
		<hr/>		

In the older lists of villages there are many names not found on present day maps.

		Pop.	
Cambelen	1930	16	
Dake Charingbali	1902	28	
Dindera	1930	21	
Fatoto	1930	11	
Gelelkunda	1936		
Gore	1930		
Jaka	1902	298	(Perhaps Ja-kunda)
Koje	1902		
Kolinkang Njai	1930	73	
Kolinding Pate	1930	20	
Konkoto	1902	80	(As distinct from Konkokoto, also listed)
Kossi	1927	8	
Kusun	1930	5	A wharf opposite Fatoto
Majangkunda	1930	47	
Majankunda	1927		
Mansongkunda	1930	34	
Masina	1936		
Nema Taba	1936		
Ngia Kunda	1936		(Misprint for Ngai ? Njay)
Ngubu Kunda	1936		
Njai Kunda	1930	10	
Sabusire	1930	26	
Sare Baio	1930	7	
Sare Jawuli	1930	5	
Sare Lamo	1936		
Seworo	1936		
Sumakunda Juburu	1936		
Wasadung	1930	42	
Welingara Fula Tenda	1930	50	

DESCRIPTIONS OF SPECIFIC PLACES

BANTUNDING (WULI)

Source: Footnote to Chapter "Fighting Fire with Fire: The Mandinka Sengko Mask." by Peter M. Weil.

"Bantunding is a former regional capital of Wuli. The village was founded early in the last decade of the nineteenth century following the fall of Wuli Madina, the capital of the whole kingdom, ca. 1875 and following the collapse of the state. The layout of the village was modeled on that of Wuli Madina, and that original design constitutes the core of the spacial organization of the village today. Bantunding is located about twenty-five kilometers east of the Basse-Wuli ferry. The village's 1976 population of around 508 appears to be about half the size of the community when its power was at its zenith before the colonial period. Migration to coastal cities and other rural areas has been a regular pattern throughout this century, and the large majority of those who have permanently migrated have done so, in part, to escape the residue of their ancestral slave status."

BARA-KUNDA

Jobson: The Golden Trade...1623

p. 104 Bara-conda...the highest towne the river flows unto...

(Jobson decides to go on up river to Tinda.)

Jobson: in Purchas his Pilgrimes..

(1621) ..after rockie passages to Baraconda. The tyde went no further.

Beyond were no Townes, neere the River, nor Boates nor people to be seene.

Barakunda as a wharf-town seems to have destroyed on numerous occasions by invading forces, the inhabitants who survived moving elsewhere, refounding the town further inland or joining an already existing town.

Unsolved problem - Should the spelling have been Baro-kunda ?

BERI TENDA

On the north bank. The wharf for Limbambulu.

DUTABASSI

This was the home of a famous trader Jula Jekere, in whose honor griots composed a melody which became famous and is now a classic kora piece.

The song is given on "Alhaji Bai Konte: Kora Melodies from the Republic of The Gambia, West Africa," Rounder Records, 5001, Produced by Marc D. Pevar, 1973. Information about Jula Jekere is given in Susan Pevar's notes (1974), pp. 23-24. It also is given on "Kora Music from The Gambia Played by Foday Musa Suso," Edited by Verna Gillis, 1976. (Folkways Records FW 8510, 1973). Roderic Knight provides notes on the song, p.7

FATATENDA (Wuli)

- (1) Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684).
p.23, para 48-49. (Translation by P.E.H.Hair)

"(Fatatenda) is four leagues up from the port of Nhacoi (= Nyaa-koy) and lies on the North side, its landmark being a steep bank at the foot of a rock with some large trees. The port is very pleasant and attractive. In earlier times the ships which carried out the Car trade went no further than this, and the caravans came here, but desire for gain drove the ships further up river. This is the first port of the kingdom of Oli (Wuli), for the kingdom of Nhani (Nyaani) reaches as far as here.....From the port of Fatatenda to the port of Pirai, which lies on the South side, is four leagues."

- (2) Stibbs in giving account of his "Voyage up the River Gambia," in 1724 states...."We anchor'd at Fatatenda. This Port, like many others, has not a house near it, serving only for a Landing-Place to some town (Suteco ..about three Leagues from it.)

- (3) A few years later the English established a Factory there.

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

p.23 " At about seven leagues from Yany is the Company's Factory of Fatatenda. where the river is as wide as the Thames at London Bridge; and to which sloops of forty tons come up with cargoes; and the tides rise three or four foot high....

p.137 Both sides the river is woody and the land on the south side low, but the factory is situated upon a high steep rock, close to the river, on the north side, in the Kingdom of Woolly, ten miles from any town in Woolly. On each side of the Factory there is a pleasant prospect of the course of the river for some miles, and likewise across it you may see great part of the kingdom of Cantore.

FATTATENDA

(4) Letter from Major Houghton from Woolli, 10 March 1791.

" They ardently wish my building a fort here, and I have accordingly found out a most agreeable and beautiful place on the river for that purpose, at Fattatenda, about twenty-six miles from Medina. I have been twice there to examine the place, which is most suitable, by a fine plain of meadow ground, plenty of grass, and water. I saw a great many deer on the plain, and some wild boars. Captain Littleton lived here four years (in which time he made a sufficient fortune to retire home), and now sends his ships to trade in the river. In short, gold, ivory, wax, and slaves, may at all times be had here for the most trifling articles; and a trade, the profit of which would be upwards of eight hundred per cent, can be carried on at Fattatenda without the least trouble. You may live here almost for nothing: ten pounds a year would support a whole family with plenty of fowls, sheep, milk, eggs, butter, honey, bullocks, fish, and all sorts of game...."

(Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. Vol.1 Ed. Robin Hallett. 1967. 319-320.)

Fattatenda-

(5) On 13 April 1829 a Treaty was signed with the King of Wuli for the cession of Fattatenda and 100 acres of land, extending north, east, and west, to enable the British to form a settlement and erect houses and factories for the purpose of trade.

(Letter from W. Hutton to R.W. Hay: Agreements with Wuli and Bondu, 18 May 1829.)

"Fattatenda is situated on a high hill and is a place of commercial importance, not only on account of its connexion with Bondu, Tenda, Sego, and other countries, on the north side of the Gambia, but also as the traders in gold and ivory, cross the river at this place...."

(Given in C.W.Newbury: British Policy Towards West Africa. Select Documents 1786-1874. p.217-219.

The treaty was not ratified by the British Government.

W. Fox

p.447 "Fattatenda is one of the oldest and most distant ports on the Gambia...

- (6) Several of the European merchants residing at St. Mary's have stores at this place, built in the native style, with a considerable assortment of British merchandise, which is intrusted to native traders. These are situated on the south bank of the river. The inhabitants here are but few, and the principal part of the trade comes from the opposite side; caravans frequently coming from some hundreds of miles inland, bringing hides, ivory, and gold-dust, and sometimes slaves; the latter are generally conveyed to Bissao; and some of the other rivers near the coast... Some of the merchants, through their agents, transact business on board their vessels, which are lying at anchor here for several weeks together, to prevent, in part, the trouble and annoyance which is experienced on shore from those who come to trade, who not only strike a very hard bargain for the European articles, but also incessantly beg and expect presents, over and above the regular "customs" or presents, which are given to those who purchase a certain amount of merchandise..." (Goes on to discuss 'the curse of these people - rum,' which was in great demand and the source of many quarrels.)

FATATENDA

(7) Anne Raffenel: Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale ...en 1843 et 1844.

p. 482 "Fattatenda se compose de six cases en paille destinées à servir de caravansérai, aux marchands sarracolets, foulahs et mandingues, qui viennent y échanger leurs produits ; il existe sur l'autre rive un pareil nombre de cases servant au même usage pour les marchands du Kantora et des pays du Sud.

Le comptoir, dirigé par un traitant noir, est établi sur un vieux bâtiment mouillé au milieu du fleuve; c'est à bord de ce navire que sont placés les marchandises d'échange, et elles sont, par là, mises parfaitement à l'abri de pillage, car il n'existe pas, dans le fleuve, d'embarcations assez grandes pour aborder un brick à peu près léger....
...puissante végétation qui s'étend sur les rives escarpées du fleuve et les enveloppe d'un épais rideau de verdure.

FATATENDA

(8) This is described by Hequard (1855). (Translated)

p.177 Fatatenda was formerly a considerable center of trade. From 1735 the English Company (Royal African Company) possessed a fortified establishment, of which no trace remains today.

This establishment was then situated on the territory of Wuli, some distance from the river, and on a hill which dominated all the countryside. Later when the English had established themselves at MacCarthy Island, they^{had}/a large number of traders at Fatatenda, but the demands of the people of Wuli forced them to scatter, and they went higher up on the territory of Kantora, to Prag (Perai), Yaboutunda (Yaabu-tenda), and other neighbouring villages, where they maintained ships which served as depots for their merchandise.

Fatatenda today constitutes a group of villages, a gunshot from each other. Each is inhabited by a petty trader who receives little merchandise but is concerned with the cultivation and trade in groundnuts. In reality there is only one true trader there, Carum Dabo, my host, who has been resident here for fifteen years, and exerts a great influence. He works for the Grant establishment of Bathurst. Established on the left bank (=south bank), that is to say in the territory of Tumanna, he has a cutter on which he stores his merchandise, as well as local products which his vessels then take to MacCarthy. However, since the establishment of a French trading station (Senou-Debou) on the Faleme, he has had little business with the Julas of the interior. Although he pays customs to the Almami of Bondu, this does not stop him from intercepting caravans, and he decides to leave the roads open only when it comes near the time to receive his annual dues....

The principal commercial business at Fatatenda concerns the trade in groundnuts and hides; however, there is a little gold from Wuli and Temba (Tenda?) which the inhabitants exchange for salt.

(9) H.F. Reeve: The Gambia. 1912

opp. p.50 Has a photograph of the river. "Fatta Tenda from up-river- river
300 yards wide."

p. 133 "Fath Tenda, the nearest large port from the sea in Wuli...an
important place dating from the Portuguese epoch, and was the
shipping place for slaves and trade on the tidal water of the river
from Netebulu and the north bank towns in the seventeenth century.
(It) is also built on the slope of a cliff, where it joins the high
bank of the river, and the spur of which the cliff forms part
again diverts the course of the river to the south-west, across
the now widening valley."

(10) Visited by Lady Dorothy Mills (with the Commissioner from Basse) in 1929.

p.190 " ...a big wharf town, built....high up away from the bank, to
prevent flooding in the rainy season. Towns such as these consist
of a collection of native stores and several big British and French
ones, left in the charge of native agents. Fattetenda itself rose to
considerable commercial importance in the early days, when it was
used as a shipping place for slaves and other merchandise."

KOLIBANTANG (Wuli)

A short description of the village, and three photographs (growing crops, weeding, and a blacksmith's workshop) are given in:

John Bruton et al. Whose development ? Geographical issues in West Africa-
from The Gambia and Senegal. Birmingham, 1987. 44-45

KANUBE (Canape in Rancon) Rancon: 1891-1892, p.38-39

p.38 (Translation) Canape is a village of about two hundred and fifty inhabitants. It is entirely constructed of straw (reeds, millet stems etc.) It is, besides, the only method of construction used by the Fula. It is literally buried in the middle of millet and maize, and everything is cultivated right up to the houses. Not an inch of ground is lost. The inhabitants come from Fuladu, Wuli, Sandu, and Niani...It is there they seek refuge from raids and the exactions of kings in their country of origin. They construct small clean villages and devote themselves and devote themselves to cultivation and the care of livestock.....

(sour)

[They brought Rancon, calabashes of/milk and kus-kus, and fresh milk, eggs, and butter.]

Rancon continued to Soutouko (Sutuko)...

Rancon passed through Canape on his way from Siin to Sutuko, which would seem to place it at the present site (Kanube) close to the Gambian Senegalese boundary. On the other hand, from the accounts of earlier travellers Kanube might then have been further to the north.

NYAKOI TENDA (NYAA-KOYI)

-On some maps Andieri Tenda

Present day name is Madina Tenda.

In Wulli on north bank, six miles up river from Basse.

Information from Musa Kora of Tambasansang.

 Commissioner's Report -1946

"In 1901 the Neakoi area of Wuli District comprising the towns Madina, Kerewan, Sutukoba, Taibatu, Perai, Samimackama and Hamdalai, then temporarily under Seyfu Nyakudi Wali of Wuli, were given back to Jimbermang (Jowla of Sandu District) by Governor Denton."

 Francis Moore - 1730 Nackway

p.119 "...about seven miles (from Bassy), situated in the Kingdom of Upper Yany (now Sami), on the North side and about Quarter of a Mile from the River. It has formerly been a Town of great Trade, but since the separate Traders have been allowed to trade in the River, it is much decay'd, and now the Merchants do frequently march thro' this Town towards Cower with their slaves... Half the Way from Bassy Port to Nackway is thro' Woods, but the other half is over a fine large Savannah, without any Trees, except one or two here and there, and in the rainy Season it is generally under Water.

SUTUKO / SETICO

- (1) Duarte Pacheco Pereira: Esmeraldo de situ orbis (1506-1508)
 Translated and Edited by George H.T. Kimble... 1937

"At Sutucoo is held a great fair to which the Mandinguas bring many asses; these same Mandinguas, when the country is at peace and there are no wars, come to our ships ...and buy common red, blue and green cloth, kerchiefs, thin coloured silk, brass bracelets, caps, hats, the stones called "alaqueguas" (bloodstones), and much more merchandise, so that in time of peace..five and six thousand doubloons of good gold are brought thence to Portugal.

Sutucoo and these other towns belong to the kingdom of Jalofo, but being on the frontier of Mandingua they speak the language of Mandingua....."

Translation by Raymond Mauny, p. 63. Sutucoo
 principal town of Cantor (Kantora)* ,...4000 inhabitants

* Sutuko is on the north bank in Wulli.

(2) Jobson: The Golden Trade...1623

- p. 79 the towne and place, where there especiall, or, as I may say, high Priest doth dwell. The Towne is called Setico lying from the River side some three miles...
- p. 78 Marybuckes or Bissareas... (Marabouts... Biseriny cf Wolof seriny bi) dwellings are seperated from the common people, having their townes, and lands set out in severall within themselves, wherein no common people have dwelling, except such as are their slaves, that worke and labour for them, which slaves they suffer to marry and cherish the race that comes of them, which race remaines to them, and their heires or posterity as perpetuall bondmen; they marry likewise in their owne tribe or kindred, taking no wives, but the daughters of Marybuckes....
- p. 83 it did appear the greatest towne, or place, that I had seene.. The towne was built round, after the manner of a circle, whereof the front of the houses, did not contain any great thicknesse, but as we may say, the breedth of a reasonable faire street, joyning their houses or walles of their yards and barnes close together, the diameter whereof, that is from the North, to the South, or likewise from any one point to his opposite, we did conceive to be neere an English mile, within which Circuite was much Cattle, especially store of Assees.....

p.87 Jobson had "houses built, and walled with straw for our owne uses..seated by the River side, upon the top of the banke..."
Called Tobabo Condo, the white-mans towne."

Some hundred paces away was a small town inhabited by an ancient Mary-bucke...

p.101 Refers to trade in salt with the coastal region, obtained by selling slaves, and in kola nuts.

In version given in Purchas His Pilgrimes

"The greatest Towne we saw in the Countrey, higher then which the Portugall Trade not, and from hence carry much Gold; the most of the inhabitants Marybuckes, and the Towne governed by one of them called Fodea Brani (Fode Bram in The Golden Trade). "

SUTUKO

(3) Anne Raffenel: Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale...en 1843 et 1844.

p.481

"Nous arrivons au village de Soutouko, habit  par des marabouts mandingues qui entendent mieux l'hospitalit  que les farouches habitants des villages de l'int rieur. Soutouko, situ  dans une plaine charmante aux abords d'un bois verdoyant, pr sente une apparence de civilisation; ses cases sont mieux construites, les tois en sont plus  lev s, et les cylindres plus spacieux; on y trouve, en outre, un tata fort  l gant et de v ritables jardins avec des cl tures de bambous, dans les quels se d veloppement de riches cultures. Nos obtenons du lait et un mouton.... Soutouko est aussi un entrep t de marchandises anglaises."

(4) Rancon: Dans la Haute-Gambie: Vouage d'exploration scientifique..1891-1892.

p.39 Describes Soutouko.

Translation: "Sutuko is a village of about 550 inhabitants. Its population is formed entirely of Muslim Malinke. They differ completely from other Malinke and much resemble the Tukulors....

Sutuko has nothing of the aspect of other Malinke villages. Although built in the same way it is clean and well kept. In the center of the village of clay and straw well constructed, and whose surroundings are clear of all filth. I have no need to say that it is assiduously frequented.

There we had to alight and accept the lunch that was prepared for us...

The route between Barokunda where I decided to make the next stage was bordered to both right and left with superb fields of millet and groundnuts.

Half way were several Fula villages....these are Marosouto - Ourosaradado - Tabandi - Sare n'Dougo- Sare-Dialloube. We halted at Tabandi and the inhabitants came to salute us and bring calabashes of milk and fresh water....

TUBAKUTA Rancon: 1891-1892, pp. 41-42.

Tubakuta was the scene of a recent battle where the forces of the marabout Mamadu Lamin Darame had been defeated by a French column. The town had been demolished, and a new town was being built across the creek in Sandu.

Translation: "Tubakuta was situated on the edge of a valley, surrounded on the south, north, and west by a belt of low hills. On the east it is defended by the Maka-Doua creek, which separates Wuli from Sandu. This creek is shallow and does not form an obstacle difficult to overcome. Tubakuta, from the point of view of local strategy, was well situated provided that it did not have to deal with long range weapons (e.g. French cannons), but was in a bad position if attacked by European troops. Its fort, judging from the ruins we saw, must have been relatively strong. In addition, each dwelling was surrounded by a wall, as in the majority of Malinke villages....

Tubakuta must have been a strong village with about 800 people. Its ruins are virtually uninhabited. Since the war, only a few small huts have been set up, where slaves who work the surrounding fields could rest.....

Tubakuta has been rebuilt, two kilometres to the west, on the other side of the Maka-doua creek, on the summit of a hill. Its inhabitants, scattered by war, are now gradually returning. The population consists only of Muslim Malinke....

Old Tubakuta is thus situated in Wuli, new Tubakuta in Sandu.

YOROBAWOL

Variants in spelling : Yoruba Wul (1901), Yorobywall (1902), Yorobawal (1927), Yorobawol (1936), Yarobawal (1980 map).

The Governor visited the village in 1901 (Colonial Reports- Annual, p.25)

"Yoruba Wul is a Foulah village containing some 400 inhabitants, who, looking to the amount of cultivation which surrounds it, must be very industrious in their habits. They are also good herdsman, and have about 200 head of cattle. Here I stayed the night....."

In 1926 the population was given as 75.