

TERMS FOUND IN OLD WRITINGS ABOUT SENEGAMBIA

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From various old travel accounts a selection has been made of passages which explain terms commonly found. The selection shows some of the variations used by different authors, changes in meaning over time, and where possible, information about the origin of the term.

I would be glad to hear from anyone with further suggestions, and can be reached c/o Department of Anthropology
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ALKALI. (Arabic via Portuguese).

In early texts 'the representative of a chief in dealing with foreigners.'

(1) Richard Jobson: The Golden Trade.... 1623, p. 81.

"...in the meane time my Alchade, for by that name my hired Mary-bucke (Marabout) was called, went into his house, and in my name presented my present, acquainting of him that I was the Captaine, and Commander of our people...."

p. 123 "....Buckor Sano...spake that hee might be called by the name of the white mens Alchade, in regard hee did performe the same manner of office for us; that is, to make bargaines, to deliver and receive, according to the trust reposed upon him...."

(2) Sieur de la Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait à la coste d'Afrique en 1685.

p.53 "Son frère est Alquier^a du Roy Damel ; c'est à dire celui qui s'entremest des affaires que les blancs ont avec le roy...."
(His brother is the Alquier of King Damel , that is to say he who is concerned with the business the whites have with the king.....)

(3) The term alcaide was also used by Rainolds & Dassel, 1591.

(4) In later years the term was used of a village official who acted as the representative of the local king or chief, e.g. Mungo Park: Travels in the Interior of Africa..in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797.

"In every considerable town there is a chief magistrate called the Alkaid, whose office is hereditary, and whose business it is to preserve order, to levy duties on travellers, and to preside at all conferences in the exercise of local jurisdiction and the administration of justice." (p.27).

(5) In present day Mandinka Gambian villages there are often two village "heads" - an alkalo, who represents the chief, and is responsible for the collection of local taxes, dealing with government officials, etc., and the saatee-tiyoo, the oldest male member of the lineage which founded the village, who is concerned with the internal affairs of the village.

a François de Paris (1682-3) spells the word alcaire.
Villault (1667) alcair

ALMADIA. = canoe. Arabic via Portuguese.

cf. place name la pointe des Almadies, N.W. of Dakar, the westernmost point of Africa.

Description de la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique (Sénégal au Cap de Monte, Archipels) par Valentim Fernandes (1506-1510) .
French translation by Th. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota et R. Mauny. 1951.

p.29 "Tous ces pays ont des bateaux pour passer les rivières et on les appelle almadias. Et ils sont faits d'un seul tronc et il y en a de grands et de petites, c'est-à-dire pouvant contenir 3, 6, ou 12 hommes et trois ou quatre vaches. Et celles de guerre contiennent 60, 80 et cent hommes et tous ceux qui y vont rament sauf le capitaine qui est assis au milieu d'eux.

p.31 Et ils rament tous debout d'un côté et de l'autre et il y en a un qui manœuvre pour gouverner afin de maintenir l'almadie droite et sa façon de ramer est à force de bras sans toucher le bateau avec sa rame. Leurs rames sont des bâtons mesurant une demi lance et à leur extrémité il y a une planchette ronde et ils rament ainsi dans les rivières, sans voiles.

(The extract refers to the coastal region north of The Gambia.)

(All these countries have boats to cross the rivers and they are called almadias. They are made from a single trunk, and there are large ones and small ones, that is to say, able to hold 3, 6 or 12 men and three or four cows. And war canoes contain 60, 80 and 100 men, and all who go in them row except for the captain who sits in the middle of them.

And they row (paddle) all standing up on both sides, and there is one who steers so as to maintain the canoe straight, and his method of doing so is by the strength of his arms without touching the boat with his paddle. The paddles are sticks measuring about half a lance, and at their end is a round plate, and they paddle thus in the rivers, without sails.)

François de Paris (1682-83) mentions :

"Ces almadies sont d'aucunes fois capables de porter 50 ou 60 hommes, mesme j'en ay veu une à Hieulefroid (Jufure), à 1 lieue d'Albréda, qui en auroit porté plus de 100. Elles se nagent comme le vent, avec des pagayes, qui sont long bastons plats et larges par le bout, avec lesquelles ils payent sans appuyer sur le canot comme les matelots font dans les chaloupes....

Ils vont aussy a la voile avec deux papesies et deux huniers au-dessus. Les nattes en Gambie servent de voiles aux canots, mais au reste de la coste ils portent de la toile... "

(Guy Thilmans: "La relation de François de Paris (1682-1683)," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. T.38(1), 1976, p. 25.)

(These canoes are sometimes capable of carrying 50 or 60 men. I have even seen one of them at Jufure, one league from Albreda, which could have carried more than a hundred. They move like the wind, with paddles, which are long flat poles, wide at the end, with which they paddle without touching the canoe as sailors do in ship's boats.

They also sail, with two lower sails and two topsails above. Gambian mats serve as sails for the canoes, but in the rest of the coast, they carry sail-cloth (canvas)..."

ASSEGAI. Derived from the Berber zagaya.

(1) Jobson (1620) in Purchas His Pilgrimes .

p. 293 "Their Armes are an Azegay or Javelin, with which in their hands they walke, beeing a Reed of sixe foot, with an Iron-pike artificially made and dangerous; they have others to cast like Darts with barbed heads."

(2) Sieur de la Courbe (1685)

p.91 "...les maitres et seigneurs des villages...tous bien vetus et armez de sagayes, poignards et rondaches... (buckler, shield)"

(3) Golberry: Fragmens d'un voyage en Afrique..I, (1802)

p. 329 zagaies..

(4) The World in Miniature (Ed. by Frederic Shoberl), I, (1821).

p.65 "The (Moors) are also armed with zagayes or lances, seven or eight feet long, made of a very light wood, with an iron point of about eighteen inches."

(5) J-B. Labat: Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale...1728.

II- p.235 "...une saguaye est une espece de demie pique ou de lance de huit à dix pieds de longueur, terminée par un fer comme celui d'une pique. C'est l'arme la plus ordinaire des Negres, ils s'en servent comme nous nous servions anciennement des lances, & les dardent quelquefois avec beaucoup de force & de justesse. Ils en ont de petites qu'ils appellent d'ardilles, qui n'ont que trois à quatre pieds de longueurs, ferrées par un bout tout uniment, & souvent seulement pointues & endurcies au feu. "

("...a saguaye is a sort of short pike or lance from eight to ten feet in length, ending with a metal point like that of a pike. It is the usual weapon of the Blacks, who use it in the same way we used to use lances, and they hurl them sometimes with much force and accuracy. They have small ones that they call ardilles, which are only three or four feet in length, with a single metal point, and often merely pointed and hardened by fire.")

I have not heard the word in modern speech. Wolof uses the term xeej .

BADGE MESSENGERS.

The term is used for a representative of the chief (sefo) sent to convey messages or carry out orders.

Notes from a Commissioner's file, about 1933, state: "These were to a certain extent the inheritors of the position of King's followers. Until recently it was common for the seyfu's obvious successor to be Head Badge Messenger.

But today they are developing into something resembling a police force. But at the same time a different type of man is being chosen. Before many were middle aged men, often of the Seyfu's family, now they are tending to be of a far lower social standing. In short badges used to be as an added authority to those already in some position, now they are given as a mark of specialised function.

The name ' badge messenger' is acquired from the enamel badge emblazoned with the union jack which the men wear on a string round their neck or pinned to their shirt. (They wear)....no uniform."

A Report on the South Bank Province for 1939 states:

"The Badge Messengers perform the police work of the Province. (They) are directly responsible to the Native Authorities, and are largely unpaid. Every village of any size has one of these Badge Messengers. They are linked to the indigenous institution for the maintenance of law and order in the old days (the falifolaw)... Their chief tasks have been the prevention of crime, the arrest of offenders, the execution of processes issuing out of all courts in the Colony and Protectorate and the enforcement of a due observance of law and of the orders of Native Authorities. In addition to their other duties the Badge Messengers collect customary duties on goods crossing the international boundary, check trade licences and act as forest guards, produce inspectors, and road overseers for those roads which are maintained by the N.A.s."

Their appointment and duties are defined in the Protectorate Ordinance, Cap. 47 section 16.

BAOBAB TREE.

Adansonia digitata.

In French it was originally referred to as le calbacier (e.g. in Sieur de la Courbe, 1685, p. 50), later as calebassier, In Portuguese it was called cabaceira (e.g. Lemos Coelho, Ch.2, para 20, 1684 - translation of P.E.H.Hair).

The calabashes used by local people were, however, produced by a totally different plant.

The French botanist Michel Adanson renamed the tree the baobab in the mid eighteenth century from an Egyptian Arabic word for pulp, and its scientific name reflected Adanson's work.

In popular speech the fruit was called monkey's bread (pain de singe in French).

It is an important tree for people in the savanna zone. For the Wolof the leaves were dried and ground into a powder (laalo) which formed a mucilaginous seasoning used with steamed millet (chere).

The fibrous bark is used for making ropes and cords, and one sees most trees with their lower section stripped.

The fruit is in a hard shell which can be used as a small container. Inside is a dry acid pulp in which black seeds are embedded. The pulp can be mixed with water as a pap. It is effective in dealing with diarrhoea, and was once imported into Europe for that purpose. The seeds could also be pounded and eaten, but this was done only in times of severe hunger. Hollows and crevices in the trees sometimes contained water which could be used in emergencies in drought stricken areas. The trunk, which was often hollow, was used in the Siin-Saalum area as a burial place for griots (musicians), for it was at one time felt that if they were buried in the ground the crops might fail.

In an article by Alex Haley "Black History, Oral History, and Genealogy," Oral History Review, 1973, p.11, the name 'baobab' was transformed into 'bow bow tree'.

In Mandinka the tree is called	<u>sitoo</u> ,	the fruit	<u>sita-dingo</u>
Wolof	" " " "	<u>guy</u> ,	<u>buy</u>
Fula	" " " "	<u>Bohi</u> ,	<u>Boyre</u> (pl. Bohe)

B = implosive b.

An excellent article on the baobab tree is:

Adam, J.G.

"Le baobab,"

Notes Africaines, 94, avril 1962, 33-44.

BAR (of iron) . Used as a measure of value.

- (1) Barbot (1732 ?) quoted by Mary Kingsley in West African Studies p. 460, writes

"...iron in bars ; particularly at Goree the company imports 10,000 or more every year of those which are made in their province of Brittany, all short and thin, which is called in London narrow flat iron, or half flat iron in Sweden, but each bar shortened or cut off at one end to about 16 to 18 inches, so that about 80 of these bars weigh a ton English. It is to be observed that such voyage-iron as it is called in London, is the only sort and size used throughout all Nigritia, Guinea, and West Ethiopia in the way of trade."

- (2) Labat, Jean-Baptiste: Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale, T.II, 1728, p. 307.

"Le fer qu'on leur porte d'Europe est en barre, elles servent de monnoye réelle ou ideale dans les marchez qu'on fait avec eux. La barre de fer doit avoir neuf pieds de Roy de la mesure de Paris de longueur; deux pouces de large, & quatre lignes d'épaisseur. On la divise en quinze parties, chacune de sept pouces & demy, & chaque patte en trois dialots, & chaque dialot suffit pour faire une bêche du pays avec sa douille."

(The iron which one brings them from Europe is in bar form, which serves as real or ideal money in the trade one makes with them. The bar of iron ought to be 9 feet in length by the Royal Paris standard, two inches wide, and four lines thick. It is divided into 15 parts, each of 7½ inches, and each (piece) into three dialots, and each dialot is sufficient to make a local hoe, with its socket.)

(In T.IV, p. 240 - Labat states that the bar is divided into 12 parts.)

jalo in the Fula dialect of Fuuta Tooro (Poular) is a 'weeding hoe'.

The term dialot de fer occurs in Jannequin (1643).

Francoise Deroure "La vie quotidienne à Saint-Louis par ses Archives (1779-1809), Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., T.XXVI, ser.B, nos. 3-4, 1964, p. 340, gives the same dimensions but has the bar divided into 12 parts, each part being divided into three, which corresponds to the amount necessary for an ileer. (the Wolof weeding tool).

- (3) Adanson (1749) English translation, p. 57. footnote.

"The patte of iron is the twelfth of a bar nine feet long; and serves for money in this country...."

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

"A Barr is a denomination given to a certain quantity of goods of any kind, which quantity was of equal value among the natives to a barr of iron, when this river was first traded to. Thus, a pound of fringe is a barr, two pounds of gun-powder is a barr, an ounce of silver is but a barr, and 100 gun-flints is a barr, and each species of trading goods has a quantity in it called a barr....."

- (5) Mungo Park: Travels in the Interior of Africa...
1810 edition, p. 39

"In their early intercourse with Europeans, the article that attracted most notice was iron. Its utility, in forming the instruments of war and husbandry made it preferable to all others; and iron soon became the measure by which the value of all other commodities was ascertained. Thus a certain quantity of goods of whatever denomination, appearing to be equal in value to a bar of iron, constituted in the trader's phraseology, a bar of that particular merchandize. Twenty leaves of tobacco, for instance, were considered as a bar of tobacco; and a gallon of spirits (or rather half spirits and half water), as a bar of rum; a bar of one commodity being reckoned equal in value to a bar of another commodity.

(In Mungo Park's time the current value of a single bar of any kind was fixed by the whites at two shillings sterling.)

BENTANG / BANTANGO.

In Gambian Mandinka there are two words: (1) bentengo, a platform and (2) bantango - a silk cotton tree. In Wolof the tree is called benten, or bentengi.

In the middle of villages platforms are built under shady trees, where the men of the community can sit. This general areas is known as the bantabaa. The bentengo may therefore be built under a bantango.

Mungo Park: Travels in the Interior of Africa... 1810 ed. p.32 writes:

"In each town is a large stage called the Bentang, which answers the purpose of a public hall or town-house; it is composed of interwoven canes, and is generally sheltered from the sun by being erected in the shade of some large tree. It is here that all public affairs are transacted and trials conducted, and here the lazy and indolent meet to smoke their pipes and hear the news of the day."

Vol.II, p. 6 "...we unloaded the asses under a large Bentang tree on the east side of the town."

The silk cotton tree was also known by the name of polon.

De la Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la Coste d'Afrique en 1685... p. 209 writes "Il y a dans ce pays des arbres d'une prodigieuse grandeur qu'on appelle polons.." and then goes on to a detailed description.

A modern note states that it is "Le fromager ou bombax qui produit le kapok."

The Temne of Sierra Leone call the tree "am polong"

De la Courbe when he wrote the description was south of The Gambia in the region of Cacheau, the country of the Bagnons and Feloupes.

BUSHEL.

Groundnuts were originally bought by volume, the measure being a bushel box measuring 16" x 16".

A Travelling Commissioner's Report for 1894 states "The traders in the river were...instructed to increase the size of the bushel measure in which the groundnuts ...were measured from 16" x 16" to 16" x 17".* The price of a bushel..is fixed at 2/-."

In later years groundnuts were purchased purely by weight a bushel being conceived as a unit of 28 lbs rather than a measure of volume.

In 1951, however, I photographed an old bushel box in Western Kiyang.



* The third dimension is never mentioned !

BUTLER .

Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa....1738
p.189 uses the term Butler. "This comes by one of my Butlers...."

A footnote indicates that it meant 'hired servant'. In Moore's
"List of words, English and Mundingo", the word is spelled 'buttlau'.

The term has nothing to do with the English word 'butler', which
in turn is derived from French, but comes instead from the Mandinka
batu-la , a person who waits, an attendant.

CANARI.

French (Senegalese) = large water pot.

- (1) Shoberl, F. ed. The World in Miniature: Africa... London, 1821 ?

Translated from R.G.V. L'Afrique, ou Histoire, Moeurs, et Coutumes des Africains. Paris 1814.

Vol.3, p. 107 "....unglazed vessels of baked earth, and nearly of a spherical form. These vessels called canaris, are used for holding water and making couscous."

- (2) Unfortunately the English translator (James Kirkup) of Camara Laye's L'enfant noir (1953) was unaware of the meaning of this word. Where the French text reads "Ou je me levais et j'allais prendre une gorgée d'eau au canari posé au sec sur sa couche de gravier." (Or I would get up and take a mouthful of water from the jar placed dryly on its bed of gravel.), he mistakes the word for the bird 'canary' and writes "I would get up and take a drink of water to the canary who, perched over his little bed of gravel, had lost his voice."

The water pot having a rounded base is normally supported by earth (gravel) packed around it, which also helps absorb any water spilt.

- (3) In Notes Africaines, No. 13, January 1942, p.24, A. Angrand has a short note "Sur Le Mot 'Canari',"

"Le canari est un vase ou grand pot en terre entre autres poteries fabriquées par les indigènes, et qui sert à conserver l'eau potable qui garde toute sa fraîcheur.

Le mot wolof pour désigner cet objet est nda. Les premiers Européens lui ont sans doute donné le nom de "canari", par analogie avec le filtre en terre poreuse ayant forme évasée, importé autrefois des Iles Canaries et connu sous le nom de "filtre-canari". Il existe encore dans certaines familles de Gorée et de St-Louis des "filtres-canari" montés sur cadre en bois." (Illustrated)

(The 'canari' is a vessel or large earthen pot among other pottery made by the locals, and which serves to keep drinking water which retains all its freshness.

The Wolof word for this object is nda. The first Europeans undoubtedly gave it the name 'canari' by analogy with the filter of porous rock having a hollowed out form, formerly brought from the Canary Islands, and known by the name of "Canary filter". Among certain families on Goree and St-Louis there are still to be found "Canary filters, mounted in a wooden frame.)

(4) Various early writers refer to the use of porous rock from the Canaries.

- a In M. Le Maire: Voyage to the Canaries, Cape Verd, and the Coast of Africa....1682 (1887 translation, p. 16)

there is a description of the method of filtering water in the Canary Islands.

"The quality of the water there is not equally good, but they remedy that by putting it into vases in the shape of mortars, made of extremely porous stone, through which it filters, so that being thus purified, it becomes fresh and very good."

- b In the Premier Voyage de Sieur de la Courbe fait à la coste d'Afrique en 1685, p. 27,

there is a reference to porous stone brought from the Canary Islands, used to purify water on the Island of St. Louis in Senegal.

- c J-B Labat: Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale...1728.
the water of

p. 235 (referring to the Isle du Senegal)...Pour la rendre un peu meilleure, plus pure & plus potable, on la fait passer au travers d'une pierre poreuse qu'on apporte des Canaries, qui est creusée en cone; l'eau en filtrant par les pores s'y décharge de toutes les impuretez qu'elle avoit, & même d'une partie de son sel.

Pour la rafraîchir on la met dans les vases de terre qui ne doivent point être vernis, placez dans un lieu exposé au vent de Nord, qui est toujours frais, c'est-à-dire ce lieu doit avoir des ouvertures de ce côté-là, étroites par le dehors, s'élargissant considérablement en dedans; il faut qu'il soit voûté & couvert d'un toit...."

(To make it a little better, purer, and more drinkable, it is made to pass through a porous rock that is brought from the Canaries. which is hollowed in the form of a cone ; the water filtering through its pores gets rid of all the impurities that it has, and even some of its salt.

To freshen it one puts it in pots of clay which should not be glazed, placed in a locality exposed to the north wind, which is always fresh, that is to say, the place ought to have openings on that side, narrow outside, and opening up considerably inside, it should be vaulted and covered with a roof....")

- (5) However, Raymond Mauny in an article "L'origine du mot:canari," Notes Africaines, No. 42, avril 1949, quotes several examples which show that canari is a carib word.

He refers to Pere Labat: Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique, 1, 1722. p. 397..."On se sert pour cela de grands vases de terre grise que l'on fait dans le pays. Les sauvages et à leur imitation les Europeëns les appellent canaris, nom g  n  rique qui s'  tend    tous les vaisseaux de terre, grands et petits et    quelque usage qu'ils soient destin  s."

"One uses for that large vessels of grey clay which are made in the country. The savages and imitating them, the Europeans call them canaris , a generic name which extends to all clay vessels, large and small and for whatever use they are intended."

Also l'Abbe Biet: Voyage de la France equinoxiale en l'Isle de Cayenne entreprise par les Francois en l'ann  e 1642,

uses the term for "les grands vaisseaux de terre dont se servaient les Galibis pour contenir les boissons ferment  es qu'ils pr  parent pour leurs f  tes et dont quelques-uns contiennent plus d'un demi-muid."

(The great earthen vessels which the Galibis use to contain the fermented drinks which they prepare for their festivities, and some of which contain more than half a hogshead.)

In addition he refers to de la Borde: Relation...des Caraibes, Paris, 1673.

The first mention that Mauny had found of this word in West Africa is in Adanson: Voyage au Senegal...1757, p. 21.

"pots de terre qu'on appelle canaris." (earthen pots that are called canaris)

The term would therefore seem to have crossed the Atlantic between 1728 and 1757. Many other words -avocat (avocado pear), caiman (crocodile), goyave (guava), papaye (pawpaw), patate (sweet potato) pirogue (canoe), etc. also found their way from the Antilles into French. Canari, however, remained in the creole speech of the Antilles and Senegal, and did not pass into standard French.

The word is used in Haiti. Alfred Metraux: Voodoo in Haiti, 1959 . p. 374 "Canari. Large pot which is consecrated and broken at funeral rites. Canari debris are scattered at cross-roads. The casser-canari rites are widespread, particularly in the north of Haiti." (Description of the rite , pp. 252-255.)

CIRK. - from the Portuguese cerca - a fence.

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

p.114 "The other town is only surrounded by a cane cirk, much like our English hurdles, fastened up with a great number of sticks...."

p.172 "Cirk...which is an inclosure round the factory-house, made with split cane, ten foot high, in the nature of a hurdle, supported and well propp'd up with long sticks."

- (2) Mungo Park: Travels in the Interior of Africa.... 1810 edition.

p. 32 "....all the huts belonging to the same family are surrounded by a fence, constructed of bamboo canes split and formed into a sort of wicker-work. The whole is called a sirk, or surk."

The term is not found in present day usage.

COFFLE. from Arabic. Caravan.

- (1) Quoted in E.W.Bovill: The Golden Trade of the Moors. Second edition. 1970, p. 206.

from de Castries: Les Sources inedites de l'histoire du Maroc, Paris, 1905-36. 18 vols. Vol.III, p. 452.

"In 1638 gold was still being shipped to England but, wrote George Carteret, 'this gold may rather be accompted a treasure than a commoditie, in regard that the ancient supply from Gago which was brought in by cafells (caravans) in Ahmed's days, grandfather of this Kinge, is now lost by the troubles of the State'.

- (2) Mungo Park: Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa.....1799

"I wrote to him to desire that he would use his interest with the slatees, or slave merchants, to procure me the company and protection of the first coffle (or caravan) that might leave Gambia for the interior country."

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

pp. 209-210. ".....a large coffle of travelling merchants with slaves arrived....."

- (4) William Fox: A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions....1851

p.460. ".....we again moved on, in company with a small cafila, consisting of three men and two asses, who are going to some part of Bondou. "

CORAIL. (French) from Portuguese. cf. corral

De la Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste
d'Afrique en 1685....

p.87 Defined as a "troupeau de vaches" (herd of cows) and
stated to be from Portuguese.

Present day Mandinka use the term korewo for a herd of cattle, and
the place where the cattle are tied up at night.

CUT-MONEY.

"Quarter pieces of a dollar which is current coin with the traders
of the Gambia." (Macbrair, 1861, p.34).

DANE GUN .

G.I. Jones: The Art of Eastern Nigeria, 1984, p. 29, has a footnote which reads:

"A 'dane gun' is a flintlock muzzle-loading musket; a 'cap gun' is a similar weapon in which the flintlock has been replaced by a mechanism which produces the spark from a gunpowder cap. A 'cap gun' was defined under the ordinance as an 'arm of precision' and such arms could only be held under licence. No 'cap guns' were therefore imported, for anyone who was able to obtain a permit for a gun licence naturally imported a double-barrelled breach-loading shot-gun. The import of 'dane guns' was unrestricted, as they were not 'arms of precision'. No licences were issued for locally converted 'cap guns' as their owners preferred to pass them off as 'dane guns'.

An article describing the 'Dane Gunners of the Gambia' was printed in West Africa, 10 November 1956, p. 891.

The author states that the name 'dane gun' implies no connected with Denmark, and is a corruption of a Mandinka word meaning "hunting". The Mandinka word (dannoo) has a totally different vowel sound, and other sources mention a Danish prototype, though the guns were manufactured in England.

In Gambian Mandinka old names - haulanfiso (fowling piece), and bulandibaso (blunderbuss) can occasionally be heard.

FACTORY.

A factory was a trading place in charge of a factor.

- (1) The equivalent in old Portuguese was feitoria.

e.g. in Lemos Coelho 1684 (P.E.H. Hair's translation, Ch.8 para.15)

"There was a feitoria in this town before there was one in Cacheo, and here the licenced ships came to do business."

- (2) Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa...1728,

p. 17 "Besides the Fort, there are several Factories up the River settl'd for the Conveniency of Trade. They are all under the Direction of the Governor and chief Merchants at this Fort (James Island), to whom the Factors remit all their Trade."

- (3) T.J. Alldridge: The Sherbro and its Hinterland, 1901 (which describes Sierra Leone)

p.10 "...a West African factory is merely a depôt to which produce is brought by the natives, and imported goods by British and Continental steamers. When situated on the banks of a river where steamers anchor, it is an establishment for trading in all its branches. Its owners purchase the products of the country, store them pending an opportunity for shipment, receive and store imported goods, which they sell to the natives for cash or barter as the case may be. A factory may be a great trading centre at the port of entry, or a mere mud hut with a mud shed on the pettiest up-river place, but, large or small, it is always a trading establishment and never a manufactory."

- (4) J.H.Ozanne: Travelling Commissioner's Report, North Bank Province, 1893.

"Some of the Bathurst merchants have built stores, at convenient parts of the river, where a steamer can call. At these "Factories", as they are called, groundnuts are stored...."

FOLGAR. (Portuguese) - an all-night dance.

- (1) De la Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la Coste d'Afrique en 1685,

p.90 "folgar...se rejouir jusqu'a soleil levant."

= "to make merry until the sun rises"

- (2) Françoise Deroure: "La vie quotienne à Saint-Louis par ses Archives (1779-1809). Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., XXVI, sér.B, nos. 3-4, 1964, p.423,

quoting Pruneau de Pommegorge: Description de la Nigritie, 1789,

p.6 "Après la parure, la plus grande passion de ces femmes est pour leurs bals ou folgars qu'elles font durer jusqu'à la pointe du jour et dans lesquels on boit force vin de palme, du pitot, espèce de bière, et même des vins de France..." (1760)

(After their finery, the greatest passion of these women is for their balls or folgars which they make last until daybreak, and during which they drink much palm wine, pitot, a sort of beer, and even wines from France.)

GERNOTE. = a millet with a red grain.

- (1) Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la Coste d'Afrique en 1685.

p. 131 "On s'y nourrit d'une certaine graine nommée gernote qui vient d'elle meme dans les lieux marecageux et qui est semblable à du mil."

A footnote states: "C'est le ouolof Djahnāt or diarnate, sorte de gros mil à grain rouge."

(They feed on a certain grain called gernote, which grows by itself in marshy places, and is similar to millet.

It is the wolof djahnāt or diarnate, a sort of coarse millet with a red grain.)

- (2) Astley, following Labat ? writes

p.340 "There grows in some parts, especially near Cape de Verde, a grain called Jernotte, resembling Maez, only smaller, and growing wild without cultivation. The grain is enclosed in a thin red Husk which contains a white, solid, friable substance, of a good taste. The Ear is about two inches long, and a quarter of an inch in Diameter. The Negros prepare it as they do the Maez. "

p.127 , based on the third voyage of Sieur Brue (1715)

"The neighbourhood of this marigot is marshy ground, noted for producing a Kind of wild Maiz, called gernotta..."

"GRIOTS"JUDEUS .

Valentim Fernandes: Description de la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique
(Sénégal au Cap de Monte, Archipels)
 (1506-1510)

Translation by Th.Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota = R. Mauny. 1951.

- p. 9 "Dans ce pays (Gyloff) et en Mandinga il y a des Juifs et on les appelle Gaul et ils sont noirs comme les gens du pays; toutefois ils n'ont pas de synagogues et ne pratiquent pas les cérémonies des autres Juifs. Ils ne vivent avec les autres Noirs que séparés d'eux dans leurs villages.

Ces Gaul sont souvent bouffons et jouent de la viole et des cavacos (instruments à cordes) et sont chanteurs. Et parce qu'ils n'osent entrer dans les villages ils se mettent derrière les maisons du seigneur (du village) et lui chantent ses louanges à l'aube jusqu'à ce qu'il ordonne de leur donner une ration de mil et ensuite ils s'en vont.

Et quand le seigneur sort de la maison alors les Juifs sortent devant lui chantant et criant leurs bouffonneries.

- p.11 Et si les Juifs ne savaient pas ces bouffonneries et s'ils ne faisaient pas ces fêtes au seigneur on ne tolérerait pas chez les Noirs, tant on leur veut de mal. et ils sont aussi traités comme des chiens par les Noirs et n'osent entrer dans une de leurs maisons sauf celle du seigneur et s'ils les trouvent dans le village ils leur donnent des coups de bâton.

Aucun Gaul soit Juif ou Juive ne peut prendre de l'eau dans aucune fontaine que quand tous les autres ont fini de prendre de l'eau. Et alors le dernier leur donne de l'eau. Ou s'ils vivent en pays très abondant en eau ils ont quelques fontaines éloignées à eux.

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(In this country (Jolof) and in Manding there are Jews who are called Gaul, and they are as black as the local people; however they have no synagogues, and do not practise the ceremonies of other Jews. They do not live with the other blacks, but separated from them in their own villages.

These Gaul are often jesters, and play the violin and cavacos (stringed instruments) and are singers. And because they dare not enter the villages they stand behind the houses of the head (of the village) and sing his praises at dawn until he gives orders to provide them with a ration of millet and then they go off.

And when the head leaves his house then the Jews go before him singing and crying their buffoonery.

And if the Jews did not know these buffoneries and if they did not carry out these performances for the head, they would not be tolerated among the Blacks, so much are they hated, and they are also

treated like dogs by the Blacks and dare not enter any of the houses except that of the head, and if they are found in the village they are beaten.

No Gaul or Jew or Jewess can take water in any well, except when the others have finished drawing water. And then the last one gives them water. Where they live in a region with abundant water they have several wells for themselves at a distance.)

The term Gaul undoubtedly comes from the Fula term gaulo, plural 'auluuBe' .

Because of their social status the early Portuguese equated the 'griots' (musicians, praise-singers etc.) with the Jews (Judeus), and the name remained in Portuguese Krio.

Some of the Portuguese who were exiled and ended up in West Africa were of Jewish origin, but they engaged in trade, and seem to have no connection with the musician/praise singer caste.

André Alvares de Almada in his Brief Treatise on the Rivers of Guinea ,
 translated by P.E.H.Hair from Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné (c.1594)
 writes:

= Saalum

p.34 "Throughout this land of the Jalofofos, Barbacins and Mandingas can be found a nation of blacks who are considered and treated by them as Jews (are among us). I do not know where they come from. They are a handsome people, especially the women. The men have noses of generous size. Most of them will not eat pork.

They are importunate beggars, going from kingdom to kingdom with their women, like gypsies with us. They take up the same manual trades as the gypsies do, that is, (they work as) weavers, shoe-makers, and blacksmiths. They are employed as drummers in the blacks' wars, and they sing to spur on those who fight, reminding them of the deeds of their ancestors; and in this way they persuade them to conquer or die. In war they beat three kinds of drums. One kind is like ours; another is smaller, and they carry it under the arm and beat it while on horse-back; another kind is made of a single skin, seven hand-spans long. With these instruments they announce anything they want known, for instance, they make signals in battle or give warnings of fire. When the blacks hear drums, they can tell instantly which king or captain the particular drums belong to. The Jews also play (stringed instruments), violins and another sort which is like a harp.

People of this land observe the following law. No Jew can enter the house of any person who is not a Jew, or eat or drink from utensils used by non-Jews; and if Jews have connection with any woman not of their race, both are sold or killed. I was one day at the royal court - called maca - and was within the palace of the king. He had a Jew who was such a close acquaintance, that when he spoke from without, he said what he pleased and joked with the king. (This day,) the Jew placed himself near the palace, and as the law did not allow him to enter, he shouted from without many times. But growing weary with his shouting, and seeing that he got no reply- except that some of those within mockingly told him to come in - in anger he said these words: "A wretched race is mine ! Would God had made me a rat or a dog and not a Jew ! Rats and dogs enter the king's house but I cannot !" After this he uttered many groans, and exhausted went away. When these Jews die, they do not bury them in the ground like other blacks but (leave their bodies) in holes in trees. If there are none, they hang their bodies in the trees, because the other blacks hold the erroneous belief that if Jews are buried with other persons, the rains will not come and there will be no new crops on the land that year. "

Richard Jobson, quoted in Purchas his Pilgrimes (1621), wrote:

"The King of Jelicot...came down with his Juddies or Fidlers, which plaid before him and his wives, such being the fashion of the great ones. These Juddies are as the Irish Rimers: all the time he eats, they play and sing songs in his prayse, and his ancestors. When they die, they are put in an hollow tree upright, and not buried."

Francisco de Lemos Coelho : Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684)
Translation by P.E.H.Hair.

"In these kingdoms there is also a race (casta) of blacks called Judeos (Jews). They are a despised people, and only make a living by the men playing musical instruments and the women dancing, which the latter are very skilled in doing after their own fashion, and so agile that it seems as if they were born without bones; also they are skilled jugglers and very good-looking. Although they make their living this way only, they earn plenty, because the blacks of the land give them all they ask for. Yet the blacks treat these Judeos with so little regard that none of them may enter their houses and they have to perform in the street, where they display their contorsions. Nor will any local black touch any of the Judeo women, though they are very immodest. The local blacks consider all those of this nation contemptible, and when the Judeos die they do not permit them to be buried in the ground, but instead the corpses are placed in the hollows of certain large trees called cabaceiras (i.e. baobab trees, DPG).

...I put it in here so that it can be seen how greatly Jews are reviled even among blacks. True, these Judeos have nothing of the Jew other than the name. However the Portuguese Jews who used to live here were strongly reviled by the other settlers and by the local blacks, and they paid more tribute than the other whites. They tolerated it all in order to practise in freedom their own religion and law. Nowadays, through divine mercy, these ports are free of this evil people, and there are only some half-breeds, their descendants, who during my time were all converted to the Catholic religion."

(The above refers to the Wolof area, and the port of Arrecife).

GRIOT

1

(1) The earliest use of the word 'griot' that I have seen occurs in Louis Chambonneau's "A Treatise on the Origin of the Negroes of Senegal, on the African Coast, about their Country, Religion, Customs, and Habits", translated by C.I.A.Ritchie, Africa Studies, 26(2), 1967, 59-93.

The manuscript (MS of the Bibliotheque Municipale de Dieppe) covers the period 1675-1677.

His first use of the terms comes in a list of Court officials - "Camalingue, Alkati, Jagarafes, Guiaudine, Malo, Guiausire, Minre, Guainague, Boukenets, and Guiriots...."

"Guiriots are purveyors of mirth and jollity, who with their wives amuse the court with their songs, or rather caterwaulings, and dance to the sound of drums and mandolins."

Later (p.89) (In battle)...the king going before or behind (his men) as occasion requires. Their guiiriots, who are their drummers, go among the throng beating the drum, and singing to them that they are great men, guyans and strong and brave like their ancestors, that they do not know how to fly from their enemies, but know how to destroy and kill them...."

On p. 91 "In the afternoon of the Folgar (Dance) there come five or six Guriots (who are so to speak their jesters). They have each of them a kind of drum called by the Negroes Nden (Modern Gambian Wolof = ndenda), at least six feet long and not bigger or broader at the two ends than a plate, which narrows in the middle like the baskets of the Paris pastry cooks who sell wafers. It is made all in one piece from a tree trunk which they hollow out and shape like this. The top end is covered with a sheepskin, which they have dressed like parchment, having nothing save a little stick which they hold in the right hand, with which they beat this drum, which they strike also with the left hand without a stick. They come onto the great square of the village, lugging their drums along on their left flank, supported by a leather strap which passes over the shoulder. There they begin to shriek, sing, and beat the drum so as to make everyone come along..."

(There follows a long description of wrestling, and dancing by the women who "march in time up to the guriots who redouble the drumbeats at their approach, crying hoarsely and inspiring the girls to redouble their efforts as they all frolic together...")

(2) M. Le Maire: Voyage to the Canaries, Cape Verd and the Coast of Africa..1682

p. 54 "They love praise so much, that they have people called guiiriots whose trade it is to supply them with it. The guiiriots carry a kind of drum, four or five feet long, made of the hollow trunk of a tree, which they beat with the hand or with sticks..."

(3) De la Courbe: Premier Voyage de Sieur de la Courbe fait a la Coste d'Afrique en 1685.

p.43 "...les guiriotts faisoient merveille à chanter mes louanges et celles de leur maitre, et accompagnoient leur voix d'un petit lut a trois cordes de crin de cheval, qui n'est pas désagréable à entendre; leurs chansons sont martiales, disant en vous nommant que vous estes d'une grande race, ce qu'ils appellent^{en} français corrompu, grands gens, que vous surmontez tous vos ennemis, que vous este liberal et autre chose de cette nature, enfin ils concluent a ce que vous leur donniez quelque chose..."

(..the griots would wonderfully sing my praises and those of their master, and accompany their voices with a small lute with three horse-hair strings, which is not unpleasant to listen to; their songs are warlike, saying in giving your name that you are of noble race, which they call in broken French, 'big people,' that you overcome all your enemies, that you are generous, and other things of that nature, and finally they conclude by (asking) that you give them something.)

(4) Lamiral: L'Affrique et le peuple affriquain...1789.

p.266....les jeunes filles & les garçons se réunissent au milieu du village, ils s'assoient en rond, au milieu sont les musiciens qui amusent la compagnie par les danses & les gestes les plus lascifs: ils exécutent en pantomime, toutes les caresses & les transports de l'amour, les griottes s'approchent des spectateurs & semblent les provoquer au combat amoureux, les jeunes filles les accompagnent de la voix & prononcent des paroles analogues aux sujets; elles battent toutes des mains en mesure & encouragent les danseurs par leurs applaudissemens. D'abord la musique prélude lentement, les danseurs s'approchent & s'évitent, la mesure redouble, les gestes deviennent plus vifs, (267) les musiciens tonnent & les mouvemens des acteurs se succèdent avec rapidité, leurs corps prend toutes sortes de formes; ils s'embrassent & se repoussent: enfin hors d'haleine, ils tombent dans les bras l'un de l'autre & les spectateurs les couvrent de leurs pagnes; pendant ce tems les tambour font un tel charivari, qu'il est impossible de s'entendre.

Quelquefois des jeunes filles prennent la place des Griottes pour faire montre de leur soupless & inspirer de l'amour aux jeunes gens qui les regardent; elles y mettent plus de graces & de finesse que les Griottes; quand elles on fait deux ou trois tours, elles se jettent dans les bras de leurs camarades en se cachant le visage, comme si elles avoient honte de ce qu'elles ont fait.

Souvent des hommes en habit de guerre qui font le simulacre d'un combat, d'une bataille; les spectateurs & la musique les animent par des chansons guerrières.

(268) D'autre fois ce sont de jeunes athletes presque nuds qui luttent avec force & avec grace; ils ne se portent jamais de coups, ils tachent seulement de saisir leur adversaire & de le culbuter. Les femmes et les filles jettent leurs pagnes sous leurs pieds & leur prodiguent les applaudissemens.....

(269) Les Griots font les Comédiens & les Musiciens du pays; ils sont aussi conteur de bonne aventure; ils connoissent la chiromancie & la géomancie; ils ont l'art de faire des Grisgris comme les Maraboux. C'est un état qu'ils exercent de père en fils; ils sont regardé comme infâmes, aucune famille ne s'allie avec eux; cependant tout le monde les recherche, tout le monde leur donne; les riches en ont toujours quelqu'un chez eux; les Rois ne marchent jamais sans en avoir plusieurs a leur suite qui chantent leur louanges; ils font aussi les fonctions de l'ami Bonnau, & leurs femmes ou filles celles des femmes galantes; elles ne rencontrent jamais un homme sans le provoquer, soit par leur paroles, soit par des gestes très expressifs.

(....the young girls and boys gather in the middle of the village, they sit in a circle, in the middle are the musicians who amuse the company by dances and lascivious actions, they act out in pantomime all the caresses and joys of love, the female griots draw near to the spectators and seem to provoke them to amorous combat, the young girls accompany them with their songs with words similar to the subjects; they beat their hands in time, and encourage the dancers by their applause. At first the music begins slowly, the dancers approach each other and avoid each other. The beat redoubles, the gestures become more lively, the musicians thunder, and the movements of the performers rapidly change, their bodies taking all sorts of shapes. They embrace each other and repel each other, then out of breath, they fall in each others arms, and the spectators cover them with their cloths; during this time the drums are making such a noise that it is impossible to hear oneself.

Sometimes the young women take the place of the female griots to show their agility and awaken love in the young men who are watching them. They show more grace and skill than the griots; when they have made two or three turns round the ring, they throw themselves in the arms of their friends, hiding their faces, as if they were ashamed of what they had done.

Often the men in war dress will mimic a fight, a battle . The spectators and the musicians stir them with martial songs.

(268) At other times it is young athletes, almost naked, who wrestle with strength and grace. They never strike blows, they try simply to seize their opponent and throw him down. The women and girls throw their clothes under their feet, and applaud wildly.

(269) The Griots are the comedians and musicians of the country; they also are fortunetellers, and know chiromancy and geomancy ; they know how to make charms like the Marabouts. It is state which is exercised from father to son. They are regarded as infamous. No other family would marry with them. However everyone seeks them, everyone gives to them. The rich always have some of them with them. Kings never travel without having several following them singing their praises. They also perform the functions of friend Bonnau, and their wives and daughters that of courtesans, they never meet a man without provoking him, either by words, or by very expressive gestures.")

- (5) See also Labat: Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale... 1728

Vol. II pp. 242-3 & 329-31.

He undoubtedly used De la Courbe as a source.

- (6) Raymond Arveiller: Contribution à l'étude des termes de voyage en Français (1505-1722). Paris : Editions d'Artrey, 1963. pp. 255-256,

quotes from P. Alexis de Saint-Lo: Relations du Voyage du Cap Vert, Rouen 1637.

"Les Guiriots, qui sont comme leurs Basteleurs." p. 71.

(The griots, who are like their buffoons..)

- (7) J. Barbot, who probably gathered his information in 1680-81, though his work was not published until much later, mentions the term guiriots as coming from one of the local languages, but does not indicate which. / He has just been writing about the Mauritians, and after mentioning the terms goes on to describe the Wolof. The term might well have been derived from the Arabic word iggio, or iggiw, who were the bards, musicians, and storytellers. In Wolof the bards are known as gewel, which some derive from the word for circle, which forms round the entertainer; among the Mandinka as jali or jeli, depending on the dialect, and in the Fula speech of Fuuta Tooro, gauulo plural 'auluuBe (praisers) or bambado pl. wambaabe (musicians).

- a. In preparing the English version of his manuscript, Barbot included material from other previous writers (Dapper etc.)

In P.E.H.Hair's recent translation "Barbot on Guinea...." London: Hakluyt Society, 1992, the word is spelled guériots, p. 127. There is no mention here of the origin of the word.

- (8) Mungo Park in his Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa, relating to 1795-7, provides interesting comments on the role of the griots among the Mandinka.

(p.278)..."singing men, called Jilli kea... One or more of these may be found in every town. They sing extempore songs, in honour of their chief men, or any other persons who are willing to give "solid pudding for empty praise." But a nobler part of their office is to recite the historical events of their country; hence in war, they accompany the soldiers to the field; in order, by reciting the great actions of their ancestors, to awaken in them a spirit of glorious emulation.

The other class are devotees of the Mahomedan faith, who travel about the country, singing devout hymns and performing religious ceremonies, to conciliate the favour of the Almighty; either in averting calamity, or insuring success to any enterprise. Both descriptions of these itinerant bards are much employed and respected by the people, and very liberal contributions are made for them."

When Mungo Park returned to The Gambia with a slave caravan, they were accompanied by jalís.

(p.324). "Among the free men were six Jilla keas (singing men), whose musical talents were frequently exerted either to divert our fatigue, or obtain us a welcome from strangers.

(p.327) "In front, five or six singing men, all of them belonging to the coffle...we proceeded, until we came within a hundred yards of the gate (of the town); when the singing men began a loud song, well calculated to flatter the vanity of the inhabitants, by extolling their well known hospitality to strangers, and their particular friendship for the Mandingoes. When we entered the town we proceeded to the Bentang (bantabaa), where the people gathered round us to hear out dentegi (history); this was related publicly by two of the singing men; they enumerated every little circumstance which had happened to the coffle; beginning with the events of the present day, and relating everything in a backward series, until they reached Kamalia. When this history was ended, the master of the town gave them a small present; and all the people of the coffle, both free and enslaved, were invited by some person or other, and accomodated with lodging and provisions for the night. "

(p.107) " When Daisy departed from Joko, his sons refused to follow him, alleging that "the singing-men would publish their disgrace, as soon as it should be known that Daisy and his family had fled from Joko without firing a gun."

GRIS-GRIS. Charms. Variant: GRIGRIS. GREGORIES

There are numerous accounts of 'charms' . The selection given below covers most of the points usually made.

- (1) Richard Jobson: The Golden Trade. 1625.

p. 63 "The Gregories bee things of great esteeme amongst them, for the most part they are made of leather of severall fasions, wouderous neatly, they are hollow, and within them is placed, and sowed up close, certaine writings, or spels which they receive from their Mary-buckles (Marabouts), wherof they conceive such a religious respect, that they do confidently beleeeve no hurt can betide them, whilst these Gregories are about them, and it seemes to encrease their superstition; the Mary-buckles do devide these blessings for every severall and particular part, for uppon their heads they weare them, in manner of a crosse, as well from the fore-head to the necke, as from one eare to another, likewise about their neckes, and crosse both shoulders about their bodies, round their middles, great store, as also uppon their armes, both above and below the elbow, so that in a manner, they seeme as it were laden, and carrying an outward burthen of religious blessings, whereof there is none so thoroughly laden as the Kings....

..their horses doe usually weare of these about their neckes, and most of their bowes are hanged and furnished with them."

- (2) M. Le Maire: Voyage to the Canaries, Cape Verd, and the Coast of Africa....1682.

p.61 "They have certain characters which they call gris-gris. They are short prayers of which the characters are Arabic, and interspersed with figures of Necromancy, which the marabouts sell to them. They serve as they believe, to prevent them from being wounded, to enable them to swim well, to catch plenty of fish; others, to get plenty of wives and children, to prevent them from being taken captives, and generally, to get for them all they desire.

They have so much confidence in these characters, that they do not fear being hit by an arrow. It is true they are so covered with them (having some over all parts of the body) that often an assagaye would have some great difficulty in penetrating them. The nobles, above all, have their shirts and caps covered with them, and they cover themselves with them to such a degree, that they are often obliged to be placed on horseback. They put them also on the horses, in order to make them go fast, or to prevent them from being wounded.

These gris-gris are enveloped in linen well folded and glued, and are covered over with well-dressed red leather. There are some not larger than your thumb, worked with the diamond point, of which they make collars. Inside these envelopes, the marabouts often place nothing, as I found, when I examined some belonging to our slaves.

They wear them before and behind, over the stomach, the size of a quarto volume, and two inches thick. They make them of horses tails, of stag-horn, or of the horns of wild bulls, covered with red cloth. They put two of these last in the front of the cap...it is supposed to proect them in their combats with one another..."

- (3) A. Keppel: A Voyage to the Coast of Africa in 1758...

p.77 "...those who go to war are plentifully loaded with grissgriss or gregories, small cloth or leather bags containing little slips of written paper, which they purchase from the marbuts or priests, measuring about three inches in circumference, variously fashion'd, but generally quadrangular; in these they put great trust, and are charms they imagine will prevent them from almost every kind of danger, and which they hang about their necks and arms, with bracelets of silver or brass, bent about their wrists...

- (4) T.E. Poole: Life, Scenery, and Customs in Sierra Leone and The Gambia. 1850.

I-20 "Greegrees, or charms, consisting of parts of the Koran, which they copy and transcribe very beautifully and accurately, and enclosed in cases of leather of different sizes, variously ornamented, are not only much used by themselves, but convertible into specie."

II-158 "Gregorees are in high estimation among the natives. They are of all sizes, shapes, colours, and material, and used as charms for every purpose, to avert evil or misfortune, or to bring them some advantage. I observed also that they had a Gris-Gris for every part of the body to which they are desirous of affording a more than common degree of security from harm. The head or arms, the legs, the wrists, the ancles, are supplied with them, according to the exigency of the case....."

- (5) J-B. Labat: Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale..1728 ,
II.

Dress of 'Le Petit Brac' of Walo. p. 239 .

"Tout l'habit & le baudrier étoient parsemés de gris gris, enveloppés fort proprement dans du drap écarlatte, du maroquin rouge, ou des peaux de bêtes sauvages; les uns quarrés les autres ronds, d'autres longs ou taillés à facettes comme de gros diamans, appliqués sur les differens endroits du corps ausquels ils servoient de deffense."

(All the apparel and the baldrick were studded with gris gris, wrapped tidily with scarlet cloth, red Moroccan leather, or the skins of wild animals, some square, others round, others long or cut into facets like large diamonds, applied to different parts of the body to which they would serve as a defence.)

GRUMETTA, GOURMETS, ETC.

This term appears in Crioulu as grumete, in Portuguese as grumete, in English as grumet, grummet, grometta, gramater etc.

The word is generally translated in dictionaries as ship's boy or cabin boy. On the other hand A.C. De C.M. Saunders in A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555, when describing the crews of the caravels and navios, translates the term as 'ordinary seamen', cabin boy being pagens, and able seamen marinheiros.

The term was applied generally for Africans recruited from coastal peoples for a variety of tasks ashore and afloat, smiths, carpenters, joiners, masons, boatbuilders etc. and as seamen, pilots, and interpreters. They generally became Christians, and adopted European style clothing. Many were employed by European traders as their agents to travel up river etc. for wax, ivory, gold etc. and clearly they also traded on their own account.

Translation from Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la Coste d'Afrique en 1685, p. 232.

"Eighty leagues up river from Cacheau, there was a place called Farim, where all the Portuguese of Cacheau have houses, and which is also like a town, and from Cacheau to this place there are at intervals along the river villages inhabited by gourmettes (Portuguese) who go to look for wax in the interior."

Astley, quoting Sieur Brue (1701) writes (p.112)

"They use these Gromettas in all the Factories, and in the Company's Barks and Canoas. Some of them are Linguisters or Interpreters; some others, of the best Character and Capacity, are employed to trade for the Company up the Country, for Wax, Ivory, Slaves, and Gold, who besides their Wages, have a certain Profit on the Goods they sell...When these black Factors have gotten a Cargo sufficient to load a Bark or two, the Company sends them with fresh goods to the Warehouses, and bring away those they have bought."

"A Plan of James Fort: 1708-9," provided in A. W. Lawrence: Trade Castles & Forts of West Africa, 1963, pp. 254-55, shows two rows of "Grameter Houses."

Francis Moore (1738) mentions gromettas (p. 236).

Lamiral in L'Afrique et le peuple affriquain... 1789, writes p. 89 "On met des équipages nombreux tous composés de Nègres, les libres font les fonctions de Gourmets, c'est-à-dire de gabiers, de pilotes & de timoniers ; les esclaves & mêmes des libres pauvres, font le service de laptots, c'est-à-dire ceux qui font les manoeuvres de dessus le pont & qui hâlent le vaisseau lorsqu'il ne peut pas aller à la voile."

(Numerous crews are provided completely composed of Blacks, the free blacks carry out the functions of Gourmets, that is to say top-men, pilots, and steersmen ; the slaves, and even poor free men act as laptots, that is to say those that work below the bridge, and who haul the vessel when it cannot sail.)

Corry (1807) writing of Sierra Leone uses the term 'Grumittas' to mean 'free black people', indicating that many were artisans - smiths, carpenters, joiners, masons, etc. (Description of Bance Island, Sierra Leone).

In his account of Saint-Louis (1853) Boilat indicates that the well educated and honorable "gourmets" would be counted among the "habitants", the notables of the island.

Mage, writing in 1877, indicates that the term laptot was used in the 19th century for men engaged as sailors, gourmet then being used for higher grades such as 'quarter-master'.

By the end of the 19th century the term gourmet became equivalent to 'Christianized African' in contrast to one who was Muslim, but the term is rarely used at the present day.

HUNGRY SEASON.

John Morgan: Reminiscences of the founding of a Christian Mission on The Gambia. London, 1864.

p.2 "They are annually subject to famine several weeks before the ripening of their first crops. In their conversation they talk of the hungry season as being quite as much a matter of course as the wet and dry seasons."

- ILEER. - The Wolof name for a weeding tool.
- A crescent shaped iron blade on the end of a long handle, used in Senegal.

There is a tradition that the name was derived from Hilaire Maurel, a trader, who is reputed to have introduced this tool. Various authors have pointed out that the Wolof used this type of instrument long before Hilaire Maurel arrived in Senegal.

A paragraph in Jules Remy's La Sénégalie, 1895 ?, page 67 suggests what might have occurred.

"L'instrument de culture dont les noirs se servent est un hilaire.... M. Hilaire Maurel, négociant à St. Louis eut la pensée de remplacer l'instrument en bois durci dont les cultivateurs se servaient, par un instrument en fer ayant la même forme, et que tous adoptèrent immédiatement et qu'ils nommèrent hilaire par reconnaissance.

Le hilaire est une espèce de croissant en fer de 7 à 8 centimètres de large et long de 25 à 30 centimètres, dont les cornes sont grossièrement arrondies, ce croissant port à sa concavité, un manche de deux mètres environ placé dans une douille..."

(The implement for cultivation that the blacks use is a 'hilaire'. M. Hilaire Maurel, a trader at St. Louis, had the idea of replacing a tool of hardened wood by one of iron, with the same form, which all immediately adopted, and called 'hilaire' out of gratitude.

The 'hilaire' is a sort of iron crescent, 7-8 cm. wide, and 25-20 cm. long, with rounded horns, and having at its concavity a handle about two meters long fitted into a socket.)

WORDS FOR INTERPRETERS.

(1) CHALONA

Andre Donelha: Descricao da Serra Leone e dos Rios de Guine do Capo Verde (1625) (English translation by P.E.H.Hair, 1977)

p. 139 Port of Barra...Ships anchor one fifth of a league from land. Those going to Cantor pick up two blacks as linguists or interpreters, called here chalonga.

The word is also mentioned in Nize Isabel de Moraes: "La Mission des Capucins Espagnols en Senegambie au XVIIe siecle (1646-1647)", "Afrika Zamani, 16/17, 1986, p.93, footnote 21.

"Le terme employé est Chalonga-interprète."

I have not yet been able to identify this word. It is not Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, nor Jola.

(2) MAITRE-LANGUE. This term is used in early French writings.

Sieur de la Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait à la coste d'Afrique en 1685.

p.35 maitre-langue
115 maistre-langue

Labat: Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale. T.II, (1728)

p.237 maître-langue

In nineteenth century writings the maîtres de langue had become 'barkers', sent to entice caravans to particular traders, e.g.

Joseph du Sorbiers de la Tourrasse
Au pays des Woloffs: Souvenirs d'un traitant du Sénégal.
Paris n.d. (between 1886 & 1900)

p.82 "Les maîtres de langues sont de grand hâbleurs, qui vont au-devant des caravanes et cherchent à les entraîner chez leurs patrons par des promesses et des cadeaux."

(3) TRUSIMAN

Valentim Fernandes (1506-1510)

Description de la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique (Sénégal au Cap de Monte, Archipels...) 1951 edition.

p.26 mādarō huũ Negro trusimã - sent a black interpreter

A footnote states "V. Fernandes emploie le mot trusiman (truchement en français, de l'arabe tordjman.)" cf Golberry: Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique..1802, p. 43. 'mon nègre truchement'

Michel Leiris in L'Afrique Fantôme spells the word tardjouman.

Burton in Tales from the Arabian Nights, gives "Arab. 'Tarjuman'...., the old 'Truchman', and through the Ital. 'tergomano', our 'Dragoman'." (p.100).

- (4) In the Fula language of Fuuta Tooro (Senegal) one currently finds both

metlaŋga from maître de langue

& antamperet from interprête

(5) LINGUISTER

"Gillyfree in the Kingdom of Barraah....a large town near the River, inhabited by Portuguese, Mundingoes, and some Mahometans,This town is used to supply all private shipping with Linguisters; but the King of Barraah, in the year 1733, made it no less than Slavery for any of his subjects to serve as Linguisters on board any vessels, but what pay his customs, and trade in his country. "

Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa... 1738 p. 67.

KANTAR from Quintal (a wooden measure) 100 kqms.

Sieur de la Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste d'Afrique en 1685.

p. 147-8 Les Maures...deroboient pendant le jour la gomme dans le quintal lorsqu'on la mesuroit...

= a wooden measure in which one measured the gum purchased.

The word was corrupted to kantar.

S.M.X. Golberry : Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique, fait pendant les annees 1785, 1786 et 1787....

T. I, p. 247-8 describes the kantar in detail.

" La mesure dont on se sert pour vendre et acheter la gomme, est une sorte de grande cuve de bois qu'on établit sur le pont du bâtiment qui traite cette marchandise, et qui, dans sa capacité, en contient le poids de deux milliers de livres. Les Maures appellent cette mesure kantar, et nous avons adopté cette dénomination, dont se servaient les Maures-Sarazins pendant qu'ils régnaient en Espagne, et que les Portugais et les Espagnols ont naturalisée dans les contrées méridionales du Zaarha. On vend et on achète donc la gomme du Sénégal par kantar.

Chaque bâtiment qui traite de la gomme a son kantar établi sur le pont. Cette mesure qui, comme on l'a dit, a la forme d'une grande cuve, est percée dans le fond, par une ouverture carrée de dix huit pouces de longueur, sur un pied de largeur. A cette ouverture, répond ce que les marins appellent une manche; c'est un conduit de grosse toile à voile qui descend à fond de cale. Quand on mesure la gomme, l'ouverture du fond du kantar est fermée par une planchette en coulisse; quand le kantar est plein, on retire la planchette, et la gomme coule par la manche dans le fond du bâtiment.....

On comprendra facilement, que des augmentations dans les dimensions du kantar ont pu s'exécuter insensiblement, sans être devinées, ni aperçues par les Maures...

"The measure used to sell and buy gum, is a sort of large wooden vat that is set up on the bridge of the vessel which is dealing in this merchandise, and which, in its capacity, contains the weight of two thousand pounds. The Mauritians call this measure kantar, and we have adopted this denomination, which was used by the Saracins while they reigned in Spain, and which the Portuguese and Spaniards have naturalized in the countries south of the Sahara. One sells and buys gum in Senegal by kantar.

Each vessel which deals in gum, has its kantar set up on the bridge. This measure which, as has been said, has the form of a great vat, has an opening in the bottom, about eighteen inches long and a foot wide. From this opening there is what sailors call a 'sleeve', it is a conduit of thick sail-cloth which leads down to the hold. When one measures the gum, the opening at the bottom of the kantar is closed by a sliding board. When the kantar is full, the board is withdrawn, and the gum flows through the 'sleeve' to the bottom of the ship.

One will easily understand that increases in the dimensions of the kantar can be gradually altered, without being suspected or seen by the Moors. "

KING'S BOYS .

"Freed slaves, taken from slave ships..." (Hannah Kilham..1823).

cf. p.186 Memoir of the late Hannah Kilham..(1837)

LANCADOS . (Portuguese)

/ TANGAMAOS .

George E. Brooks "The Signares of Saint-Louis and Goree: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth-Century Senegal."

In: Women in Africa, 1976. p. 19 .

"adventurers from Portugal and the Cape Verde Islands began to settle among the coastal and riverine societies in order to benefit from increased proximity to the sources of this African commerce. Termed lancados because they "threw themselves" among Africans, these men established relationships with the most influential women who would accept them in order to obtain commercial privileges. In pursuit of their objectives, lancados adopted many of the customs and practices of the African societies; indeed, many shed so much of their Portuguese culture as to be characterized as tangomaos "renegades." Descendants of their alliances with African women were called filhos da terra, "children of the soil," and, with their dual cultural background (and sometimes their mothers' social rank and prerogatives as well), were in an advantageous position to serve as brokers manipulating African and European trading networks. "

P.E.H.Hair in his Introduction to Andre Alvares de Almada's Brief Treatise on the Rivers of Guinea (c.1594), 1984 p. 10 writes:

Lancados "Literally 'those thrown away', to some extent in the sense of 'those throwing themselves away', the term lancados was much used by Almada and his Cape Verde Islands contemporaries and clearly had emotive overtones. Originally and officially it was perjorative, and could be translated 'run-aways', with the possible further implication of 'gone native'. But at least by Almada's day, and even in writings such as Almada's which generally express official attitudes, the enterprise of those Portuguese who, for reasons good or bad, had transferred themselves from the CVI to the mainland and therefore lived and worked wholly or partly outside official surveillance, was capable of being regarded in a less unfavourable light. 'Frontiersmen' would be expressing it too strongly. But the term 'adventurer' combines something of the two morally opposed senses, adventurers being persons who can both be admired for being venturesome and condemned for wholeheartedly seeking their own advantage. "

LAPTOT.

- (1) De la Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste d'Afrique en 1685. p.35

" laptots...ce sont des negres libres qui, pour une barre de fer par mois, s'engagent a nostre service pour faire dans les barques la fonction de matelot; sans ces gens la il seroit impossible de monter au haut de la rivi re; car ce sont eux qui, quand le vent est contraire, halent la barque a la cordelle et se mettent quelquefois dans l'eau jusqu'au col, lorsque le bord de la rivi re n'est pas practicable..."

cf. also p. 18.

(..these are free Blacks who, for a bar of iron per month, engage themselves in our service to carry out the function of sailors in our vessels; without these people it would be impossible to go high up the river, for it is they who, when the wind is contrary, haul the vessel by rope, and sometimes put themselves in the water up to their necks, when the bank of the river is not practicable.)

- (2) Lamiral: L'Affrique et le peuple affriquain.. 1789, p.339-340.

"Presque tous les esclaves sont Laptots, c'est- -dire matelots; ils sont employ s au service des Blancs pour le prix modique de trois barres par mois, ou ce qui revient au m me pour neuf livres de notre argent, & un moule de millet pesant trois l. par jour. Avec cela le Laptot nourrit une femme, des enfans, & donne encore la moiti  de son gain   son ma tre; ce n'est pas tout, ils ne travaillent queres que six mois de l'ann e ; il faut donc que cela suffise encoire pour le temps ou ils ne travaillent pas. Ils trouvent la dessus de quoi prendre pour faire un petit commerce qui le met   leur aise, quand ils veulent  tre sages; mais la plupart aiment mieux tout manger, ou plut t tout boire tout desuite.

Quand ils partent pour Galam, l'Armateur du navire est oblig  de leur fournir a chacun,   bord de son b timent, un muid de sel, qui est la b se du commerce dans le pays de Galam. Ce muid de sel co te au S n gal trois livres   quatre francs; il est vendu en rivi re sur le pied de quatre gros d'or, & quelquefois huit; cela, avec quelques dents d'yvoire qu'ils traitent   quatre ou cinq sols la livre, fait une petite fortune   ces Laptots; de retour au S n gal, ils font pr sent   leurs femmes des petites provisions de m nages qu'ils ont faites, & d'anneaux d'or; avec le reste ils se divertissent tant que cela dure; il ne faut pas parler de travailler alors."

(Almost all the slaves are Laptots, that is to say sailors. They are employed in the service of the Whites for the modest price of three bars per month, which amounts to nine pounds in our money, and a 'moule' of millet weighing three lbs a day. With that the Laptot feeds a wife, children, and gives half of his profit to his master. That is not all, they just work for six months of the year. It is necessary that it is sufficient for the period when

they do not work. They have sufficient there to carry out some petty trade, which put them at their ease, when they are careful. But the majority prefer to eat all, or rather to drink all immediately.

When they leave for Galam, the captain of the ship is obliged to provide each on board his ship, with a 'muid' of salt, which is the basis of trade in the country of Galam. This muid costs in Senegal three to four francs; it is sold up river at the rate of four (measures?) of gold, and sometimes eight; that, with some tusks of ivory that they purchase at four or five sous per pound, makes a small fortune for these Laptots; on returning from Senegal, they make presents to their wives of small household provisions, and gold rings. With the rest they amuse themselves as long as possible; it is no need to talk of working then.)

LOCUST BEAN TREE = Parkia Biglobosa.

Mandinka : netoo (nete)
 French farobier

- (1) Jobson (1621) refers to Locust trees (p.182) .
- (2) Sieur de la Courbe (1685)

p.194 "Ils les nourrissent pendant le chemin d'un certain fruit nomme farobe, dont l'arbre est fait comme un accasias; il est fait comme des cosses pleines de feves, entourees d' une certaine farine jaune, qui a le goust de pain d'epice et qui engraisse beaucoup; ils meslent aussy cette farine avec de l'eau dont ils boivent..."

(They feed them during the journey with a certain fruit named farobe, the tree of which is like an acacia. It has pods full of beans, surrounded by a certain yellow flour, which tastes like ginger-bread and is very nourishing; they mix this flour with water which they drink.)

- (3) M. Adanson (1757)

p. 134 "The Negroes are very fond of its fruit, which is a kind of cod or husk like that of a French bean, but above a foot in length, containing a black flat seed, like large lentils, enveloped in a yellow farinaceous substance. This fruit frequently serves them instead of every other substance, especially when they travel; it is extremely good, and nourishing; and tastes much like the best ginger-bread cake."

- (4) Mungo Park (1799)

p.237 "The pods are long and narrow, and contain a few black seeds enveloped in the fine mealy powder ...the meal itself is of a bright yellow colour, resembling the flour of sulphur, and has a sweet mucilaginous taste; when eaten by itself it is clammy, but when mixed with milk or water, it constitutes a very pleasant and nourishing article of diet.

- (5) The yellow powder has a laxative effect.

The seed can be fermented to form a condiment called netetu.

LOUGAN. farm.

There is a Portuguese word lugar meaning place, spot.

- (1) De la Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste d'Afrique en 1685.

p.51 "Comme les pluyes approchoient, les negres préparoient leurs lougans, c'est ainsy qu'ils nomment les terres qu'ils ensemencent."

(As the rains approach the blacks prepare their lougans, as they call the lands that they sow.)

- (2) In M. Le Maire: Voyage to the Canaries, Cape Verd, and the Coast of Africa...(1682), p.48, the name, presumably due to misreading the handwriting is printed as Cougan or Cougar.

- (3) In G. Mollien: Travels in the Interior of Africa ...1820, p.51 the word is spelled lougaus, and translated as "The millet fields of the Negroes."

- (4) A. Rançon: Dans la Haute-Gambie....1891-1892, p. 37

"Aussi le village est-il entouré de tous côtés de beaux lougans de mil, maïs, arachides."

(Thus the village is surrounded on all sides with fine lougans of millet, maize, groundnuts.)

MANSAROKÉ. Bulrush millet.

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

p.31 "The lesser Guinea Corn is call'd by the Portuguese Mansaroke. This likewise is sowed by Hand, and shoots to the same Height (as the larger Guinea Corn), upon a large Reed, on the Top of which the Corn grows, on a Head like a Bulrush. The Grain itself is very small, and like Canary Seed in shape, only larger..... "

In early Portuguese writings, e.g. Andre Alvares de Almada's Tratado breve dos Rios de Guine (c. 1594), the word is spelled maçaroca.

MARIGOT . Term used in French writings.

The word marigot was used in West Africa to refer to water left behind as a result of tidal overflowing, and also to refer to various creeks which were affected by the tides. It would seem also to have applied to lakes formed by the river overflowing its banks.

The word appears in Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste d'Afrique en 1685 :

- p. 22 "Vous trouvez d'abord, a droite en montant, un marigot, ou petit bras de la rivierre, qui vat a Bieurt, grand village de Cayors..."

(You find then, on the right going up (the river), a marigot, or little arm of the river, which goes to Bieurt, a large village of Kayor..)

- p. 28 "Ils font tous les ans une pêche considerable, lorsque la riviere se deborde, en bouchant l'entrée des marigots, (c'est un endroit ou la riviere entre lorsqu'il se deborde), avec des clayes soutenues de pieux et, lorsque l'eau de retire, les poissons y demeurent pris;..."

(Every year they catch a considerable amount of fish, when the river overflows, by blocking the mouth of the marigots (that is a place which the river enters when it overflows), with hurdles supported by stakes, and when the water drops, the fish remain caught there...)

Raymond Arveiller: Contribution a l'etude des termes de voyage en Français (1505-1722), 1963, pp. 331-2. quotes earlier examples from writings about the Antilles - 1654, 1666, and 1671, and suggests that it was derived from a carib term.

MUMBO JUMBO. from the Mandinka Maama Jombo (a type of masked figure).

- (1) Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa. 1730

p.40 "Amongst the Mundingoes there is a Cant Language, entirely unknown to the Women, being only spoken by the Men, and is seldom us'd by them in any other Discourse than concerning a dreadful Bugbear to the Women call'd Mumbo-Jumbo, which is what keeps the Women in awe: And tho' they should chance to understand this Language, yet were the Men to know it, they would certainly murder them."

p.116 "On the 6th of May, at Night, I was visited by a Mumbo Jumbo, an Idol, which is among the Mundingoes a kind of a cunning Mystery. It is dressed in a long Coat made of the Bark of Trees, with a Tuft of fine Straw on the Top of it, and when the Person wears it, it is about eight or nine Foot high. This is a Thing invented by the Men to keep their Wives in awe, who are so ignorant (or at least are obliged to pretend to be so) as to take it for a Wild Man; and indeed no one but what knows it, would take it to be a Man, by reason of the dismal Noise it makes, and which but few of the Natives can manage. It never comes abroad but in the Night-time, which makes it have the better Effect. Whenever the Men have any Dispute with the Women, this Mumbo Jumbo is sent for to determine it; which is, I may say, always in Favour of the Men. Whoever is in the Coat, can order the others to do what he pleases, either fight, kill, or make Prisoner; but it must be observed, that no one is allowed to come armed into its Presence. When the Women hear it coming, they run away and hide themselves, but if you are acquainted with the Person that has the Coat on, he will send for them all to come and sit down, and sing or dance, as he pleases to order them; and if any refuse to come, he will send the People for them, and then whip them. Whenever any one enters into this Society, they swear in the most solemn manner never to divulge it to any Women, or any Person that is not enter'd into it, which they never allow to Boys under sixteen Years of Age. This thing the People swear by, and the oath is so much observed by them, that they reckon as irrevocable...

There are very few Towns of any Note but what have got one of these Coats which in the Day-time is fixt upon a large Stick near the Town, where it continues till Night, the proper Time of using it.

- (2) From Francis Moore's writings the term seems to have passed into popular English speech for we find a book published in 1765 entitled: Mumbo Chumbo: a tale, written in ancient manner. Recommended to modern devotees. London, 1765 (A satire, in verse.)

- (3) S.M.X.Golberry: Fragmens d'un voyage en Afrique...1802
vol.1,

p. 122 "Ils ont aussi l'invention du Maama-Jamboh, espèce de démon qui s'annonce par des hurlemens, et qui fut inventé pour contenir et punir leurs femmes."

(They have also the invention of Maama-Jamboh, a sort of demon, which announces itself by cries, and which was invented to restrain and punish their wives/women.)

p. 398 (Bambuk) "...quelques Nègres réputés sorciers qui sont les agens du Mahamma Jamboh, espèce de démon inventé par les Mandings, se frottent le corps de terre glaise, s'enveloppent les reins de feuilles ou de paille, se couvrent le visage de masques effroyables, s'arment d'un fouet à plusieurs cordes, et courent les campagnes et le village pour épier et pour observer les nouveaux circoncis des deux sexes."

(Some Blacks, reputed to be sorcerers, who are the agents of Mahamma Jamboh, a sort of demon invented by the Mandinka, rub the body with thick clay, wrap their thighs with leaves or straw, cover the face with terrifying masks, arm themselves with a whip with several cords, and run through the fields and the village to spy on and observe the newly circumcised of both sexes.)

- (4) Mungo Park: Travels in the Interior of Africa...1810

p. 58 ".....I arrived at Kolor...near the entrance into which I observed, hanging upon a tree, a sort of masquerade habit, made of the bark of trees, which I was told on enquiry belonged to MUMBO JUMBO. This is a strange bugbear, common to all the Mandingo towns, and much employed by the Pagan natives in keeping their women in subjection; for as the Kafirs are not restricted in the number of their wives, every one marries as many as he can conveniently maintain; and as it frequently happens that the ladies disagree among themselves, family quarrels sometimes rise to such a height, that the authority of the husband can no longer preserve peace in his household. In such cases, the interposition of Mumbo Jumbo is called in, and is always effective.

This strange minister of justice (who is supposed to be either the husband himself or some person instructed by him), disguised in the dress that has been mentioned, and armed with the rod of public authority, announces his coming (whenever his services are required) by loud and dismal screams in the woods near the town. He begins the pantomime at the approach of night; and as soon as it is dark he enters the town, and proceeds to the Bentang, at which all the inhabitants immediately assemble.

It may easily be supposed that this exhibition is not much relished by the women; for as the person in disguise is entirely unknown to them, every married female suspects that the visit may possibly be intended for herself; but they dare not refuse to appear when they are summoned; and the ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time Mumbo fixes on the offender. This unfortunate victim being thereupon immediately seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amidst the shouts and derision of the whole assembly.....

- (5) Gray & Dochart: Travels in Western Africa....1925

p.82 (at Barra Cunda, Wuli)

"We observed hanging on a stake, outside the walls of the town, a dress composed of the bark of a tree torn into small shreds, and formed so as to cover the whole body of the person wearing it, who is a sort of bugbear, called Mumbo Jumbo, that occasionally visits all the Mandingo towns, for the purpose of keeping the married women in order....."

(The rest of the description is based on hearsay, and is similar to Mungo Park's account.)

- (6) As masked figures spoke a mysterious language which had to be interpreted by their attendants, mumbo jumbo passed into English to mean 'speech which was unintelligible to the ordinary individual.' (cf. Francis Moore's account).

This in turn came back to the Gambia as a part of English speech, e.g. The Gambia Outlook, 22 April 1972, p.1.

".....when the old woman came face to face with the girl, she recited some mumbo jumboes and deliberately spat on her face. Scarcely the act was done when (the girl) fell to the ground senseless...."

MUSLIMS. - MARABOUTS, BUSHREENS, ETC.

- (1) Early Portuguese and Spanish writers refer to Senegambian Muslims as follows:

Fernandes Valentin	1506-10	Bischerijs/ bisserijs
Alvares de Almada	1594	Bixirins
(Spanish Capucins)	1647	Bequerines
F.de Lemos Coelho	1684	Bixirim

A footnote in the 1951 edition of Fernandes Valentin's work, on p. 151 reads: "Bicherin vient de l'arabe litteraire El-Mu-becherin, 'celui qui fait de la propagande pour la religion'."

In Wolof the word for a religious teacher is seriñ bi, the article now following the noun.

- (2) The word Marabout comes from the Arabic al-Murabit

This was originally used in Senegambia to refer to religious teachers later it was extended to cover all Muslims in contrast to non-Muslims (Soninke)

- a) R.Jobson: The Golden Trade, 1623, p. 78

"The discourse of their Maribuckes or religious men....

"I am now come to speake of their Marybuckes or Bissareas, which we in our language, may call religious persons, or Priests of the country. The Marybuckes are separated from the common people both in their habitations & course of their lives..." (High Priest lived at Setico.. = Sutukung)

- b) Mungo Park: Travels....1799

p.44 Bushreen or Mahomedan.

p.50 "Like most of the Mandingo nations, are divided into two great sects, the Mahomedans, who are called Bushreens and the Pagans, who are called indiscriminately Kafirs (unbelievers) and Sonakies (i.e. men who drink strong liquors).

p.252 "They have a place set apart for performing their devotions in, to which they give the name of missura or mosque; but it is in fact nothing more than a square of ground made level, and surrounded with the trunks of trees, having a small projection towards the east, where the Maraaboo, or priest, stands when he calls the people to prayers... When it rains the Bushreens perform their devotions in their huts.

(c) Travelling Commissioner's Report 1910/11.

"The Katamina people are Soninkies, that is non-Mahomedan drinking Mandingoes, while those of the Dankunku portion are strict Mahomedans under a particularly strict Marabout as Sub-Chief...

PALAUVER.

- (1) Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la Coste d'Afrique en 1685,

p.42 "Il commenca son palabre ou discour....."
(He began his palabre or speech...)

- (2) William Smith: A New Voyage to Guinea.. 1744

p.32 "Pallaver, signifies a Dispute, also a Contest, or a Law-suit; sometimes, a long Conference is call'd a Pallaver. It is a Portuguese Word used everywhere in Guinea."

- (3) Ling Roth: Great Benin...1903, quoting Hutchinson: Impressions

p.119 "The term palaver...has a very extensive meaning. It signifies dispute, controversy, argument, reasonings. War palaver, trade palaver are used in reference to these affairs. God palaver is applied to the missionary teaching; and sweet mouf (mouth) palaver is analogous in its meaning to the term 'blarney' with us. "

- (4) Other common phrases are belly palaver, relating to diarrhoea/dysentery etc and woman palaver) trouble involving a woman.
mammy palaver)

PIROGUE.

Arveiller devotes more than a page (414-415) to this word.

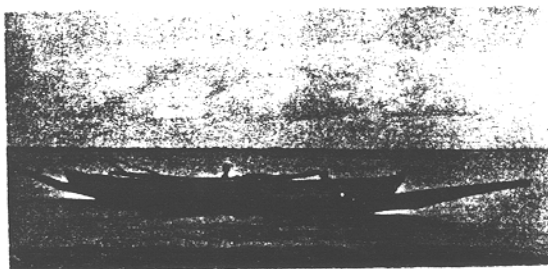
It first appears in a Spanish form piragua derived from the Caribs. (1555).

The word first appears in French in 1638. (Gazette de France):

Le chef indien de la Guadeloupe "envoya une partie de sa suite vers leur Pirogue ou Canot, qui est une espece de barque."

Desroches in his Dictionnaire (1687) wrote "Une Pirogue est un bateau d'un seul arbre dont se servent les Sauvages de l'Amerique Meridionale.."

The term crossed the Atlantic and was used in Senegal, particularly for the type of canoe with a "cutwater", fore and aft, and a sail.



REST HOUSE .

These are buildings for the temporary use of officials on trek.

In Colonial days there were rest houses in the towns of each District Chief. These were normally mud walled houses with either thatched or corrugated sheeting roofs. Normally there was a well within a short distance of the houses.

With the increase in motor transport, rest houses of a more modern type were built at the Divisional Headquarters, and those in the chiefs' towns gradually disappeared.

The French term is "case de passage" or "campement".

THE SEASONS .

In the early vocabulary "Vocabulaires Guiolof, Mandingue, Foule, Saracole, Séraire, Bagnon recueillis à la Côte d'Afrique pour le service de l'Ancienne Compagnie Royale du Sénégal..." which seems to have been compiled in the late 1670s, the rainy season is referred to as hors saison .

C.I.A.Ritchie, commenting on Louis Chambonneau's "A Treatise on the origin of Negroes of Senegal, on the African Coast, about their country, religion, customs, and habits", published in African Studies 26(2), 1967, 59-93, writes:

"Chambonneau has a good deal to say about the weather; it is noticeable that he mentions the rainy season under the name of 'hors saison', though at first, according to Adanson, the French settlers, who were more than a little puzzled as to what to call the seasons, talked about "winter" and "summer" as at home, and then changed these terms to 'basse saison' , or 'low season'. when the waters of the Senegal were low, and 'haute saison', when they were high. Not merely did the seasons affect the comfort of the colonists, they helped or hindered the movements of ships to or from the coast, and up and down the river..."

Chambonneau was writing of the period 1675-77.

In P.E.H.Hair's translation of Jean Barbot's work (The Hakluyt Society, London, 1992, p. 32), there is a mention of the rainy season as the 'high season'.

SEEING AFRICA.

In the days before modern toilets became available, the usual facility in Government houses was a large heavy metal bucket, which slid under a box-like seat, and beside which was a container full of sand and a scoop. The bucket would be emptied early each morning, a small wooden door in the wall enabling the bucket to be removed without entering the house. In administrative centers this task was usually carried out by prisoners in the local jail.

At large dinner parties where there was mixed company, the right to use the bucket was limited to women. Men were expected to use the garden. An indication was given by the host, depending on the time, e.g. after dinner, or perhaps his own need, that it was time to "See Africa". The males would troop outside, the senior individuals generally leading the way, and, spread out in a line, would piddle against a suitable line of bushes... The ladies had meantime retired to the bedroom, and the little closet containing the "thunder box".

When all had relieved themselves, and indulged in some desultory conversation, the company would reassemble in the dining or living room.

Roy Willis had written an article on the subject relating to East Africa - "Seeing Africa: a Colonial Ritual in Retrospect", RAIN (Royal Anthropological Institute News), No.45, August 1981.

SIGNARES. (From Portuguese).

- (1) "Senegalese signares were renowned during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for their beauty, elegant dress, and enviable life-style. Signare, derived from the Portuguese senhora, designated a respected woman of property, and the most affluent signares of Saint-Louis and Goree possessed large houses, numerous domestic slaves, and considerable wealth invested in clothing, jewelry, and house furnishings."

George E. Brooks: "Artists' Depictions of Senegalese Signares..."
Genève Afrique, 18(1), 1980, p. 77.

- (2) Mungo Park: Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa...1799.

p.45 "Jindey..we rested at the house of a black woman, who had formerly been the chère amie of a white trader named Hewett; and who, in consequence thereof, was called, by way of distinction, Seniora."

- (3) S.M.X.Golberry: Fragmens d'un voyage en Afrique...1802.

p.156-7 "Toutes les Nègresses libres et riches, et toutes les Mulatresses, se faisaient appeler Signares, et l'usage de prendre ce titre est assez général dans toute la partie de l'Afrique occidentale, entre le Sénégal et le cap de Palmes; il date de l'arrivée des Portugais en Afrique."

- (4) DPG - One Mandinka informant suggested that the name Nyaara given to women, was derived from the Portuguese term:

STRANGE FARMERS .

In the reports of the first commissioners 1893/4, these migrant farmers are referred to as strangers, e.g. The Report of the Travelling Commissioner for the North Bank Province for 1894.

"These people come into the country when the rains begin in June...They arrive without money, and leave their families behind, and being greatly attached to their homes, they scorn the idea of settling in this country. On their arrival they look for a good 'landlord' as he is called, who takes them in hand, gives them land to plant, feeds them, and holds himself responsible for their good behaviour. In return for this, the stranger works for two days in the week for his "landlord" and pays him ten per cent of his produce..."

"Besides the strangers from Pakkau etc. there are native strangers, young men desirous to get married and start a home of their own. These men leave their fathers' yards, and go to another town, where they work on the same system as other strangers..."

The term 'strangers' seems to have turned briefly into 'stranger farmers', and then to 'strange farmers', which became the accepted designation.

In Senegal the term navetanes was used, from the Wolof word nawetaan, to spend the rainy season.

TEUGUE . (French) from Portuguese toca = shelter, shed .

Francois de Paris (1682-83), p. 17

"...nous primes place au dehors sous une teugue, couverte de nattes...."

De la Courbe (1685), p. 139 also uses the term.

TEXTILES

CAPE VERDE TEXTILES.

T. Bentley Duncan in Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the
Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-Century Commerce and
Navigation 1972.

provides a summary of the textile trade.

215-6 "The Guine Coast absorbed Portuguese red cloth, Indian cottons, Cape Verdean cottons, and sometimes also French textiles; while at the same time there was an intensive intercoastal trade in textiles from Senegal, Gambia, and central Guine (woven by the Mandingos, Fulas, Beafadas, Wolofs, Casangas, etc.), the general movement being from north to south. Central Guine absorbed whatever raw cotton the Cape Verdes could supply and also used the indigo dyes from south Guine. With indigo the African dyed their cloth light blue, dark blue, or black blue, and then arranged the narrow strips of dyed cloth in contrasting bands with narrow strips of white cloth, or else interwove blue and white threads into intricate patterns, giving Guinea cloth its characteristic and unmistakable look...

218 ".....the rising demand for Cape Verdean textiles among the upper-class Africans forced the English and French to trade with the Cape Verdeans, exchanging iron bars and manufactures for the coveted cloth. In the 1680s one standard bar of iron was exchanged for two Cape Verdean standard barafula cloths. At about that time the Afro-Portuguese traders were selling one slave for 30 iron bars (60 barafulas), one quintal of ivory for 18 bars (36 barafulas), and one quintal of wax for 16 bars (32 barafulas)." (Ref. to Rodney, Upper Guinea..)

"The archipelago was at an early date an exporter of raw cotton, sent to the Guine weavers, but not an exporter of cloth or thread. In Guine the spinners (mostly female) and the weavers (mostly male) seem to have been slaves. By the middle of the sixteenth century, slave spinners and weavers (who also took care of the planting, harvesting, cleaning, carding, and dyeing of the cotton) were normal members of the retinue of domestic slaves in the larger plantations and households of Santiago. The Wolof women were particularly prized because, in addition to being skilled spinners, they were often very beautiful. (Carreira)

219 The Cape Verdean textile manufacture was West African in origin, technique, execution, and personnel, although eventually also partly Moorish and partly Portuguese in its patterns and designs.....

The loom produced only very narrow bands of cloth, usually 5 or 6 inches wide...and between 5 and 6 feet long. Six of these strips, never more nor less than six, were sewn together, side by side, to make a piece of cloth about one yard wide by no more than two yards long. The fact that six separate bands always went into the making of one pano (or cloth) provided the opportunity for many ingenious variations, worked out within the framework imposed by the six banded arrangement. Alternating bands of indigo-dyed blue cloth with bands of white cloth produced the so-called striped cloth (pano listrado) mentioned in many records. The barafulas, it seems, were mostly cloths of this type.

Cape Verdean textiles ran a gamut from the plainest white cloth (panos simples, or cates) to cloths of the most elaborate weave, with silk woven into the cotton (in imitation of the Guinea bantans) or with white, blue, and black threads combined in geometric designs of great intricacy and beauty. To European eyes the symmetrical designs had the look of Arabic mosaics; to the West Africans they looked like leopard markings, or the patterns on snakeskins, and hence the name panos de bicho. Decorative motifs of Portuguese inspiration can also be found in the cloths, particularly the square blunt cross, which was copied from that painted on the sails of the caravels and which was the emblem of the Order of Christ. "

" Notes: In Guine there was a large tree whose seeds contained a silk-like fibre, which was interwoven with cotton to produce a luxury cloth called bantan by the Mandingoes. In 1686 the bantans were worth slightly more than the barafulas (2 iron bars= 3 bantans= 4 barafulas).

In the Cape Verdes a similar cloth, but of higher quality, was made with imported silk. The Cape Verdean weavers also mixed wool and cotton in special weaves (Source: Carreira 86-87)

Bicho is a Portuguese term that, strictly speaking refers to insects, worms, grubs, and other small forms of life; but popular usage has converted it into an all-purpose word, designating everything in the animal world from gnats to elephants. Carreira, 135-36, believes the designs used in Cape Verdean cloth were essentially of North African origin or inspiration, transmitted to the islands by the Portuguese and deriving from the Portuguese-occupied towns in Morocco. "

LOCALLY WOVEN CLOTHS - PAGNES.

The term ultimately derives from the Latin pannus, which became pañó in Spanish, panno in Italian, paan in Dutch, pagne in French, pano in Portuguese.

It is equivalent to "wrapper" in Creole.

It is made from strips of cloth sewn together (bandy cloths).

- (1) M. Le Maire: Voyage to the Canaries, Cape Verd, and the Coast of Africa...1682.

p.56 "They cover the other part of the body with a 'paigne,' that is to say, a piece of cotton cloth, striped in their fashion, and of the size of a winding sheet, which falls half way down the leg."

"The men make the cloth in pieces, only five fingers wide... they join together ten or twelve pieces to make a "paigne" an ell wide...."

- (2) Premier Voyage du Sieur de la Courbe Fait a la Coste d'Afrique en 1685.

p.197 "...elle avoit pour juppe une belle pagne de negre, qu'ils appellent pagne else, c'est a dire pagne de consequence, qui viennent de Saint Jague et des Isles du Cap Verd...."

(She had for a skirt a fine pagne, which they call pagne else, that is to say a special cloth, which comes from San Jago and the Cape Verde Islands...)

- (3) Governor Ingram (Annual Report) 1842.

refers to "...country cloths called pangs or paynes."

- (4) The Travelling Commissioner's Report, North Bank Province, 1894.

"....pagns are the currency of the country. They pay fines, buy their wives, horses and goats with pagns only..."

The traders have not done well this year with their cotton goods, having started business with a large stock of last season's pagns; and the ground nut crop being small, the pagns have been nearly sufficient to pay for the nuts. Next rainy season these pagns will again change hands, and come into the traders' possession in exchange for cotton goods, rice, etc. A trader's store in the River is a curious sight. Rows of pagns are packed away on shelves, according to their value ranging from 2/- to \$10 each. They are of all shades of blue; from the light faded blue of the old pagn, which has passed through dozens of hands, and been worn by dozens of people, to the dark blue of the new pagn, fresh from the dyer's hands.

- (5) When I was in The Gambia in 1946-47 cloths were still being pledged with traders for goods supplied in the rainy season, to be redeemed when the groundnuts were harvested, and brought to the trader for sale.
- (6) Some modern Gambian writers spell the word as 'pine'.
- (7) In the 1865 Annual Report one finds the following description of trade:

"During the four months of July, August, September and October, our native trader (liberated African) is busy; he conveys rice and corn, the property of his European employer, articles at that time most in request up river, receiving in exchange pagnes or country cloths, manufactured from cotton grown in the country in the native towns by the weavers...In November he receives groundnuts, hides, and wax in exchange for these same pagnes, but his factory is now stocked by imports from home; the possession of guns, powder, Madras handkerchiefs, and rum tempts the native to industry, and the trade is very active till the rainy season comes round, when the pagne season again opens; the European merchant generally leaves for Europe by the June mail, leaving this part of the trade to be conducted by his native agent."

- (8) J-B.Labat; Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale.... 1728

II- p. 235-6.

"Les pagnes sont des pieces de toille de cotton de la façon des Negres, d'environ une aulne & demie de longueur, composées de plusieurs bandes de quatre à cinq pouces de large que l'on coût par les lizieres les unes aux autres, pour donner à la pagne la largeur qu'elle doit avoir selon l'usage auquel elle est destinée. Ordinairement one ne leur donner que deux pieds & demy de large, cela suffit pour envelopper un homme ou une femme, depuis quelques pouces au-dessus de la ceinture jusqu' au dessous des genoux. Ces pieces d'étoffes sont quelquefois toutes blanches, quelque fois elles font composées be bandes blanches, bleues ou noires, & quelquefois ces bandes sont partagées par de petits espars blancs & bleus alternativement qui sont fort agréables. On en voit de fort fines & aussi lustrées que si elles étoient de soye.

Les Negres les mettent à tout usage, soit pour se vêtir, soit pour se coucher. Ce sont leurs linceuls, leur serviettes, leurs nappes, leurs habits, leurs drapeaux.

Le petit Brac en avoit fait élever une au bout d'une saguaye, afin de faire connoître au Maître de la chaloupe le lieu où il devoit aborder...."

Labat...

II - 189

"...une femme s'entortille une pagne autour du corps quelques pouces au dessus de la ceinture, elle fait rentrer le bout qui se trouve dessus entre l'étoffe & sa peau. Cette pagne qui luy va jusqu'au gras des jambes & quelquefois plus bas, luy sert de jupes & de bas : elle en met un autre sur ses épaules, & en rejette un bout sur la tête, la voilà habillée de pied en cap sans façon & sans beaucoup de dépense; & ce que cet habillement a encore de commode, c'est qu'on est habillé & deshabillé dans un clin d'oeil. "

(The pagnes are pieces of cotton cloth made by the Blacks, about an ell and a half in length, composed of several bands of four to five inches wide, which are sewn by the edges ? one to another, to give the pagne the width which it should have depending on the purpose for which it is intended. Ordinarily one makes them only two and a half feet wide, this is sufficient to wrap round a man or a woman, from several inches above the waist to below the knees. These pieces of cloth are sometimes all white, sometimes they are made from white, blue or black bands, and sometimes these bands are divided by little white or blue spars alternately, which are very pleasant. One sees some of them very fine and as shiny as if they were of silk.

The Blacks put them to every use, either to clothe themselves, or for the bed. They are their shrouds, their towels, their table cloths, their clothing, their flags.

The Brac had had one raised at the end of a spear, so as to make it known to the master of the sloop the place where he should tie up...)

II-189 A woman twists a pagne around her body several inches above her waist, she tucks the end between the material and her skin. This cloth which goes to the calf of her legs and sometimes lower, serves as skirt and stockings. She puts another on her shoulders, and throws one end over her head. There she is, clothed from head to foot, without ceremony and with not much expence; and this dress has a further convenience - one is dressed and undressed in the twinkling of an eye.

An alternative name for pagn was 'country cloth' .

cf. (1) Jobson (1621) p. 120

"Clothes of the country, which in our trade we call Negroes clothes."

(2) The Annual Report on The Gambia, 1860, refers to 'country cloths.'

A single strip of cloth was called a bandy cloth .

(1) Annual Report on The Gambia, 1878 .

"The bandy cloths, which are woven in strips about 5 inches wide and 2 yards long, are sewn together so as to form an article of clothing called a pagn, which latter is simply an oblong sheet or shawl, 2 yards long by about 1 1/2 wide."

(2) Annual Report on The Gambia, 1881 .

"..bandy cloth.. . forming a medium of barter and exchange."

TOURLOUROUS.

- small crabs.

Labat (1728) "de petits crabes, qu'on nomme Tourlouroux aux iles de l'Amerique. On pretend que les tourlouroux font mal-faisants & qu'on n'en peut manger sans se mettre en danger de s'empoisonner."

(" little crabs which are called Tourlouroux in the islands of America. It is claimed that the crabs are unhealthy and that one cannot eat them without putting oneself in danger of being poisoned.")

Sieur de la Courbe, (p. 21) whom Labat copied merely mentions that the crabs are not good to eat.

TREES

bambu (bamboo). This is sometimes used, not for the real bamboo, but for the midrib of the Raffia Palm (*Paphia vinifera*).

Bangee Jobson mentions this type of palm wine (p. 167)
His word comes from bango (raffia palm) + jiyo (liquid)

He also mentions tangee from tengo (oil palm) + jiyo, and sabbajee, which I have not identified.

Baobab tree - see page 6. =calebassier (Fr.), cabaceyras (Port.)

Ciboa Mentioned by Francis Moore. = rhun palm (Mandinka: siboo)

In French the term was rônier. De la Courbe (1685) calls the trees lattaniers (p.94), and provides a detailed description.

Farobe = neto = locust bean tree - see page 44.

Mampato (Mandinka) Parinari excelsa. Appears in Portuguese e.g.

Fernades (p.55) as mēpatagēs

WHARF. (Mandinka = tenda).

T.J. Alldridge: The Sherbro and its Hinterland, 1901 (Sierra Leone).

p.18 ".....locally any waterside place at a factory, whether there is a pier or not, is termed the wharf. A canoe is said to have anchored at the wharf, whether on the bank or alongside the pier."

The same usage was followed in The Gambia.

THE WHITE MAN'S GRAVE.

This term was applied generally to the west coast of Africa.

Many people returning from West Africa died on the homeward voyage, particularly after reaching Las Palmas. This part of the Atlantic became known as the Elder Dempster Graveyard, after the famous shipping line.

YARD. = compound, a fenced off group of family dwellings

Mandinka = kordaa , Wolof = ker

It comprises several related or dependant families.

The French term used is concession. Tapade is also found in old texts implying a fenced off area in which houses are located. Tapade is also given in Senegalese Wolof dictionaries.

- (1) Journal of African Administration, III, 1951 , p.81 .

"The 'yard' or number of dwellings occupied by each adult male and his family is the basis on which tax is levied. A yard of four huts is the present unit of the tax. The 1950 rate was 4/- per year per yard of four huts, with a further 2/6 for every additional hut, which addition is sometimes called the hut tax. In earlier years the tax was 5/-, while the rate for additional huts was 1/6. The rate was prescribed by the Governor in Council annually..."

- (2) The term is officially defined in the Protectorate Ordinance (Cap. 47).

"Yard" includes every parcel, lot or enclosure of land, other than farm lands, containing one or more huts or houses."

- (3) Lady Southorn: The Gambia . 1952.

p.48 "The ground surrounding a house...Government House garden in Bathurst was always known as 'the Governor's Yard '."

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