

VILLAGES- FONYI-BINTANG-KARENAI

In locating the villages: Refer. to 1948 map.

A = north of the main road  
 B south of the main road (Tampoto-Sibanor) K = old Karenai District  
 C north of the main road (Sibanor-eastwards)  
 D south of the main road (Sibanor-eastwards)

K	Arangalin ) ang)	C	labelled Kantora on map. cf Eranqalain (Arangelen (1950), Arancalain (1973)
K	Bajagar Dumbuto	C	2½ miles east of Batabut. on main road. labelled Gibagnati on map.
K	Bajagar Jola	D	wrongly labelled Sittanunku on map. 1½ miles south of the main road.
	Bakukuluk	?	mentioned in the 1930s. =Bunyadu ? nr. Sibantor ?
	Balenkin	?	mentioned in the 1930s. near Jinak.
	Basending	B	near Kabokor, 3/4 mile from main road.
K	Batabut Denelo	D	hamlet 1 mile south of Batabut
	Batabut Fose		mentioned in the 1930s.
K	Batabut Kaditi		
K	Batabut Kantora (called Kontara in 1973 census)	C	On main road. labelled Battabut on map.
K	Batabut Kilanda		mentioned in 1930. (Kailandang)
K	Batabut Uran		" " 1930s.
K	Batabut Wankok Wangog	D	hamlet , 1 mile SW of Batabut .
	Battending	B	4 hamlets. 1½ to 2 miles south of the main road.
	Batending Kajara		
	Biara = Bayar	A	located as on map. But see note on page 58 .
	Bintang	A	as on map. (Old spelling = Vinntanng).
	Bugafunya (Bukafungi)		map shows it in Fonvi-Brefet just across boundary.
	Bulanjor	A	3 miles NW of Bintang (old spelling= Bulannjaw).
	Bulelay	B	as on map. group of four hamlets.
	Buram	A	1 mile NW of Bintang .
K	Busanakai	C	east of Jurungkumani Bolong .

Elol	A	name wrongly placed on map. hamlets 3½ miles west of Bintang.
Epran = Eparan	B	between Manyina and Batending.
Erangelang		see under A - 'Kantora' on 1948 map.
Fose		see Batabut.
Fujany (Fujain, Fuiagne)		mentioned in the 1930s. (Also 1946)
Jakin	B	hamlet near the boundary. SW of where Jakin is written on the map.
Jakoy Kanjemur	C	hamlets 1½ miles SE of Sita.
Jakoy Bintang	B	as on map.
Jakoy Sibrik	A	1 mile SE of Kandong Madina. but see note p. 58.
Jalang		mentioned in 1930. (Near Kanuma ?)
K Janak = Jinak		
K Jibanak	C	at junction of paths near Jurungkumani bolong (N. of Kanjundu on map.)
Jifanka	B	six hamlets. close to frontier. labelled Kossema on map.
K Jilangfara	D	near frontier. wrongly labelled Tambakunda.
Jinak /Janak		3 hamlets. labelled Sandehmunku on map.
K Jiniye (Jinia)	D	½ mile SE of Kayimu Bintang.
Jiparol		mentioned in the 1930s = Bugofunve.
Jisemberi		" " " " on road to Bintang (1931 map).
Kabokor	B	hamlets. 2 miles SW of Jakoy Bintang. (Includes those named Nienjit, Bassen, and Fose)
Kaijara/Kajara	A	= Batending.
Kainga (Kayenga, Kienga (1930))	B	6 hamlets. labelled Kavimu on map.
Kamosor	B	SW of Batending. group of 7? hamlets.
Kanaw	A	¾ mile NW of Kasany, at fork in the path.
Kandonko	)	(was a trading station earlier this century)
	)	
Kandong Madina	) A	as on map.
K Kanjenum		mentioned in 1930s. -see Jakoy.
K Kanjum		" " "
Kanjundu	D	near main road, 2 miles E of Batabut.

	Kanuma	A	7 hamlets.
K	Karanai	C	3/4 mile N. of Batabut (not named on map).
K	Karenai Jola		small hamlet.
	Karenaindy (1973)	?	
	Kasany	A	Kasang on map.
	Katakor	A	1 mile NW of Kasany. on map wrongly labelled Kanau.
	Kayimu Bintang	D	1 mile S. of Sikon. wrongly named Bajagar.
	(Kiemo (1930), Kayimu (1946), Keymu (1973) )		
K	Kayimu Karenai		
	Kili	B	= Killing on map.
K?	Kusamay	D	near frontier. wrongly labelled Kaianga. 9 hamlets.
	Lumang		nr. Bugafunye.
	Manyina	B	= Mahnyinah on map. SW of Sibanor, near main road.
	(Magnina (1950)		
	Nyambolong		mentioned in 1930s. SW near frontier.
	(Niambollon (1930)		
	Sandemunku	B	beside Bulelai.
			1/4 mile NE of where Sandehmunku is put on map.
	Sibanor	B	as on map.
K	Sikon	D	close to main road, 1 1/2 miles E. of Sibanor.
K	Sita	C	= Sitta on map. 2 miles N. of Batabut.
K	Sitanunku	D	1 mile SW of Bajagar Jola.
K	Siwol	D	= Suol on map. near frontier. South of Batabut.
	(Suol (1930), Sewol (1950) Seawall ! in 1992)		
K	Tamba Kunda	D	near frontier between Siwol and Jilangfara.
			S. of Batabut.
	Tampoto	A	on main road, part of Kanuma.
	Tubakuta	A	on map. abandoned. 1 1/2 miles E. of Kandong Madina.
	Upart	B	= Upert on map. includes hamlet labelled Niambolon on map.

# CORRECTIONS TO 1948 MAP

The villages across from Buram to Biara shown on the 1948 map in the zone next to the river were renamed in subsequent editions.

That labelled Buram was corrected to Bulanjor, Buram being the hamlet just north west of Bintang. (1956 revision).

Biara was changed to Batending Kajara.

Bayar was given to the hamlet west of Bulanjor.

The place originally shown as Bulanjor now became Tuba Kuta.

On the path going north-east from Biara/Batending Kajara there was shown:

Jakoi Sibrik close to the creek, where the various paths intersect, and halfway between Jakoi Sibrik and Biara/Batending Kajara was Payama.

Though I had visited most of Fonyi Bintang-Karenai in 1956/57, I did not cover the area west of Bulanjor, and north west of Kanuma. I had gone from Bulanjor through Elol to Kanuma and back to the main road. On my map I had crossed off Elol and Tubakuta as being wrongly placed on the 1948 map, but I had not gone back to check the westernmost hamlets. Consequently I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this segment in spite of the map changes.

## POPULATION- FONYI-BINTANG KARENAI

	1930	1946	1950	1973
Arangalin	62	42	40	117
Baiagar Dumbuto	110	75	34	
Bajagar Jola	151	326	260	433
Bakukuluk	44			
Balenkin	28	4		
Batabut Denelo	107	90	74	
Batabut Fose	69	26		
Batabut Kaditi	54	274	320	
Batabut Kantora				515
Batabut Kilanda	15			
Batabut Uran	36			
Batabut Wankok	39	38	32	
Battending	123	90	120	133
Battending Kajara		82	126	274
Biare/Bayar		15	21	
Bintang	264	219	239	454
Bugafunya	80	50	132	155
Bulanjor	194	129	148	305
Bulelai	203	149	186	
Buram	80	45	49	135
Busanakai		19	13	
Elol	23	26	14	
Fose	57	11		
Fujain (Fujan)	64	16		
Jakin	65	47	121	117
Jako Kanjemu		85	90	164
Jakoy Bintang	107	39	57	103
Jakoy Sibrik	156	128	150	190
Jalang	11			
Jibanak	13	31	42	
Jifanka	248	265	281	251
Jilangfara	109	139	101	187
Jinak/Janak	125	158	203	364
Jiniye/Jinia	24	22		
Jiparol	21			
Jisemberi	30			
Kabokor	117	132	146	183
Kaijara	123			
Kainga	64	111	103	
Kamosor	99	72		
Kanau				
Kandonko	170	52		
Kanjenum	153			
Kanjum	20			
Kanjundu		10		
Kanuma	140	158	180	175

## POPULATION - cont.

	1930	1946	1950	1973
Karanai	24	21	16	
Karanai Jola		32	14	
Karenaindy				115
Kasany	148	212	175	156
Katakor	27	46	76	
Kayimu Bintang	143	227	199	163
Kayimu Karenai	31	75	106	115
Kili				109
Kusamai	201	171	165	170
Lumang	11	20		
Manyina (2)	99	84	71	
Nyambolong	15	20		
Sibanor	349	519	476	1288
Sikon	53	56	50	
Sita	113	55	91	142
Sitanunku	90	105	89	
Siwol/Suwol	143	114	112	178
Tambakunda	128	89	94	173
Tampoto				120
Tubakuta	188	32		
Upart	112	99	129	106
villages less than 100				1234
	5473	5152	5145	8324

1950 figures include 'immigrant settlers' of which about a third were at Sibantor.

Of the Mandinka living in Sibantor many had come from Tankular & Manduwa in Western Kiang, from Kerewan and Saba in Lower Badibu, from Nyoomi, and a few from Pakau.

ETHNIC GROUPS

1956/57

Bajaqar Mandinka (Dumbuto)	Serer	5	
	Jola	53	
	Mandinka	13	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	12	
	Manjago	6	
	Serahuli	3	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	1	
	Tilibonka	7	100
Bajaqar Jola	Jola	154	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	2	156
Batabut Kantora	Jola	103	
	Mandinka	71	
	Nyoominka	10	
	Fulbe	5	
	Manjago	4	193
Batabut Denelo	Jola	92	
	Fulbe	1	93
Batabut Wankok	Jola	24	24
Batending	Jola	116	116
Batending (Kajara)	Jola	39	
	Fulbe	9	
	Mandinka	27	
	Manjago	15	90
Biyare (Bayar)	Jola	14	14
Bintang	Mandinka	265	265
	Fulbe	2	18
	Jalunka	3	64
	Manjago	9	279
Bulanjor	Jola	123	
	Manjago	31	
	Fulbe	2	156
Bulelay	Jola	177	177
Boram	Jola	12	
	Manjago	7	
	Mandinka	7	
	Fulbe	5	31
Bunyadu (location not identified)	Jola	37	37
Busanagay	Jola	8	
	Mandinka	9	17
Elol	Jola	31	
	?	3	34
Epran	Jola	17	17

Erangelan	Jola	38	38
Jakini	Jola	118	
	Fulbe	1	119
Jako-Kanjenum	Jola	64	64
Jakoy Bintang	Jola	77	
	Manjago	15	92
Jakoy Sibrik	Jola	124	
	Fula	1	125
Jibanak	Jola	33	
	Futa Jalon F.	3	36
Jifanka	Jola	247	
	Fulbe	3	250
Jilangfara	Jola	83	
	Mandinka	3	
	Fulbe	3	89
Jinak	Jola	181	181
Kabokor	Jola	121	
	Fulbe	2	123
Kanuma	Jola	247	
	Fulbe	11	
	Mandinka	7	265
Karanay Jola	Jola	17	
	Fulbe	1	18
Katakor	Jola	64	64
Kayimu Bintang	Jola	168	
	Fulbe	1	169
Kayenga (Kainga)	Jola	82	
	Mandinka	4	86
Kayemu Karenay	Jola	88	
	Fulbe	4	92
Kusamay	Jola	155	155
Manyina	Jola	57	57
Sibanor	Jola	219	
	Wolof	5	
	Mandinka	201	
	Bambara	13	
	Serahuli	38	
	Mauritanian	8	
	Serer	19	
	Konyagi	2	
	Manjago	35	
	Fulbe	14	554



Sikon	Jola	66	
	Fulbe	3	69
Sita	Jola	49	
	Mandinka	2	51
Sitanunku	Jola	69	
	Fulbe	2	71
Siwol	Jola	94	94
Tambakunda	Jola	79	
	Fulbe	2	81
Upart	Jola	80	
	Kasinka	32	
	Fulbe	2	114
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Kasany	Jola	179	
	Fulbe	8	
	Mandinka	17	
	Tilibonka	31	
	Jalunka	3	238
Bukafuniai	Jola	131	
	Fula	24	
	Mandinka	6	161
(SE of Somita)			

Summary 1956/57 Evaluation

		%
Jola	3930	78.8
Mandinka	632	12.7
Fulbe	124	2.5
Wolof	5	0.1
Serer/Nyoominka	66	1.3
Bambara/Tilibonka	51	1.0
Serahuli	41	0.8
Mauritanian	8	0.2
Maniago	122	2.4
ors.		0.2
		<u>100.0</u>

SPECIFIC VILLAGES

Bintang

Bulelai

Kasany

BINTANG

The spelling in old texts is variable. Where the word is followed by a b, Bintang Bolong (Bintang Creek), the final ng changes to an m, giving Bintam Bolong.

Cultru (1685) gives Bentan.

Many old writers used a V instead of B as the initial consonant. so we find Vaintane (1698), Vintain (1723), Vintan Creek (1842), Ventang (1866).

BINTANG WHARF (From postcard) 1970 ?



HILL AT BINTANG, Where traders were  
established,

On the Bintang Creek

67

Postcard bought: Des. 80. Couleurs d'Afrique # 214



BINTANG

(A) Sieur de la Courbe: Premier Voyage a la Cote d'Afrique (1685)

p. 201 "nous entrasmes a droite dans une petite riviere, qu'on nomme de Bentan ou de St.Grigou, et sur les dix ou onze heures, nous arrivasmes a Bentan. Tout ce pays, le long de cette riviere, nous parut parfaitement beau; celui de nôtre droite estoit du royaume de Faugrit (= Pogny) et paroissoit fort bien boisé, et celui de la gauche estoit rempli de grandes prairies a perte de veüe. Bentan sembloit estre quelque bourg considerable de loing; il est situé sur le penchant d'une coline remplie d'arbres et plusieurs maisons portugaises, qui surpassent celles des negres, paroissoient comme des eglises; mais, nous estant approché de plus pres, nous reconnusmes que tout cela n'estoit fait que de paille, hormis celles des Portugais, qui estoient de terre et couvertes de feuilles de lataniers, grandes comme des napes. C'est en ce lieu la ou nous nous donnons ordinairement carene a nos barques ou petits vaisseaux, d'autant que la mer y monte plus haut qu'en aucun autre endroit de la coste.

Ayant mis pied a terre, nous allasmes d'abord saluer l'alquier qui est le maitre du village, ensuite nous allasmes rendre visite a une Portugaise dont le mari avoit esté un des principaux habitans du lieu. Nous la trouvâmes sous le vestibule de la maison, assise sur des nates, au milieu de plusieurs noires qui filoient du cotton; elle estoit mulatre, c'est a dire, issue d'un blanc et d'une noire; elle paroissoit avoir environ 30 ans et n'estoit pas belle; elle estoit nuë jusqu'à la ceinture; mais, sitost qu'elle nous vis entrer elle envoya querir une pagne dont elle se couvrit et se leva pour nous recevoir. Nous la saluasmes et nous ayant fait apporter de petites selles de bois, elle se remit sur sa natte; quelque tems apres, une fille esclave, nue de la ceinture en haut, nous apporta sur une assiette d'estain quatre colles (=kola nuts).....

203 ...Tout ce pays est entouré d'eau et de ces arbres noyez ou les abeilles font leur miel, ce qui est cause qu'on fait en ce lieu la un grand commerce de cire; les peuples de ce pays sont Feloupes et dependent du roy de Faugni. On me dit que cette veuve estoit remariée en seconde nopces a un Anglois, nommé capitaine Agis (= Hodges), dont elle avoit deja plusieurs enfans. Il estoit pour lors en traite pour les Anglois; j'ay appris depuis qu'a son retour, ayant trouvé sa femme accouchée d'un enfant tout noir, et soupçonnant qu'il fut de l'alquier de Gueregue, avec qui il avoit remarqué quelque intrigue, il en eut tant de rage qu'il fit piler l'enfant dans un mortier et ensuite, le fit manger aux chiens; cependant il ne la quitta point, parce qu'elle luy avoit apporté beaucoup de bien et que d'ailleurs elle n'estoit sa femme qu'a la mode du pays.

BINTANG

Vintan (1710)

(B)

Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa. 1730

1730. p.53 "On the 5th of December, Mr Robert Banks, a Writer, went up to Vintain in the Fame Sloop,....to settle a Factory there, for which Purpose he carried with him a small Cargo of Goods."

p.74 (1731).."This Town belongs to one of the Emperors of Fonia, and is very pleasantly situated on the Side of a Hill, close to the River. It is inhabited both by Portuguese and Mahometans; the latter having for their Devotions a handsome Mosque, with an Ostrich's Egg at the Top on the Outside. It is noted for Plenty of Provisions; a great many of which are brought by the Floops, who border on it. It also produces good Quantities of Bees-Wax, to buy which the Company have here a small Factory. Above the Town is fine green Grass, and some Trees, which make it very pleasant.

(Followed by descriptions of dress, hair styles, furniture, pipes and tobacco, house types.)

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A hill, marked by tall cotton trees , was the site occupied by foreign traders. Debris is clearly seen on the slope overlooking the creek. On the other hand on the top the soil over the natural rock seems to be extremely shallow. Marks of various round houses were clearly seen during a period of drought (1972 ).

During World War II a small army contingent was stationed at Bintang for a while. The cement circles of army huts are to be found on the slope behind the town. Children refer to these as having been made by the 'Portuguese'. On the old hill overlooking the creek the army also apparently had a slaughterhouse for cattle etc. the concrete



slabs, e.g. the draining slab, still being visible.

A small well at the wharf is pointed out as having been made by the "Portuguese".

A number of years ago a burial was uncovered in the course of farming operations which is reputed to have been that of one of the "senhoras", who used to live at Bintang.

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BULELAI

This settlement near the frontier south of Bintang was in former times one of the most important towns in the region. Old maps (1931) show major paths radiating in various directions from it, so it was clearly a major point in the north-south trade.

In the early days of this century the path across Fonyi curved south to go through Bulelai. (Bisset Archer - 1906).

KASANY

Though spelled Kasang on all the maps, the name in reality is Kasany (Kasāñ). It is said to have been founded by a member of the Jame clan, but all members of the lineage involved have died out, though there was one old man alive in Nyoomi in 1947. When the place was deserted Kekoto Darame came from Bintang, and settled there, being joined by others from various places. He was appointed chief in 1897 and died in 1908. The chieftainship passed to Bakari Koli who came from Bintang, then to Arafang Bakari Jobate in 1918. He was succeeded by Bakari Jobate of Bajagor (1922-1936). Seni Bwiaji was appointed District Chief in 1936.

In 1947 the origin the heads of compounds (yard owners) was as follows:

Bintang	1 Jola, 1 Mandinka
Kabokor	1 Jola (the sefo's lineage)
Jakoi Bintang	3 Jola
Nyaji ?	1 Jola
Bulelai	1 Jola
Karantaba (Kiyang)	1 Jola
Burong (Kiyang)	1 Jola
Jata (Casamance)	1 Jola
Tubakuta	1 Jaxanka
Albadiria (Guinea)	1 Jaxanka
Bulanjor	1 Jola

Individual settlers residing in various compounds included several Tilibonko from Segu in Mali, one Fula, one Wolof, and one Manjago.

Marriages link the people of Kasany to various village, the chief following an old pattern of having many wives. They came from Bassen, Batabut, Bulelay, Jifanka, Kabokor, Kafanka, Kusamay, Sitanunku, Tubakuta, and Tunkara (Casamance).

The elaborate network which links Jola settlements can be seen from the following lists.

	Attending the mourning charity for an elder January 1949 people from	Attending wrestling match September 1948 people from	Wives married in	out
Bassen			x	
Batabut	x	x	x	
Batending	x			
Bintang	x	x		
Bulanjor	x	x		x
Bulelay	x	x	x	
Burong (Kiyang)	x			
Buram	x	x	x	x
Jakin			x	
Jakoi Bintang	x	x	x	
Jakoi Sibric	x			
Jinak	x		x	
Jifanga		x	x	x
Jisemberi			x	
Kabakor	x	x	x	
Kafanka			x	
Kayimu	x	x		
Kanau	x	x	x	
Kanuma	x	x	x	x
Katakor	x	x	x	x
Kili	x	x		
Kusamay		x	x	
Manyina	x		x	
Mbogufunye	x			x
Ndemban	x			
Nyambolon			x	
Santamba (Kiyang)		x	x	
Sibanor	x	x	x	x
Sikon	x	x	x	
Sita	x			
Sitanunku			x	
Siwol		x		
Somita	x	x		x
Tubakuta			x	
Upart		x		
Bitá (Brefet District)	x			
Casamance			x	x
Guinea			x	
Jata (Casamance)			x	
Kanau "			x	
Tunkara "			x	
Bwiam				x

The people are bilingual, both Jola and Mandinka being spoken. The young men tend to speak more Mandinka than Jola, the elderly people more Jola than Mandinka. Very few of the young people seem to have an extensive vocabulary in Jola. Women and girls tend to speak more Jola among themselves than Mandinka,

Apart from farming the occupations were : chief's messengers (3), dispensary orderly , Imam, religious teacher, traders (2), palm wine tapper, fishermen (2) and tailor. Two leatherworkers from Kiyang (Mandinka) came regularly during the dry season, returning home to farm in the rainy season. A Mandinka blacksmith in a nearby village provided farming tools.

Most of the people are Muslim, and in 1947 only 3 were traditional animists. By the 1950s these had either died or moved.

The total population in 1947 was estimated at 228 - 56 men, 69 women, 55 boys, 48 girls.

RECENT ARTICLES

"District Co-ordination Committee for Fonie Bintang Karanai,"  
Daily Observer, 6 August 1993, 13.

FONYI BREFET

(FONYI BREFET)

Villages were visited in 1956.

Maps consulted:

1: 1,000,000		1905	
1 cm to 2.5 kilometres		1931	
River Chart		1942	
1: 50,000		1948	
1: 125,000		1956	
1: 50,000	Sheet 23	1962	(Names as shown in 1948 map)
1: 250,000		1980	

Berefet was an old trading port on the south bank in Fonyi, south east of James Island. It was just beyond the boundary with Kombo in the west, being separated by both the Brefet and Bulok creeks, and on the east it was protected by the Pima Bolong. Its natural outlet was south east towards Ndemban and Kanjabina. On the coastal side, it was protected by thick mangroves. On the land side there was originally thick forest. At present the Bama Kuno and Kahlenge Forest Parks in Kombo East separate Fonyi Brefet from the villages of Kombo East.

It is first mentioned by Andre Donelha (1625): "Having passed this small island (St. Andrew's Island = James Island), there is a creek on the south side, about two leagues from its mouth is a town of a king called Jaroale. The creek and the town are called Berefete. This king Jaroale, because he is wicked, we call Red Cat. Ships anchor in the river, at the mouth of the creek, and fire off a cannon or musket; soon they come out from the land in canoes, and if they wish to carry out any trade, they stay two days."

The name occurs frequently in the records of the Kurlanders (1651/52) as Brefette, the Kurlanders sending boats there regularly to obtain fresh water, bamboo canes, livestock, beans, etc.

It is shown (Berafett Creek & town) on a map probably drawn in 1661 - the expedition of Colonel Vermuyden.

In 1664 the Royal Adventurers established a factory (trading station) there.

Francisco de Lemos Coelho writes (1684). "On the (south) bank, further up than (Kombo), and opposite the islet, is the port of Barefete, which is under the control of the kingdom of Bintam. In this port can be found a village of whites, because the blacks are now Banhus (= Bainunka ), and although the Banhus are barbarians in religion, they are great friends of whites. They trade rice, many hides, many blacks and much wax." The name was spelled Barrafatt in 1710

Francis Moore (1730) writes of Fonyi as being governed by two "emperors"



who are of Banyoon race, so Berefet might well have originally been a Bainunka village. At present the nearest Bainunka villages are some 40 miles away, on the eastern edge of Gambian Fonyi.

Barafet is shown on Leach's map (1732). Francis Moore mentions an 'island' to the east called Cubusheer Island, also shown on Leach's map, where stone suitable for building could be obtained. (I am uncertain of its location on present day maps.)

In later years, after the demise of the Province of Senegambia, (1783..) individual traders tried establishing themselves at Brefet.

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Brefet seems gradually to have turned into a "Mandinka" town.

Fonyi came under the Protectorate system in April 1895, and the boundary of Fonyi was defined in July 1895 (Gambia Government Gazette, 31 July 1895, p.99). However Brefet appears under "Kombo" (1895 lists). An 1899 list of the number of towns in each district says of Fonyi "The Jolas live in family settlements and the information cannot be given." Fonyi was split into Fonyi West and Fonyi East (June 1897), and in July 1897, was divided into five subdivisions based on the major "ports". and headmen appointed for each.

Gambia Government Gazette, 31 July 1897, p. 104.

		(headman)	(place)
Fogni (West)	No.1	Lammin Sanniang	Brefet
"	" 2	Massire Sise	Vintang
"	" 3	Sannja nJai	Kanenai (Karenai)
Fogni (East)	" 1	Tamba Dahaba	Kannsala
"	" 2	Yannki Baji	Kannjuramma

A Travelling Commissioner's report for 1900-1901 states ".... For the collection of the tax next year, I am arranging Fogni into five small districts each to pay its tax to me through the head man of the wharf towns...I am....stationing a policeman in each of the five wharf towns,

viz. Bonndali, Kannsala, Karrenai, Vinntang, and Breffet. It will be this man's duty to go round the district allotted to him with the headman, and register the stockades and number of houses in each (and) in this way a reliable register can be easily obtained."

At any rate the list of towns published in 1902 had 42 names for Fonyi East, the population being given for 18 of them, and 57 names for Fonyi West, the population being given for 14 places. The names were not given alphabetically, not labelled clearly by subdivision, though there is some suggestion that there is alphabetization within subdivisions. But after Brefet (population 78), we find the names Somita, Wapai, Kannjabina, and Jibad.

A Report on the District was written by the Commissioner South Bank Province in 1932. He writes: "Before the coming of English rule, the Mandingo part of the District of which Brefet and Baijana were the principal villages, was under the 'kings' of Faraba (Kombo), and when Faraba was conquered they acknowledged the sovereignty of Fode Sila Ture (leader of the Kombo Marabouts). On the establishment of English rule this part of the District formed part of the East Kombo District but after a year or two the Seyfu of that District... represented that his District was too big for him to manage, and the two villages were made into a separate District and named the Brefet District. During this time Bulok<sup>a</sup> and Ndemban were founded on their present sites in this Brefet District. A few years later this Brefet district was enlarged by adding the Jola villages of Somita, Bitu, and Kanjabina from the old Foni Karenai District and the enlarged District was re-named the Foni Brefet District. The Seyfu of this enlarged..district has always been chosen from the Mandingos from Brefet.....

- a. Bulok was, however, an old town. (See later note), which seems to have been abandoned, though the name for the creek remained (Bulok Bolong).

The first chief appointed was a Jola (Lang Loli Sanyang). He was succeeded by Lang Sanyang who was unrelated, and had been trained in Nyoomi at Sika. He regarded himself as Mandinka rather than Jola.

"The Jola part of the District was formerly composed of the three independent Jola villages of Somita, Kanjabina and Bitá. After the Jola custom they acknowledged no central authority or "king" and though much harried about the time of the "Soningki wars" by Fode Kaba ( Dumbuya) and his adversary Braima Njai, they managed to retain their independence and neither of these freebooters was able to keep a foothold in their country.. When English rule was set up these villages at first formed part of the old Karenai District but were later joined with Brefet to form the present Foni Brefet District."

The villages of Brefet and Baijana had originally been regarded as part of the "Colony" area.

When the Protectorate system was revised (The Gambia Protectorate Ordinance No.7, 1902 ) Brefet, Bajana, M'Carthy's Island, the Ceded Mile and British Kommbo were made subject to the Protectorate System, the Brefet and Bajana (Administration ) Ordinance 1895 being repealed.

# VILLAGES

1902	1905	1912	1930	1936	1946	1948	DPG	
							Revision of	1973
Route book?	Map	Village list	Village List	Assessment	Map	Assessment	Census	
Baijanna (Kombo)	Baijana	Baijana	Bessé	Bessé	Bessé	Bessé	Bessé	Bessé
Bita	Bita	Bita	Bita	Bita	Bita	Bita	Bita	Bita
Brefet	Brefet	Brefet	Brefet	Brefet	Brefet	Brefet	Brefet	Brefet
Bullok	Bullok	Bullok	Bullok	Bullok	Bullok	Bullok	Bullok	Bullok
Fojan								
Kannjabina	Kannjabina	Kannjabina	Kannjabina	Kannjabina	Kannjabina	Kannjabina	Kannjabina	Kannjabina
Somita	Somita	Somita	Somita	Somita	Somita	Somita	Somita	Somita
Wapai	Wapai	Wapai	Wapai	Wapai	Wapai	Wapai	Wapai	Wapai

\* = wrongly attributed on map.

	1938	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1973	
Baijana		32	12	8	25	26	15	11	23	10	12	13	333	
Bese	90	315	374	371	328	324	302	265	303	319	276	292	520	
Bita	63	71	68	56	61	74	63	65	74	72	55	56	242	
Brefet	147	165	195	194	184	222	197	201	219	189	193	222	297	
Bulok	244	386	375	410	434	399	390	404	416	417	376	379	687	
Jajil	28	89	78	32	33	47	53	46	29	29	34	32	163	
Japachum (at Ndemban ?)	27													
Jibob	16	8												
Kanjabina	70	125	129	118	125	129	119	105	118	124	117	101	134	
Kapongah													263	
Madina	71	45	35	30	-									
Ndemban	171	270	303	286	284	312	324	323	338	358	365	393	199 + 110 + 466**	
Ndemban Jola	54	96	86	76	72	83	68	56	52	56	65	66	100	
Somita	330	358	348	373	357	384	373	369	376	440	393	375	1101	
Sutusinjang		65	64	77	127	132	142	134	167	173	188	207	556	
Wopai	15													
										(small villages)				260
immigrant settlers	1326	2025	2025	1978	1891	1961	1987	1948	2087	2173	2074	2136	5431	
			42	53	139	171	59	31	28	14	-	-		
	1326	2025	2067	2031	2030	2132	2046	1979	2115	2191	2076	2137	5431	

1946-1956 from Assessment Lists

1973

Census Report . Details not given for settlements with less than 100 people.

\*\*Lists Ndemban Ba . Ndemban Sotokoi; Ndemban Japichom

A 1980 map has Ndemban Chapechum

In 1956 I travelled through the district on a motorbike to check the accuracy of place names on the map based on an air survey (1948), and using the 1954 assessment data, to check the ethnic compositions of the various villages.

The following is a list of the villages:

Brefet 3½ miles from the main road, near the creek.

Besi/Bese on the main road, at junction of road to Berefet.

Baijana The site marked on the map had been abandoned - a mile west of Bese. A new settlement had been made west of Sutu Sinjang on the main road, just across the swamp, ¼ to ½ a mile away.

Bulok On main road. Western side of district.

Sutusingjang Had now moved to the main road, houses being built on both sides of the road.

Baijana A recent hamlet (established about 1951), half a mile west of Sutusingjang on the main road.

Jajil Along the main road at Bese.

Ndemban Originally north of the main road. Houses were now being built south of the road.

Somita In the 1940s had the typical Jola pattern of a series of small hamlets (about ten in number) scattered over an area of about a mile and a half from north to south, and a mile from east to west. By mid 1950s, most of the hamlets had moved in towards the main road.

Basen A little hamlet, a mile SSW of Somita (Saniang Kunda), labelled in error Kanjabina.

Abuko A small hamlet on the path from Ndemban to Bukafuniai etc. 2 miles from Ndemban, ½ mile from Basen. People came from Ndemban.

Jajukunda A small hamlet ¾ mile south of Ndemban. Not marked on Air Survey Map.

Ndemban Jola Two miles south of Ndemban. 2 hamlets. Cleared area is shown on the map, but not the settlements.

- Bassen shown on the map is across the frontier.
- Kanjabina 1 3/4 miles from Ndemba Jola, and a 1½ from Bassen.  
Several hamlets spread over about a mile.  
(The cleared area is shown on the map, but not the hamlets- eight in number.)
- Bitā A group of three hamlets, spread over a mile from  
(Beeta on map) north to south.
- Fujany A hamlet close to Bitā.
- Bukafuniai A cluster of 3 hamlets, near boundary with Fonyi Bintang  
Bugafunye Karenai, and near the boundary with the Casamance.

(It generally appears in the data for Fonyi Bintang Karenai - the tax assessments etc.)

The 1962 map reproduces the 1948 version , but has the new main road which now by-passes Bulok, Sutusingjang, Ndemban etc. Somita, however, has moved to the new road, and is built along both sides of it.

an effort was  
ethnic data

Sutusingjang	Jola	130	
	Buluf Jola	5	
	Mandinka	20	
	Jalunka	2	
	Tilibonka	6	163

	Number	1954 %	1947 %
Jola	1572	72.6	) 74.3
-Buluf Jola	5	0.2	)
Mandinka	313	14.4	17.1
Tilibonka	19	0.9	0.7
Serer	59	2.7	0.9
Wolof	12	0.6	0.7
Manjago	18	0.8	0.6
Aku	1	-	
Jalunka	23	1.1	
n.a.	4	0.2	
Mauritanian	9	0.4	-
Laibe	8	0.4	
Fulbe			
Futa Jalon	19	)	
Futa Toro	59	) 5.7	5.6
others	45	)	
Serahuli	-		0.1
	2166	100.0	100.0

During 1947 an effort was made by those making the annual assessment to record accurate ethnic data.



Based on the assessment data for 1954, the ethnic groupings are as follows:

Bajana/Baijana	Jola		10
Bese	Jola	200	
	Mandinka	88	
	Tilibonka	11	
	Fulbe	3	
	Serer	5	
	Laibe	6	
	Mauritanian	6	319
Bitá	Jola	68	
	Fulbe	5	73
Brefet	Mandinka	100	
	Jola	69	
	Manjago	12	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	8	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	1	190
Bulok	Jola	297	
	Mandinka	37	
	Nyoominka	13	
	Bambara	2	
	Jalunka	21	
	Fulbe	16	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	14	
	Futa Jallon Fulbe	18	418
Jajil	Jola	22	
	Mandinka	2	
	Fulbe	5	29
Kanjabina	Jola	112	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	12	124
Ndemban	Jola	247	
	Nyoominka	36	
	Manjago	6	
	Laibe	2	
	Aku	1	
	Wolof	12	
	Mandinka	28	
	no record	4	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	16	
	Fulbe	10	362
Somita	Jola	361	
	Fulbe	15	
	Nyoominka	5	
	Mandinka	38	
	Mauritanian	3	422

SPECIFIC VILLAGES

BEREFET

See pages 78-79 .

Lemos Coelho (1684) ".....the port of Barefete, which is under the control of the kingdom of Bintan. In this port can be found a village of whites, because the blacks are now Banhus; and although the Banhus are barbarians in religion, they are great friends of whites. They trade rice, many hides, many blacks and much wax."

In Jim Hudgens and Richard Trillo's Rough Guide to West Africa, p.284, there is a brief mention of the place. "The ruins at Berefet, mentioned in some tourist literature, are all but obscured by vegetation much of the year, and there's nothing to see of the "long-abandoned European trading post" which supposedly exists. Local people know of the site and call it "Marco", but they'll be pretty surprised if you make the six-kilometre effort down the sandy track...to look for it."

There is a small village called Kantora. It is a small village with a few houses and a small shop. It is a small village with a few houses and a small shop. It is a small village with a few houses and a small shop.

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BULOK

J. Barbot (c.1680) in a Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea...." later printed as Vol.5 of Churchill's Voyages (1732)

mentions Block as the residence of the Emperor of Grand Cantor.

and Barifet as "on the same river of Block, near to where it falls into the Gamboa, and tributary to the King or Emperor of Cantor."

In Sieur T. Froger: A relation of a voyage made in the years 1695, 1696, and 1697, on the Coasts of Africa, Streights of Magellan, Brasil, Cayenna, and the Antilles, by a squadron of French Men of War, under the Command of M. de Gennes. London. 1698. 173 pp., the same information is repeated - the ruler of Block had the title of 'Emperor'..Barifet was tributary to Block. The book includes a chart of the River of Gambia on which Barifet and Block are shown.

I personally doubt whether the ruler of Kantora in the Upper River could have exerted any influence over this region. However, one section of Batabut in Fonyi Bintang Karenai District, some eighteen miles to the east of Bulok was known in recent years as Batabut Kantora. Perhaps there was a second kingdom called Kantora.

There was an old agricultural station at Bulok, with a plantation of oil palms.

NDEMBAN

In 1932 the Commissioner, South Bank Province, wrote:

"The village of Ndemban was founded in 1904 by Wali Job, a Jolof from Bathurst, an old man still alive and living in Ndemban, who must be nearly 100 years old. In course of time he was joined by others and now the village is composed of Jolas and Mandingos mixed with a preponderance of Jolas, Ansumana Sanyang's family being the first Jolas to join the founder. As Wali Job grew old, the leadership of the village gradually fell into the hands of Ansumana Sanyang's family until eventually Ansumana Sanyang came to be recognised by all as the alkali by custom of the village.....Wali Job says that when he founded the village he asked nobody's permission to settle ..." (which the Commissioner found difficult to believe.)

SOMITA

In the late 1940s this village had the typical Jola pattern of a series of hamlets, scattered over about a mile and a half from north to south, and a mile from east to west, with a traditional sacred grove where such rituals as initiation took place. The village exerted a powerful attraction on its neighbors, for example, youths' initiation ceremonies in 1947 were attended by as many as 3000

people from a wide range of villages. Initiates came not only from Somita, but also from Kasany, Besse, Brefet, Burom, Batending, Kabokor, and some from Kiang.\*

Later people began to move in towards the (old) main road, and when a new  
(1960s.)  
road was constructed, a major change took place, and houses were built alongside both sides of the road, stretching about a mile in length. The new road even had an effect on other cultural items - the traditional horned mask worn at initiation ceremonies was now found to be coated with black (road) tar. (1972)

\* Brefet, Besse, Somita in Fonyi Brefet District

Kasany, Burom, Batending, Kaboror in Fonyi Bintang-Karenai District