

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

(B) THE WOLOF AREA : SABAH & SANJAL , LOWER SAALUM, UPPER SAALUM

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

Major headings under which data were collected are:

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

The material available varies greatly from district to district.

Many gaps were found and many questions remained unanswered.

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

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE BADIBU-SAALUM REGION

General Features	2- 10
Sabax and Sanjal	11- 19
Lower Saalum	20- 39
Upper Saalum	40- 63

MAPS CONSULTED

Date		Scale	
1732	Leach's Map		
1905	TSGS No.1983	1: 1,000,000	
1931	No.1958	1: 250,000	
1948	DCS 15	1: 50,000	
1942	River Chart		
1956	DCS 502	1: 125,000	
1980	Based on DOS 415P	1: 250,000	
1924	D.28-IX	1: 200,000	(Senegalese map)

SPELLING

In both French and English writings the spelling Saloum was used. In much of my early typing I tended to use long forms for both the 'a' and 'u', writing 'Saalum'. However dictionaries in both The Gambia and Senegal now use the form Saalum, and in later writing I have followed this form.

In old writings the form Barsalli, Barsally is used, from Bar (apparently a variation of Buur - Ruler) and Saalum.

A
MAP of the RIVER
GAMBRA
from its
Mouth to Eropina
BY
Capt. John Leach
in 1739.

B A R S A L L I

Kower is the Chief Town
on all the River; thither
the Guineas (from Guinea
a Province of Bambrak)
come to Trade.

KINGS
HOUSE

B A D I B U

Badibu

KING'S TOWN

Barra

Morakunda

Tombakunda

Nani Jar

Morakunda

Kower

EROPINA

Y A M I

YAMINA

Morakunda

Foleykunda

Inda

Mala

Inda

Foleykunda

Damakansa

Foleykunda

Inda

Morakunda

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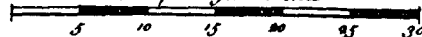
Inda

Foleykunda

The Towns named Morakunda are
inhabited by Mundingos those called
Foleykunda by Foleys or Fulis.

J A G R A

Scale of English Miles



By this Scale the distances between pla-
ces are greater than what they are com-
puted by M. Moore in his Travels.

E R E J A

T. Kitchen sculp.

GAMBIAN SAALUM

Though the Mandinka occupied most of the north bank, the Wolof, under the ruler of Saalum (Bur-Saalum) had a wedge of territory down to the River Gambia in what is now Lower Saalum. This became an important trading area. A few Portuguese settled there, and slaves would be brought for sale to vessels which came up river.

A market area was to be found called Manjagar (Jobson, Coelho), Manjaxar in modern Wolof. A small stream led in from the main river, up which small boats could approach the area. Jobson stopped there in 1620-21 on his way up and down river, though he was disappointed in the goods for sale. Lemos Coelho (1684) gives a more favorable account (See p.38). Manjaxar is about 3 miles from the river and 2 1/2 miles west of Kau-ur Jānekunda. Jānekunda was originally a Jaxanke town with religious teachers and long-distance traders. It is probable also that Bainunka traders had a foothold in this region. The place names of Manjaxar, Jaxawur, and Kau-ur all have a Bainunka sound to them.

As the area was renowned for cattle -keeping this means that there would also have been a maior Fula element present. The Futa Toro Fulbe may also have been concerned with the weaving of cotton cloths for which the region became famous, though Jaxanke slaves were also productive in this work.

Francis Moore (1732) describes the depredations done to the English Factory by the Wolof King and his relatives and attendants.

When power driven vessels came to be used on the river (1840s), Kau-ur was generally the stop at the end of a full day's voyage from Bathurst. now Banjul.

In 1853 the Annual Report describes how the territories of the King of Saalum extended to the banks of the River Gambia and the Panchanq Creek (the Nianiya Creek). "The proximity of Salum to Gambia, the fertility of the

interior of the country, the vast droves of cattle affording large supplies for our markets, the independence and bravery of the people, and the arbitrary power of the monarch, are cogent reasons for the British securing the influence and interest of Salum as an ally."

HAMA BA, SEET (SAER) MATI BA, BIRAM SISE & GEDEL MBOJ

The history of Badibu and Saalum is a complicated tale of the struggles of the above named leaders in the religious wars of the 19th century.

Maba Diakhou Ba (Known as Ma Ba to the Wolof, Ama Ba to the Mandinka) was a militant religious leader of Tukulor origin, born about 1810, living near Nyoro. After a meeting with El Hadj Omar Taal in 1846, he was instructed to spread a holy war (jihad) in Rip (Badibu) and Saalum, and act as his representative in Senegambia. His aim was to convert the people to Islam, and overthrow the non-Muslim (Soninke) rulers. He himself became the ruler of the region in their place, with the title of Almami. The heir to the traditional kinship of Rip was first assassinated (1861), then the King of Rip (Jeriba Marong) was killed. Maba built forts at strategic points, Ker Maba, then Nyoro (formerly known as Paos Dima), etc.

In 1865 he attacked Saalum, taking the capital Kahone, then attacking Kaolack.

He had to return to fight in Badibu which sought to regain its power, while Maba was occupied elsewhere, but Maba was again victorious.

He next thought of invading Jolof, Kayor and Baol, but turned back.

In 1866 he attacked Siin, but was killed in 1867 at Maroute (north-west of Kaolack) in a battle with the ruler Kumba Ndofen Juuf.

His brother, Mamour Ndari (Mamud Nderi) Ba, who had been in charge of purchasing arms and munitions from the English in the Gambia assumed power. Some dissident voices suggested that elsewhere the position of almami was not a hereditary one, but filled by the choice of the elders, but Mamour Nderi prevailed. (Saer)
Maba's son Seet Mati Ba - was only 12 at the time of his father's death, and there was a feeling that Mamour Nderi should only rule until the son was of age to take over.

So with various elements of dissent Mamour Nderi had not the ability to control his brother's vast conquests.

Gedel Mboj was the traditional Wolof ruler of Saalum . He took up arms to recover the area conquered by Maba, dealing both with Saer Mati, and one of Maba's generals- Biram Sise, who had carved out a sphere of influence for himself. Fighting began in 1884. In 1885 there was a quarrel between Biram Sise and Saer Mati, Biram Sise having a cousin of Saer Mati (Ali Xoja) assassinated.

Gedel formed an alliance with Biram Sise, and invaded Rip, beating Saer Mati and capturing many strongholds. But the alliance did not last, they separated, and went their own ways.

Saer Mati then went after the Buur Saalum , whom he defeated in the battle of Luba Redu, and captured Kahone. Gedel sought the aid of the French, and Saer Mati was beaten at Gumbof, near Ker Lat Menge, 10 miles west of Kafrine. He fled to Albreda in the Ceded Mile, surrendered to the British, and for a time was kept in the barracks in Bathurst (later to become the Secretariat). Then he was allowed to live at Wasulungkunda beside Bakau, near Cape St. Mary. He died on 23 December 1897, and was buried near Cape Point, his grave being constantly visited by pilgrims. When a modern hotel was built on the point, a special mausoleum was built to protect the burial place.

Gedel Mboj recovered the area conquered by Maba, and because of the help the French had given him, he was willing to enter a Protectorate agreement with the French. He died in 1895, but converted to Islam shortly before his death.

When he recovered his territories he had placed in power, or confirmed those already there, people loyal to him, to be in charge of sub-districts on the frontier. Jata Seling Jame became a sub-chief of the Mandinka in Rip (Badibu), Seet Kani Ture ruled in Sabax, and built a fort at Kataba, while Gumbo Gaye (Ge) lived in Sanjal, where he erected a fort at Ngeyen Sanjal. The Balanghar area seems to have been more or less independent under Seet Kani Ture of Passi Ngeyen (- many villages of the Ture have the prefix Passi), while another lieutenant Manjok Sise controlled Pakala- the area from Kau-ur to Panchang (now the core of Upper Saalum).

The Mandinka in and near Jaanekunda were under Bamba Jaane, father of Saalum Jaane, a subsequent headman, and also owed a general allegiance to Gedel Mboj. Tradition relates that as they were Muslim they were permitted to judge cases by Muslim law, but still had to pay tribute to the Buur Saalum.

Biram Sise and Saer Mati

From about 1877 a struggle for power developed between the two, victories going back and forth, but gradually Biram Sise gradually obtained control of the eastern side of Rip, with a stronghold at Ndimbu, leaving Mamud Nderi Ba controlling the western side, with his capital at Nyoro. Saer Mati began to take over all of his father's territory. A bitter struggle went back and forth with neither side gaining a complete victory. Different communities in the same district were often divided in their loyalties- In Pakala Bati Xai supported (Saer) Seet Mati, Panchang supported Biram Sise. Kau-ur Janekunda which had supported Saer Mati was burnt down by Biram Sise and remained deserted for seven years. Then Saer Mati regained control in that region, and rebuilt the town.

In 1887 the British managed to get an agreement signed in which they agreed to cease the civil war.

Saer Mati went off to attack Saalum, but was defeated by French forces. Not long afterwards Biram Sise also turned his attention to the east, but a letter in which he was asking for help against the French found its way into their hands and he was arrested and taken to St. Louis where he eventually died.

For further details consult:

Ba, Abdou Bouri "Essai sur l'histoire du Saloum et du Rip," 1977.

(Extract from the Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., 38(4), B, October 1976.)

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POPULATION - THE WOLOF AREAS OF SAALUM , SABAX, AND SANJAL

Most Wolof villages are small, and are constantly waxing and waning, breaking up and being refounded. Wolof families move about a great deal, spending a few years in one village, then on to another, and so on. The international frontier cuts through Wolof country and there is constant movement between Gambia and Senegal.

The fact that Wolof are millet growers, rather than rice growers, means that changes of land are necessary, whenever the soil becomes exhausted. While the Mandinka farm land further and further away from their village, the Wolof move the settlement to new farm land.

A second factor for change lies in the system of chieftainship. If a chief tends to become too autocratic, then people move. If there are potential quarrels about succession, whole segments of a lineage may move to a neighboring region. For example in the time of Omar Sise (1920 s) many people left Upper Saalum and migrated to Senegal and to the Nyaamina districts on the south bank.

Thirdly there is the relative state of economic conditions in Senegal as compared with The Gambia. When conditions - e.g. price of groundnuts - are better in The Gambia more people come, if worse they return to Senegal.

The density of population is greatest in the lower Saalum District. This is not purely an agricultural area, for a considerable number of people are engaged in trade, the population of Kau-ur in particular.

The area around Balanghar is also fairly densely populated . One finds that most of the bush near the settlements has been cleared, and one has the systematic manuring of farms by cattle, instead of a 'bush rotation' system. One also finds rice growing in this area, not as a rule characteristic of Wolof economy.

But pressure has been relieved by movement from Lower Saalum into the eastern part of Upper Saalum .

SABAX & SANJAL

These are now two subdistricts of Upper Badibu.

Francis Moore (1728) describes Sanjally as "a petty kingdom, but not tributary to any other. The king isa Mandingo, whose dominions extend about fourteen leagues along the river side." He does not mention the name Sabax.

The area is bordered on the Senegalese side by the Canton de Medina Sabakh, and the Canton du Pakala Mandakh bordering Saalum.

In French spelling Sanjal(i) is spelled Sandially.

Maps Consulted

1732	Leach's map	
1905	1:1,000,000	TSGS No.1983
1923	1 cm to 2 klm.	D.28-X
1931	1 cm to 2.5 kilometres	No.1958
1956	1:50,000	DOS 415
1980	1: 250,000	DOS 3001
1942	River Chart	

Archaeological and Historic Remains.

At Kataba there are the remains of a fort built by Seet Kani Ture, as a place of refuge in time of war. There were encircling fortifications, and wells within it. There were two gates, one facing east and one facing west.

Descendants of Seet Kani Ture now live in Senegal in Medina Sabax, but still come to visit the old site.

Seet Kani was killed at Saba in the Seet Mati war.

In 1928 a Commissioner wrote : "It is a square structure built of squared stones...about 30 by 25 feet, surrounded by a wall of rough stones enclosing say an acre, which included the well, dwelling huts, etc. The outer wall was topped by a stockade of logs and thorns when in use. Now all is a ruin, the outer wall only just traceable, the fort itself with nothing but the wall standing. No guns left.

There are two other ruined forts, both native and with rough walls; one at Ngeyn, built by the Wolof there to defend themselves from other Wolof... the other, the biggest of all, at Jajari, which was built by Seet Mati. Neither of these were anything like the Kataba wall with its square central stronghold."

FORT AT KATABA

- 1947

Photograph: David P. Gamble



Kataba fort was also visited on July 29, 1972.

POPULATION - ETHNICITY AND DISTRIBUTION

One has a vast stretch of swamp land, generally about a mile and a half wide, between the river and the uplands. Spurs of higher land come down close to the river at Bambali, Tambakoto, and Kanikunda, and here one finds large Mandinka villages established.

Smaller Mandinka villages are Tendaito, Sukoto and Kataba.

Further inland are the villages of the Wolof and Fulbe (generally Tukulor).

The two regions of Sabax and Sanjal are very similar ethnically, resembling the Lower Saalum area rather than the rest of Badibu, as is shown by the following table based on 1946 Assessment data.

	Upper Badibu			Lower Saalum ¹
	Farafeni %	Sabax %	Sanjal %	%
Wolof	23.0	59.2	52.5	52.9
Mandinka	63.9	28.9	31.4	20.3
Fulbe	10.4	10.4	14.4	24.4
Manjago & Jola	0.5	1.2	0.3	0.1
Serer	2.0		1.1	0.4
Bambara	-	0.3	-	0.3
Aku (in wharf towns)	0.2	-	0.3	0.2
others				1.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

Map squares 1 2 3 15
 4 5 6
 7

UPPER BADIBU - SABACH (SABAX) (To West)

Village list

	Map location	Here in 1894	
Basik	5		
Chamen			(1936 list)
Cheken	5	x	
Dasilami	4		
Dipa-kunda	5		
- Fula			
- Wolof	5	x	
Jambaya	-		
Kataba Mandinka	4	x	
Kataba Wolof	4		
Ker Sa(r) Njeme (Sajemmi-Kunda)	2/4	x	
Madina		x	
Marike		x	near boundary
Mbap	2		
Mbap Kataba	1?		
Ngeeyen Sabach	4		
Njengen	4		
Nyangkunda	5	x	
Pasimut	5	x	
Sankalang			
Saare Jam Gido	-		
Sukoto (Sabach)	4	x	
" Fula			
Taiba	4		
Tambakoto	4	x	(Tambakoto wharf)
Toben (Jambur Toben)			

<u>SABACH</u>		<u>Population</u>	
		<u>1946</u>	<u>1973</u>
Bassik- (Balo)			237
Cheken	Wolof	24	
Dasilami	Wolof	24	
Dipa-kunda Fula	Fula	63	
" " Wolof	Wolof	331	578
Jambaya	Wolof	86	
Jambur Toben	Wolof/Mandinka	89	
Kataba Mandinka	Mandinka	244	344
" Wolof	Wolof	66	
Ker Sar Njama			
Marike	Wolof	60	
Mbap Ba	Wolof	80	103
Mbap Kataba	Wolof	75	115
Ngeyen Sabach	Wolof	84	170
Njenqen	Wolof	33	
Nyangkunda	Mandinka/Wolof	127	
Passimut	Wolof/Fula	113	117
Sankalang	Wolof	112	
Saare Jam Gido	Fula	12	
Sukoto	Mandinka/Wolof	182	201
" Fula	Fula	28	
Taiba	Wolof	41	
Tambakoto	Mandinka/Wolof	215	223

 2089

Map squares 1 2 3 17
 4 5 6
 7

UPPER BADIBU - SANJAL (To north)

VILLAGE LIST

Map location	Here in 1894
Balo Ibra	x
Balo Omar	
Baka Job	(Moved by 1950)
(Ker) Bamba Lo 6	
Bambali 7	x
Dafa 3	
Kanikunda 6	x
" Wharf 6	
Ker Ali Choy	
Kumbija 5	x
Kunjata 7	x
Lumen 6	
Mbai Nyake 5	
Misera (Mbayen) 2	x
Ndawen 6	
Ngeyen Fula 2	
Ngeyen Sabach 2	
Ngeyen Sanjal 2	x
Njayen 5	
Palen Fula 5	
Palen Wolof 5	
Palodi 5	
Saare Makam Jawo	
Sarakunda 6	x
Sikunda 2	
Sinchu Njabo 6	
Sinchu Palen 5	
Tandaito 5	x

UPPER BADIBU- SANJAL (To North)

POPULATION

		1946	1973	
Baka Job	Wolof	16		
Balo Ibra	Wolof/Fula	140		
" Omar	Fula/Wolof	198	256	
Bambo Lo	Wolof	92		
Bambale	Mandinka	855	1600	(=Bambaali)
Dafa	Wolof	83	157	
Kanikunda	Mandinka/Wo.	466	582	
" wharf	"	275	335	
Ker Ali Choy	Wolof	56		
Kumbija	Wolof	321	424	
Kuniata	Fula ?	157	360	
Lumen	Fula	91	157	
Mbai Nyake	Wolof	40		
Misera	Wolof	53		
Ndawen	Wolof	60		
Ngeyen Fula	Fula	32		
Ngeyen Sabach	Wolof	103	170	
" Sanjal	Wolof	567	1302	
Njayan	Wolof	79	208	
Palen Fula	Fula	177	200	
" Wolof	Wolof	472	715	
Palodi	Wolof/	63		
Sarakunda	Wolof/Mandinka	613	1073	
Sikunda	Fula	34		
Sinchu Njabo	Wolof	38		
" Palen	Wolof/ Fula	77		
Tandaito	Mand/	52		
		<hr/>		
		5210		

BAMBALI

This was an important port of call for the river steamer, for plenty of provisions, rice etc. were available here. When a vessel appeared a vast crowd of people would come down to the wharf from the village.

A photograph of the community is given in Michael Tomkinson: The Gambia A Holiday Guide, p.81.

LOWER SAALUMThe main geographical features.

The District consists of three well defined valleys often with steep foothills, rising more than 100 feet above the plain.

- (A) The Kau-ur, Jānekunda, Simbara valley.
- (B) The largest - The Jimbala- Jaxawur valley.
- (C) The Balangar valley.

There are extensive swamps where rice can be grown at Balanghar and Kau-ur.

From the time of the Portuguese it was an important outlet for the Kingdom of Saalum, a place where slaves might be sold in return for brandy, tobacco, iron bars, textiles, and later, firearms and gunpowder.

The area therefore attracted traders from other areas. A Jaxanke element - religious teachers and long distance traders, established themselves in the Kau-ur area. Judging from names such as Jaxawur, a Bainunka element might have once had a foothold here. The plains and streams attracted the Fulbe with herds of cattle.

At Kau-ur there was deep water right up to the shore, where there was a narrow strip of dry land, behind which were extensive swamps, before rising land was encountered. Behind some level land, rose a laterite ridge which extended eastwards.

When river steamers began to be used, Kau-ur was a stopping place at the end of the first day's navigation from Bathurst. [now Banjul]

It later became a major shipping point for groundnuts, ocean vessels being able to come up river. In March 1963 a major groundnut processing plant was established close to the river.

The Balanghar area was somewhat cut off from the rest of the district by surrounding hills, and was more closely tied to the Sanjal area. The road between Balanghar and Kau-ur swings round close to the river to get past the plateau, a ridge running south here. The old port of Balangar was established at this point.

LOWER SAALUM

History

The town of Kau-ur originally consisted of three villages- Turekunda, Jaanekunda- both marabout villages and Jakar, an animist village.

The earliest settlers were the Tures. Fode Ture, who had helped the King (Buur) of Kahone get a son to succeed him, married the widow after the King's death, and had two sons by her. The succeeding buur granted them ruling positions (in the south ?).

Next came Baba and Karim Jaane, with their followers and students. They were from an old Muslim clan in Mali, which was said to have helped Sunjata gain power.

Afterwards came Saalum Suware (a Jaxanke)¹, from whom Saalum now takes its name, the region formerly being known as Mbeyi. He built a mosque and converted many of the people of the area to Islam.

Immigrant gelowars from Kaabu established a ruling dynasty in the Siin-Saalum area.

In the struggle between the son of Hama Ba, (Seet, Seydi, Saer) Mati Ba (See pages 6-8), Jaanekunda took the side of the son, with the result that Biram Sise burnt down the villages which was deserted for seven years. Seet returned, drove out Biram, and rebuilt the town.

¹ Alhajie A.E.Cham Joof writes "Chossani Senegambia", Weekend Observer, Jcly 19-21 1996, p.11

"Saloum was originally called Madu Mbaye and the name was changed by Burr Saloum Mbegan Ndure in honour of his great spiritualist or grand marabout, Saloum Suwareh, who prayed for Mbegan and told him that if he named his Kingdom Saloum, nobody nor any army would conquer the land and Mbegan did according to Saloum's advice."

The original rulers of the Balanghar area are the Sajanko Chorowada branch of the Tures. The last ruler before the British and French took over was Sambu Xomani Ture, who was killed in battle. The family once lived at Kataba in the Gambia, but moved to Ker Nderi in Senegal, when the international boundary was marked.

The French had apparently appointed Nderi Kani Ture as chief there, but he was offered a position in The Gambia, and moved back. At any rate we find in 1898 Juka Nderi Kani Ture listed as head of the sub-chiefdom of Balanghar, part of District No.4 (Lower Saalum).

Arafang Madi Jane (sometimes known as Arafang Masajo Jane) had been appointed Chief of the whole district in 1895. He died in 1918.

Abdulai Jane was appointed in 1918, but dismissed in 1924.

As no suitable candidate from Jaanekunda seems to have been available, the chieftainship passed to Balanghar, and Nderi Jabu Ture was appointed in August 1924. However, he was dismissed in 1926.

He was succeeded by Bara Ture, who did not come from any of the traditional ruling lineages (by all accounts) but was appointed by the District Commissioner, Major Macklin, for whom he had worked as Head Messenger. He was chief for 17 years, dying in 1942.

The position was vacant in 1943, then Ali Ture, a son of Nderi Ture, was appointed in June 1945.

He was followed by Malik Ture, appointed in May 1965.

LOWER SAALUM

Area: 73 square miles

Population

1927	4018	(Assessment data)
1930	7253	" "
1944	4170	
1945	5233	
1946	7074	
1947	6245	
1948	7697	
1949	6503	
1950	6881	
1951	6572	
1952	6986	
1953	7118	
1954	6039	
1955	6668	
1956	7211	
1957	5500	
1958	8462	
1959		
1960		
1961	4511	
1962		
1963	6233	Census Data
1973	10,050	
1983		
1993		

After the British declared a protectorate districts along the north bank were designated as follows (1892)

Sabach [Phonetic spelling Sabax]

Sanjal

Saloum

Niani

Bambuk

At this time Saloum included Kau-ur, while Ballangar was included in Sanjal.
(1895)

Later/Saloum was known as North Bank District No.5, under Sawallo Sise of Njau.
while District No.4 was formed under Madi Jane of Kau-ur.

The Bantanto villages were included in District No.4, but later put under District No.5.

In May 1893 sub-districts were formally created.

In No.3 District (Baddibu) Sabach and Sanjal.

4 " Ballangar and Genji.

In 1910, Sabach and Sanjal were merged with Upper Baddibu.

--

Bisset Archer states (1906) that

Lower Saloum was part of the North Bank [District]

Eastern Saloum was in the MacCarthy Island [District]

In the 1930s the Saloum Districts were part of MacCarthy Island Province

In 1947 they formed part of the Central Division.

In October 1968 they were returned to MacCarthy Island Division.

LOWER SAALUM - ETHNIC GROUPINGS

(Assessment data)

	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1956
Aku	19	20	16	3	15	25
Bambara	26	9	-	10	20	50
Fulbe	1671	1450	1366	1642	1743	1650
Mandinka	1179	1270	1486	1267	1392	1761
Manjago		29		4		3
Mauretanians	87	41	24	20	35	20
Serer	10	30	16	12	25	30
Serahuli	32				10	40
Wolof	4035	3346	4289	3545	3596	2906
Others	15				46	133

7074	6245	7697	6503	6832	6668
------	------	------	------	------	------

The average percentages are as follows

	%	
Aku	0.2	(in trade centers)
Bambara	0.3	
Fulbe	24.4	(Tukulor)
Mandinka	20.3	
Manjago	0.1	
Mauretanians	0.5	(in trade centers)
Serer	0.4	
Serahuli	0.2	
Wolof	52.9	
others	<u>0.6</u>	
	<u>99.9</u>	

There seems to have been a decline in the numbers of Wolof, and an increase in Mandinka.

VILLAGE LIST

? Location not determined

A Kau-ur Simbara Valley B Jaxawur-Jimbala Valley C Balanghar area

		1946	1973		
	C Balanghar Ker N'Deri	920	1021	W	W = Wolof
	C Balanghar Wharf	81		W	F = Fula
	C Baintengkai -see Mbentenki				T = Tukolor
	B Chamen Baka	93		W	M = Mandinka
	C Choyen		165		Jah= Jaxanke
	C Darusalam	78	179	W	
	B Genji Asan Jeng	365	529	W	
	B Genji Hamat (Tukolor)	57			T
?	Guijahanka	35		W	
	B Gunkoro/Gonkoro Wolof	117	146	W	
	B " " Tukolor	128	130		T
	B Jaxawur	333	527		T
	B " Tukolor	132	104		T
	C Jalato Ali (Kaba Ture)	81		W	
	C " Sololi Mena (Katang Ture)	227	107	W	
	B Jamweli	262	197		T
A	Jānekunda	829	999	M	(Jah ?)
	B Jimbala - Ali Hencia	125		W	
	- Makam	55		W	
	- Jimbala Mat	58			
	- Matar Job	167		W	
	- Malick	87		W	
(M)	- Fel Ngoh		229		
	- Ker Kara				
A	Kau-ur	553	1785	W +	various small elements

(M) shown on 1948 map.

?		Ker Alfa Sana	41		T
	C	" Biram Yasin	78		W
?		" Cendo	61		W
	B	" Cherno			
?		" Demba Gabu		198	
		" Ibra			
	C	" Jabel Jibel		104	
		" Jah (1) (2)			
	B	" Jarga " Madi (Baba Sise)	14	116	W
		" Madi (Mamat Njay			
A		" Maila	148	232	T
	B	" Musa			
	B	" Sam Boy	29		T
	C	" Sam Musa	44		W
	B	Manjaxar	28		Bambara
	B	Marsai	61	103	W/F
	B	Mbaiyen	42		T
	C	Mbentenki	185	158	W
?		Misera	53		T
?		Nawel			W
	A	Nema	54		
	C	Ngeyen Ker Farba Ndaw	24		W
?		Ngike		101	
	C	Njok	153	115	T
	C	Palen Ndimba	191	190	W
?		Sikunda		113	
	A	Simbara - Ker Cham			W
		- Madi Sise			
		- Xai			W

A	Simbara cont.	1946	1973	
	" - Musa Ba	69		T
	" Mamat So	152	116	W
	" Ker Chendo	43		W
	" Malik Sise	75		W
	" Mafal Faal	32		W
C	Taba Woro 1	23		T
	11	23		T
A	Turekunda	472	949	M + W
	in villages under 99.		1437	
A	Jareng Ker Jebel **	45		T
A	" Selbe Ba	36		W / T
		<hr/>	<hr/>	
		7074	10050	
		<hr/>	<hr/>	

** The Jareng villages are mainly in Upper Saalum.

BALLANGAR & BALLANGAR WHARF

A large Wolof town in Lower Saalum District. The home of the District Chief.

Reeve (1912) "The higher land begins to recede from the river, and the bank is only habitable on the slope of the spurs that penetrate the mangrove swamps from the plateau land behind and come near to the river bank."

The town does not appear on early maps or in travellers' records. The earliest reference I have seen is in Governor Ingram's trip up river in 1842 where he mentions Balana. It is mentioned again in a Governor's trip in 1875.

Originally it seems to have been a place occupied by slaves working on farms in the valley. Some people trace its name to the word for 'fish trap'. It eventually grew into a large town, but was destroyed in the religious wars of the last century, though eventually rebuilt.

When the Protectorate was established it was considered closer to the Sabach-Sanjai region than to Kau-ur. It became the main town of a sub-district under JuKa Nderikani Ture. (May 1898), as part of the Lower Saalum District. (North Bank No.4)

At one time the Provincial boundary made made between Kau-ur and Ballangar. (Even as late as 1947 the road became impassible for vehicles during the rainy season).

Later it became part of the Lower Saalum District under Kau-ur. When there was a problem about succession at Jaanekunda - a potential candidate being considered too young, a Wolof was appointed as Chief and took up residence at Balangar.

H.F.Reeve: The Gambia, 1912. opp. p. 16.



BALLANGHAR WHARF.

Rancon, A. Dans la Haute-Gambie. Voyage d'exploration scientifique. 1891-1892.
1894.



Balanghar. — Factorerie de la Compagnie française de l'Afrique occidentale.

(i.e. a trader's establishment).

JAHAWUR (= Joar of Francis Moore)

Francis Mooore "Joar lies in the Kingdom of Barsally, about three miles
1732 p. 105-6 from Cower (Kau-ur), across a fine savannah, surrounded
with woods, which harbour wild beasts, which you may hear howling and roaring
every night. It is about two miles from the River Gambia, some part of which is
up a narrow creek, scarce wide enough for a boat; the other part is very
pleasant walking in the dry time, but in the rainy season it is covered with
water. This town is inhabited by Portuguese but is much lessen'd of late years.
At present it consists of not above ten houses, besides the King's and the
Company's, which two contain as much ground as all the others. About a mile
from it, there is a ledge of hills, high and rocky, but nevertheless full of
trees....

In the creek is very good fishing, and on the savannah good game. The
ships that come up to trade here, always take in their stock of water out of the
river, which is reckon'd to be very good.

108 About the savannah are plenty of deer, wild hogs, buffaloes, geese, ducks,
partridges, doves and quails.Here are also plenty of crocodiles...

Golberry wrotes "La compagnie des Indes avait un comptoir considerable à Joar,
1802
Vol. II, p. 130 entre le village de Kiawer et le port, et la traite qu'elle y
faisait en captifs, en or, en morfil, en cire et en peaux crues,
formait un article notable de ses benefices."

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

p.21 Cower, where there is the greatest Resort of people, and the most Trade of any Town in the whole River; for it is to this place that the Merchants always bring their Slaves, provided that they are not in great Haste to return home, or cannot meet with a very good Market for them before they come down so low.

p.101-2 (1732) Cower, which lies about three Miles from Joar, across a fine large Savannah, on which there are no Trees, but fine low Grass which makes it pleasant for Walking, Riding and Shooting. This Town is so large, that it is divided into three Parts, Cower, Jonacunda, and Touracunda, the first and last of which are inhabited mostly by Mahometans, the other by Jolloiffs; each of these are about a Mile round, situated at the Bottom of Hills on the West, and a fine Plain of open Pasture-Ground on the East. They make exceeding good Cotton-Cloths here, very dear to purchase, and much valued by all the Women on the River. Here lives that old Man, so well known to all White Men, call'd Serin Donso, who exacts upon every Body very much, and has such great Power over all the Merchants who bring their Slaves here, that unless you see him, it is in vain to expect Trade. This is the chief Town on the whole River; and , as I hinted before, the best Place for Trade.

* The spelling takes many forms in the literature.

Caour	Delisle's map 1726/7
Cower	Moister (1831)
Comer	Poole (1850) - a misprint..

Kiawer	Golberry (1802)
Kawour	Grav & Dochart (1818)

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

T.II, p. 128 "Kvahour, que les cartes designent sous le nom de Kiawer, est un grand village dont la population est plus de sept mille ames, situe à peu-près sous le troisieme meridien trente minutes, oriental de l'île de Fer, à trente-six lieues au Levant de Cahone et à sept lieues de la rive droite de la rivière de Gambia, et d'un petit port sur cette rivière, qui porte aussi le même nom de Kiawer.....

Kiawer était un des plus fameux marchés de captifs de la partie occidentale d'Afrique..Des marchands mandings....y arrivaient de l'intérieur des terres, menant des chaînes nombreuses d'esclaves.

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

p.46 I also landed at Kawour in the Salum country. The ground for some distance in the vicinity of this town, bore the marks of cultivation, but at that season was completely destitute of verdure; the soil, which was a mixture of brown mould and light-coloured sand, appeared good; a few small onions were the only vegetable I observed growing, and those were regularly watered morning and evening.

The town is a considerable one, and may contain from 500 to 800 inhabitants. Their huts are composed of cane reeds and long dry grass, and are very neat and comfortable. The natives, who are a mixture of Jallofs and Soosoos, are a peaceable inoffensive race, and are chiefly engaged in trade, except when the approach of the rains summons them to the corn and rice grounds.

The country in the immediate / vicinity of the river, is very low, and bears the evident marks of inundation during the rains. It is much wooded, some of which is large, and no doubt fitted for general use.

(4)

Abridged account of an Expedition of about 200 miles up the Gambia, by Governor Ingram (1842).

" The trade of this town is considerable; the principal articles of produce being corn, millet, hides, country cloths called pangs or paynes, ground-nuts, ivory, and wax. There are several large native towns at a short-distance from the trading port, and these all bear the name of Cower. The articles most in demand are rum, tobacco, gunpowder, iron-bars, coral and amber beads. The largest-sized Gambia horses are here to be obtained, but the prices are comparatively high."

Alhajie A.E.Cham Joof in "Chossani Senegambia", Weekend Observer, July 19-21, 1996, p.11

gives an explanation for the name Kaur.

" When Mbegan became the first Burr Saloum after killing Yello Bana Omar who was a great cattle owner, 'Jarga', he went to Gonkoro near what is now called Kaur.

He used to take his cattle to the stream to drink daily. One day he called his followers and advised them to transfer their cattle near the rivers and said in fula -Ngareen kawreen Dandeh mayo, meaning let us meet near the river, hence the name Kaur (from the word kawreen) "

On the other hand Ka is a common prefix in Bainunka place names, the syllable -ur, (DPG) is also found in place names (perhaps signifying a place where there were rulers.)

- (5) T. E. Poole: Life, Scenery and Customs in Sierra Leone and The Gambia..
1850. Vol. II, p. 109

"We steamed..until we came to Comer (sic), where Mandingos and Jolloffs, to the number of seventy or eighty, stood on the landing-place watching our approach....Large piles of ground nuts, enclosed in bamboo fences were scattered about close upon the bank: and on them hung pieces of paper, linen and other fanciful things, placed there, as Gris-Gris, to charm away thieves and otherwise preserve the goods from injury.

The foreground from the water-side to nearly the Trading-town is under water during the rains, and cultivated as rice fields. Inland, too, at the distance of about three miles from this place, are three large native towns, each enclosed with a high mud wall. The population consists chiefly of Jolloffs and Mandingoes, and is a store of consequence for ground nuts in vast quantities, as well as skins and country cloths. "

- (6) H.F.Reeve: The Gambia (1912) p. 142

" Kau-ur..a wharf of growing importance with the increase of the ground-nut industry, but somewhat overshadowed by Ballangar, five miles lower down...." (Photograph of Kau-ur wharf).

- (7) Rex Hardinge: Gambia and Beyond (1934) p. 113.

"The actual town of Kau-ur lies quite a distance from the river, and is an extensive place. Besides the trading-store run for the United Africa Company...there are a number of French and Syrian establishments, and countless smaller concerns that are entirely native. Ground-nuts prevail over everything... Mounds of them towered on all sides like khaki-coloured hills; there were natives sifting them in long cylindrical rotating sieves; while fresh loads were arriving and departing by donkey-back and by boat..."

WHARF AT KAU-UR (LOWER SALUM) 1947.

Photograph by: David P. Gamble

(U.A.C. House in background)



An air photograph of the Kau-ur Mill Area is to be found in:

Douglas Botting: "Dilemma of Africa's smallest nation,"
Geographical Magazine, 41, 1969, p.661.

An early photograph of Kau-ur Wharf is in:

H.F.Reeve: The Gambia, 1912, opposite p.142.

MANJAGAR

(1) Jobson: In Purchas His Pilgrimes.

1621 On the first of December, we came to Pudding Iland (Elephant Island?) sixteen leagues from the ship (at Tendaba). The second, we anchored against a little creeke which leads into a towne Maugegar. We went to this towne, meeting by the way a Portugall, called Bastian Roderigo, who gave mee an ounces skinne. On Munday the fourth, the King with his Alcade came aboard, and drunke himselfe with his consorts so drunke, that the customes were deferred till next day. Henry Lowe agreed for a house, and left there Humfrey Davis, John Blithe, and one Nicolas a prettie youth, which two last dyed there.

Jobson : The Golden Trade, p. 156.

While we were in the river, at a place called Mangegar, against which we had occasion to ride with out ship, both up and downe, in open fields, about a mile distance from any housing, is every monday a market kept; which us in the middle of the weeke, unto which would come great resport of people, from round about, as heere in our countrey, who would disperse and settle themselves, with their commodities under the shady trees, and take up a good space of ground, & any thing what the countrey did yeeld, was there brought in, and bought and sold amongst them. Now through the whole Countrey there is no use of any coyne, or money, neither have they any, but every man to choppe and barter one thing for another, and the onely nominated thing is matts, as in asking the price of this, or that I desire, the word is, how many matts shall I give you ?

- (2) 1651 Courlanders - Log of the 'Crocodile'

Mansegaer visited 14 December 1651, on an expedition up river to purchase rice.

- (3) 1684 Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea.

p.11, paras 22-23 (P.E.H.Hair's translation)
(in Jaara)

From Degumasamsam/to the port of Manjagar is eight leagues, the latter being situated on the north side. It is also very difficult to recognise, because its entrance too is by a very small stream. But there is no other stream in this land, and by this point the river does not have as many mangroves. You make your way in by boat, and the port is close by, as is the village too, but not in sight.

The kingdom of Manjagar is subject to the king of Borçalo (= Buur Saalum).*/.This land produces many hides, the best on the whole river, also much husked rice, and some blacks. In the same land, at a distance of one league is the port of Caur (Kau-ur, Kawur)...It is eight leagues from Manjagar to Nanhijaga (Nianiija)

*/ Insert The king regularly comes here to trade with the ships, when they do not go to his land, and he sells many blacks.

- (4) The present Wolof name for the area is Manjaxar.

RUMBO'S PORT (Saalum)

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

p.21 The separate traders generally come up hither to trade at Rumbo's Port, which is about three miles from Joar, and the same distance from Cower.....

(Not identified . But Balanghar would seem to provide the best point for a wharf.)

UPPER SAALUMBOUNDARIES

Upper Saalum is particularly ill shaped, owing to the nature of its boundary with Senegal, drawn with a pair of compasses and a ruler, and bearing no relation to any natural features or political divisions. The district is 22 miles long, at its widest 8 miles, but in parts narrowing to 1 1/2 miles, the average width being four miles. On the south and east the Nianiia Creek forms a natural boundary.

In the west a line was drawn south from the main road, just west of the main group of Jareng villages ; and from the main road in a north-westerly direction up to the frontier.

The northern boundary is often very close to the old east-west road, and is often difficult to determine, though several boundary pillars are indicated on the map. According to Reeve (1912) there was an international incident in the 1890s when the French raised a flag at Panchang. A zealous British administrator pulled it down, and hoisted his own in its place. As the delimitation proceeded it was found that Panchang was, in fact, in French territory. But shortly afterwards a section of the village moved the short distance necessary to put it within British territory. Other notes that I have state that in 1893 "after the British flag had been hoisted at Niani Bantang, the Travelling Commissioner Ozanne had to travel back to Panchang where it was said the British flag had been hauled down (by the French)." All of this shows something about the difficulty of determining the frontier in the early days.

The boundary with Lower Saalum is formed by an imaginary line drawn north from the junction of the Bantanto Bolong with the River Gambia to the main road between Njau and Kau-ur, then it goes North north west for one mile, from there N.W. to the Gambia-Senegal boundary, through a somewhat sparcely populated zone.

Upper Saalum - Geographical features

This district is mainly a low plateau, rising from the Kau -ur valley on the west, on the south and east it slopes gradually down to the Nianiya Creek. Bordering the creek are swamps where rice can be grown.

In the dry season the swamps provide fodder for cattle, and water in the form of numerous pools.

Some of the pools are used for fishing when they begin to dry up late in the season. A number of villages participate, each man carrying a basket which is clamped down over the fish, the fish being seized by a hand and taken out through a hole in the top of the basket. Others use spears to catch fish among the reeds.

The upland soils are of the usual sandy type, with an occasional low hill of laterite, the swamp areas being of a heavier clay.

Formerly there were a number of streams running south to the creek generally flanked by thick vegetation, but with an increase in cultivation, and the years of drought, these have dried up.

WOLOF CATCHING FISH IN POOL NEAR PANCHANG , UPPER SALUM. 1947
USING BASKETS (SEGI) & FISH SPEARS.

Photograph: David P. Gamble.



Vegetation

Wolof villages are characterised by large numbers of baobab trees (gui) (*Adansonia digitata*) and silk cotton trees (bentengki - *Celiba Pentandra*), which provide shade for the village squares.

The baobab is of prime importance to the Wolof. Its leaves, which are rich in calcium and iron, are used to flavor the main steamed millet dish (cere), the white powder of the fruit can be made in ^{to} pap. In times of food shortage the seeds can be pounded and cooked. The bark is used for cordage of all kinds, for tying down thatch, for ^{scrubbing calabashes and pots} tying up livestock, etc. Medicinal use is made of various parts of the tree, e.g. the white powder is useful in stopping diarrhea.

Wolof villages have few fruit trees compared with the western end of The Gambia, though one finds a few mango and pawpaw trees.

In the swamp areas the dominant trees are the rhun palm (ron - *Borassus flabifer*), which provides timber for wharves, bridges, etc. and the leaves of which are used for thatching, and for making fans and baskets; and xos (*Mitragyna inermis*). There is little bamboo now in Upper Saalum, most coming from Senegal, but there is still plenty of raphia palm (banga - *Raphia hookeri*).

On the uplands a variety of trees are to be found. Those bearing edible fruits are left standing in the farmlands- nete (*Parkia biglobosa*), dimba (*Cordyla africana*), suru (*Ficus* sp.), sedeem (*Ziziphus jujube*).

Other trees include new (neou) - *Parinari macrophylla*, though this is somewhat rare, santang (*Daniellia oliveri*), wen (*Pterocarpus erinaceous* - a redwood).

The root and bark of rat (*Combretum glutinosum*) yield a yellow dye.

Archaeology

In the period around 750 A.D there was a flourishing culture in the Gambia, particularly along the Niani creek, marked by the construction of stone circles.

In Upper Salum circles are to be found at Tonto, Hosnan (Ker Kordu), Nyoro, Nyoro Tukulor (these are marked on the map), and at Buntung and Bati Xai. A broken circle existed near Tamba.

There was formerly a circle at Njau, in the field just beside the chief's compound. Only one rock remains of the original circle, the rest of the stones having been removed early in the century to provide a foundation for the chief's house.

In more recent times a group of four circles at Panchang was destroyed when the new east-west main road was constructed.

A monolith remained on the road to Tamba, beside Mbaïen Seni.

I have come across no burial mounds (mbanar) such as are characteristic of the Serër area, in this region.

For the literature on the subject see Gamble: A General Bibliography of The Gambia.....1979.

Accounts by early travellers etc.

I have found no accounts of any travellers passing through the region.

The only mention of a village there occurs in the Methodist missionary Rev. Moister's writings, where he describes his trips up river, and in 1831 mentions going to Bateda (= Bati Ndar) "up a long creek, where the vessel took in corn," on both his first and third voyages. So this was clearly a prosperous agricultural region at the time.

One of the Travelling Commissioners, J.K. McCallum, provides a general description of the region in his report "Laws and Customs of the Jolluf People (McCarthy Island Province)," 1907, 23 pp.

Research at Njau

A study of socio-economic conditions at Njau (agricultural system, land utilisation pattern, social structure, etc.) was begun by the author in 1946 at Njau. The results were published in Contributions to a socio-economic survey of The Gambia, London: Colonial Office, 1949. Subsequent publications on the Wolof were The Wolof of Senegambia (1957), London: International African Institute, revised edition (1967), and Peoples of The Gambia: I The Wolof (Gambian Studies No. 17), San Francisco, 1985.

I lived at Njau from	19 December 1946 to	31 January 1947
	26 February -	3 April 1947
	6 July - ?	
	15 June -	3 July 1948
	11 August -	20 August
	27 August	10 September
	19 November -	7 December.

there

From 1950 to early 1951 a recorder was stationed/and I would visit him once a month. Subsequent visits were often made when I was passing up and down river. In July 1953 a special survey was made of the villages in the district.

In later visits to The Gambia it was sometimes possible to revisit Njau. In 1970 I recorded some music (July 22-25). In 1979 (July 14-16), I collected some Wolof stories. (Published in Verbal and Visual Expressions of Wolof Culture, (Gambian Studies No.22), 1989.

Dr. David Ames also carried out field work there, beginning in November 1950, but in 1951 he moved to Balangar in Lower Saalum, where he continued work until August 1951.

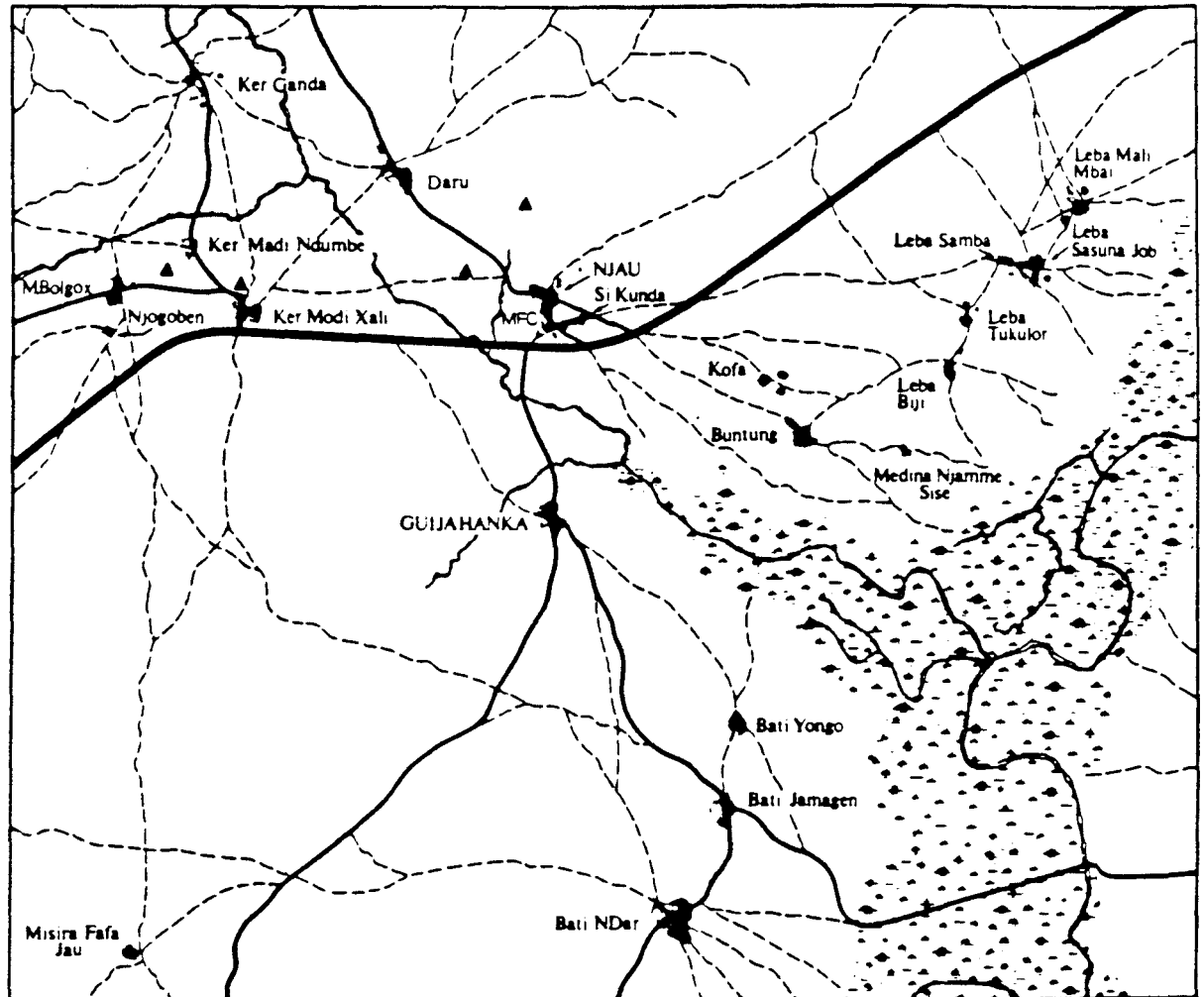
7

The map opposite shows the Wolof settlement pattern in Upper Saalum, small scattered villages, linked by footpaths and secondary roads, with the main North Bank east-west motor road cutting through. As yet there is little sign of a drift to the main road such as characterizes the Fonyi and Kombo districts on the South Bank.









Njau is the village of the ruling Sise lineage, and a number of nearby villages, Buntung, Leba, Mbolgox, etc. can be regarded as dependant settlements. For example, when circumcision ceremonies were held at Buntung, some boys from Njau participated. Fula (Tukuloor) villages and hamlets are intermingled with the Wolof communities (e.g. Guijahanka and Si-kunda, close to Njau, Leba Tukuloor next to Leba Sasuna Jōb, etc.) and a symbiotic relationship is established in which the herds maintained by the Fulbe also manure the fields of the Wolof, and the Wolof who own cattle entrust them to the Fulbe to be looked after. The Bati villages contain a number of gewel families who are the official historians and praise singers of the Sise clan.

On the map a stream has been indicated flowing between Njau and Guijahanka and on down to the Nianiya creek through swamplands. During the years of good rainfall in the 1950s this was an important stream, but may well have dried up during the recent years of low rainfall.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN - UPPER SALUM - 1976



LEGEND

-  Main Road
-  Secondary Road
-  Foot Path
-  Stream
-  Swamp
-  Town or Village
-  Boundary Pillar
-  Mixed Farming Center



The plan opposite shows a Wolof village in 1947. The main road, then a dirt road, ran through the village. The modern road by-passes the village.

The general layout is similar today, but a major change has taken place in the nature of the houses. Whereas in 1947 most houses were circular, by 1979 practically all were square (70%), though still thatched in traditional fashion, 26% were rectangular, often with cement walls and roofs of corrugated sheeting, and only 4% were circular. Of the square houses, about half were made from mud blocks.

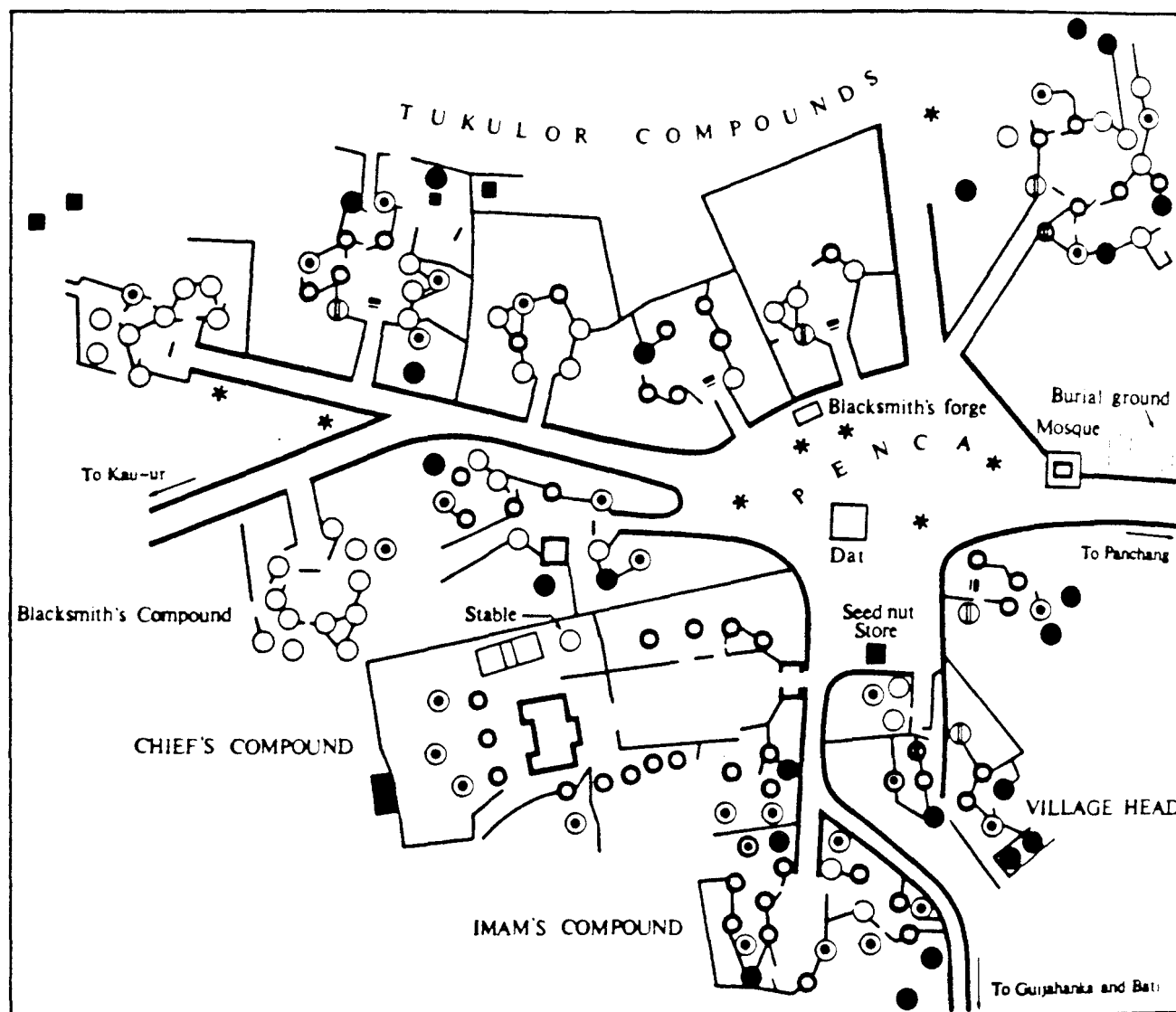
The smith's forge is now on the western side of the village, this being the usual orientation. The old seed nut store has long since fallen down. An open sided court house stood there for a while, but it too has vanished. One of the old silk cotton trees in the village square near the Mosque has fallen down.

Some expansion is now found on the north and south sides where new compounds have been established on the paths leading out of the village.

The fact that houses are frequently and easily rebuilt means that housing quickly responds to changes in the composition of the lineage, and to changes in personal fortunes.

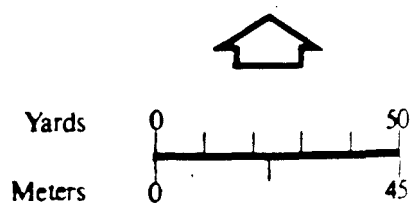
The Chief's house faces east, towards Mecca, and the direction from which good luck is believed to come. For ordinary compound heads their own houses are generally built to face the main roads in the village.

NJAU - UPPER SALUM - 1947



LEGEND

- House of millet stalks or reed
- ◻ ○ House of mud
- ⊙ Kitchen
- ① Strange farmer's house
- ● Store
- ≡ Platform Fence
- * Large trees
- ≡≡ Fencing



Political History

Upper Saalum was originally part of Pakala, a sub-district on the southern border of the Kingdom of Saalum, the ruler of which then lived at Kahone (Kawone).

The original ruler of Pakala was Madi Bakar/^{Sise,} a Muslim when he came there,

He held the title of Seriny Pakala. The story is told that when visits were made to the court at Kahone the Soninke ruler, as alcohol was forbidden to the Muslims, would offer them a mixture of alcohol and milk which they accepted, and the name "Sise njar mew" (Sise of the mixed milk) was applied to the Sises of this area. Another meaning given implies that the Sises were of mixed origin. But even today the Muslims here find excuses for drinking alcohol, e.g. as 'medicine'. The subsequent rulers of Pakala were appointed in turn from the villages of Maka Ndalla, Keliman - their village in The Gambia being Bati Xai, and Panchang. One story tells how it was a ruler at Panchang who tricked the Buur into granting independence to Pakala.

The older villages in what is now Lower Saalum were also part of Pakala, but many of the recent immigrants into the region are unrelated to Pakala Wolof. The people of Pakala claim to be distinct from the Wolof of Niani who were part of a small state formerly known as Bambuk. The Wolof in Nyaamina on the south bank, however, were people who had migrated from Pakala.

When the Anglo-French boundary was demarkated Pakala was under the control of Manjuk Sise, then living at Bati Xai. He had been closely associated with the French to whom he had offered his allegiance, and when the Gambian Governor called for him to come to Kau-ur to meet him, he feared he might be punished, so he went instead to Nganda in Senegal and stayed there. An offer of the chieftainship was apparently made to the religious leader in Bati, Eliman Manukuta Sise, but he turned it down. However Manjuk Sise sent a message to the Governor recommending that Sawalo Sise, who had been one of his

**(Some sources give both Manjuk Sise and Sawallo Sise as santiqi of Hama Ba.)*

saltigi (executives), was a suitable man for the position of chief.*

Sawalo, who already had control of the Buntung, Leba, Mbolgo, and Jareng area, was then appointed the first sefo - the district being known as Eastern Saloum, and later District 5 -and established himself at Njau.

Thereafter the descendants of Sawalo have held on to the chieftainship, and the system of rotation between different branches of the Sise clan. ceased, though whenever an election for the position of chief is held, candidates from both Panchang and Bati are normally put forward.

There were various changes in the boundaries made in early years of the Protectorate. At first (1892) Saloum included Kau-ur, but later a separate district was made (District 4) under Kau-ur and including the Bantanto group of villages. Later the Bantantos were given back to Eastern Saaloum. In the east Sawalo's rule seems to have extended to just east of Panchang, the easternmost villages coming under Niani, but when Ngari Sabali was dismissed, the villages up to the Nianija Creek became part of Saalum.

Sawalo remained chief until 1919, when he resigned, a very old man. He died in 1924. His son, Omar, who had been acting as his father's deputy, though not without causing trouble during the period, succeeded him. Many troubles arose during his rulership. Seriny Nyahana Sise of Bati Hai considered he had a better claim to the chieftainship. He was arrested and sent to prison for three months, dying shortly after his return. (In a second incident ? 1922) the people of Bati still refused to acknowledge Omar. *(Maybe this was a different informant's recollection of the S.N.S. incident)* Their leader was arrested and sent to prison. Many people from Bati migrated and crossed to Niamina. Omar was finally dismissed in May 1927 on charges of embezzlement, holding improperly constituted tribunals, failing to interfere in a case involving witchcraft, and various other charges. He was ordered to reside at Jamali in Sami District.

Laien Dado was appointed in 1927, but died in April 1928.

As there was no other suitable candidate, Bara Ture, chief of Lower Saalum, was placed in charge of both districts. He ruled from 10th June 1928 to March 1931, but was resented by the people of Upper Saalum. The banishment of Omar Sise had been revoked in 1929, and he was allowed to return. In 1931 he was , being confirmed by a vote of the village heads (31 out of 45) restored to the chieftainship. But he had not changed his ways, and complaints soon came in. His appointment was revoked in 1935, and he was sent to Georgetown (the Commissioner's Headquarters), but he left there and went to Senegal where he died in 1936.

In March 1935 Matar Sise, a son of Sawalo Sise, who was a government interpreter was chosen, and obtained 39 out of 40 votes from the village heads. He was appointed in April 1935. Because of his knowledge of English and of the administrative system, he was able to hold the position for a long period of time, until his death in 1961. He combined several roles - as an educated and intelligent man, he tended to be favored by government and was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1949, but in relation to his district he followed the pattern of a traditional Wolof ruler.

Their home villages had surrounding them a number of villages of dependants (descendants of former slaves), who could be called on to carry out work on the chief's farms. When they did this they were well fed, a cow or goats being killed for the occasion. They were provided with cigarettes and small sums of cash. The chief entertained distinguished visitors, including travelling religious teachers, and supported traditional ceremonies, e.g. the dances held to bring about rain held in times of drought. Marriage alliances were contracted with neighboring chiefs - a daughter of Matar Sise was married to the chief at Nganda, while his daughter married Matar. At moments of political crisis daughters would be recalled in the same way that ambassadors are now. The chief had a large number of attendants and assistants, from families which were originally of slave origin, reproducing much of the traditional system.

In the 1960s political affiliation began to be a factor in the selection of chiefs, and in their allegiance. If one belonged to the political party in power one could obtain greater benefits for one's district from the central government- help with wells, road, bridges, agriculture etc.

Many of the old chiefs had been supporters of the United Party, but when they died or retired, they were generally succeeded by younger men who belonged to the P.P.P.

Jama

After Matar Sise's death, he was followed by his son Omar/, who had had various appointments in local government (e.g. as Treasury scribe).

He has been succeeded by Omar Batur Sise, elected January 1984.

An interesting series of articles on Upper Saalum history by Hassoum Ceesay appear in the Weekend Observer. (History Corner)

- 1 "Continuity and Change in Gambian Society," 17-19 January 1997, p. 13.
- 2 "The Crusader for Social Justice: E.F.Small and the Upper Saloum Chieftaincy Crisis," 2-4 May 1997, p.9.
- 3 "Chiefs of Upper Saloum District - Sawallo Ceesay and Lain Dado Ceesay (Part I) " 9-11 May 1997, p. 12
- 4 "Chiefs of Upper Saloum - Omar Sera Ceesay (1860-1936), (Part II)" 16-18 May 1997, p.9.
- 5 "Chiefs of Upper Saloum, Part III Matarr Ceesay (C. 1890-1961)." 23-25 May 1997, p.11.

UPPER SAALUM

Area: 88 square miles

Population

1927	3578	(Assessment data)
1930	4659	
1944	3376	
1945	4445	
1946	5194	
1947	5046	
1948	6219	
1949	7586	
1950	9590	
1951	8535	
1952	7129	
1953	7569	
1954	6778	
1955	5590	
1956	7750	
1957	6457	
1958	6715	
1959		
1960		
1961	6251	
1962		
1963	4622	(Census data)
1973	8691	" "
1983	10359	" "

UPPER SAALUM. - VILLAGES & POPULATION

Location indicates by the squares on the 1948 map

5 4 3 2 1

6 7

	----- 1946	1973		
Bamba	93		Near Nyoro. East of Fass On map as Maka	(2)
Bangar	63			(6)
Bangiler ?		128	In Bantanto group	(5)
Bantanto-Ibraima Ka	275	240		(6)(7)
" -Jawara Jalo	135	151		(7)
" Musa Ba	163	192		(6)
" Ker Demba		170		
" Ker Essof		103		
Bati Xai	200	271		(7)
" Ndar	283	470		(7)
" Jamagen	187	276		(7)
" Yunko	43	217		
Buntung	78			(7)
Daru	17			(4)
Fas	306	257	Main road. East of Njau.	(2)
Guijaxanka	153			(7)
Hosnan	50			(2)
Jakli (Jaggle)	37	111		(6)
Jareng Aliyu Mboj	71			(6)
" Madi Jama	69			(6)
" Mandinka	33			(6)
" Sakura Sise	55			(6)
" Demba Sise		111		

	1946	1973		57
Ker Alaji Demba Kumba	89		SW of Njau	(7)
" Ali Jelle (Jalle ?)	28			(3)
" Ali Sek			near Jareng	(6)
" Bakari Sala			on map, but not known	(1/2)
" Bara				(1)
" Jabel (Jibil)		125	near main road	(6)
" Jibi Ba	89		N.of Jareng	(6)
" Kordu (Hosnan)				(2)
" Maka	144		NE of Fass	(2)
" Malik Soxna	94		SW of Njau	(7)
" Mamour Fatim			Jareng group	(6)
" Modi Ali	48	105	W. of Njau	(7)
" Seet Maram	110	142	NE of Nyoro	(2)
" Set So (Selbe Ba)			nr.Jareng	(6)
" Sering Njai			SW of Fass	(2)
" Tamsir		100		
" Waka Penda	87		SW of Njau	(7)
Kosnanu			East (Senegal ?)	(1)
Leba Biram Njie				(7)
" Sasuna Job	37			(7)
" Malick Mbye		153		(7)
" Sasuna		142		(7)
" Tukulor	10			(7)
Madina Jusi	39			(6)
Madina Seriny Njai	25			
Ker " "				
Madina Manneh		120		
Maka	41			(6)
Makagui	45	136		(3)
Mbayen Cham Mbai	107		near Jareng	(6)
" Sen Mbai	165			(2?)
"		121	NE of Nyoro	

	1946	1973		
Mbolgo Bachi Sek	97	114	W.of Njau	(7)
Misira			N.of Fass	(2)
" Fafa Jawo	11		SW of Njau	(7)
" Seriny Bamba	76			
" Sambail Cham		169		
Moduwar			Jareng group	(6)
Ndaxar	73			(6)
Njai Kunda	34		location unidentified	
Njama Balla			road. E of Njau	(3)
" Musa Sise	45		N.of road	(4)
" (Sare Musa)			S.of Njau	(7)
Njau	238	287		(7)
Njoben		137		
Nyoro Babu Drame		100		(2)
" Tukulor		231		(2)
" Mamadu Seka	60			
Palaka (Tuba)		112	SW of Njau nr. swamp	(7)
Panchang Madi Fana	75	193		(3)
" Set Fatim	243			(3)
" Modi Huma		180		
" Wharf		205		
Pasi	23		near Njau	
Porli Jarge Sise				(3)
" Njengen				
" Njoku Sise	51			
" Job		214		
Sam	111	159	main road near Fass	(2)
Sare Galago Ba	26		SW of Ker Alaji Demba	(7)

	1946	1973		
Taiba Malik				
" Omar Sise	18			
Tamba	284	162	N.of Nyoro	(2)
Tento				(3)
" Taliu Sise				
" Sen Njai				
" Abdu Sise	123			
" Madi		180		
Toben	83		E.of Panchang	(3)
Tuba = Palaka	46			
Yaga (Njangen Abdulai Jany)	8			(6)
Yongo = Yungo S.of Njau	43			(7)
see under Bati				
99 or less		2222		

5194	8791
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UPPER SAALUMETHNIC GROUPING

Based on data from Senior Commissioner's Records (Assessment data)

	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1956
Aku	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bambara	46	52	82	91	96	118
Fulbe	1135	1612	1887	2175	2249	1200
Mandinka	33	146	277	533	81	65
Mauretanians	-	-	-	5	-	-
Serer	-	-	-	16	-	-
Serahuli	-	-	-	8	-	-
Wolof	3980	3236	3973	4758	7164	4196
Others						11
	<u>5194</u>	<u>5046</u>	<u>6219</u>	<u>7536</u>	<u>9590</u>	<u>5590</u>

- i My view is that the data for 1946 were more reliable than in other years.
- ii I doubt that there were as many Mandinka as appear in 1947-1949.
- iii In the assessment data for 1947-1949 figures were given for Firdu Fula, and Futa Fula. A check in 1950 and in 1953 did not reveal the presence these elements, though a few Futa Fula were sometimes to be found. So the figures have been added to those for the Futa Toro Fulbe.
- iv In 1950 I noted that there appeared to have been an increase in population due to immigration, both from Lower Saalum and from Senegal. There has always been considerable movement back and forth across the border with Senegal.

In the days of the slave trade many Bambara were absorbed into Wolof communities. Later Jola, who were captured in Fonyi were brought to Saalum, but with the establishment of the Protectorate and the ending of slavery most seem to have returned to Fonyi.

Passi
 Panchang Madi Fana
 " Set Fatim

Porli x

Sam x
 Taiba

Tamba x
 Tonto Aliu Sise x

" Aliu Sek

Yongo

(C) Mandinka:

Jareng Mandinka

(D) Bambara

Tuba

Based on data on the 'yard-owners' the ethnic grouping in 1950 was

Wolof	67%	
Fulbe		
-Torodo	28	
-Laibo)	1	
-Futanko)		
Mandinka	2	
Others	2	(Serer, Serahuli, Jaxanke, Bambara, Jola)
	<hr/> 100 <hr/>	

The places of origin of the Wolof/were: yard-owners

1950 data

	%
From Upper Saalum ¹² - in village where born	44
-from another village	13
" Senegal	21
" Jaxa	1
Niani	2
Sanjal	1
Niamina	1
other Gambian places	1
" Lower Saalum	11
Data not determined	5

100

The Torodo (Tukulor) originated as follows :

From Upper Saalum - in village where born	16
- other villages	10
Lower Saalum	18
Jaxa (Nianiya)	12
Other Gambian places	11
Senegal	24
No data	9
	<hr/> 100