

THE SOUTH BANK OF THE GAMBIA:
PLACES, PEOPLE, AND POPULATION.

(D) THE KOMBO DISTRICTS

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Revised

Brisbane, California
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In this series of Gambian Studies an attempt has been made to create a set of District Reports, based on notes in the files in my collection, official publications, and books. This arose primarily from an attempt to determine the general pattern of the various ethnic groups, and to identify the villages and places mentioned by early travellers, or occurring in later reports.

Shortly after I began anthropological work in The Gambia, (1946), the Senior Commissioner had the various district scribes who were engaged in the Annual Assessment for tax purposes, make a serious effort to record more accurately the ethnic affiliation of the various compound owners. This resulted in much more reliable data for the period 1946-1948.

When new maps were made following the first air surveys (1948), the attribution of place names was not always accurate, but at least the location of the communities on the map provided a better basis for work on the ground. In a number of areas in subsequent years I methodically visited all the places I could by motor bike, e.g. the Kiang and Jaara Districts, Kantora and Fuladu East, Upper Saalum, Fonyi Brefet and Fonyi Bintang-Karenai, most of the Kombo area (though this has greatly changed in recent years). In these visits I tried to check both the ethnic affiliations given in the assessment data, and the current names for the communities involved. Some villages are constant, others move a short distance as the soil becomes exhausted, while the hamlets of the Fulbe are constantly changing. When new roads are constructed, often segments of old villages break away, so as to be nearer the main lines of communication. New villages are established by immigrants.

Information about the various districts was sorted out in 1995, using the headings given on the following page. In most cases the information has been extracted and given in full, though in some instances references are given to more recent material.

General Headings

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

Pre-Islamic beliefs

Archaeological features. Ancient monuments.

Photographs available, or seen in publications

Articles appearing in recent years

Material on certain major warriors or rulers

The material available to me varies greatly from district to district.

It is hoped, however, that the result will provide a basis for further research by people in The Gambia itself.

only

For some references/the author and date are given. For the full title of the work reference should be made to my General Bibliography of The Gambia (1979).

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This report was originally prepared in 1997, and was based primarily on material gathered in the 1950s.

But the region has changed greatly since then with the growth of the tourist industry in the coastal region, and the influx of population -both from up river, and refugees from neighboring countries, particularly into the area around Serekunda ; and the movement of new industries and activities out of Banjul into the Kombo region, so that the data and descriptions presented must now be regarded as primarily of historical interest.

For current conditions one should read the tourist guides - particularly The Lonely Planet Guide - The Gambia & Senegal. A map on page 178 of the 1999 version lists some 29 hotels and guesthouses in the area, and 30 restaurants and fast food places. These include not merely those with Gambian and English type food, but also Chinese, Indian, Tao, Italian, Swiss, and Lebanese restaurants. There is a long list of places frequented by tourists- banks, bars and nightclubs; a casino ; consuls and embassies; post offices, police stations, churches, craft markets, travel offices, supermarkets, the golf club, bus and minibus depots, cinemas, wrestling arenas, etc.

Maps consulted

1905	1: 100,000
1931	1 cm = 2.5 klm
1948	1: 50,000
1956	1: 125,000
1963	1: 50,000
1977	1: 50,000
1980	1: 250,000

River chart
1942

THE ISLAND OF BANJUL

Andre Donelha : Descricao da Serra Leoa e dos Rios de Guinea do Cabo Verde (1625) (Translated by P.E.H.Hair) wrote:

"Opposite (Baara) towards the south, is an island called Combo, lying along the river and of white sand throughout. From one land to the other is a little more than one league. This island produces much rice and is very beautiful."

In 1652 the Courlanders made a treaty with the King of (Kombo ? or perhaps Baara), yielding 'Banjona Island', giving permission for a trading post and a fortification to be built. Earlier in the diary of the Courlanders is mentioned a 'Besuynen Island'. (1 March 1952), which also seems to be Banjul Island. But perhaps Banjona referred to Banyon Point.

In 1660 in a Report from Colonel Vermuyden to Prince Rupert is the comment "Upon the south point at the entrance in of the river, the Duke of Courland hath a fort, but now the ruin is scarcely visible." The place is not named.

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

"Facing the port of the Bar is the island of Bamgu, which has a very good harbour, although it contains a number of shoals. Some ships of ours once went there when they needed water, and it seemed deserted; and not finding (running) water, they made do with some waterholes.... It should be noted that people do live on the island, and that they are (the dependants) of a Mandinga man to whom the king of Combo, the owner, gave the island. He lives less than a quarter of a league inland. There is very good water to be found not far from the sea, and much rice if one wanted to buy some, but no other trade."

The island of Banjul is separated from the mainland by the Oyster Creek, across which is the Denton Bridge.

The City of Banjul (originally named Bathurst) will be dealt with in a later report.

BANYON POINT

Francis Moore; Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa..1738, p.19.

"The mouth of the River Gambia..is form'd on the North Side by Barrah Point, and on the South by Banyon Point, about four miles over. But some think that it reaches lower, and that it is form'd by the Broken Islands on the North. and Cape St. Mary's on the South.

William Smith: A New Voyage to Guinea...1744, p. 15.

".... being one day ashore at Bunion Point in the Kingdom of Cumbo, near the mouth of Gambia River, in order to take the distance from thence to Barra Point, on the opposite side.....we landed upon a level sandy beach, close by a small town, where there were fifty or sixty bullocks and cows tied by the horns to stakes drove into the sand for that purpose.."

Rev. Samuel J. Mills: Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills....1820, pp. 160-161.
(1818)

" Early this morning/we began to enter the noble Gambia, between Cape St. Mary's and Banyan Point on the right, and Sanguomar, the Bird Islands, and Barra Point on the left..... At 12 a.m. we anchored near the village St. Mary's, situated on Banyan Point. It is an infant settlement, commenced only two years ago.."

Singleton (1821) writes Banyan Point.

The name is unfamiliar to the present day inhabitants of Banjul.

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

p. 190 "....estant passe la pointe de Bare, a une portee de canon vous mettez le Cap sur une autre pointe qu'on nomme Banguione, qui est du royaume de Combe; ensuite, faisant route par le milieu de la riviere, nous allasmes mouiller devant Albreda, village du royaume de Barre, ou la Compagnie de France avoit une case."

On the map opp. p. 262 in Labat Tome IV there is a Pte de Bagnon.

shown opposite the Pte. de Barre

p. 263 describes the entrance to the river: " entre le Cap-Sainte-Marie au Sud & l'Islet aux oiseaux au Nord, & quand on est plus avance, entre la pointe de Barre au Nord & la pointe de Bagnon au Sud."

S.M.X. Golberry. Fragmens d'un voyage en Afrique...1785, 1786 et 1787...

p. 150 "Cette embouchure a plus de deux lieues d'ouverture; elle est désignée au Nord, par la pointe de Barra, et au Sud par celle de Banguiou. "

KOMBO DISTRICTS - POPULATION

	St. Mary	North	South	Central	East	
1944	7597	7352	7324	4119	3098	Assessment data
1945	9748	6266	7677	4185	3488	
1946		5852	7849	3538	3886	
1947		6019	8439	3226	3299	
1948		6037	7478	3982	3699	
1949		6095	10272	4095	3965	
1950		6129	9476	4020	4167	
1951		5913	10288	4780	4617	
1952		6731	10849	5356	4792	
1953		5636	11898	5140	4730	
1954		6097	9911	5831	4090	
1955		5832	9582	5826	4059	
1956		5693	9460	5413	4186	
1957		5939	9415	5642	4334	
1958		5757	9490	5885	4424	
1959		n.a.				
1960		n.a.				
1961		6108	9597	6833	4525	
1962		n.a.				
1963	12208	9245	12416	8957	6106	CENSUS
1973	38934	16311	17782	16847	11250	CENSUS *
1983 (KUDC) -	101504	33483	26270	29253	14643	CENSUS
1993	228945	79266	39624	55964	20629	CENSUS

AREAS

SQUARE MILES	27	80	113	82	105
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*Figures quoted in the 1993 report provide slightly different figures for 1973

39404 16710 18334 16219 11304

Surprisingly there is very little in the early travel literature about the Kombo. Early voyagers paid their customs at ports on the north bank, Baara, Albadar, Jufure, etc. and then went on up river.

Richard Jobson (1621) when about to leave the Gambia wrote (Purchas His Pilgrimes, pp. 246-7): "On the nineteenth, we set up tents on the shoare. The King of the Countrey called Cumbo, came to us, and was very kind and familiar, promising all favour, labours of calking and other businesse, watching and Musketos, which here exceedingly abounded, did much molest us. On the ninth, wee turned out of the River."

Andre Donelha (1625) writes "Opposite (Baara) towards the south, is an island called Combo, lying along the river and of white sand throughout. From one land to the other is little more than one league. This island produces much rice and is very beautiful. "

Francisco de Lemos Coelho also describes the island (See page 4) and then goes on to describe the Kingdom of Combo.

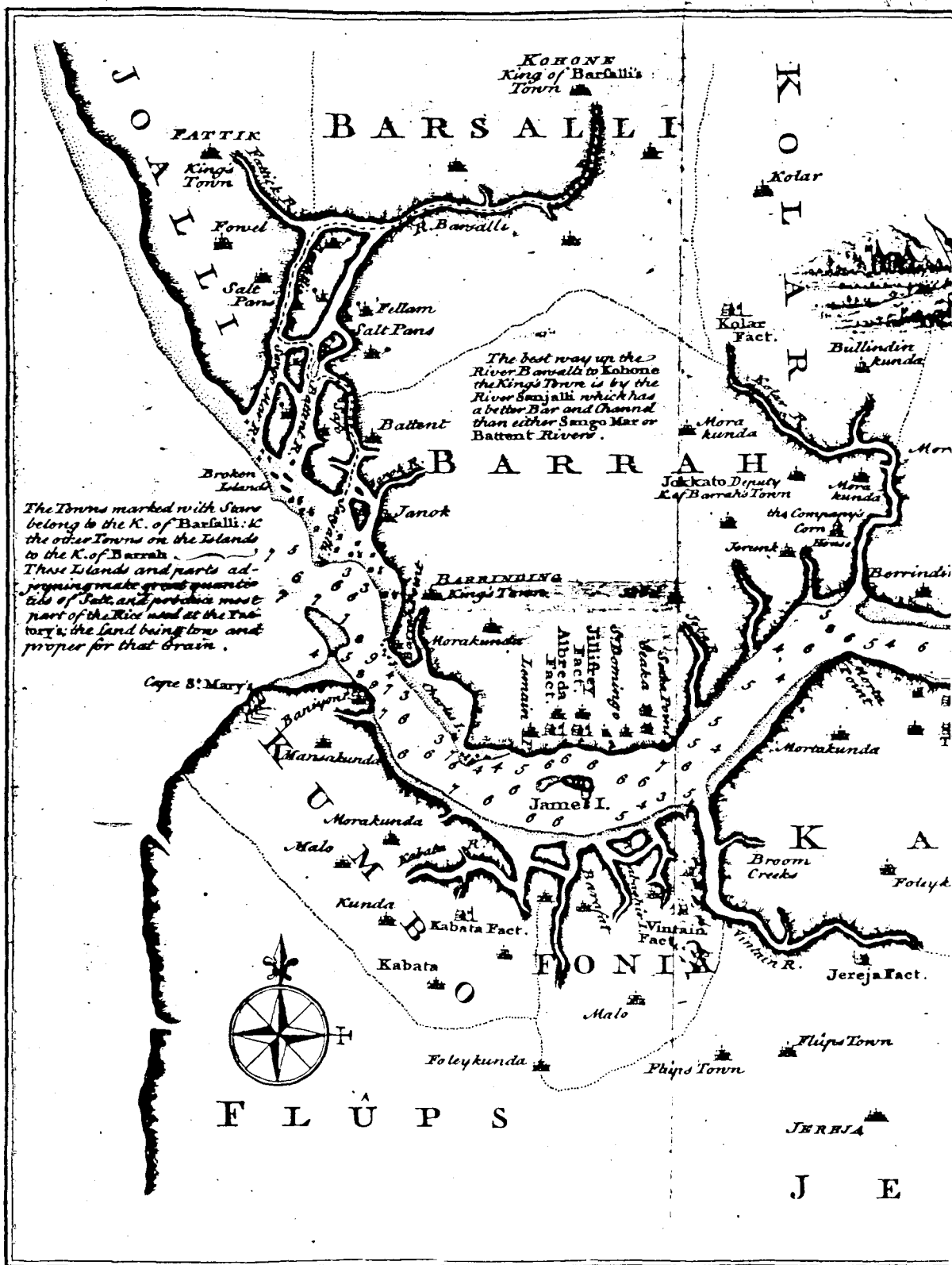
"....on the land to the south, and after passing Ilha do Banju or Bangu, lies the kingdom of Combo. The king is of the Falupo nation; and they say that the village in which he lives is the largest anywhere on the river. The land has much wax and rice and some blacks; the king and the people are heathen, without any kind of religion."

The map drawn in 1651 by the Courlanders shows that the map maker thought the Kombo region itself was an island. The Allahein River (San Pedro) which ran into the Atlantic was believed to join with a major creek which ran into the Gambia River. However, the Vermuyden map of 1661, and Leach's map of 1732 did not make this error.

Very few places are mentioned on the maps. Leach's map shows Mansakunda (= the King's town), a Muslim town (Morakunda) further east, and the Kabata River, Kabata town, and Kabata Factory. Vermuyden's map (1661) just has Combo R(iver).

Francis Moore (1730) writes "The Kingdom of Cumbo extends itself about eleven leagues from Cape St. Mary's, which is at the entrance of the River Gambia, to a place called Cabata River, noted for plenty of goats, fowls, and cattle....In this country the Company have a small factory, to purchase provisions for the support of the Garrison at James Fort." Ka- is a locative prefix found with Bainunka (Bañun) and Jola places names, but Kabata does not appear on later maps.

It would seem that the Kataba River is the same as the Pirang Bolong.



The Kombo area appears to have been thickly wooded until the nineteenth century, when agriculture and later, groundnut cultivation, were encouraged. There were numerous swamps, and streams. In the south were bamboo forests, and from the Kafuta creek southwards was an extensive forest of rosewood, and rhun palms.

H. Parker (1901-1903) lists the major streams as:

Saniyenga stream	between Baijana and Kafuta
Barinto	" Faraba and Pirang
Konkotong	west of Basori
Bankoto Bulu	at Birikaama
Busumbala stream	
Bakote stream	flowing into the Atlantic.

With all the creeks and streams east-west travel was difficult, and it was not until the mid nineteen twenties that bridges and roads enabled travellers to move easily across the Kombo region. The traditional system was one of roughly north-south paths to the major riverside villages.

Some notes from the Commissioner, South Bank Province (1944) indicate the history of the "Kombo Kingdoms."

Lower Kombo (Kombo Duuma. Also known as Afet)

"The kings of this kingdom came alternatively from Busumbala and Yundum. Originally it comprised the whole of what is now North Kombo District, the Kombo St. Mary Province, the Island of St. Mary, and part of the north of what is now the South Kombo District.

By 1855 it had given up the Island of St. Mary and the British Kombo (which is the present Kombo St. Mary Province less the village of Lamin) to the British Government (partial cession had started in 1816), and Sukuta village had attained its final independence. Between 1850 and about 1874 the Kingdom of Afet was gradually reduced, partly by attacks from the Muslims of Gunjur and Sukuta, and partly by revolts from the Muslim villages in the kingdom until finally Busumbala was evacuated in 1874, and the kingdom passed under the rule of Gunjur.

When Gunjur was captured by the British in 1893 the present North Kombo District was formed together with the village of Lamin, and the first two Sefos were relatives of the last King of Afet. Since about 1900, however, the Sefos of the North Kombo District have always come from Sukuta.

About 1916, when the water works were built, the village of Lamin was taken from the North Kombo District and put in the Kombo St. Mary District.

Upper Kombo (Kombo Santo)

This kingdom originally occupied the whole of what is now Central Kombo District, the South Kombo District (except for a small part in the north which belonged to Afet), the East Kombo District (except for a small enclave round Faraba Banta and Faraba Suto), and the area round Brefet...The kings came in rotation from the villages of Brikama (Central Kombo), Manduar (Central Kombo) and Jambur (South Kombo).

About 1840 the Muslim village of Gunjur had established its independence and between 1850 and 1873 the kingdom was gradually reduced, partly by attacks from the Muslims of Gunjur, and partly by revolts from Muslim villages within the kingdom, until in 1873 Brikama was stormed by the Muslims, and the kingdom came to an end.

There was a small kingdom which comprised the lands of Faraba-banta and Faraba-suto in the present East Kombo District. It was overrun by Gunjur between 1850 and 1873. Its rulers had the title of Farang.

Gunjur The village originally formed part of the kingdom of Kombo Santo. By 1840 it was entirely Muslim, and established its independence, and began to make war on the other Kombo kingdoms which were predominantly pagan. By 1874 it had conquered them all. In 1893 Gunjur was taken by the British and its power ceased to exist. There was only one "King" of Gunjur, Fode Sila Ture, who bore the title of Kele Mansa or Kidifay Mansa (War-king or Gun-fire king). "

Initially land was acquired at Cape St. Mary as a retreat to which the inhabitants of Bathurst could retire, away from the mangrove swamps, and still be "under the flag of England" where they could build "cottages" (Huntley - 1840). The Cape was formally taken possession of on August 3rd. 1840. The Governor himself built a residence there. There was some resentment on the part of the people of Bakau, but the new inhabitants provided a market for local produce. Bakau was also relieved of some of the payments demanded by the King of Kombo.

Another agreement was made on 26 December 1850 by Governor McDonnell, confirming British possession of a strip of land along the coast from the Cape about 2½ miles in length, though of little depth.

A further convention was made on 24 May 1853 by Governor O'Connor when land was ceded from the mouth of the Sabijee Creek to one mile south of Sabijee, to a point 2 miles north of Bijilo. (See map, p. 16)

Motives for acquiring land in the Kombo involved establishing a 'buffer zone' between a zone where there was frequent war between the Muslim and Soninke factions, and the Bathurst (Banjul) area. In this area in the 1850s Serahuli refugees from the North Bank were resettled. Discharged soldiers from the West Indian Regiment, and slaves liberated from ships at sea, were also given land. A settlement called Barrow Town was occupied by Congolese.

About 1861 a Manager was appointed for 'British Kombo'.

Cabo de Santa Maria in Portuguese

Cap Ste Marie French

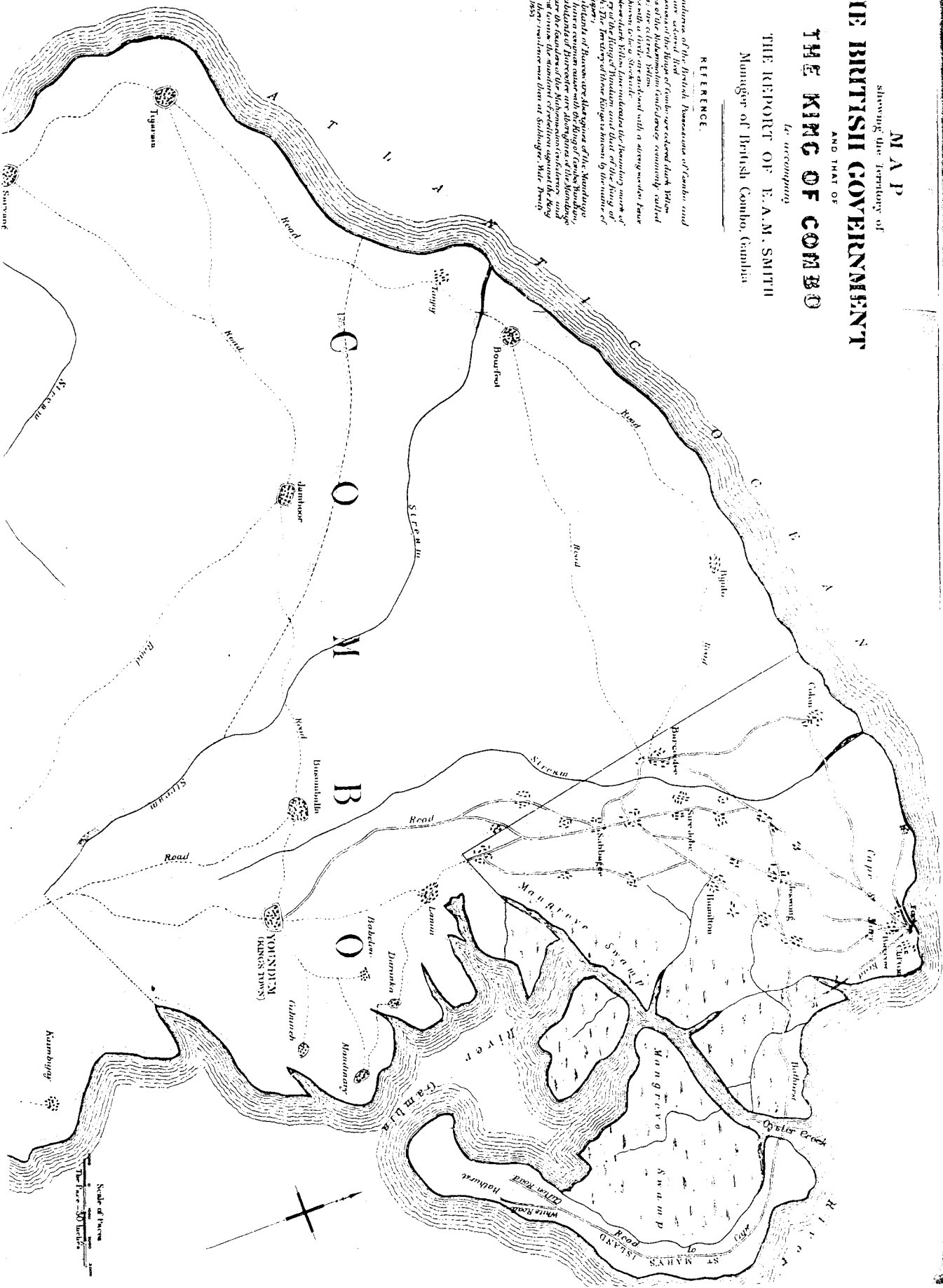
showing the territory of

La tecnologia

JIMMIE W. Y. JOYNER, JR.

Manager of British Combu, Cambridge

REFERENCE

[illegible]

M A P
showing the Territory of
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
AND THAT OF
THE KING OF COMBO

to accompany
THE REPORT OF E.A.M. SMITH
Manager of British Combo, Gambia.

REFERENCE.

The Boundaries of the British Possessions of Combo and Bathurst are colored Red.

The Possessions of the Kings of Combo are colored dark Yellow.

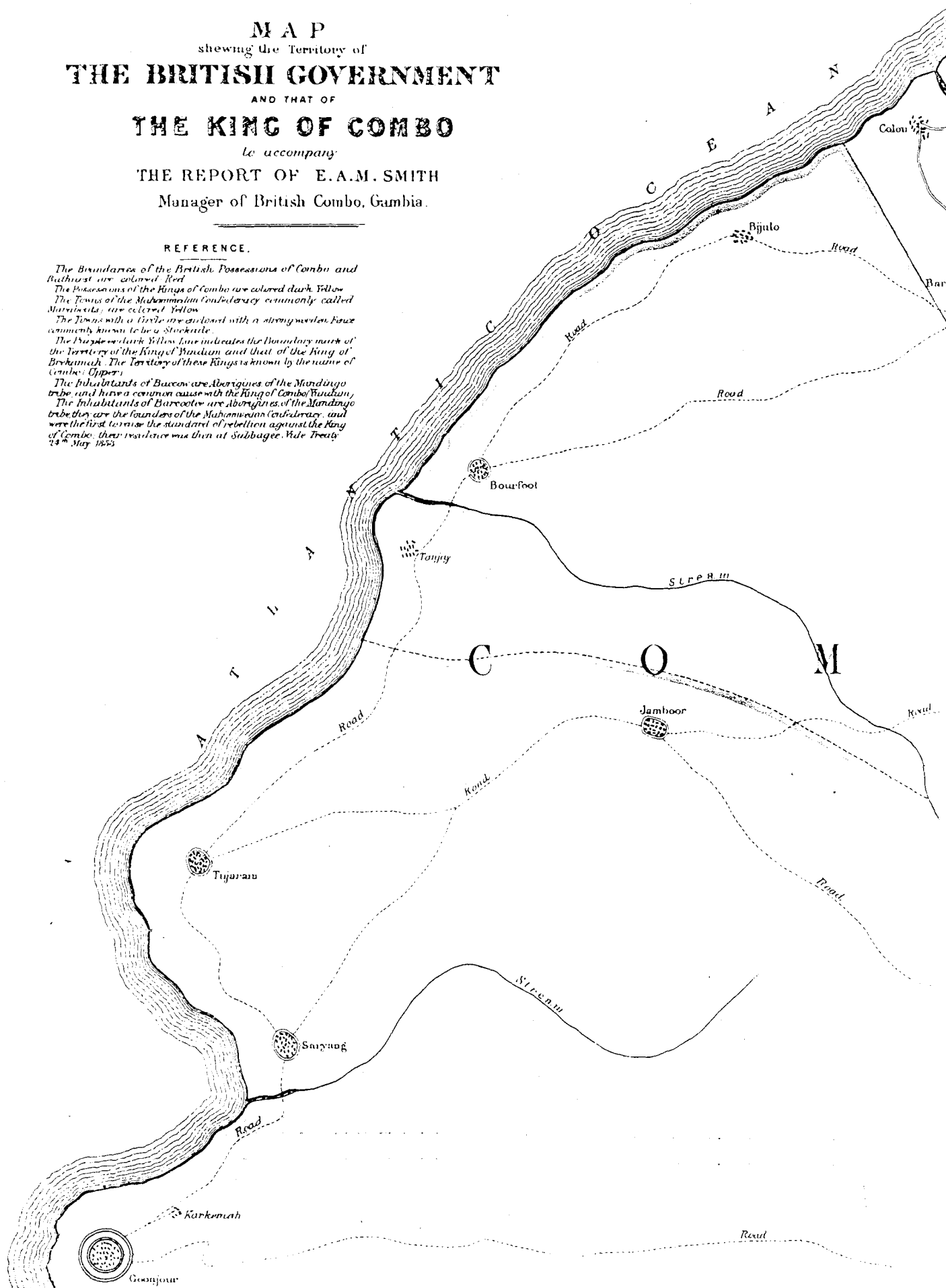
The Towns of the Mohammedan Confederacy commonly called Maraboutes are colored Yellow.

The Towns with a Circle are enclosed with a strong wooden fence commonly known to be a Stockade.

The Dashed dark Yellow Line indicates the Boundary mark of the Territory of the King of Bundum and that of the King of Brakhamah. The Territory of these Kings is known by the name of Combo. Upper.

The Inhabitants of Baccow are Aborigines of the Mandingo tribe and have a common cause with the King of Combo. Bundum.

The Inhabitants of Baccow are Aborigines of the Mandingo tribe they are the founders of the Mohammedan Confederacy and were the first to raise the standard of rebellion against the King of Combo. their residence was then at Subbagee. Vide Treaty 24th May 1853.



BRITISH COLUMBIA

Scale of 1 inch to 10 miles

Map showing the coastline of British Columbia, including the Strait of Georgia, the Fraser River, the Columbia River, and various towns and settlements. The map is oriented with North at the top.

81

1870 Maps of the Kombo show the following towns:

*Goonjour	(Gunjur)	
Karkemah		
*Saryang	(Sanyang)	
*Tujarain	(Tujering)	
*Jamboor	(Jambuurr)	
*Brokamah	(Birikaama)	(King's Town)
Kaimbujay	(Kembuje)	

*Youndum	(Yundum)	(King's Town)
*Cubuneh	(Kubune)	
*Mandinary	(Mandinari)	
Babelon	(Babilong)	
*Daranka	(Daranka)	
Lamin	(Lamin)	
Busumballa	(Busumbala)	
*Tanjay	(Tanje)	
*Bourfoot	(Burufuut)	
Bijilo	(Bijilo)	

Those marked * were stockaded. All were Muslim by 1870.

One of the maps gives the following names in British Kombo (= Kombo St. Mary)
Kombo North

Clifton	(next to Bakau)	Sabbajee
Baccow	(Bakau)	
Colon		
Jeswong	(Jesuwang)	
Hamilton		
Barcootee	(Bakoti)	
Sire Jobe		

A more detailed map of British Kombo shows the following places:

Albert Town		
Bacow	@	Bakau
Barcootea	@	Bakoti
Barrow		
Carcoley		
Cinto		
Coley Coley		
Camatoo	@	Kamatu (near 'Stink Corner')
Clifton		
Coutoo		
Denny Town		
Eboe	@	= Ibo Town
Hamilton		
Jammah Town		
Jerry Town		
Latcombo		
Latter Cunda	@	Latrikunda
Marree Cuncle		
Newcastle		
Sabbaji	@	Sabiji
St. George's Hall		
Tuswant		

@ name still found on 1970 map.

Barcootee and Bacow were Mandinka towns, the others were presumably villages established by settlers.

The 1902 Village List shows Kombo divided into four parts.
part of

No.1 (corresponding to Kombo St. Mary and Kombo North)

Busumbala, Beretto, Bijjilu, Brufut, Darrannka, Jammur, Lammin, Manndinari, Mannsa Kunda, Sukuta (Chiefs town), Tannjenn, Tujure, Yundum, and Babilon.

No.2 (= part of Kombo South) - Gunjur, Katung, Kunkujang, Sannianng, Sifaw.

No.3 (= Kombo Central) Brikama, Kiti, Kunkujang 2, Manndwari, Nanetto, Kubune, Kemmbuji, Hammduli.

No.4 (= Kombo East).

Farraba Bunnta, Bajjanna, Bassawri, Farraba Sutu, Homorotu, Kaffuta, Piranng, Sallikenir, Somu, Tunjina, Manndina Ba, Berrennding, Sanyenga, and Neofilli (deserted)

Wharfs were noted for Lammin, Kubune, Kemmbuji, Farraba Bunnta, Bajjanna, Kaffuta, Piranng, Tunjina, and Manndina Ba.

Many minor changes were made in the period 1913-1917.

1913/14 Kombo St. Mary was made a Sub-District of Kombo North but in 1916-17 It was separated again. Lamin was now included in Kombo St. Mary.

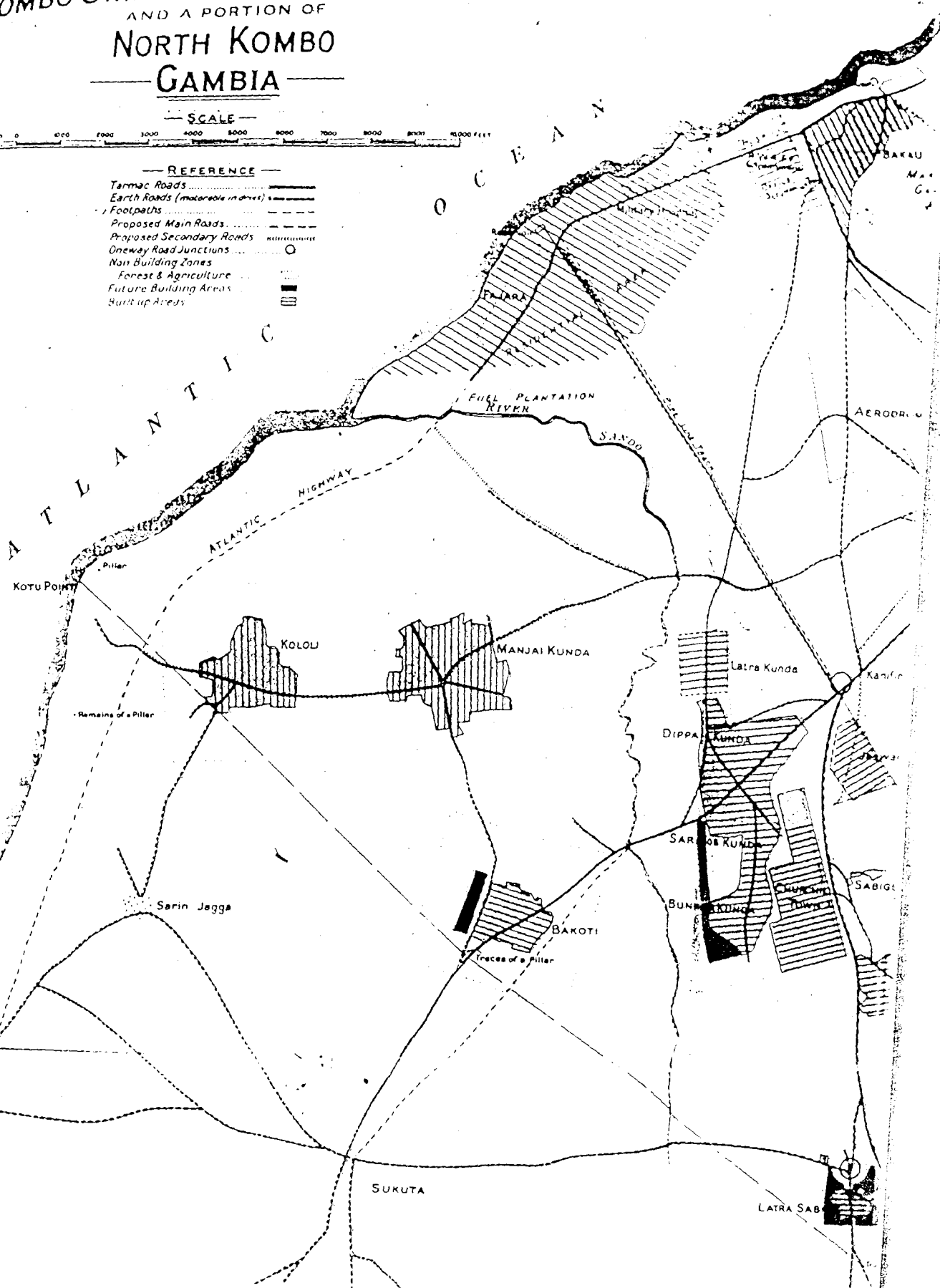
In 1913/14 The boundaries of Kombo South were extended to include the towns of Jambur, Tujerri, and Tanji, which were formerly in Kombo North.

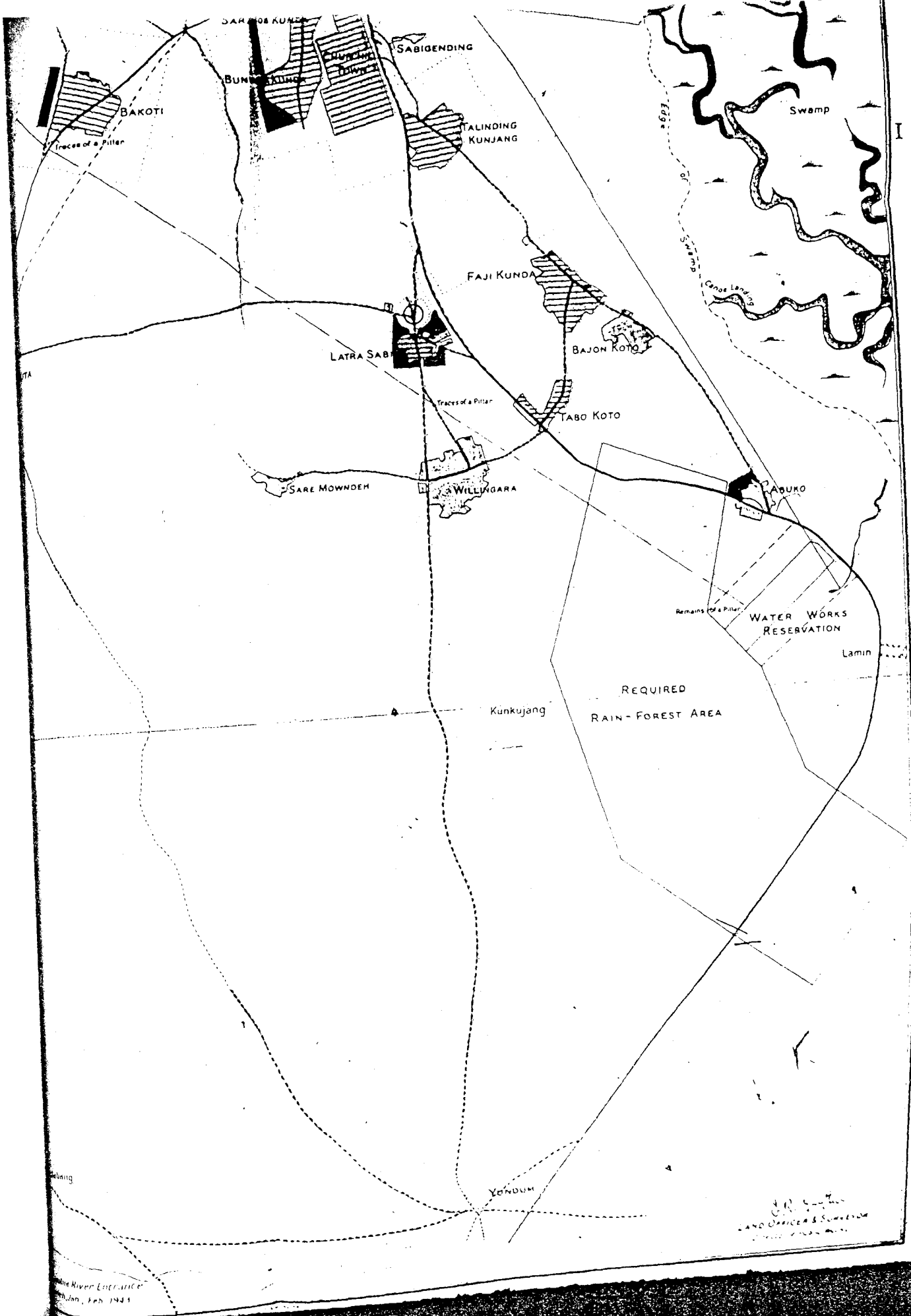
SCALE

0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 6000 7000 8000 9000 FEET

REFERENCE

- Tarmac Roads
Earth Roads (macadam or in ones)
Footpaths
Proposed Main Roads
Proposed Secondary Roads
Oneway Road Junctions
Non Building Zones
Forest & Agriculture
Future Building Areas
Built up Areas





J.R. GUNTER
LAND OFFICER & SURVEYOR
JAN. FEB. 1943

And River Entrance
Jan. Feb. 1943

Road & Village Map of Kombo St.Mary, Island of St.Mary and a portion of
North Kombo, Gambia.

1943 Scale 1: 36,000 (estimated)

Accompanying a report by Blackburne, K.W. : Development and Welfare in The Gambia, 1943. Compiled by Messrs B.O.Janneh & A.P. ?andes from H.M.S.Challenger's Survey of the Gambia River Entrance July-Oct.1941. Mr McTurk's plan of Aug. 1939 & Village Boundaries Survey by Mr. B.O.Janneh, Jan.Feb. 1943.

Shows roads and paths, villages, built up areas and future building areas, non building zones, e.g. rain-forest area reserved around Abuko water works. and proposed road developments.

Places shown :

Bakau	Latra Sabiji
RWAFB Cantonment	Fajikunda
Military Hospital (now MRC area)	Bajonkoto
Fajara	Tabokoto
Aerodrome (=old Jeshuang)	
-----	Abuko
Latrakunda	----
Jeswang (new)	Manjai Kunda
Dippa Kunda	Kololi
Sara Job Kunda	Bakoti
Bununka Kunda	Kotu Point
Churchill Town (new)	River Sando
Sabigending	
Talinding Kunjang	

Places on Map outside the main area surveyed:

Kanifing

Lamin

Kunkujang

Jabang

Yundum

Sukuta

Mariama Kunda

Bijilo

Sarin Jagga

Sare Mowndeh

Willingara

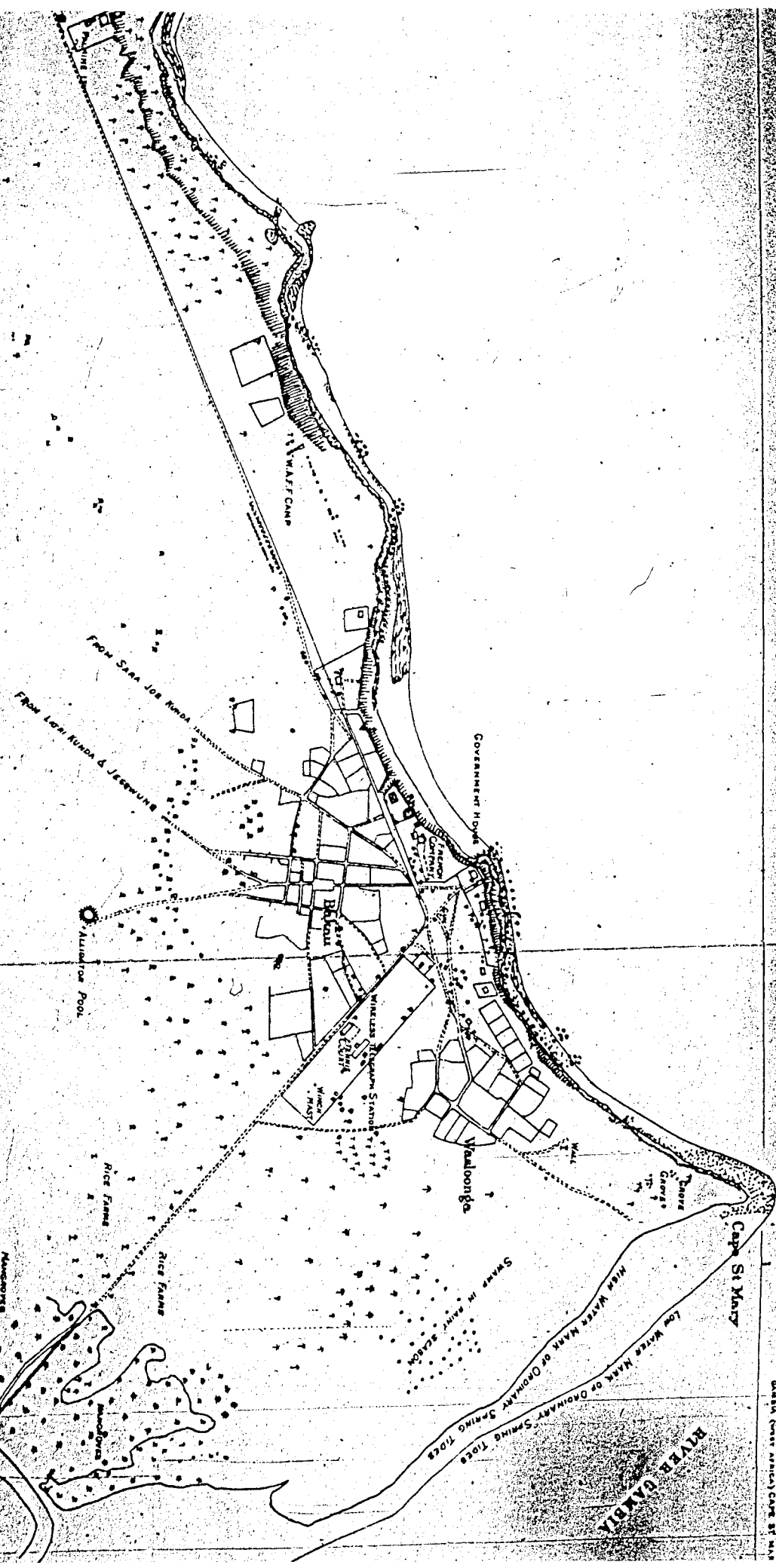
Boundary

On the East Oyster Creek

On the North and West The Atlantic Ocean to Kololi Point.

Separated from Kombo North by a line running South East from Kololi Point.

COCHINATTA LAKE



From Saka Jos Runda
From Los Runda & Jerebung

Alumina Pool

Rice Farms

Rice Farms

Mangrove

WATF CAMP

Belouli

Wireless Station

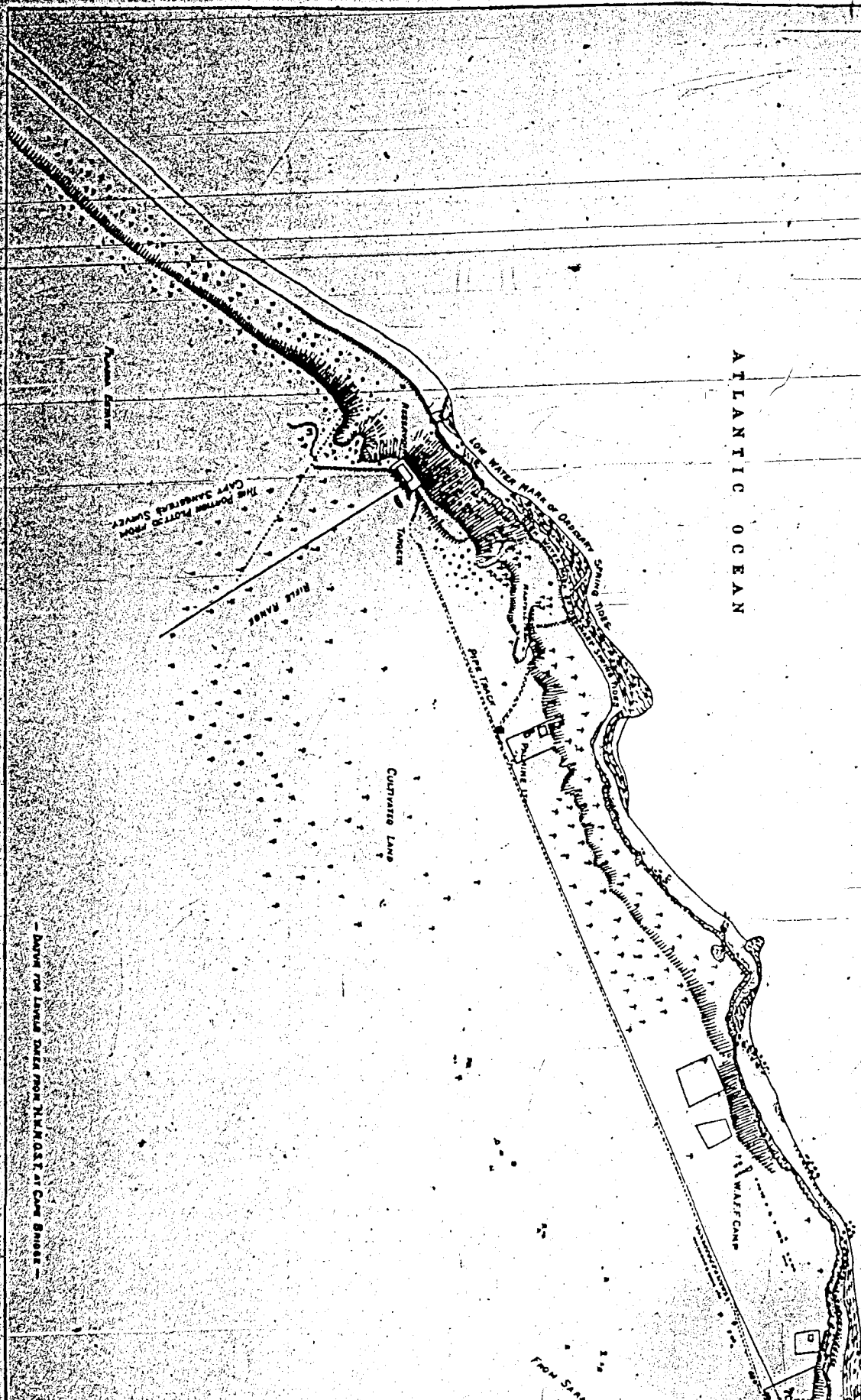
Yaloonga

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Cape Si Mary

RIVER GAMBIA

SWAMP IN RAINY SEASON
LOW WATER MARK OF ORDINARY SPRING TIDES
HIGH WATER MARK OF ORDINARY SPRING TIDES



A 1942 report describes the situation of Kombo St. Mary Province.

"The Province, which was established on the 7th of April 1942, by Proclamation No.15 of 1942, comprising the district of Kombo St. Mary which was formerly part of the South Bank Province. It has an area of approximately 27 square miles and its population at the 1941 tax assessment was given as 4,456. It is immediately adjacent to the Island of St. Mary with which it is connected by Denton Bridge over the Oyster Creek.

The area had been for a number of years increasingly influenced by its nearness to Bathurst but recent developments accelerated the changes which this proximity had brought about. Prior to September 1939 the Kombo St. Mary District contained the lines of the Gambia Company, Royal West African Frontier Force, the Headquarters of the Agricultural Department, with its experimental garden and nursery, the Fajara European housing scheme, the landing ground of the Deutsche Luft Hansa air line and a number of European owned houses built on land held by grant from Government. These and the considerable intercourse between Bathurst and Bakau, the chief village of the district, had produced a situation and problems entirely different from those of any other Protectorate district.

With the outbreak of war, conditions arose which made it impossible to administer the Kombo St. Mary District as part of the South Bank Province. In the first place the influx of military and Royal Air Force personnel and the necessity for the Services taking over considerable areas of land greatly increased the work falling on the Commissioner, South Bank Province, making it impossible to attend to his duties in the remainder of the Province. Secondly when the need for rehousing those persons who had been evicted from Bathurst to make room
*
for the British Overseas Airways Corporation base there, led to the establishment of the new Bathurst suburb of Churchill Town in the Kombo St. Mary District, it became necessary to make some changes in existing administrative arrangements."

* A seaplane base at Half-Die. The large buildings, later used by the Public Works Department, were originally seaplane hangars.

" On the 1st May 1945 Kombo North District was added to the Division.

Although Kombo St. Mary district is Crown land and Kombo North is not, it was desirable to place both districts under one Commissioner as development in Kombo St. Mary is already spreading to Kombo North. The existence of an air-port at Yundum in Kombo North also tends to link the district more closely with Kombo St. Mary and Bathurst than with the South Bank districts, since rest houses for air passengers and certain of the services connected with the air port are situated in the former. (The accomodation for passengers was at Fajara).

Kombo St. Mary with an area of approximately 27 square miles has a population of 9748 (including 1531 lodgers) giving an average density of 361 per square mile. Of the non lodger population slightly more than one half are Mandinka, and a quarter are Wolof. The lodgers...tend to be a constantly shifting body and include a number of labourers engaged on service or Government works. Of the total population (including lodgers) 4429 are in the combined village of Baku and Wasulungkunda, and 2014 are in the four contiguous villages of the Serakunda group. There is a steady influx of people into these two areas seeking land on which to build houses, and some of the problems of urbanization are becoming apparent, e.g. use of agricultural land for building....demands for wood fuel within easy reach... and....sanitation.

KOMBO ST. MARY - VILLAGES

	1902 /1905	1930	1936	1948	1977	1973
	Village List	Village List	Village List	Map	Map	Census
Abuko	Abuko	Abuko	Abuko	Abuko	Abuko	Abuko
Ampaya		Ampa Ya	Ampaya	Ampaya	Ampaya	
Bajonkoto				Bajon Kotor	Bajon Kotor	
Bakawu		Bakau	Bakau	Bakau	Bakau	Bakau
Bakoti	Bakotti	Bakkotti	Bakau Kunku	Bakoti	Baku Kunku	Bakoti
Bereto	Beretto	Berreto	Bereto		Bereto	
Bununka Kunda		Bonduka Kunda	Bununka Kunda	Bununka Kunda	Bununka Kunda	Bundung
Dipa Kunda		Dippa Kunda	Dipa Kunda	Dipa Kunda	Dippa Kunda	
Fajikunda			Faji Kunda	Faji Kunda	Fajikunda	Fajikunda
Fajara		Fajara	Fajara	Fajara		Fajara
Ibo Town		Eboe Town	Ibo Town	Ibo Town	Ibo Town	
Jesuwang	Jesuwang	Jeshwang	Jeshwang	Jeswang	Jeswang Old Jeswang	
		Kololey	(Kololi) * in KN			
Kanifing					Kanifing	Kanifing
Kotu		Kotu	Kotu	Kotu	Kotu	Kotu
Lamin*	Lammin	Lamin	Lamin	Lamin	Lamin	
Latrikunda		Lattra Kunda	Lattra Kunda	Lattra Kunda	Lattra Kunda	Latrikunda-
		Jeshwang	Jeshwang			Jeshwang
Latrakunda	Latra Kunda	Lattra Kunda	Latra Kunda	Latra Kunda	Latra Kunda	
	Sabiiji	Sabigee	Sabiiji	Sabiiji	Sabiiji	

*later included in Kombo North.

B. New Tow
B. San chaba

1902 Village List	1930 Village List	1936 Village List	1948 Map	1977 Map	1973 Census
Manjayi Kunda	Manjai Kunda	Manjai Kunda	Manjai Kunda	Manjai Kunda	
Newcastle	Newcastle				
Sabiiji	Sabiiji	Central Sabigee	Central Sabiiji	Sabigending	Sabigending
Sambaboy Kunda	Sambaboy Kunda				
Sara Job Kunda	Sara Job Kunda	Sara Job Kunda	Sara Job Kunda	Sara Job Kunda	
Serekunda				Serekunda	Serekunda
Talinding Kunjang			Talinding Kunjang	Talinding Kunjang	
Tabo Koto			Tabo Kotor	Tabo Kotor	
Waslunga = Wasulung-kunda (Yamatoin)	Waslunga	Waslunga	Yamatoin		
Points on coast	Cape St. Mary				
	Kotu Point				
	Kololi Point				

POPULATION

The 1973 Census provides the following figures:

Bakau-Camaloo	9337
Fajara	693
Bakoti-Kotu	1302
Latrikunda/Jeshwang	3119
Serrekunda	16637
Kanifing	2548
Bunding	3500
Fajikunda/Abuko	1798

38934

ABUKOAbuko Nature Reserve

An area was established in 1916 as the Abuko Water Catchment Area, and as such enjoyed a measure of protection, with the result that it developed an impresssive range of vegetation, particularly in the central riverine forest zone, where the Lamin stream finds its source. The stream flows eastward through a series of ponds, the largest of which is known as Bambo (crocodile) pool. Further out the vegetation gives way to typical savanna type. Various wild animals took up residence in the forest including a leopard, which indirectly led the Wildlife Conservation Officer to take special notice of the area.

As part of a policy of protecting wild life, the Abuko Nature Reserve was established in March 1968.

Veterinary Station

At one time the headquarters of the Veterinary Department was at Brikama. In 1951-52 a large area of land was leased at Abuko, and modern buildings, including a fully equiped laboratory and office block as well as staff housing were built.

Guides to the Abuko Nature Reserve are given in :

The Rough Guide (West Africa) 1995, 277-278.

Rod Ward: A Birdwatchers Guide to The Gambia, 1994, pp. 24-28.

Etienne Edberg: A Naturalist's Guide to The Gambia, 1983, pp. 40-46.

BAKAU

An old Mandinka village.

Various spellings Bak-kaoo (1821), Baccow (1840, 1851), Bak-ko (1864),
Bakow (1862), Bakkho (1862).

A photograph of Bakau beach is given in Michael Tomkinson's Gambia (1987)
p.80.

bert, K & U. Tripp-Seibert 1984



KACHIKALI (Bakau, Kombo)

- (1) Translated from Mandinka article in Kibaro, June 1955, p.1.
Mandinka, written by Sawalo Jack. Translated by David P. Gamble.

"...Beside Bakau in the Kombo, there is a lake (pond) which is called Kachikala. This lake is in a grove of trees, and some say the water originates in Saro stream. Here there are crocodile which are tame. Some are white, some are black, some are brown. Every Friday a white crocodile emerges. This Kachikala lake, Bojang Kunda in Bakau is said to own it. People say that formerly if a person died in Bakau Bojangkunda, this white crocodile would come out of the lake crying, (and go) even to Bojangkunda itself.

From the time of our ancestors these Kachikala crocodiles are not touched, people don't throw stones at them, let alone shoot them, because if a person were to kill one, death would follow him.

If having children was difficult for anyone in Bakau formerly, Bojangkunda people would bring that woman to Kachikala lake, and would bathe her there. If they were taking a woman there, there would be a big festival- there would be cooking, drumming, and dancing. Never, if Bojangkunda (people) have taken a woman to this lake would she be long without a child. Kachikala is a place of great wonder."

- (2) Katchikali is the title of a well known poem by Lenrie Peters.
#56 in his anthology Katchikali : London: Heinemann, 1971.

- (3) See also: Bojang, Ousman & Bayo, Abdoulie
"Kachikally,"
The Gambia Museum Bulletin, 1, February 1981, 15-24.

KATCHIKALLI

This is described by Etienne Edberg : A Naturalist's Guide to The Gambia (1983) p.35.

" 'Katchikalli' is the name of the crocodile pool in Bakau. It is a sacred place and people go there to make offerings and to pray to the crocodiles. I have been told that there is a White Crocodile that only comes out on Fridays. It brings good fortune to anyone who sees it, but unfortunately this White Crocodile is very rarely seen by a mortal man.

At the corner of Atlantic Rd and Old Cape Rd ...there is a sandy street leading right through Bakau to Katchikalli...Tourists are charged D 1.50 when they get there...

When you come to the crocodile pool for the first time you will be surprised to see no water. The entire surface is covered by a floating arum lily called Water Lettuce (*Pistia stratiotes*). Some small Nile Crocodiles are almost always seen on the bank and various herons often come in quest of frogs. Nile Monitors are also frequently seen. You might be able to glimpse a Barbary Shrike or a Red-bellied Paradise Flycatcher in the dense foliage surrounding the pond. Sometimes there are Green Vervets in the trees overhead....."

An article by Henry Baldeh "The Legend of the Sacred Crocodiles," is to be found in The Gambia News Bulletin, 4 September 1976, p.2.

CAMALOO CORNER (STINK CORNER) and OLD CAPE ROAD.

These are described in Etienne Edberg's A Naturalist's Guide to The Gambia, 1983, p.32. and in Rod Ward: A Birdwatchers Guide to The Gambia, 1994, pp. 52-54.

CAPE ST. MARY+ CAPE PT.

Valentim Fernandes	1506-10	Cabo de Santa Maria
Francisco de Lemos Coelho	1684	Cabo de Santa Maria
(Voyage of the Amitie)	1685	Pointe de Ste Maria
Sieur Froger (in translation)	1695-7	Palmist or St. Mary's Cape
Francis Moore	1730	Cape St. Mary's
S.M.X.Golberry	1802	Cap Ste. Marie
De l'Isle's Map	1726	Cap Ste. Marie
John Leach's map	1732	Cape St. Mary's
Map in Labat	17 ?	Cap. Ste Marie / grand Palmier
Dutch Map	1747	C. S ^e . Marie

A photograph from earlier in this century (1911) shows the point with a couple of tall palm trees standing there.

A modern hotel has now been built on the point (Sunwing Hotel).

The Cape area is where the Headquarters of the Agricultural Department is located. Photographs of the office buildings and houses are to be found in (1928/29 opp.p.16) old Annual Reports of the Department./ A Botanical Garden was also established here in 1894 . Photographs of the Botanic Gardens are to be found in the Annual Reports for 1925 (opp. p.27) and 1927/8 (opp.p.19).

G.Ward Price: With the Prince to West Africa. 1925. p.42



GAMBIA.—CAPE ST. MARY.

[Copyright

JESUWANG

Napier Hewett (1862) p. 239

"The merchants have erected commodious residences at Josswang, in the vicinity of Cape St. Mary, to which place, they, on account of its situation on a slight eminence at the sea-shore and consequent comparative salubrity and coolness, retire to regain their health and divert themselves with rustic recreations, pasturing flocks of cattle, fattening poultry, growing kous, and, in fact, farming and gardening; the agricultural labour being performed by people who are perfectly free, but consider themselves slaves, and it is said are often purchased up the river."

Jeshwang was a landing ground for German air services (the Graf Zeppelin etc.) up to September 1939.

Miscellaneous spellings: Djosuan (1881, Mitchinson)
Jeshwang
Josswang (1862)

FAJARA is the area along the coast, inhabited by Senior Civil Servants.

Originally the Lufthansa had a building there for overnight stops. Later this was taken over by the Medical Research Council, becoming the staff house.

In Etienne Edberg's A Naturalist's Guide to the Gambia, 1982.

he describes the Fajara Golf Course, pp.36-37.

Ward: A Birdwatcher's Guide to The Gambia, 1994, describes the Fajara Golf Course , pp. 46-48, the Atlantic Road, 49-51. and Kotu Creek, pp.39-43.

KOLOLI, KOTU

The hotel areas of Kololi and Kotu are described in the Rough Guide (1995) pp. 266-267.

NORTH KOMBO

KOMBO NORTH - VILLAGES

	1902	1930	1936	1946	1948	1973
	Village List	Village List	Village List	Assessment	Map	Census
Amdalay		Adulai	Amdulai	Amdalai	Amdulai (Sarin N'Jaga)	
Babilon	Babilon	Babylon	Babilon		Babilong (zone)	
Banjul-nding					Banjul Nding	Little Bathurst
Bijilo	Bijjilu	Bijilo	Bijilo	Bijillo	Bijilo	Bijilo
Burufut	Brufut	Brufut	Brufut	Brufut	Brufut	Brufut
Busumbala	Busumbala	Busumballa	Busumbala	Busumballa	Busumbala	Busumbala (-old -new -B)
Daranka	Darranka	Daranka	Daranka	Daranka	Daranka	Daranka
Fulakunda		Fula Kunda	Fula Kunda	Fullakunda	Fula Kunda	
Galoya* = KC					Galowya (In K.C.)	
Gori ya* =KC				Goria (In K.C.)		
Jabang	Jaban	Jabang	Jabang	Jabang	Jabang	Jarbang
Jamisa					Jamisa	
Jamweli				Jamell = Jamweli ?		
Kerewan	Karawan	Karewan	Karewan	Kerewane	Karewan	
Kololi	Kololey = KSM			Kololi	Kololi	
Kubariko	Kubariko	Kubariko	Kubariko	Kubarico	Kubariko	Kubariko
Kunkujang					Kunkujang	Kunkujang
Lamin/Lameng	Lamin	(in KSM)		Lamin	Lamin	Lamin
(Madian)						Madian
Makumbaya = Same						Makumbaya

	1902	1930	1936	1946	1948	1973
	Village List	Village List	Village List	Assessment	Map	Census
Mandinari	Mandinari	Mandinari	Mandinari	Mandinaring	Mandinari	Mandinary
Mandinari				Mandinaring		
Jola				Jola		
Madina				Madina		
Mariamakunda				Mariama Kunda	Mariama Kunda	
Medina Ker B. Sisay						Medina Ker B. Sisay
Misira		Misira	Misira	Misranding		
Nemakunku				Nemakunku		
Niji				Nigee		
Same		Sameh	Same	Same	Same (Mukumbaya)	
Sancaba			Sanchaba	Sanchaba	Sanchaba	Sanchaba
Saare Maunde					Sare Mowndeh (Mauwhunda Kunda)	
Sotokoy				Sottokoi		
Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta	Sukuta
Wellingara		Willingara	Wellingara	Wellingara	Wellingara	Wellingara
Yorna					Yorna	Yorna
Yundum	Yundum	Yundum	Yundum	Yundum	Yundum	Yundum (new) (old) (CPU)

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

No detailed study was made of the ethnic composition, though some notes are available from the 1946 Assessment. Movements into the area have been considerable, both from Senegal and from other areas of The Gambia.

1946	Major groups
Amdalai	<u>Wolof</u>
Banjul Nding :	<u>Mandinka</u> . Jola. Aku.
Bijilo	<u>Wolof</u> . Serer. Jola. Fulbe
Brufut	<u>Mandinka</u> . Jola. Fulbe
Busumbala	<u>Mandinka</u> . Some Manjago.
Daranka	Mandinka. Manjago
Fulakunda	<u>Fulbe</u>
Goria	<u>Fulbe</u> (See also Central Kombo list)
Jabang	<u>Mandinka</u> . Manjago
Jamisa	
Jamell	Fulbe
Jamweli ?	
Kerewan	Manjago. Jola. Fulbe
Kololi	
Kubariko	<u>Manjago</u>
Lamin	
Mandinari	<u>Mandinka</u> , some Jola
Mandinaring Jola	<u>Jola</u>
Madina	<u>Fulbe</u>
Mariyaamakunda	<u>Manjago</u>
Misiranding	<u>Mandinka</u> (small hamlet)
Nemakunku	Fulbe. Manjago
Niji	Mandinka (small hamlet)
Same	<u>Jola</u> , Mandinka. Manjago. Fulbe
Sanchaba	<u>Wolof</u>

Sotokoy	<u>Fulbe</u> , Manjago
Sukuta	<u>Mandinka</u> . small numbers of Jola, Wolof, Aku, Fulbe, Tilibonka etc.
Welingara	<u>Fulbe</u> , some Wolof & Mandinka, Jola, Manjago, Serahuli
Yundum	<u>Mandinka</u> , Wolof, Fulbe

Village List	1902	1930	1946	1950	1973	
	Assessment		Assessment		Census	
Amdalai		30	46	43		
Babilon	14	26				
Banjul Nding			199	140	888	
Bi jilo	40	94	202	171	488	
Burufut	332	754	1187	1359	2765	
Busumbala	179	321	304	305	257	
-new					449	
-old					104	
Daranka	147	90	20	36	116	
Fulakunda		22	14	11		
Goriya			19			
Jabang		69	61	52	220	
Jamweli			12	4		
Kerewan		18	85	37		
Kubarico		39	66	42	124	
Kunkujiang					111	
Iamin	244	(In K.S.M.)		733	2693	
Madian					165	(Madina?)
Makumbaya (Same)		76	200	191	350	
Mandinari	190	350	605	435	1187	
Mandinari Jola			36	15		
Madina			23	22		
Mariamakunda			13	10		
Medina Ker B.Sisay					104	
Misira (nding)		20	7	6		
Nemakunku			90	79		
Niji			10	14		
Sanchaba			67	30	148	
Sotokoy			39	23		
Sukuta	613	1281	1725	1610	3844	
Welingara		48	379	215	246	
Yorna					171	
Yundum	100	200	443	401	741	new / 256 old / 243 Crop Prot.Unit
others				145*	641	(villages under 100 each)
	1859	3438	5852	6129	16311	

* 1950 = Others = Government, C.D.C. etc.

Notes on Villages

Mariamakunda. Founded March 1936. Manjagos from various villages.

Yundum Was moved during the war years, due to the construction of the air field.

It moved again in 1952.

Busumbala Moved during the war years.

Also moved to new site in 1953.

Daranka Old site. refounded some 30 years(= 1925) ago .

The 1977 map shows a number of new settlements compared with the 1948 map.

Bantam Bilo

Ghana Town - See article on "Ghana Town", Topic Gambia Magazine,
2(11), November 1990, 18-21.

Kachow NDing

Ker Dobaly

Labba Korreh

Madina Dabo Kunda

Madina Sey Kunda

Mbarra Kunku

Pateh Ya

Sinki

Sortokoy

Tawtoh

Trankill

Tubaya

KOMBO NORTHBoundary

....From the Atlantic Ocean at Kotu Point..runs in a South East direction following the line of the boundary pillars to the pillar at a point 22 yards from the boundary fence of the Bathurst Water Works Gathering Grounds, thence continuing in the same line to the said fence, thence following a boundary more particularly delineated on a map deposited in the Office of the Governor-General to the centre of the stream flowing from the said Water Works. thence following the centre of the said stream to the Lamin Creek, thence following the centre of the said Creek to its junction with the River Gambia, thence following the left bank of the said River in a generally South South East direction to the Mandina Creek, thence following the left bank of the said creek to a point 1 3/4 miles North East of Kubune to where it joins the boundary of Kombo Central, thence by an imaginary line in a South West direction for a distance of 1 mile to a point 1/2 mile North of the town of Kubune, thence in a West by North direction for a distance of 6 3/4 miles along the boundaries of Kombo Central and Kombo South to a point on the Busumbala-Jambur road midway ~~between~~ the two towns, thence in a North West direction for a distance of 5 miles to where it joins the Tanje River on the Tujering- Brufut road, thence following the course of the said River in a West direction to the high water mark of the Atlantic Ocean,...(following the Ocean) to the point of . commencement.

BIJILO

Bijilo Forest park, near Kololi, Brufut Woods, and Tanji Bird Reserve are described by Rod Ward: A Birdwatchers' Guide to The Gambia (1994, pp. 29 -33. 33-36 (Tanji), 37-39 (Brufut Woods).

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Lady Southorn writing in 1938 ("Come unto these yellow sands", West African Review, March 1938, p.15 states: "The shore of Bijilo is as perfect as any shore can be -a wide sweep of hard yellow and brownish-white sand. Gulls walk daintily at the edge of the water and leave their footprints on the shore. The "whistling sand" adds to its charm. As you walk along, the sands make a queer piping noise under your feet; and the little crabs, those terrible pests in whose holes the malarial mosquito breeds, bolt into their holes like comedians down a trap door. When the sun sets, Bijilo is at its best. The palm trees are wrapped in a red glow and the green bushes stand out so vividly that they dazzle the eyes. A herd of cows is driven slowly along the beach by a small boy; their dun colour and soft lowings add to the beauty of the peaceful scene.... When the light is fading and we leave the shore, it is alive with spectral crabs, a moving mass of pale bodies like Lalique glass, an uncanny sight. The waves sweep over some of them and they dig themselves into the sand, but are caught up again by the next wave, and are swept either further out or nearer shore.."

BURUFUT (BRUFUT)

Lady Southorn "Come unto these yellow sands", West African Review, March 1938, p.15 writes:

"....there are red cliffs marred by rusty vegetation. The sight of any eminence round Bathurst is so striking that one is apt to make a mountain out of an anthill. But the cliffs at Brufut are, without doubt, high enough to deserve the name. Brufut is a more friendly beach than Bijilo....Brufut has attractive rocks which break the expanse of the curve of sand."

Brufut was the area where Ilmenite deposits were mined in the 1950s. Harry A. Gailey, A History of The Gambia, 1964, writes (p.158). "Explorations were begun by Gambia Minerals in 1954 because of the shortage of Ilmenite and the resultant high prices demanded by the major producers in India. Ilmenite ore is the source of rutile and also titanium oxide used in the manufacture of white paint. The Gambian deposits were found to be marginal, but notwithstanding this, work had begun on the selected sites in 1956. Gambia Minerals invested approximately £1,000,000 in building a railroad and a large electric dry mill. However the deposits did not prove as extensive as first believed, having a maximum life of ten years. The plant was closed down in April 1959. The reason given was that over-production had caused a sharp fall in the world market price of zircon and rutile making it unprofitable to continue to operate the deposits.

Photographs of the mining are given in West African Review, April 1958, 281-3.

BUSUMBALA (Old spellings : Bussamballa (1840), Busun-Bala (1881))

Busumbala was originally a non-Muslim town, and one of the 'royal' towns from which a 'king' (mansa) might be chosen. Its power was destroyed initially by Muslim warriors who conquered and converted most of the surrounding area. Busumbala held out until 1875 (Gray: 455). "Many of the inhabitants fled to British Kombo, where they were disarmed by the police. A small remnant under Tomani Bojang erected a stockade at Lamin within 400 yards of the British boundary.... Finally in September 1875 Tomani Bojang agreed to become Muslim, lay down his arms, and destroy his stockade. In return Fodi Silla (the Muslim war-lord, agreed to give him and his people lands to cultivate in peace."

Eventually the British and French organised an expedition against Fode Silla in 1894 (Gray: 468) in which he was defeated.

On the establishment of the Protectorate Umfammara Jatta of Busumbala was appointed chief of District No.1 in 1895. (Gambia Government Gazette , XII, 31 Dec. 1895, p. 181), but he was deposed in 1898, and the chieftainship passed to Sukuta.

Some compounds are found at the old site, but most of the village has moved to the new main road, and is built along it. stretching for about a mile. It is about 17 miles by road from Banjul, and 5 from Brikama. The oldest part of the village is back about a mile from the present main road.

DARANKA

Marche 1879, p.50 describes how at the top of Daranka Creek there had been a place which used to be visited by Bathurst society on Sundays, and where a variety of trees and fruit trees had been planted. However, everything had reverted to a wild state.

Michael Tomkinson's Gambia has photographs of off-loading the fishing boats, and of sun-dried fish. (p.86), and women gathering shellfish (p.7.)

He writes"a grandiose name for a fairly minor place. The hamlet , inland, is little more than a malodorous acre in which sundry fish dry on palm-frond platforms and, dried, are then stacked flat. On the beach, however, is the unexpected sight of thousand upon thousand of superb orange-pink shells smashed and dumped. The living molluscs are fetched in here by the boat-load, brought ashore in buckets on the women's heads, piled on the sand, and there sorted, shelled and sold....." (See photograph on page 31.)

There is an article of Ghana Town :

Arko, George K. & Aziz Casper Quaye-Tetteh
"Ghana Town: Charming the Gods of the Sea,"
Topic Gambia Magazine, 2(11), November 1990, 18-21.

KUNKUJANG (NOMBO NORTH)

Has Grotto of Our Lady Queen of Peace (Roman Catholic).

Father Sharpe has been there since 1975. Primary school with 450 students, kindergarten of 60 pupils (1997). 140 boarders. Plans for middle and senior secondary school.

LAMIN

(Laming (1840))

Huntley (1850) p. 114.

" A tract of land had been given by the late king of Combo to the British government, at the instigation of the late governor Rendall....who...located a large number of the liberated Africans at this place, proposing to institute an agricultural and manufacturing department; the first would embrace all tropical produce, the latter brick making.." The agricultural side was abandoned, Huntley, after seeing the brick making operation, ordered the liberated African department to be broken up.

For birdwatchers the area at Lamin is briefly described by Rod Ward: A Birdwatchers Guide to The Gambia, 1994, 57-59.

For tourists and birdwatchers a place called Lamin Lodge has been built "about a mile outside Lamin village, on the bank of the Lamin Bolon. It is a rustic, 'African-style' bar and restaurant, built on stilts among the mangroves and overlooking the creek.' Dug out canoes can be hire to explore the creeks. (Ward: p.89). An article "Paradise in the mangroves," appears in the Daily Observer, 18 May 1982, p.4.

A brief account of Lamin is given by Patrick Joseph Tynan, BBC Focus on Africa, 6(1), January-March 1995, 44-45.

MANDINAARI (Old spellings Mandanaree (1833), Mandinaree (1864).)

An old Mandinka town, formerly linked by river with Banjul.

Methodist missionaries attempted to start a mission there in 1821, but this was finally abandoned in 1825.

See Fox (1851), p. 267; Morgan (1864), p. 24.

SABIJI

(Old spellings: Sabba jee (1862), Sbedje (1881).)

An attack on Sabiji is described by Napier Hewett (1862) 239-246.

"At about twelve miles distance from Cape St. Mary is the town of Sabbajee, once the capital of the Mandingo kingdom of Combo, but now belonging to the British, who attacked and captured it on account of the appropriative propensities of the denizens, who, relying on the fancied impregnability of their city, were accustomed to waylay, plunder, murder, and maltreat caravans and slatees (merchants) on their road to Bathurst..."

Attcked by a brigade of about 600 men, with rockets and field pieces. The inhabitants had evacuated the town, so there was no loss of life on either side.

Gailey: A History of The Gambia, p.40 , mentions the activities of a Moor who settled in Sabiji. "Another of the agents responsible for the spate of violence ..was a Moor named Omar, who had been concerned in Abd-el-Kader's rising against the French in Algeria in 1847. He settled in the western area of the Gambia at the village of Sabaji. It was from here that he influenced the coastal villages..."

Lady Southern : The Gambia (1952) writes: "A dangerous situation had arisen through the violent antagonism of the fanatical Marabout Fodi Kabba and the Soninki king of Kombo, Suling Jatta. Eventually the disorder became so acute that Colonel O'Connor had to intervene and to take by storm the town of Sabaji which was the centre of Fodi Kabba's operations.....

The beneficial result of strong action was speedily shown by the approach other Chiefs to the Governor, expressing their satisfaction at the restoration of order and declaring their readiness to put an end to their own private wars, to settle down to live in peace with their neighbours and to cultivate their land and promote trade. This idyllic state of things was short-lived. Fodi

Kabba resumed his marauding role and for two years war raged between the two factions. The climax came in 1855 when the Marabouts of Sabaji killed Suling Jatta and it was learned that they were planning an attack on the British settlements. The Governor summoned both naval and military aid from Sierra Leone and Goree.....Sabaji was strongly stockaded and heavily defended. After a desperate struggle the town was taken but unfortunately Fodi Kabba and his chief supporters escaped. The Marabouts , however, found themselves so impoverished by their neglect of their cultivation / ^{that} Colonel O'Connor was able to effect a temporary peace between the rival factions.

SANIMENTERENG

- a small, uninhabited island lying off the coast of Kombo North, near Brufut.

Source: Gordon Innes: Sunjata: Three Mandinka Versions, 1974, pp.100-101

" The island is believed to be the abode of many jinns (spirits). A person who wished to secure the aid of these jinns will go to Sanimentereng, after first having received permission to do so from a certain family in Brufut, on a Thursday evening and will spend the night there, returning to the mainland on Friday. During the night many terrifying apparitions will manifest themselves, but if the person seeking the aid of the jinns remains in control of himself, the leader of the jinns will appear and grant his wish. Some people who have visited Sanimentereng are said to have been driven out of their minds by their experiences during the night that they spent there, and not many people now venture to go there. Though presumably pre-Islamic, the beliefs associated with Sanimentereng have been to some extent adapted to Islam; the jinns are said to be in human form, tall, handsome and dressed in white robes."

The Rough Guide (p.280) states "the holy site at Senementereng is a marvellously meditative spot around a craggy old baobab on the clifftop, the air wafting with incense burned by the incumbent marabout. Local people come here for cures, consultations and peace....A steep path leads to another superb beach. "

Michael Tomkinson's Gambia has a photograph of women descending to the beach.

In Michael Tomkinson's Gambia, he writes

"Sanneh-Mentering is another sacred place a short walk from Ghana Town. Preferably accompanied by the alkalu of Brufut, one reaches the cliff-top clearing with its passive baobab. Graffiti are carved in the trunk, by Allied soldiers who were warned of Sanneh's sanctity and 'punished for their impiety'. While those who left their initials 'suffered indescribably all night'.... the patriot who put 'Scotland for Ever' was killed soon thereafter, self-righteous locals say (a fairly safe bet for divine retribution in time of war).

The stone at the foot of the baobab is for alms: a few bututs from tourists, kola-nuts or cloth or a slave from the pilgrims who come in hope of a baby or more profitable business. A fertility-bringing wash costs three dalasis, a week-long vigil in the mud hut, in abstinence until the alkalu returns with a sacrificial sheep; 75....." He goes on to describe a group of women... "They first prayed and placed their coins beside the baobab, then filed down steeply for the ritual washing in sea-water - a solemn, impressive procession between the lofty lines of palms,"

SINCHU ALHAJI formerly Madina Sekunda Alkalo: Alhaji Abdulay Sise

ed

"Was found in 1968 by Alhaji Abdoulie Ceesay from Kiang, who at the time was living with his students in Serekunda. As a ^amarabout in his younger years, he one night in a dream received orders from God that he should establish a village for himself and his Islamic students. He visited the Sefo in Sukuta for land, and there saw in a dream a tree under which the village should be established. However, only some time later, after visiting the alkalo of Old Yundum and inquiring about the tree was he able to locate the site of the present village.

At the time of settlement 28 years ago, the area was covered by heavy bush. (cleared with the help of the Sefo.) . The first compound was settled by a family from Sabax Sanjal in 1968. Others began arriving in 1973/74. The village was sought out by those who wanted to practice Islam, move nearer the city, and raise a family in a rural environment free from the vices of urban life....

A second wave of settlement following beginning around 1977/78 , due to drought.. By 1984 the village contained approximately 35 to 45 compounds...

A third wave...followed in 1985 with urbanites from Bakau, Serekunda and Banjul seeking land for residences and farming.....The size of the village has grown to 170 compounds at present.

One large commercial farm has been established in the area, but had not yet been developed... "

Roth, Michael et al. Land Markets and Intra-Household Access to Resources and Income Opportunities: Research Methodology: The case of Non-Traditional Export Crops in The Gambia. 1993. pp. 34-35.

Roth (1993, p.32-33) writes "Sinchu Baliya is located on the outskirts of Welingara village, south of Serekunda. This village was founded by the father of the present alkalo, Amadou Bah, some 60 years ago. The father, an important businessman who owned a shop in Bakau, decided to seek land for farming out of fear that business would not last. With farm land in Bakau in short supply, he contacted the Seyfo (chief) in Sukuta, who "gave" him the land where Sinchu Baliya is presently located.

Other families interested in farming were invited by the father to settle the land. Some were kin, others were strangers from far and wide. At the time of settlement the area was covered by thick bush.....Before the drought of the 1970s, strange farmers coming to the area were a common occurrence..but this has declined owing to lack of rain. Since 1970s many of the people settling have come from elsewhere in The Gambia, principally rural areas affected by low income and drought, and from abroad, including Guinea Bissau and Senegal.

Once primarily a farming community, the village now has more and more residents coming to depend upon wage and skilled labor....nevertheless the vast majority have small farms. Nearby Sinchu farms and Radville farm, large commercial operations, provide sources of employment....

Demand for land has grown sharply in recent years... Arable land ...and swamp land for rice are rarely sold, leased or rented...Land for residence is bought and sold, and sales of residential property are widespread.....

Ownership disputes are becoming more common....

(Land Markets and Intra-household access to resources and income opportunities, research methodology: The case of non-traditional export crops in The Gambia. 1993, pp. 32-33).

SUKUTA

Fatou Nying article in The Crescent (A school magazine), July 1984.

"Sabiji, commonly known as Sukuta, has had two changes of location, and is now situated approximately half way ² between Serrekunda and Brufut. The first settlement, which was called Sabijitumbung, (= is now) (lit. ruins of Sabiji) was situated near Faju Kunda. The present Latrikunda Sabiji takes its name from this old settlement.

In those days all the villages in the Kombos were pagan, except Sabiji and Gunjur. The inhabitants of Yundum being pagans, were palm-wine tappers. Tradition says that when these pagans came to tap wine near Sabiji and met with its inhabitants, they would ask, "Where is your marabout and his 'saa' (Sheep). The inhabitants would reply "Abije anaa alaa saajiyo," (He is there with his sheep." This is how Sabiji (Saa-abije) got its name.

Conditions at Sabijitumbung were unhealthy, however, and many people died from (a) disease. On the advice of/marabout the people migrated to Tumbungoti, a place between Bakoteh and Sukuta. At this settlement Kakoli Kemo was the most powerful of the aged ones and the spiritual leader of the people. His grave can still be found at this location.

For the second time, however, the people were advised by a marabout to transfer their settlement. Tradition has it that the marabout told the alkalo to give out certain charities, after which a hare would help him to find what the marabout called "the settlement of his people." He was told that, while working in the bush near the village on a Friday between the hours of 9 and 11 a.m. a hare would appear in front of him which he should follow until it disappeared under a tree. That was the place where they should settle. After giving out the charity, the Alkalo went into the bush as instructed. Presently a hare appeared which he followed until it disappeared under a "tabo" tree. This tree is the birth-place of Sukuta, and still stands near the mosque.

One of the greatest citizens of Sukuta was Kabba Cham. He was an Alkalo, and

his grandchildren live at present in Sukuta Jambakunda. During a war with the Colony of Bathurst Kabba Cham ordered all the women, children and old people to hide in a thick forest just outside the village, while he negotiated a peace treaty with the white men, His envoy in the negotiations was Musa Manneh, whose sons and daughters can still be found in Sukuta Jambakunda. A peace treaty was eventually signed at a place called Kolokoto, Hondong. Kabba Cham was the first Gambian appointed as a Chief by the Colonial Government.

YUNDUM

(Old spellings: Yindum (1821), Youndoum (1881)).

The modern airport now occupies Yundum lands. The original village was moved when the first landing ground was constructed during World War II. Metal strips were used to cover the sandy soil, and can still be seen in fencing etc. in the area.

The Yundum area is described in:

Etienne Edberg: A Naturalist's Guide to The Gambia, 1983, pp. 46-48.

Rod Ward: A Birdwatchers' Guide to The Gambia, 1994, 59-61

In the period 1948-1951 Yundum was the site of the Gambia Poultry Farm, run by the Colonial Development Corporation, which was a disastrous failure. Part of the land cleared by the C.D.C. was then taken over by the Agriculture Department for use as an Experimental Farm. (1951).

The buildings on the Poultry Farm were then used as the core of a Teachers' Training College.

Boundary

This is a most awkwardly shaped district. The Western boundary is the Atlantic Ocean, from the mouth of the Tanji River to the mouth of the Allahein River. (San Pedro).

From the mouth of the Tanji River, it follows it to the Tujering-Brufut road, then follows an imaginary line to the East-South-East $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles to a (old) point midway between Busumbala and Jambur. From there it runs east to a junction with that of Central Kombo (near Same- Makumba ya). Then it follows this boundary (See page 89) down to the Allahein River, from there following the (San Pedro) river back to the Ocean.

DPG's spelling	1895 Village Lists	1902 Village Lists	1930 Village Lists	1936	1946 Assessment	1948 Map	1973 Census
Bandinto						Bandinto	
Batokunko					Batokunku	Batukunku	Batukunku
Bayankang							Bayankang
Berending				Berending	Berending	Berending	Berending
						Gaye's Compound	
Gunjuur	Gunjur	Gunjur #2	Gunjur Wharf	Gunjur	Gunjur	Gunjur	Gunjur
Jambuur	Jambur	Jambur #1	Jambur	Jambur	Jambur	Jambur	Jambur Kuta
Jambanjeli			Jambanjeli	Jambanjeli	Jambanjeli	Jambanjali	Jambajelli
Kayiraba			Kairaba				
Kajabang					Kajabang		
Kanuma			Kanuma	Kanuma	Kanuma		
Katong	Katung	Katung #2	Kartum	Kartung	Kartong	Kartung	Kartung
Kunkujang	Kunkujan	Kunkujan #2	Kunkujan	Kunkujang	Kunkujang		Kunkujang I II
Madina Suwarekunda Neema Nyooofele				Nema	Nemma	N'Yofelleh	Medina Suware Kunda Nyofelleh
Sala			Salla	Sala	Salla New Salla		
Sanyang	Sannian	Sannianng #2	Sanian	Sanyang	Sanyang Ba Sanyanding	Sanyang	Sanyang Ba
Sifo	Sifaw	Sifaw #2	Sifaw	Sifo	Siffo	Sifoe	Sifoe
Tanje	Tannjenn	Tannjenn #1	Tanji	Tanje	Tanjay	Tanji	Tanji

Tanene
Tujering

Tugure

Tujure #1

Tujerren

Tujering

Tujereng

Tujering

-

Taneneh

1895 Village Lists	1902 Village Lists	1930 Village Lists	1936	1946 Assessment	1948 Map	1973 Census
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VILLAGES - KOMBO SOUTH

(Ref. to 1948 Air Survey Map.)

Bandinto	Near the Allahein River (San Pedro). small settlement of Karoni Jolas.
Baniakang Bayankang	On 1977 map. 3 miles W of Jambur. Recent settlement. in 1973 census.
Batokunku	On coast, NW of Tujering.
Berending	As on map.
Gunjur	As on map.
India	In 1927 village list. Not traced.
Jambanjeli	As on map.
Jambuur	As on map.
Kairaba	In 1927 village list. Not traced.
Kajabang	Near coast, 2 miles SW of Gunjur.
Kanuma	Near coast. 2 miles W. of Kunkujang.
Kaatong	As on map. Southern tip of Kombo South.
Karkemah	On 1870 map. North of Gunjur, on road between Gunjur and Sanyang.
Kulukoch	3/4 mile SW of Gunjur.
Kunkujang	3 miles NW of Gunjur. On map looks as if it is really in Central Kiang.
Madiana	near River Tanji. On 1977 map.
Medina Suwarekunda	In Census 1973.
Neema	
Nyofele	On map as Nyofelleh. 3½ miles NE of Gunjur.
Sala	2 3/4 miles east of Gunjur, ½ mile south of Gunjur-Sifo road.
Sanyang	as on map.
-Sanyangba	
- Sanyanding	
Sifo	As on map.
Taneneh	In Census 1973 .
Tanje	Near coast, northern section of Kombo South .
Tujering	As on map.

Since the 1948 map was printed, a large number of small settlements have sprung up - some of Fulbe herdsmen, some of Jolas and Manjagos, etc.

The 1977 map shows the following names of small hamlets:

Bunkiling

Deya

Fara Kunku

Farlah

Fula Kunda

How Ba

Keninding Saibali

Ker Bessenti

Ker Goolgor

N'Dimbuya Komba

Pacholi

Salanding

Sanchaba

Tintinto

POPULATION

	1930	1946	1950	1954	1973
	Assessment	Assessment	Assessment	Assessment	Census
Batokunko		44	786 ¹	72	173
Bayankang					198
Berending		353	385	414	346
Gunjur	2135	2674	2612	2820	4677
" wharf	26				
Jambanjeli	35	639	917	962	1326
Jambur	363	416	507	442	800
Kairaba	113		25		
Kajabang		28		37	
Kanuma	17	20	18	4	
Kaatong	429	945	1046	1188	1320
Kunkujiang	71	101	129	140	120 I
Mandina Suwarekunda					155 II
Neema		152			273
Nyofele			266	327	411
Sanyang Ba	402	708	852	1031	2270
Sanyangding		145	157	344	
Sifo	403	754	847	1028	2081
Sala	35	57	49	33	
New Sala		23			
Tanene					1313
Tanji	66	154	145	198	822
Tujering	322	636	735	894	
				others	1488 (less than 100 per settlement)
	4417	7849		9934	17782

¹ I am at loss to account for this large figure. The assessment for 1949 had 60, that for 1951, 63. No other village would seem to have been confused with it.

ETHNIC GROUPING- KOMBO SOUTH -1954 Assessment data

Batokunku	Mandinka	65	
	Manjago	7	72
Berending	Jola - Buluf	224	
	- Karoni	94	
	- Siat	6	
	Manjago	34	
	Mandinka	56	414
Gunjur	Mandinka	2098	
	Jola -Buluf	309	
	-Karoni	64	
	-Siat	11	
	- n.a.	22	
	Tilibonka	19	
	Jalunka	2	
	Aku	4	
	Serahuli	21	
	Mauritanian	9	
	Serer	79	
	Lebu	8	
	Wolof	70	
	Manjago	43	
	Fulbe	45	
	Hausa	12	2820
Jambanjeli	Mandinka	382	
	Jola - Siat	258	
	- Buluf	24	
	- Siat (G)	9	
	- Karoni	16	
	- Kombo	3	
	Manjago	82	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	43	
	Woy Fulbe	6	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	3	
	Firdu Fulbe	10	
	Haboobe	1	
	Kaabu Fulbe	7	
	Fulbe - misc	4	
	Jalunka	4	
	Mauritanian	9	
	Tilibonka	33	
	Wolof	49	
	Serahuli	10	
	Mankanyo	1	
	Serer	2	
	Hausa	4	
	Syrian	1	
	?	1	962

Jambuur	Mandinka	314	
	Fulbe- Badibu	41	
	- Jokadu	3	
	- Nyoomi	2	
	- Laibe	3	
	Jola - Asil	6	
	- Siat	4	
	- Siat (G)	7	
	- Karoni	13	
	Serer	7	
	Jalunka	7	
	Manjago	33	
	Mauritanian	2	442

Kajabang	Jola	30	
	Manjago	7	37

Kanuma	Jola	4	4
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Katong	Mandinka	531	
	Jola	494	
	(Karoni	311	
	(Buluf	141	
	(Siat	35	
	(?	7	
	Mauritanian	3	
	Jaxanke	25	
	Serahuli	18	
	Manjago	13	
	Hausa	1	
	Serer	47	
	Jalunka	14	
	Wolof	4	
	Tilibonka	5	
	Fulbe- Futa Jalon	10	
	- Futa Toro	11	
	Laibe	2	
	Firdu	1	
	Kaabu	8	
	?	1	1188

Kunkujang	Mandinka	42	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	28	
	Jola- Karoni	15	
	Laibe	8	
	Fulbe - Badibu	3	
	- Futa Toro	3	
	Manjago	41	140

Nyofele	Mandinka	129	
	Jola	95	
	Tilibonka	5	
	Manjago	16	
	Jalunka	5	
	Bambara	1	
	Fulbe- Firdu	2	
	- Wasulo	9	
	- (Guinea-Bissau)	2	
	- Laibe	63	327
Sala	Jola - Karoni	12	
	Buluf	21	33
Sanyangba	Mandinka	485	
	Serer	110	
	Wolof	12	
	Lebu	6	
	Jola	271	
	Balanta	21	
	Jalunka	4	
	Jaxanke	6	
	Tilibonka	22	
	Fulbe- Laibe	6	
	Firdu	4	
	Futa Jalon	8	
	Futa Toro	4	
	ors.	3	
	Manjago	69	1031
Sanyanding	Mandinka	304	
	Jola	17	
	Manjago	23	344
Sifo	Mandinka	495	
	Jola	387	
	Serer	51	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	21	
	Firdu Fulbe	9	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	118	
	Manjago	18	
	Tilibonka	7	
	Mauritanian	2	
	Serahuli	14	
	Hausa	1	
	Jalunka	5	1028

TANJI	Mandinka	78	
	Jola	64	
	Jalunka	15	
	Tilibonka	4	
	Aku	1	
	Fulbe- Futa Toro	10	
	Serer	9	
	Wolof	16	
	Manjago	1	198

TUJERING	Mandinka	488	
	Jola	226	
	Serer	63	
	Wolof	31	
	Laibe	10	
	Aku	1	
	Firdu Fulbe	5	
	Tilibonka	5	
	Manjago	65	894

ETHNIC GROUPS - 1954

		%
Mandinka	5457	54.9
Jola	2716	27.3
Manjago	452	4.6
Serer	368	3.7
Wolof	182	1.8
Fulbe - Laibe	92	0.9
- Futa Toro	49	0.5
- Futa Jalon	110	1.1
- misc.	165	1.7
Lebu	14	0.1
Aku	6	0.1
Serahuli	63	0.6
Jaxanke	31	0.3
Jalunka	56	0.6
Mankanyo	1	*
Balanta	21	0.2
Mauritanian	25	0.2
Hausa	18	0.2
Syrian	1	*
Tilibonka	101	1.0
?	6	0.1

9934	99.9
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A general description of the coast is given in Jim Hudgens and Richard Trillo: The Rough Guide: West Africa, pp.279-80, listing the main features for tourists, mentioning Kartong, Gunjur beach, Tujeri, Tanji, Ghana Town and the holy site of Senementereng.

Three rivers run into the sea. The Allahein River (San Pedro) forms the southern boundary with Senegal. Further north is the River Benifet, south of Sanyang, and the River Tanji between Brufut and Tanji.

GUNJUR

(Commissioner's notes - 1941)

(Old spelling: Kunjuroo (1881)).

"The village was founded by the Dabo family who migrated from Manding some centuries ago and obtained permission from the kings of Brikama to settle on the land. They were then pagans, and their site was nearer to the sea than the present village, on the left of the present path from the village to the sea. Some time later they were joined by the Muslim family of Ture, Torankos from Fuuta Toro. The Dabos gave them a site on the right hand side of the present path to the sea and the mound on which they built their mosque can still be seen.

In due course the Dabos were converted to Islam and gave the Tures the right to appoint the Almami, while they themselves as the founders kept the right to appoint the Alkali. This continued until about 100 years ago when a man who ought to have been alkali, Arafang Mama Dabo, was a great warrior and with the consent of his family asked the Tures to provide an Alkali as he was too busy fighting to look after the affairs of the village. Some time later another warrior called Manjang Fing (neither a Ture nor a Dabo) was given the position of Alkali. He took the title of Kele Mansa or Kidifay Mansa (War king or Gunfire king) . After him the position was given to Fode Sila Ture by the Dabos. After he had been defeated ^{by the British,} the remnants of the Ture family moved to the present site and in due course the Dabos followed them.

When the South Kombo District was formed a Ture was made Seyfu, and in Gunjur the Alkalis have always been from the Dabo family since the death of Fode Sila Ture. "

Gunjur Beach is described in the Rough Guide as "a messy active seafront where fish are more important than tourists." (p.279).

Michael Tomkinson's Gambia (1987) has photographs of Gunjur beach (p.6) and sun-dried fish (p.83)

Lady Southorn, "Come unto these yellow sands", West African Review, March 1938, p.15 writes "Gunjur is another beautiful shore. It has the advantage of magnificent trees only a few yards from the water's edge and it has a still more gentle beauty than Brufut. The way to it lies through a bush road under over-arching trees, where orange Patas monkeys often dart across the path..."

She summarises the history as follows: "This is a historic spot and has seen troublous times. In 1854, Brikama, the chief town of Lower Kombo was attacked by turbulent Marabouts from Gunjur and completely destroyed. In 1855, there were further troubles. It was then found that the centrepoint from which they emanated was Gunjur. When Colonel L.S.O'Connor, who was Governor from 1852 to 1859, left the Colony the peaceful relations established by him between all the warring peoples of the Kombo were ^{shown} ~~xxx~~ in the fact that "the most inveterate foes only a few years back, now met in friendly palaver to wish the Governor bon voyage Periods of peace and war between Sonninkes and Marabouts alternated during subsequent years; but as recently as 1894, it was necessary to send an expedition to Gunjur to restore a peace which had been disturbed by.....Chief Fodi Silla."

JAMBANJELI

Village spread out along main road. High proportion of strangers in the village.

A great deal of activity in connection with palm kernels. Cracking machines, and several traders purchasing.

A variety of fruit trees...banana, pawpaw, mango, kola, guava, limes, oranges, cashew, coconut.

Close ties to Brikama. Goods are purchased in Brikama, some women attend the baby clinic.

JAMBUR

A Mandinka village with some Fulbe, Jola, and Manjagos.

Abundant fruit trees - mango, banana, orange, pawpaw, More than 20 baobab trees. Some gardening.

Plenty of work on palm kernels - cracking, making oil etc.

The Jamboars mentioned by Huntley (1840) p.256, are presumably the people of Jambur.

KATONG BOLONG

Sheds for smoking fish.

Canoe making on creek - both small canoe, and large ocean going vessel.

Canoes ready to take rhun palm trunks to Banjul.

Large canoe from Guinea-Bissau.

Trade in dried fish with Sierra Leone.

KATONG

Has a "swampy pool hidden under thick overhanging bushes, a mile outside the village, with a sacred crocodile." Visit described by Rice (pp. 279-80).

The Rough Guide (p.279) describes the route to the Falonko crocodile pool.. where "Women from both Katong's communities -Muslim Mandinka and Christian Karoninka..visit to pray and ask favours on Monday and Friday mornings."

Michael Tomkinson's Gambia states .."Folonko crocodile pool. It functions like Katchkali's, is similarly covered with pakanju water lettuce and has resident reptiles equally unpredictable. But its site is fractionally more dramatic and, being remoter, less encumbered with suburban youths, and trash. The authorities have enclosed Folonko's enclave with a high wire fence, and in 1980 half encircled the pool itself with a breeze block wall. Steps down enable 'people to perform the ritual bath, wash their hair and drink a bit of the water. These people are mainly barren women or people with stomach trouble'. On the camp-fire crescent of cement blocks and logs, shady beneath the kobo-figs and palms, one can sit and wait for a sight of the white crocodile."

Michael Tomkinson's Gambia has photographs of Kartung Lagoon, p.7 and the Boatyard, p.79.

Numerous activities can be observed - oyster gathering, making chalk (lasso) (whitewash), from shells; making palm oil, cracking palm kernels, fish drying and smoking, etc.

Katong

Steven K. Thomson has written a Ph.D. dissertation

"Children of the village: peace and local citizenship in a multiethnic Gambian Community," Boston University, 2006.

Research was carried out over eighteen months between 1997 and 2001.

Although Mandinka dominated local politics, their concept of sateedingolu (children of the village) facilitated the gradual incorporation of Buluf Jolas and Karon Jolas as village citizens.

Topics covered include the Kanolengs (women's fertility organizations), the Crocodile pool at Folonko, the village development Committee, The Boys Circumcision ceremony (kuyango).

KUNKUJANG

A small somewhat isolated village.

Plenty of fruit trees. Kola. mangoes, pawpaw, orange, bananas etc.

Numerous baobab trees.

Activities - cracking palm kernels and oil making.

SANYANG

Alkalo: Malang Famata Bojang

"Sanyang, a very old village, was founded more than 75 years ago by the family of the present alkalo's grandfather on what was then mostly forest land. Other "founding" families, Kore Kunfa, Jaba Kunda, More Kunda and Namba Kunda, later settled in adjacent areas, claiming the large area of land surrounding was is presently Sanyang village. The village is about 5 km from the coast, the mangrove swamps marking its western boundary, and only 20 km from the outskirts of Serekunda....

Sanyang's population continues to grow as a result of families coming home, migrants from the Casamance, and in recent years people from Serekunda seeking land....

In recent years people from Serekunda and other urban areas have been coming to Sanyang asking for land...

Groundnut crop poor in recent years...Vegetable production has been steadily increasing, ...sold in the local and Brikama markets, though some women sell their produce to larger vegetable traders such as Radville farms.

Fruit trees are mainly planted on compound land.

....Strangers or itinerant farmers no longer come to Sanyang in significant numbers.....Seasonal or casual laborers have followed in their wake. Arriving mostly from up-river and the Casamance, they hire out their labor, for fencing gardens and digging wells on a piecework basis during the rainy season, and for weeding on a wage basis (D20/day)..."

Roth, Michael, et al. Land Markets and Intra-Household Access to Resources and Income Opportunities: Research Methodology: The Case of Non-Traditional Export Crops in The Gambia. 1993. pp. 38-39.

The Rough Guide refers to the wonderful baobabs on the southern side, and the beach- "a broad smooth sweep of firm sand backed by coconut palms..."

SIFO

Article by Maolud Nabie Jarju: The Crescent (School Magazine), July 1984

" Sifo is a village near Gunjur in the Kombo South District. It is among the three largest villages and is the second oldest village in the District. During the Colonial war it was the resting-place of Foday Sillah, who called it "Tendinto", because there was a lot of small palm trees which made it difficult to see even a house. Whenever he came from Gunjur, he used to rest at Tendinto before proceeding to Foni.

Foday Sillah was cruel towards Jolas, and the people of Tendinto, being of that tribe, suffered a lot from his harsh treatment of them. Consequently, the majority of them migrated to the nearby villages of the Casamance. This angered Foday Sillah so much that he decided to follow them and punish them. On his way to the Casamance he was killed in Tora by his fellow warriors.

The villagers could now return to Tendinto and begin rebuilding it, but a violent dispute arose between the different communities making up the village as to how it should be re-named. Some communities argued in favour of retaining the name "Tendinto", others wanted "Yentrenbembah" and others "Kunuku-Kulanjang". The villagers finally settled for the name "Kanada", which means "The village has been rebuilt."

Close to the village is a place called Bamba Dinka, where Foday Sillah often went to a spring which was prized for the coolness and purity of its water. The name of the village was later changed again from Kanada to Sifo, which means: "If you don't work, you will not prosper."

Recent articles

Touray, Kawsu S.
 "Tanji's Great Potential,"
Daily Observer, 26 April 1993, 16.

TANJI

Michael Tomkinson's Gambia has a photograph of fish curing (smoking) at Tanji.

He writes of the place "Tanji one often perceives from afar, thanks to the smoke (and smell) produced by its 'fish curing site'. The photogenic beach is liveliest late afternoon when the crews come home. Children play, girls gut fish and, beneath the twisted baobabs, the Serers repair their long bright boats and stretch their nets on wooden frames to dry. The self-styled 'sipriters' (shipwrights !) nail the long mahogany planks and caulk them with tunya , a rope-and-cotton 'filler'. The sides are painted gay with names, dates and/or Arabic imprecations, a crescent moon (the Cross of Islam) or a random geometry of triangles and squares with a face just discernible somewhere.

The fish-curing sheds behind are neither sightly nor fragrant....."

On page 83 is a photograph of 'painted boats'.

Tanji Bird Reserve is described by Rod Ward: A Birdwatcher's Guide to the Gambia, pp. 33-36.

KOMBO CENTRALBoundary

"Commencing at a point on the left bank of the Mandina Creek 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ miles North East of Kubune and following the left bank of the said Creek in a south direction for a distance of 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ miles to a point where it joins the western boundary of Kombo East, thence following the said boundary in a true South direction for a distance of 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ miles to The Gambia-Senegal boundary, thence following the said boundary in a West direction for a distance of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles to a boundary pillar on the bank of the Allahi River, thence by an imaginary line in a North direction for a distance of 4 miles, thence in a West direction for a distance of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the Gunjur-Jambur road, thence in a North North East direction along the said road for a distance of 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles, thence by an imaginary line in a North Easterly direction for a distance of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles to where it joins the boundary of Kombo North at the intersection of the Brikama-Mandinari and Yundum-Kubune roads, thence in an East by South direction for a distance of 2 miles to a point $\frac{1}{2}$ mile North of the town of Kubune thence in a North East direction to the point of commencement."

CENTRAL KOMBO

At the beginning of this century the villages in Central Kombo were: Brikama (an old royal town, but which had been destroyed during the Soninke/Marabout wars) - at the heart of the district.

Kubune, Kembuje, Kunkujang - to the north, near the river, old baobab trees testifying to the ancientness of the village sites.

Kiti and Manduari - to the south.

Kembuje was occupied by a large trading community, and in communication by river with Bathurst.

The population of this zone near the river has steadily declined. The population of Kubune, Galoya, Bafuloto, Kunkujang, Kembuje, and Saabukunda was 714 in 1927 - 41% of the district population, 458 in 1946 (11%), and 295 (5%) in 1955. Manjago settlers now form a high proportion (31%) of the population of this area.

Brikama has continued to expand, as an administrative and trade center. It has 46% of the district population in 1946-50, 56% in 1973.

In the 1950s the south east section of the district has been greatly opened up. The population of the Marikisa, Penyemu, Naneto, Busura, Bajonkoto, Dasilame, Dimbaya, was 826 (23% of the district population) in 1946, 2194 (38%) in 1955, and 2680 (16%) in 1973. This is a rich agricultural zone. Busura in the mid 1950s was providing bulrush millet for the Banjul market, Dasilame was sending substantial amounts of sweet potatoes.

Around the major towns are small settlements of Fulbe, who look after cattle and bring in fresh and sour milk to the market at Brikama.

		Kombo #3						
DPG	1895	1902	1912	1930	1936	1948	1950	1973
	List	List	Map	Village List	Village List	Map	Assessment	Census
Bafuloto				Bafuloto	Bafuloto	Bafuloto	Bafuloto	Bafuloto
Bajonkoto (Naneto)							Bajonkotto	
Bakari Sambu Ya								Bakary Sambou Ya
Birikaama	Brikama	Brikama	Birkama	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama	Brikama
Busura								Busura
Busuranding								Busuranding
Daasilaami				Dasilami	Dasilami	Darsilami	Dasilami	Darsilami
Deuru (see Jirofnding)								
Dimbaya								Demba Yaa
(Galo yaa (Kalo yaa				Gallo-ya	Galo ya	Galowya	Gallo Yar	
				Hamnduli	Jamisa			
Jalambang							Jalambang	
Jalambantang						Jalambantang		Jalambantang Kuta
Jamweli						Jamweli		
Jirof-nding						Giroff M'Ding		
..								Kabaqall
Kasakunda							Kassa Kunda	Kasa Kunda
Kembuje	Kembuji	Kembuji	Kembuji	Kembuji	Kembuje	Kaimbujae	KambuJay	Kaimbujae

DPG	1895 List	1902 List	1912 Map	1930 List	1936 Village List	1948 Map	1950 Assessment	1973 Census
Kiti	Kiti	Kiti	Kiti	Kitti	Kiti	Kiti	Kitty	Kiti
Koriyaa							Corria	
Kubune	Kubune	Kubune	Kubune	Kubuni	Kubuni		Kubuneh	
Kunkujanq	Kunkujan	Kunkujan		Kunkujan	Kunkujanq	Kunkujanq	Kunkujanq	
Madina								Madina
Manduwari	Manndwari	Manndwari		Manduar	Manduar	Manduar	Manduar	Manduar
Marakisa				Marakissa	Marakisa	Marakissa	Mara Kissa	Marakissa
Misirandng							Missrandng	
Naneto		Nanetoo	Nanito	Nanetto	Naneto	=Bajonkoto	Nanetto	Naneto
(Neema taba?)					Naemataba			
Nilakoto							Nilla Koto	
Penyemu						Penjemu	(Penyemu) Prniru *	Penjemu
Sajo Yaa					Sajo Yaa			
Sabukunda				Sabakunda			Sabou Kunda	
Samba Menke Yaa							Samba Rubie	
Samba Rugi								Serakundandng
Serekundandng								
Sidi Yaa								
Tayiru Yaa					Tairunya		Taiyiru yar	
Welingara					Wilingara			Wellingara

* This was what was typed by the Treasury Scribe.

KOMBO CENTRAL - VILLAGES

Survey of 1955-56.	Reference to 1948 1:50,000 map.
Bāfuloto	as on map.
Bajonkoto	appears on map as Nanetto. Also known as Sion, Siwel and Nanetto.
Brikama (Birikaama)	as on map.
Busura	occupies zone between Jalambantang and Nanetto on map.
Dasilami	as on map (Darsilami).
Deuru	= Jirof'nding.
Dimbayaa	2 miles east of Dasilami. South of Bajonkoto across the stream.
Galoyaa	see Kaloyaa.
Jalambang	about 3 miles NW of Brikama. Path forks right from the road to Jambanjeli.
Jalambantang - Jamweli	see Nanetto. on road to Manduari. about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Manduari, on left of road going from Brikama.
Jere Koli Yaa	now known as Penyemu.
Jirof'nding	also known as Deuru. One mile east of Brikama.
Kaloyaa	Galowya on map. Just over marked boundary of Kombo North.
Kasakunda	Southwest of Brikama. Marked on map, but not named. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Brikama.
Kembuje	Kaimbujae on map.
Kiti	as on map.
Koria	a Fula hamlet. Now abandoned.
Kubune	as on map. Abandoned 1955.
Kunkujang	as on map.
Manduari	as on map.
Marakisa	as on map.
Misiranding	one mile from Brikama on left of main road to Banjul.
Naneto	a) marked on map as Jalambantang. b) sometimes applied to Bajonkoto.

Nilä Koto	A Fula settlement. Now abandoned. On road to Kasakunda.
Penyemu	appears on map as Penjemu.
Sajo Yaa	A Fula settlement. Now abandoned. Near the old water tower.
Sabukunda	marked on map, but not named. South of Kunkujang.
Samba Menke Yaa	Fula settlement behind the Commissioner's house. (Counted in Brikama assessment)
Samba Rugi	A Fula hamlet. Now abandoned. near Busumbala. ?
Sidi Yaa	marked on map, but not named. 1½ miles SE of Manduari. Assessed in Manduari.
Tairu Yaa) Teru Yaa)	appears on map as Kaimbujae N'Ding.
Welingara	A Fula hamlet. opposite side of road to Misiranding. about ¼ mile back from the main road.

The Fula herdsmen very often move their hamlets, depending on a variety of circumstances.

Later additions - appearing in 1973 Census data :

Madina	at fork of road going south from Brikama.
Serekundanding	about 2½ miles from outskirts of Brikama along main road east between Kembuje-nding and Madina Ba:
Bakari Sambu Ya	(not identified).

POPULATION- CENTRAL KOMBO

	1902	1930 List	1946 Assessment (revised)	1950 Assessment	1973 Census
Baafuloto		249	270	240	219
Bajonkoto			47	82	
Birikaama	279	823	1582	1952	9483
Bakari Sambou Ya					113
Busura					651
Busuranding					359
Daasilame		57	433	461	682
Dembaya					104
Galoyaa		106	71	29	
(Hammduli)	59				
Jalambang				24	
Jalambantang Kuta					138
Jamweli			41	55	
Jere Koli Yaa			56		
Jirofnding			31	25	
Kabagall					194
Kasakunda			99	227	349
Kembuje	30	102	20	7	1067
Kiti	68	200	207	167	748
Koria				7	
Kubune	78	78	31	21	
Kunkujang	8	68	19	11	
Madina					164
Manduwar	117	168	271	251	439
Marakisa		75	271	329	482
Misiranding				30	
Naneto	26	34	19	36	160
Nilakoto				26	
Penyemu				101	242
Samba Rugi				11	
Sabu-kunda		38	19	13	
Saro Yaa			9		
Serekundanding					107
Tayiru yaa			28	15	
Welingara			14		192
					954 (villages under 100 people)
	665	1998	3538	4120	16847

The assessment figures were found to have many minor errors in recording these data, though the final figures are not so very different from those given in assessment itself. By 1954 there had been no great change in the proportions of each ethnic group since 1946 (a year when an effort was made to obtain accurate data), except for an increase in Manjagos, especially in the Kembuje, Sabukunda, Kunkujang area, and an increase in Jola in Kiti and Kasakunda.

Mauritanians are rarely recorded as yard owners, being considered as lodgers. Consequently their numbers do not show up in the assessment summaries. However, Brikama Mauritanians have been estimated at 30, based on the numbers visible in the shops and in the market.

The Fulbe in the Kombo have come from various places. The Futa Jalon Fulbe (Futankolu) are found above all in Brikama, where they are engaged in petty trading, selling kola nuts, and changing money. A group from Kiang (Ngalungobe) centered on Jirof in Kiang, settled originally at Kiti, and then spread to various villages, Deuru, Misiranding, Kasakunda etc. Close contact is still maintained between these villages and up river. Palm oil is sent up to Jirof from this area; and at rice harvest time a large number of women and girls go back from the Kombo to help in cutting and bringing home the rice. Large numbers of woodworkers (Laibe) who find an adequate supply of timber for their needs in this zone, are also to be found. (In later years they began to specialize in carvings of animals, masks, etc. for tourists). Otherwise the main occupation of Fulbe is looking after cattle, both their own and the herds of their Mandinka hosts. The women come in daily with milk to sell in the Brikama and Banjul markets.

ETHNIC DATA - Based on 1954 Assessment data.

Checked in 1955.

Bafuloto	Jola	106	
	Serer	41	
	Bambara	3	
	Mandinka	9	
	Mauritanian	8	
	Aku	1	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	16	
	Badibu Fulbe	2	186
Bajonkoto	Jola	152	
	Wolof	5	
	Mandinka	6	
	Badibu Fulbe	5	168
Busura	Wolof	49	
	Mandinka	246	
	Jola	106	
	Mauritanian	7	
	Serer	45	
	Bainunka	24	
	Bambara	7	
	Jokadu Fulbe	5	489
Dasilame	Mandinka	130	
	Jola	412	
	Jalunka	11	
	Fulbe	13	
	Laibe	4	
	Serahuli	14	
	Wolof	7	
	Manjago	15	
	Tilibonka	2	
	Jokadu Fulbe	10	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	19	
	n.r.	1	638
Dimbaya	Jola	153	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	2	155
Jalambang	Badibu Fulbe	41	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	9	
	Manjago	2	52
Jamweli	Badibu Fulbe	19	
	Jola	11	30
Jiروفinding (Deuru)	Kiang Fulbe	32	
	Badibu Fulbe	8	
	Firdu Fulbe	6	46

Kaloyaa	Serer	14	
	Mandinka	6	
	Tilibonka	6	
	Manjago	7	
	Niani Fulbe	2	35
Kasakunda	Jola	225	
	Mandinka	20	
	Bambara	4	
	Serer	4	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	12	
	Kiang Fulbe	66	
	Nyoomi Fulbe	7	
	Laibe	7	345
Kembuje	Jola	8	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	3	
	Manjago	21	32
Kiti	Mandinka	89	
	Jola	80	
	Serahuli	3	
	Manjago	22	
	Fulbe	4	198
Kubune	Jola	18	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	2	20
Kunkujang	Jola	4	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	1	
	Manjago	37	42
Manduar	Mandinka	264	
	Laibe	23	
	Manjago	3	
	Jola	14	
	Futa Fulbe	1	
	Badibu Fulbe	6	
	Nyoro Fulbe	9	
	..Fulbe	3	
	Xasonke	4	327
Marakisa	Jola	270	
	Manjago	21	
	Wolof	6	
	Mandinka	16	
	Serer	2	
	Tilibonka	5	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	5	
	Kiang Fulbe	5	
	Badibu Fulbe	10	
	Masina Fulbe	3	
	Laibe	25	368

Misiranding (Weligara)	Kiang Fulbe	37	
	Senegal Fulbe	5	42
Naneto (Jalambantang)	Jola	47	47
Penyemu	Jola	190	
	Mandinka	34	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	5	
	Nyoomi Fulbe	23	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	3	255
Sabukunda	Jola	17	
	Manjago	29	46
Tairu Yaa	(included in Kunkujang ?)		
Welingara	(included in Misiranding)		
Sidi Yaa	(included in Manduar)		
Brikama	(Govt. station. Leased lands. GOMB. Veterinary Dept.)		
	European	8	
	Aku	25	
	Mandinka	40	
	Wolof	44	
	Serer	6	
	Bambara	8	
	Jola	2	133
Brikama	Mandinka	1365	
	Wolof	220	
	Bambara, Tilibonka	54	
	Serer	33	
	Jola	173	
	Aku	67	
	Jalunka	31	
	Laibe	25	
	Jaxanka	33	
	Manjago	31	
	Mansuwanka	5	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	156	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	20	
	Fulbe (misc.)	42	
	Firdu Fulbe	7	
	Sierra Leone Fulbe	14	
	Masina Fulbe	4	
	Hausa	1	
	Mauritanian	30*	2311

(No Lebanese/Syrian traders seem to have made it on to the lists.)

ETHNIC GROUPS - SUMMARY (1954)

	N	%
European	8	0.1
Aku	93	1.6
Wolof	331	5.5
Serer	145	2.4
Bambara/Tilibonka	89	1.5
Serahuli	17	0.3
Manjago	188	3.2
Bainunka,	24	0.4
Mauritanian	45	0.8
Jalunka	42	0.7
Jaxanka	33	0.5
Mansuanka	5	0.1
Hausa	1	-
Xasonke	4	0.1
n.a.	1	-
Mandinka	2225	37.3
Jola	1988	33.3
Fulbe	726	12.2
	<u>5965</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Fulbe by type or place of origin

Firdu Fulbe	13	0.2	%
Laibe	84	= 1.4	
Jokadu Fulbe	15	0.3	
Nyoomi Fulbe	30	0.5	
Senegal Fulbe	5	0.1	
Nyoro Fulbe	9	0.2	
Niani Fulbe	2	-	
Badibu Fulbe	91	1.5	
Kiang Fulbe	140	2.3	
Futa Toro Fulbe	40	0.7	
Futa Jalon	214	3.6	
Masina Fulbe	7	0.1	
Sierra Leone	14	0.2	
unspecified	62	1.0	
	<u>726</u>	<u>12.1</u>	

Mandinka Immigrants in Central Kombo (1954)

A survey showed the origins to be:

From	Wulli	11		
	Fuladuu	7		
G	Nyaamina	1		
A	Nyaani	15		
M	Jaara	13		
B				
I	Kiyang	East	13)
A		Central	27)
		West	33)
		unspecified	12)
				13%
	Badibu	Upper	3)
		Central	62)
		Lower	23)
		unspecified	1)
				13%
	Jokaduu		5	
	Nyoomi		115	=16%

Non-Gambian

Woi	164)	
Kaabu	67)	= 45%
Pakau	84)	

other regions &
information not available 30
697

Ratio of immigrants to total Mandinka population = 31%

Many of these "immigrants" have long been established in the Kombo and their children have been born and brought up here. As a rule, however, immigrant families continue to maintain contact with their home villages, seeking wives for their sons there, and marrying their daughters to men from their home town or home district. It is chiefly in the case of widows and divorcees that marriages cut across traditional bounds, and involve people from different areas.

In the mid 1950s when rice growing prospered in the Kiang, Jaara and

and Badibu Districts, many families returned up river again, and people who left West and Central Kiang and Lower and Central Badibu, who would normally have gone to the Kombo to seek better conditions, were now tending to move to the Jaara Districts or to the Bambale region of Upper Badibu.

Brikama (c. 1955)

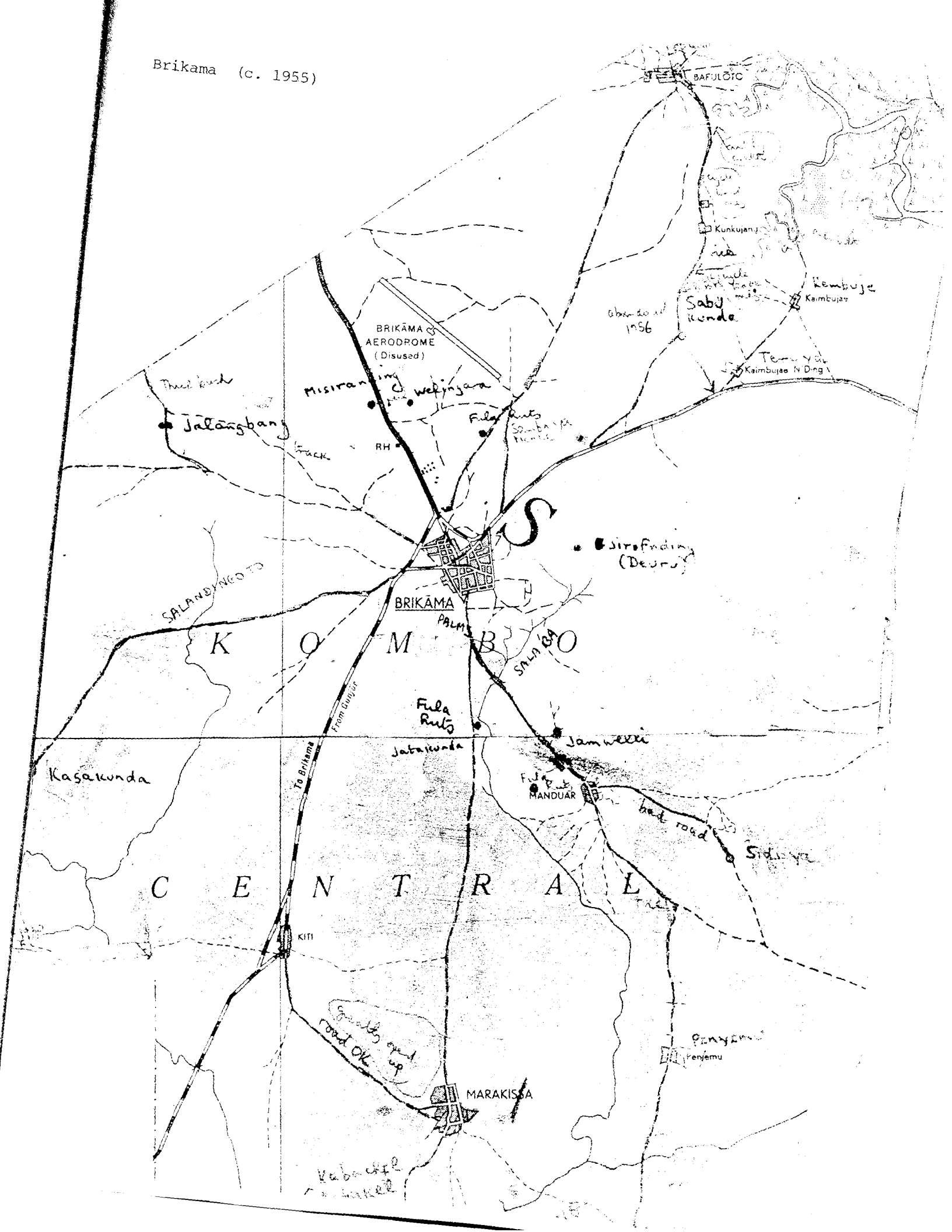
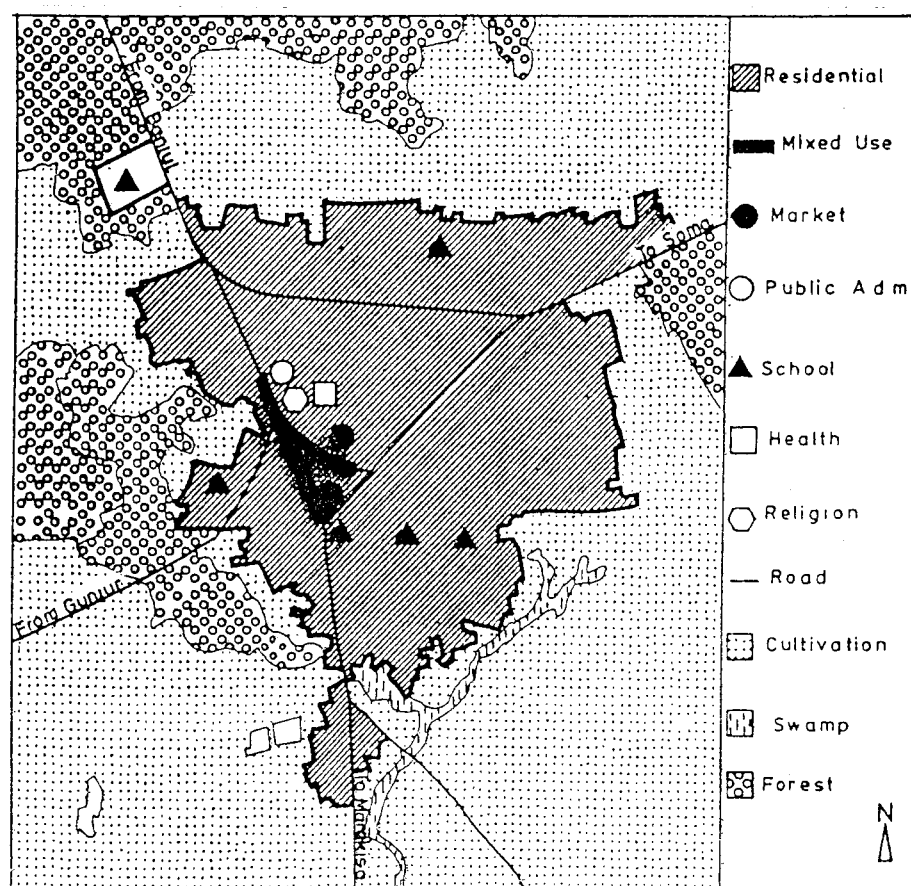


Figure 3: Land use map of Brikama



BRIKAMA MARKET IN THE 1950s.

Brikama market is one of the liveliest of the Gambian markets. It owes its success to the facts that:

(a) Brikama is the focal point of central Kombo, and also exerts a considerable influence over neighboring villages in other districts (Mandinaba, Tunjina, Tubakuta, Basori in East Kombo; Yundum, Busumbala, Makumbaya in North Kombo; Sifo and Nyofele in South Kombo.) A network of roads and tracks radiate outwards in all directions.

- the main road to Banjul
- the road to Bafuloto
- the main road to Mandinabaa etc.
- a road to Tubakuta, past Deuru
- the road to Manduwa and Busura
- the road to Marakisa
- the road to Gunjur via Kiti
- the road to Gunjur via Kasakunda
- the road to Sanyang via Jambanjeli.

The town itself has become the biggest trading and groundnut buying center of the region.

(b) The population of the district is extraordinarily mixed and many of the ethnic groups specialize in particular economic activities:

The Fulbe - cattle keepers, milk sellers.

Nyoominka - the men fishermen ; the women makers and sellers of cere.

Laibe - woodworkers (makers of mortars and pestles etc. Now of items to sell to tourists).

Manjago - palm wine tappers; palm kernel collectors.
the women growers and sellers of peppers.

Jola - palm kernel collectors. make palm oil.

Serahuli - traders.

Fuuta Tooro Fulbe - weavers.

Mauritanians - traders.

Wolof - traders. Artisans - tailors, goldsmiths.

Tilibonko - makers of straw hats (kabango)

(c) There is a large wage earning population - those engaged in trade, crafts (leatherworkers, tailors, smiths), in transport (truck owners and drivers), and in administration (Commissioner's and Development Officer's staffs) and other government services - Education (Teachers etc.), Health (Dispensers). All of these will buy food regularly in the market.

In the 1950s the main market was still in the centre of the village, and most of the vehicular traffic passed through the central square between the market and the Mosque. At the edge of the market would sit woman and girls with cooked foods, pancakes, boiled cassava, cooked fish, groundnut sugar cakes etc. which they sold to travellers passing through Brikama by road.

The market women buy garden produce, and the men rice, saanyo (bulrush millet) eggs, cassava etc. from individuals who come in from the villages. Those who wish to sell directly to the public can pay a small market fee. They usually sit around the edges of the market, as the inside stalls are occupied by permanent traders.

Many of the people who come into Brikama on other business bring produce for sale in the market. The big market day is Wednesday, and this is also the main attendance day at the baby clinic. Most women coming to the dispensary bring some produce for sale, which enables them to pay for medicine and take home a few small purchases such as soap or salt or fish.

On Friday men come in from surrounding villages to attend the service at the Mosque, and on that day there is a noticeable increase in items brought in by men, such as cassava, bananas, etc.

On Sunday afternoon big wrestling contests are often staged on the ground beside the market. Consequently there is an increase in sales of fruit, pancakes, kola nuts, cigarettes etc. to the spectators.

Visitors from Banjul often come at the weekends to buy produce which is cheaper than in the Banjul market.

Most of the people who sell in the market are strangers. The men who keep the small stalls which sell mirrors, aspro, matches, soap, sweets, tea, perfume, hair oil, buttons, cigarettes, pipes, fish-hooks, thread, padlocks, bitter kola, razor blades, and so on, are predominantly Mauriticians or Fulbe from Fuuta Jalon, but also include Wolof, Bambara, Serer, and Serahuli. The bakers are Wolof, Jola, Futa Jalon Fula, and Mandinka. Kola nut sellers are generally from Fuuta Jalon. The market women are Fula, Wolof, Aku, Serer, Jola, and Mandinka from other districts. A few of the local women sell produce when other work is slack, e.g. just before rice harvest. The dealers in rice and millet are predominantly Mandinka. Fish is often brought in by young men on bicycles.

The market seemed to be closely sensitive to demand - there never seemed to be any marked local shortage, or a glut (though seasonal variations are obvious). At a time when little meat was available, there was a great increase in the supply of fish. To a certain extent the motor traffic accounts for a steady supply. If fish has not come in from Sanyang or Gunjur, a vehicle will bring some from Banjul or Denton Bridge. If there is no fish in Banjul and a surplus at Brikama, a truck may be loaded up and sent off. If there is a shortage of netetu or tomatoes in Brikama, the vehicles from the Pirang-Faraba area which normally go through to Banjul without discharging much in the way of produce, will be besieged by market women eager to buy. The tomato trade is noticeably dependent on vehicles, the main supplies coming in from Pirang and Farabaa to the east, and Yundum and Busumbala to the west.

Because of the general congestion in the middle of town as the road traffic and population continued to grow, the new main road up river by-passed the main town. This resulted in a new market being opened in 1966 close to the new road, so that people going up-river by truck are able to buy supplies, food, cloth etc. during a brief stop-over at Brikama. There is also a lorry park, where taxis and small buses - those going to Banjul, other villages in the Kombo, and to Fonyi and Kiyang are to be found. The main Government bus service from Banjul still went to the old village square where the buses turned around.

The main shopping centre has become the road into town from the main road to the old market, rather than the stores round the square.

Recent Articles

Jallow, Matthew K.

"The lure of Brikama,"

Daily Observer, 3 March 1993, 6 & 9.

MARAKISSA is described in an article

P.J.Dolin, H. Faal, G.J.J hnson, D.Minassian, S. Sowa, S. Day, J.Ajewole,
A.A.Mohamed, A. Foster

"Reduction of trachoma in a sub-Saharan village in the absence of a
disease control programme,"

Lancet, Vol.349, 24 May 1997, 1511-12.

Changes since the first survey in 1959 are indicated.

Rod Ward's A Birdwatcher's Guide to The Gambia, 1994, has

describes the Kabafita and Nyambai Forest Parks in Kombo Central, 62-64.

Kabafita Forest Park is also mentioned in Etienne Edberg's A Naturalist's Guide to The Gambia, p. 48.

Brikama is described in Jim Hudgens and Richard Trillo's The Rough Guide West Africa, p. 282-3. They mention the wood carvers, who have a market on the outskirts of town on the road to Banjul, and the kora musicians (the Jobarteh family) who receive visitors, and also give tuition. p.283 lists various cafes.

Boundary

Commencing at the mouth of the Madina Creek, follows the River Gambia, eastwards (including Sansangkono Island), to the Brefet Creek. Thence following the Brefet Creek and the Bulok Creek to the Gambia-Senegal boundary. From there west for $11 \frac{3}{8}$ miles to a point $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles East by South of the town of Nanetto ; thence by an imaginary line going North till it meets the Madina Creek.

KOMBO EAST

In this district one finds a group of Mandinka villages - Pirang, Faraba Banta, Kafuta, at the head of creeks, and inland towards the frontier a group of Jola settlements, Kafuta Tumbung, Som, Niji, Umoreto, and Salikenyi. (Nyoominka) Serer/are to be found chiefly in the riverside villages Pirang, Berending, Faraba banta, Jalikasa, and Kafuta. Half of the Fulbe are concentrated in two villages - Jiboro near the frontier, and Tunjina. These Fulbe came from Fuuta Jalon, and apparently represent a fairly old migration. Except for some of the smaller hamlets most villages have a compound or two of Fulbe who herd the cattle. No marked changes in the relative proportions of the different ethnic groups occurred between 1946 and 1955, though perhaps there has been an increase in various minor elements - Manjagos, Jalunka, Serahuli, Mauretanians, and Fulbe herdsmen. Fewer Wolof and more Serer are now recorded, though this change may be due to more accurate classification.

The distribution in 1954 was:

		%	
Mandinka	1887	45.7	
Jola	1396	33.8	
Serer	162	3.9	
Manjago	145	3.5	
Fulbe - Futa Jalon	252	6.1	
Laibe	20	0.5	
Futa Toro	18	0.4	
others	68*	1.6	(Mostly from Badibu & Nyoomi)
Jahanka	45	1.1	
Tilbonka	35	0.8	
Serahuli	19	0.5	
Wolof	12	0.3	
Mauritanians	5	0.1	
Aku	5	0.1	
Mankanyo (Guinea-Bissau)	27	0.7	
Jalunka	29	0.7	
Others	1	-	
	<u>4126</u>	<u>99.8</u>	

The Jola group breaks down into	Buluf Jola	134	3.2%
	Siat (Casamance)	925	22.4
	(Fonyi)	20	0.5
	Karoni	30	0.7
	Narang	272	6.6
	others	15	0.4

VILLAGES

DPG

Revision of

1973

1902 (Korumbo No.4)	1911 Map	1930 Village list	1936 Village list	1946 Assessment	1948 Map	1954 Assessment	Census
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Bajjanna* (Transferred to Fonzi Brefet)

Bassawri	Bassori	Bassori	Basori	Bassori	Basori	Basori	Basori
----------	---------	---------	--------	---------	--------	--------	--------

Berrending	Berrending	Berrending	Berrending	Berrending	Berrending	Berrending	Berrending
------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

Bonto	Bonto	Bonto	Bonto	Bonto	Bonto	Bonto	Bonto Koto
-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	------------

Duwasu	Duwasu	Duwasu	Duwasu	Duwasu	Duwasu	Duwasu	Duwasu
--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------

Fararaba Bunta Fararaba Sutu	Faraba Banta Faraba Sutu	Faraba Banta Faraba Sutu	Faraba Banta Faraba Sutu	Farababanta Faraba Sutu	Faraba Banta Faraba Soto	Faraba Banta Faraba Sutu	Faraba Banta Faraba Soto
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Faraba Sutu
Tumbung

Jaynkunda	Jaynumkunda	Jan?ehkunda	-	Jenungkunda
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Jiboro	Jiboro	Gibborow	Jiboroh	Jiboro	Jiboroh Koto
--------	--------	----------	---------	--------	--------------

Gibborow Kutta	New Jibborow	Jiboro Kuta	Jiboroh Kuta
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Kaffuta	Kafuta	Kafuta	Kafuta	Kafuta	Kafuta	Kafuta	Kafuta
---------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------

Kafuta Tubung

Mandina Ba	Mandina Ba	Mandina Ba	Mandina Ba	Mandina Ba	Mandina Ba	Mandina Ba	Mandina Ba
------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

Misiranding

Niggy Niji Niggi

Homorotu	Homoroto	Homoroto	Omoroto	Omoroto	Omaroto
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Villages cont.

		DPG		Revision of			
				1954		1973	
1902	1911	1930	1936	1946	1948	Assessment	Census
(Kombo No. 4)	Map	Village list	Village list	Assessment	Map	Assessment	

Pirang	Pirang	Pirang	Pirang	Pirang	Pirang	Pirang	Pirang
Sallikeni		Salikeni	Salikeni	Sallikeni	-	Salikenyé	-
Sanyenga	Sanianga	Sanyenga	Sanyenga	Sanyenga	Sanianga	Sanyanga	Sanianga
					Selety	Siliti	
Somu	Sohm	Somu	Somu	Somme	Sohm	Som(u)	Sohm
		Sumakunda	Sumakunda		Sumakunda	Sumakunda	-

Sotokoi Madina

Tanene

		Tumani Tenda	Tumani Tenda	-	Tuman Tenda	Tuman Tenda	
Tunjina	Tunjina	Tunjina	Tunjina	Tunjina	Tunjina	Tunjina	Tunjina
	Tuba Kuta	Tubakuta	Tubakuta	Tubakutta	Tuba Kuta	Tubakuta	Tubakuta

EAST KOMBO - LIST OF VILLAGES

All villages visited in 1956 by motorbike. Refs. to 1948 1:50,000 Map

Basori	as on map.
Bonto	as on map.
Berending	southern section of Pirang. Originally a distinct village. Now the two villages touch.
Duasu	on map as Douassu.
Faraba Banta	as on map.
Faraba Sutu	on map as Faraba Soto.
Jalikasa	on creek, NE of Faraba Banta.
Jenung-kunda	not named on map. small village south of Duasu. (In old records appears as Jainukunda and also as Janekunda).
Jiboro	as on map.
Jiboro Kuta	Also known as Silit. (There may also have been a second Jiboro Kuta (New Jiboro)- 1946-47 Assessments give Old Jiboro, New Jiboro and Jiboro Kuta).
Kemo Yaa	= Misiranding.
Kafuta	as on map.
Kafuta Tumbung	on map as Kafuta Tubung.
Mandinaba	as on map.
Misiranding	small settlement on the main road just before Mandinabaa.
Niji	small village between Som and Umaroto. formerly called Faraba Sutu Tumbung.
Umaroto) Omaroto)	on map as Omortoh.
Pirang	as on map.
Salikenya	Salikenye and Omaroto form one settlement, the section on the Duasu side of the village bantaba being Salikenyi, the section on the Som side being Omaroto.
Sanyanga) Sanyenga)	on map as Sanianga. (In the 1947 records is found a name Sakaika, in 1950 Sakiaka, in 1952 Sakeka. No one recognized this and as population figures for these years fill in gaps for Sanyanga, one can presume it to be the same.)
Silit(i)	on map as Selety (= Jiboro Kuta).
Som	as on map.

Sotokoy	A 1980 map shows this village near the Doni Bolong, on the main road between Faraba Banta and Faraba Sutu.
Sukuta	On map. No longer existing (1956). People moved to Siliti.
Sumakunda	as on map.
Tanene	On main road between Faraba banta and Faraba sutu. West of Sumakunda.
Tuman Tenda	Not where shown on map. Located to the south-east on the creek, about a mile NNW of Kafuta.
Tunjina	as on map.
Tubakuta	as on map.
Tunjina Fulakunda	A small settlement east of Mandinaba, on the main road. (Also known as Sincu Demba or Jalokunda. Included in Tunjina assessment.)
Kafuta Fulakunda	A small hamlet, south west of Kafuta. Included in Kafuta Assessment.)

Sumakunda is reached by a track joining the main road just before mile post 36. This is swamp during the rainy season. A track also goes there from Farabu Sutu. It is cut by a stream bridged by a tree trunk. The track is impassible to vehicles.

Jalíkasa. A Serer (Nyoominka) fishing settlement on the creek to the north-east of Faraba Banta. Accessible by landrover.

Archaeological sites

(1953)

Old shell heaps were once to be found/close to the road between Pirang and Faraba Banta, about half way between the Pirang Bolong and Faraba Banta. These may have been destroyed in the course of road construction.
old
(The new main road by-passes Pirang and/Faraba Banta, but a section of the latter has moved to the new road.)

Comments On various villages

Basori An old village. The original site was further to the south near a tabo tree.

Faraba Banta The Sefo's village.

The sequence between the river and the village is as follows:

- a creek with jubukungo (mangrove)
- b open bare land - leo - salt marsh
- c rice fields - with large bund separating them from the salt area. Clumps of trees, tabo, jalo, wolo, kaba.talo, koroso & palm trees.
- d open plain with tamba trees and oil palms
- e zone of palm trees
- f garden and orchard area.

In the village is a large mampato tree, said to be visible from Maurel & Prom's in Banjul.

The town was mentioned as a trading place in 1710.

Faraba Sutu Tumbung 1935 - a new village from Tambakunda (Senegal) .
= Niji

Jenungkunda Two compounds only.

Kafuta Was originally at the location of Kafuta Tumbung. Then at a collection of baobab trees south of the main road. Finally to present site.

Kafuta Tumbung old site, with large cotton trees, and baobab trees. Now has Jola and Fula settlers.

Madina Ba The village, to judge from old baobab and mango trees, was further from the main road, to the north.

Misira = Kemo Yaa The village head comes from Saba (Badibu). He was formerly at Mandinaba, then moved here.

Salikenyi Old site to judge from cotton trees and baobab trees.

Sanyanga A couple of small Jola compounds.

Somu Jola village with widely scattered compounds.

Tubakuta People came from Basori (1951).

Tuman Tenda One Jola yard. On the Kafuta Creek, near the place where a Faraba Sutu fisherman keeps his canoes.

ETHNIC DATA - 1954 figures (Re-checked)

Basori	Mandinka	195	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	36	
	Serahuli	5	
	Jola (Buluf)	4	240
Berending	Mandinka	327	
	Jola (Siat)	94	
	Laibe	6	
	Manjago	5	
	Serahuli	4	
	Tilibonka	2	
	Mauritanian	2	
	Serer	68	508
Bonto	Mandinka	32	
	Jola (Siat 31)	35	
	Manjago	29	
	Tilibonko	6	102
Duwasu	Mandinka	43	
	Jola - Buluf 8)		
	Siat 2)	10	
	Tilibonka	3	56
Faraba Banta	Mandinka	432	
	Jola- Siat	126	
	Buluf	17	
	Fon.Siat	5	
	Karoni	5	
	ors.	6	159
	Serer	37	
	Fulbe (Nyoomi)	9	
	" (Badibu)	3	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	3	
	Wolof	2	
	Serahuli	7	
	Tilibonko	6	
	Manjago	6	664
Faraba Sutu	Mandinka	12	
	Serahuli	3	
	Fulbe (Badibu)	5	
	Jola (Siat)	52	
	Manjago	18	90
Jenungkunda	Mandinka	27	27
= Jiboro Kuta Silit	Jola (Narang)	53	
	(Karoni)	5	
	Mandinka	58	
	Fulbe (Badibu)	16	
	Laibe	14	
	Wolof	6	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	4	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	3	159

Jiboro Ba	Jola (Narang)	26	
	(Karoni)	9	35
	Futa Fulbe		67
	Manjago		13
	Mandinka		4
	Tilibonka		2
	Futa Toro Fulbe	10	131
Kafuta	Mandinka	321	
	Jola (Siat)	54	
	(Karoni)	5	
	?	4	63
	Jalunka		3
	Hausa		1
	Futa Jalon Fulbe		8
	Wolof		4
	Serer		20
	Majago		32
	Mankanyo		27
	Fulbe (Nyoomi)		14
	Fulbe (Masina)	2	
	" (Mabo)	1	496
Kafuta Tumbung	Jola (Siat)	46	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	3	49
Mandinaba	Mandinka	11	
	Jola (Siat)	55	
	or.	7	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	4	
	Jalunko	4	
	Manjago	12	93
Misiranding	Mandinka	6	
	Jalunko	3	
	Firdu Fula	1	10
Niji	Narang Jola	43	43
Omaroto	Narang Jola	59	
	Badibu Fulbe	5	64
Pirang	Mandinka	341	
	Jola -Siat	133	
	Buluf	72	
	or.	8	
	Jaxanke	45	
	Aku	5	
	Serer	31	
	Tilibonka	9	
	Futa Jalon Fulbe	5	
	Manjago	4	
	Futa Toro Fulbe	2	
	Mauritanian	4	659
Salikenyi	Jola (Narang)	61	
	Tilibonka	3	64

Sanyanga	Jola (Siat)	8	8
Somu	Jola (Siat)	279	
	Badibu Fulbe	9	
	Jalunka	6	
	Mandinka	8	302
Sumakunda	Jola (Kombo Jola)	17	
	Mandinka	8	
	Serer	6	
	Jalunka	3	
	Manjago	12	46
Tubakuta	Jola (Buluf 26	39	
	(Narang 13		
	Niani Fulbe	3	
	Tilibonka	4	
	Mandinka	12	58
Tunjina	Futa Jalon Fulbe	125	
	Mandinka	49	
	Jola (Siat 45		
	(Karoni 6		
	(Buluf 3		
	or. 5	59	
	Manjago	4	237
Tanene	Jalunko	10	
	Manjago	10	20

POPULATION

	1902	1930	1936	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1973
	Assessment data													Census
Basori	126	150	n.a.	92	92	95	107	96	105	237	235	240	242	1128
Berending		210		390	368	384	374	441	511	545	547	508	517	1234
Bonto				111	87	90	86	99	104	103	100	99	94	163
Duwasu		88		39	52	55	62	79	68	65	57	56	50	
Faraba Banta	297	592		739	658	716	771	850	808	758	763	659	676	1186
Faraba Sutu	42	70		55	54	52	54	58	95	133	101	90	54	387
Faraba Sutu Tumbung														
Jenungkunda		40		20	27	30	33	32	30	26	24	27	27	-
Jiboro Kuta (Silit)				109	110	140	153	142	170	193	190	159	163	288
Jiboro Kuta				41	35									
Jiboro		216		182	156	155	188	173	214	193	181	131	125	137
Kafuta	142	337		483	444	474	474	542	631	577	512	476	453	972
Kafuta Tumbung					18	28	28	44	44	72	71	49	45	
Mandinaba	67	71		81	41	60	61	66	74	64	96	93	96	388
Misiranding								15	18	17	14	10	20	
Niji				33		31	58	46	49	60	63	43	59	124
Omaroto	21	52		60	44	52	33	61	68	86	80	64	57	

Population cont.

11,250

Population movement

1. Most of the East Kombo villages are old established settlements though a number of villages have been moved slightly to new sites, as evidenced by the clumps of baobab trees on old sites. Basori, Faraba Banta, Faraba Sutu, Kafuta, Mandinaba, Omoroto, Pirang, Salikenye, Som, and Tunjina were in existence in 1895, while Berending was founded about 1897.
2. In 1930 69% of the population was settled along the main road (Mandinaba to Kafuta via Tunjina), and exactly the same proportion is found in 1955. On the other hand there has been a slight shift towards the western side of the district, the villages of Sumakunda, Tuman Tenda, Faraba Sutu, Kafuta, Sanyanga having 22% of the total population in 1930, 14% in 1955, and 12% in 1956, while the Mandinaba-Berending zone has increased from 31% in 1930 to 43% in 1956.
3. In spite of the general stability of the villages, a high proportion of the inhabitants have come from elsewhere. 32% of the Mandinka are stranger settlers (about the same figure as for Kombo Central), and outside Kafuta, Pirang, Faraba Banta and Berending, most Mandinka are settlers.
4. A number of these settlers come to combine religious studies with farming, and settle where religious teachers have established themselves. Traditionally many people from West Kiang come to Berending-Pirang, and in these two villages 43% of the Mandinka population are in fact of non-Kombo origin, almost half of these being from Kiang.
5. As conditions in the Kiangs have improved in recent years, many people have returned, but this has been offset by many people now coming from the Nyoomi districts.
6. The present trend is for religious teachers and students to settle in the Berending-Basori-Bonto segment- in close communication with Brikama for purposes of shopping and selling farm produce, yet far enough away to prevent distraction from study. Basori has increased as the result of a teacher from Nyoomi, Bakari Daabo, settling there. A teacher from Kiang, who was at Busura in Central Kombo has moved to Bonto (1956), and a number of new compounds have been built.
7. Manjagos, perhaps because of the palm trees, have tended to move into the zone between the main road and the river, even though the land has been rather overworked.

After the new main west-east main road was built, originally by-passing Pirang and Faraba Banta, sections of each village have now moved to the new road.

General economic pattern in 1956

1. The western side of the district finds its social and economic outlet in Brikama. Fish from Bonto and Tunjina are taken there, as is farm produce from Tubakuta, Mandinaba and Basori.
 A truck runs from Brikama to Jiboro and back on Wednesdays to collect palm kernels and oil. There are relatively few small traders in this area as most people make their purchases in Brikama.
 People from Mandinaba, Tuba Kuta, Basori and Tunjina generally attend the Brikama mosque on Fridays.
2. As regards the eastern side of the district, purchasing seems to revolve around the main trader (Abdulaaye Baro) at Kafuta.
3. In the western side one finds a number of arts and crafts being carried out (though on a rather limited scale) which find an outlet in the Brikama and Banjul markets.
 Pottery: Pirang
 Laso (Chalk, whitewash) making Mandinaba, Bonto
 Mat making: Mandinkaba. Bonto. Tunjina. Pirang.
 Weaving: Tubakuta (by a Wolof from Sanjal)
 Maka (umbrella) making: Tunjina
 Brush making: Bonto
 Kabango (hat) - making: Faraba
4. Fishermen are to be found in all the villages near the river. Mandinaba, Tunjina, Bonto, Pirang, Berending, Faraba Banta, Jalikasa, Tanene, Faraba Sutu, and Kafuta.
 Most fish is consumed locally, though some may be taken to inland villages by young men on bicycles.
5. Practically all the villages seem reasonably well supplied with fruit trees. Mandinaba is noted for the quantity of mango trees, Kafuta and Pirang for bananas. Faraba has an extensive belt of fruit trees which include pawpaw, mango, orange, banana, cashew, guava, and soursop.
6. Market gardening is active in areas served by regular transport. Bonto has some good gardens down on the swamp edge. Pirang and Faraba have very extensive gardens which supply the Banjul market, trucks going in daily. But to the south and east one sees little evidence of gardening.
7. The southern section of East Kombo is important for palm kernels. There is a hand cracking machine at Jiboro (owned by a local trader), at Silit one owned by a Wolof palm kernel buyer, and a diesel driven cracking machine at Kafuta, as well one at Berending.
 Temporary huts are to be seen at Jiboro for strangers who come to cut down the palm fruit. Though there are many palm trees to be seen around Kafuta and Farana, much less attention is paid to oil making or cracking kernels in these villages.
8. Some of the Jola make local salt (seen at Pirang and Kafuta Tumbung).
9. Much firewood is taken into Banjul - mostly by truck, though some e.g. from Tunjina, is taken in by canoe.

The founder of the village was Biram Kunda, before the Europeans came to The Gambia. Two brothers were in line for succession to the chieftainship, the 'palm bracelet' was slipped on to the wrist of Biram Kunda's brother, and Biram, angered by the decision, moved away to establish what is now Pirang. This area was covered in thick bush. After clearing the land, marabouts instructed him to plant four trees, one at each corner of the village. (The village has now outgrown the original boundaries).

The founding families were Bojang Kunda, Ture Kunda, Daabo Kunda, Dafe Kunda, Jabang Kunda, and Fofana Kunda.

..... A large number of families in the village depend entirely on non-farm employment. Women, while always traders, have begun to spend more time on gardening. Strange farmers are disappearing. Visiting workers mainly from up-river are now-a-days seeking employment for fencing, gardening, and work on commercial farms.Most of the rice fields are now damaged by salt intrusion..

A number of large commercial farms are widely dispersed in the area. As many as 50 workers per day, including men and women, may be hired year round from the village. Trucks arrive daily to pick up anyone willing to work. Wages are low, D12/day...

From: Roth, Michael et al. Land Markets and Intra-Household Access to Resources and Income Opportunities: Research Methodology: The Case of Non-Traditional Export Crops in The Gambia. 1993. pp. 36-37

Rod Ward's A Birdwatchers Guide to The Gambia, 1994, has descriptions (including sketch maps) of the area around Pirang (pp.64-68), and the Bush track from Faraba Banta to Jiboroh Kuta (pp. 68-72, as well as the Seleti Water-holes on the Senegalese side of the Gambia-Senegal border.

The waterholes at Seleti and Pirang are also mentioned in Etienne Edberg's Naturalist's Guide to The Gambia, 1983 ed., pp. 48-50.