

THE SOUTH BANK OF THE GAMBIA:

PLACES, PEOPLE, AND POPULATION.

(C) THE FONYI DISTRICTS.

By David P. Gamble

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.

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Brisbane, California.

May 1997

Information about the various districts was sorted out in 1975, 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.

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.

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## 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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Fonyi Bondali	33- 40
Fonyi Kansala	41- 53
Fonyi Bintang-Karenai	54- 76
Fonyi Brefet	77- 91



FONYI DISTRICTS

Maps consulted

1: 1,000,000		1905
1 cm to 2.5 kilometres		1931
River Chart		1942
1: 50,000		1948
1: 125,000		1956
1: 50,000	sheet 11	1964
	23	1963
	24	1963
	25	1963
1: 250,000		1980

The Fonyi Districts lie on the south bank of The Gambia river, east of the Kombo, and are also bounded on the north by the Bintang Creek (Bintam Bolong) which separates them from Western Kiang.

In old texts the spelling is variable:

Map of Leach (1732)	Fonia. Francis Moore: Fonia (1733)
In French texts	Fogny Faugni (Cultru: 1685)
In English texts	Fogni

	Area (Square miles)
Fonyi Jarrol	52
Fonyi Bondali	58
Fonyi Kansala	65
Fonyi Bintang-Karenai	108
Fonyi Brefet	58



## Boundaries

The Fonyi Districts are bounded by a section of The Gambia River and the Bintang Creek on the North, the international boundary on the East and South, and the Bulok and Brefet Creeks to the West.

The boundaries between the Districts are imaginary lines devised by the early Commissioners.

- 1 Between Jarra and Bondali. From a point 1 mile E. from Bondali Tenda, a line is drawn due South to the Gambia-Senegal boundary.
- 2 Between Bondali and Kansala. From a point on the Bintang Creek, half way between Tintiba and Bondali, 1 3/4 miles north of Kalang, South-South-West to the main road (1/2 mile west of Nlantempo), then due south to the Gambia-Senegal boundary.
- 3 Between Kansala and Fonyi Bintang Karenai. From a point two miles North-West of Kansala on the Bintang Creek, a line goes south to the Bulanjari Creek (Jurunku Kumani Creek) at Bajagar, then goes due south to the Gambia-Senegal boundary (near a boundary pillar at Baipoum).
- 4 Between Fonyi Bintang Karenai and Fonyi Brefet. Runs along the Pima-Kaijara Creek, then goes in a line South-East (2 1/2 miles) - South-East (2 miles), and South West (1 3/4 miles) to the Gambia-Senegal boundary.

Geography

G. H. Sangster (1907)

"The land...is flat and swamp along the border of the creeks, and is especially so in the western corner as there are many small creeks intersecting the country; at the eastern end there are fewer creeks and in this part of the country there is a great deal of iron stone (= laterite).

Away from the creeks the country is fairly open, having been a good deal cleared for cultivation; the thick forest is only to be found in belts running on either side of dried-up water courses which, during the rains have water in them and, where close to towns, are used as rice fields. These belts are seldom of more than a quarter of a mile in width but extend in length for many miles.

Throughout, the country is well timbered and has some very fine trees, mostly cotton trees, but there are a good many mahogany trees also. The soil is rich and the people farm large quantities of corn or millet which is of a very good quality."

BINTANG BOLONG, BINTAM BOLONG (Sometimes called the PONYI BOLONG )

1833 R.W.Hay: "Supposed Junction of the Rivers Gambia and Casamanza #367  
on the Western Coast of Africa,"  
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, III, 1833, 72-76.

- (1) "In 1810 Mr. Joiner...manned a large canoe with fourteen hands, well armed and having provisioned them for seven days, sent them up to Vintang Creek, to prosecute the exploration of the Badjecoondah, which branches off from it, and is, in fact, a continuation of the same stream under a different name. The canoe, however..returned unsuccessful (in discovering a link between The Gambia and the Casamance).

"From Jereja the Badjecoondah winds up to a town bearing its name, opposite to Tenderbar, and almost four hours' walk from it. Thus high it is navigable, but beyond is of no service, for although canoes can proceed further up to Soongahdoo, and beyond that to Pahcow, yet the stream is so inconsiderable and winding that the natives prefer travelling by land. It is also, in this distance, fordable in many parts; and even not much above Badjecoondah it is so narrow that the natives pass over it on a plank."

- (2) Governor Rendall's Visit to the Bintam Bolong. (1831)

visited Vintain = Bintang

went up Jataban branch = Jataba (Kiang)

reached Gifarang (about 40 miles), where the pilots refused to take the large vessels any farther.  
= Jifarong (Kiyang)

went on in small boats

water enough for small craft up to Badjacoonda, 20 miles above Gifarang.

channel of two fathoms for more than five miles, then stream narrows, so that rowing was impossible.

- (3) In 1891 the creek was explored by H.M.S. "Alecto". See "Navigation of

Vintang Creek - Extract from Captain's Remark Book 1891." Gambia

Government Gazette, 8(7) 31 July 1891, p. 93.

G.H.Sangster (1907)

- (4) "The Vinntang Creek affords a navigable waterway the whole length of the country, for craft up to nine feet draught. H.M.S. "Dwarf" has been up as far as the town of Sandang which is our last town upon the creek.

The Urumbang Creek which joins the Vinntang some two miles west of the town of Vinntang, is also navigable for small craft to the town of Karrenai, and after that for boats and canoes as far as Urumbang, a village about a mile and a quarter south south-west of Kansalla.

Small trading cutters also go up the creek to Kandong which opens into the river near the Brefett Creek, but at low water it is dry after the first few miles, and has only about two and a half feet of water at low water at Kandong; it is very narrow.

The same may be said of the Korga Creek, which joins the Vinntang at Vinntang town and goes up to Sibanor where it is about thirty yards wide and has a depth of about eight feet at low water, but from thence on to the town of Kassang, although small cutters go up it, it is very narrow and shallow, being totally dry at low tide, and the channel is very hard to find."

- (5) J.J. Simpson: "Entomological Research in British West Africa." 1911.  
Bulletin of Entomological Research, 2(3), October 1911.

p. 208 "This creek opens into the River Gambia, about 25 miles from Bathurst, and after a short but very tortuous course runs practically parallel with the river. Its length in British territory is, roughly, 50 miles, and it is navigable all the year round for launches, drawing 6 ft. of water. At its mouth it is nearly a mile in width, but it gradually narrows until at Sandeng it is only about 50 yards wide. The tidal influence is marked throughout the whole course, and, as in the case of the main river where this occurs, the banks are clothed with a dense growth of mangroves from end to end, except perhaps where villages are situated, and there sporadic trees of various kinds have sprung up. The country is very flat in this region, except at Bintang, where the town of that name is situated, and where there is a slight elevation of the bank. The only other town of any size is Kansala; fig. 11 shows the wharf and landing stage of that town. This view is typical of all the landing stages on the creek; it shows how these are constructed and to what extent clearing has been done. Only sufficient mangroves have been cut down to clear a space on which to build the wharf and leave a small open part on each side for canoes. ....Glossina palpalis occurs, one may almost say with certainty, along the whole creek..

At Sandeng there is a small jetty similar to that at Kansala, but at Jarrol the steamer is simply tied up alongside the bank .. "

Early this century travelling was difficult across Fonyi. Bisset Archer (1906) describes the route thus: "On leaving Baijana the road to Bulellai goes through a portion of French territory. A creek has to be crossed fordable at low water. There is also a fresh-water stream.

Rice fields (swamp during rains) exist between Bulellai and Kusamai; on leaving this latter town a creek, which is fordable, has to be crossed before reaching Kansalla. Thence to Sangajor there is another fresh-water stream and more rice fields.

Between Sangajor and Bondali there is a swamp with plenty of water in the rains, and bad going. On leaving Bondali another swamp, with rice fields, has to be crossed before reaching Jarrol."

Traders used the Bintam Bolong as a means of communication.



## Vegetation

The vegetation of the district of the district is of mixed character. For the most part it consists of open woodland with patches round the settlements cleared for cultivation. Along the edge of the Bintang creek is a fringe of mangroves, while round the swamps and scattered more sparsely inland are rhun palms and oil palms. In damp hollows one comes across vegetation reminiscent of the tropical rain forest, a few tall trees and palms with a thick entanglement of shrubs and creepers, though in fact few species characteristic of the rain forest are to be found. On the uplands one finds trees typical of savanna country, neto - locust bean (*Parkia biglobosa*), soto (*figus* sp.), wolo (*terminalia albida*), sunkungo (*Anona senegalensis*), baransango (*Acacia capylacantha*) etc., while sito - baobabs (*Adansonia digitata*), and bantango cotton trees (*Ceiba pentandra*) are to be found near the older villages.

As among the Serer the combination of acacia trees and the presence of cattle help maintain soil fertility. The trees are leafless in the rainy season, and are left on the farms, they have abundant leaves in the dry season, and so the cattle find fodder there (leaves and pods), and deposit their manure in the area. Seeds are thus spread around, from which new trees may grow. The tree itself increases the nitrogen in the soil.

The Jola make abundant use of bush products. They use shellfish from the creeks. They collect wild fruits of various kinds, leaves and roots for medicinal purposes, twigs to be used as chewing sticks (to clean teeth), leaves to be used as food (kucha, baobab leaves etc.). The leaves of fafa-jambo are collected and sold to traders in Banjul who use them to pack kola nuts. (For research in the Kombo area see Clare Madge: "Collected food and domestic knowledge in The Gambia, West Africa, Geographical Journal, 160(3), 1994, 290-294.)

The rhun palm leaf provides material for making winnowing baskets, well buckets, children's hats and bracelets, mats, beehives, fans, handbags, etc.

\*\* Mandinka terms have been used rather than Jola.

A complete leaf can be used as an umbrella, if one is caught in a storm. Leaves are often used for thatching, along with grass. The midrib is used for fencing, making a protective cage for a small tree, for the construction of platforms and seats.

The root of bolongkojibo is used in the dyeing process.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

The early accounts of the Jola indicate that they were a people without the political structure of the type found among the Mandinka or Wolof. There was no class or caste structure. There were no dominant warrior chiefs or ruling families (Kings). There was no formal judicial system backed by an organisation of courts. In pre-colonial times it seems to have been Bainunka ('Banyoon') who, for a time, established control over certain areas, but their power was eventually lost, largely as a result of external wars and the slave trade. Within the Jola community political and legal relations were on the level of self-help, and the feud. Morality was enforced by supernatural sanctions. Relations with outside groups were generally in terms of raiding and warfare. Yet marriage and kinship ties provided linkages over wide areas, and though each small community valued its independence, the informal structure provided long resistance to invading forces such as those of Fode Kaba Dumbuya, and, at present, to the Dakar government in the Casamance.

The Establishment of the Protectorate

raised

In 1887 the French/their flags in a number of towns on the north bank, some of which were on the actual banks of the Gambia...Various chiefs in French territory were also authorised to collect "customs" and tribute in Baddibu. (J.M.Gray: A History of The Gambia, p. 463.)

Gray writes: "In the circumstances Sir Samuel Rowe decided to take steps to prevent similar events occurring on the opposite bank of the river. In September 1887 he proceeded to Foni. He found that the Jolas were thoroughly weary of the constant depredations of Fodi Kabba and were only too anxious to place their country under British protection. On 15 September he met at Kansala the "kings" of sixteen Jola towns, who begged him to accept the sovereignty of their country and to place it under British protection. They entered into a treaty whereby they engaged not to cede their country to any other power except Great Britain or to enter into any treaty or arrangement with any other country except through and with the consent of the British Government. Before he left Kansala, Sir Samuel Rowe was urgently requested to hoist the British flag. Two days later he entered into a like treaty with the chief and almami of Bintang. On 19 September he met a number of chiefs of Central Kiang at Kwinella. They also made a similar treaty, and begged him to hoist the British flag in their principal towns ..... " (pp. 463-464).

In 1891 when the Anglo-French boundary was being delineated, British gunboats had to patrol the Bintang Creek to ensure protection from attacks by Fode Kaba Duumbuya. It was thought that Fode Kaba was about to attack them near Kankuran, and an armed force was made ready to resist him. However, nothing happened until the gunboats had left and returned to Banjul, and the boundary delimitation was completed. Fode Kaba began again to attack the Jolas, and returned to Sangajor. The British administration stated that he had no authority in the British sphere of influence, and asked him to return to the French side of the boundary. He refused to go, and in January 1892 his stronghold at Mariqo (Marike) was attacked by forces brought from Sierra Leone and the naval brigade already present in the colony. Fode Kaba suffered heavy losses, but managed to escape into French territory. Subsequently fighting took place at Toniataba in Western Jaara, where support for Fode Kaba was strong, and it was not until May that the situation was brought under control, Fode Kaba having been driven back to Madina.

Mr. Sitwell was appointed the first Commissioner in 1893, and from that date Fonyi was administered under the Protectorate system. The boundary was described in July 1895 (Gambia Government Gazette, 31 July 1895, p. 99).

Fonyi was divided into two 'Fogni West' and 'Fogni East', but each of these was divided into subdivisions.

<u>Gambia Government Gazette</u> , 31 July 1897, p. 104.				
		(headman)	(place)	
Fogni (West)	No.1	Lammin Sanniang	Brefet	
"	"	" 2	Massire Sise	Vintang
"	"	" 3	Sannja NJai	Kanenai (= Karenai)
Fogni (East)	No.1	Tamba Bahaba	Kansala	
"	"	" 2	Yannki Baji	Kannjuramma (i.e. Bondali District)

The interior was inhabited purely by Jolas, with the exception of the eastern corner where there were a few Bainunka villages. Otherwise non Jolas - the Mandinka, Wolof etc. were concentrated in the various wharf towns along the main river or the Bintang Creek, namely Brefet, Bintang, Sibanor, Karenai, Kansala, Bondali, Brumen....

A Travelling Commissioner's report for 1900-1901 states "..... for the collection of the tax next year, I am arranging Fogni into five small districts each to pay its tax to me through the head man of the wharf towns...I am..stationing a policeman in each of the five wharf towns -Bonndali, Kannsala, Karrenai, Vinntang, and Brefet. It will be this man's duty to go round the district allotted to him with the headman, and register the stockades and number of houses in each (and) in this way a reliable register can be easily obtained."

### Early administration

G. H. Sangster (1907) writes:

"Fogni is, and always has been, a very difficult country to handle owing to the fact that the people have never had any paramount chief over them; even headmen of towns, or groups of stockades, are rarely to be found. The owner or "big man" of each stockade\* is his own king and recognises no one as being in authority over him; the people living in his stockade obey him only as their superior. Thus it will be seen why it is such a troublesome place to administer, there being some 700 stockades in the country. Occasionally, so-called headmen of groups of stockades are to be found but they have absolutely no power. Now and again, however, one came across a man to whose authority the people will submit, but they are few and far between....."

A Mandinka at Bintang commented in 1891 that "the Jolas were a savage and ignorant people, having no chief or cohesion among themselves; that there was little communication between the different groups of villages; that a boy capable of carrying a gun had as much authority in a village as an old man; and that they were most fickle and suspicious, changing suddenly, apparently without reason, at the bidding of anyone who talked loudest."

\* "These compounds are, as a rule, surrounded by fences or "stockades" of stout branches of trees about seven feet high..."

At first the Jola paid their tax in millet. Gradually they were encouraged to increase the cultivation of the cash crop - groundnuts, so as to pay tax in cash.

(Travelling Commissioner's Report 1898-99): "I have this year... sent my interpreter to visit every stockade in Fogni West, and directed the owner of each to plant a small patch of groundnuts for the purpose of paying tax. I have talked the question over with many Jolahs, and it has met with their approval, as the system of collecting tax in corn was taking their food away from them...."

By about 1901 the idea of paying a tax had become generally accepted though "No.1 Fogni the Western end nearest to Bathurst, has never been conquered by us, and so they often use that as an excuse for not paying tax. However this year..... all paid something towards their tax; few towns paying in full, but most paying half. The Eastern end also only pay 2/- for each "stockade" and some of these stockades contain over 15 houses..... From what I can see a small sum was charged at first with the intention of increasing it to the proper amount when the place was more civilized and under control."



The situation in 1912 is described as follows: "Agriculture was practically confined to the production of food (i.e. little groundnut production for cash DPG); there were few native traders and these seemed to make a practice of swindling the Jolas who were ignorant of and refused to have anything to do with any other coin but the five franc piece. Changes had to be effected very gradually, reliable men had to be found as chiefs and for the courts, some control had to be placed on the traffic in guns (every man possessed either a cap or a flint-lock gun), and the people had to learn to gain a little more confidence and not vanish at the approach of a white man, " By 1923 "Progress has been made in many directions, more trading stations have been opened and trade has increased, bridges and causeways have been made over some of the worst swamps, bush has been cleared for groundnut farms, and strangers can pass through the country with live stock and goods without fear of being molested and robbed. The younger Jolas are also taking some interest in their appearance and instead of being contented to wear old rags, now spend money at the shops on cloth and clothes. There are occasional outbreaks of lawlessness on a small scale but these are more often than not caused by Jolas from across the frontier who come over to indulge in cattle lifting or join in some funeral ceremony at which they often contrive to create a disturbance."

By the late 1920s Islam was gaining ground among the younger people, and Mandinka influence was becoming stronger.

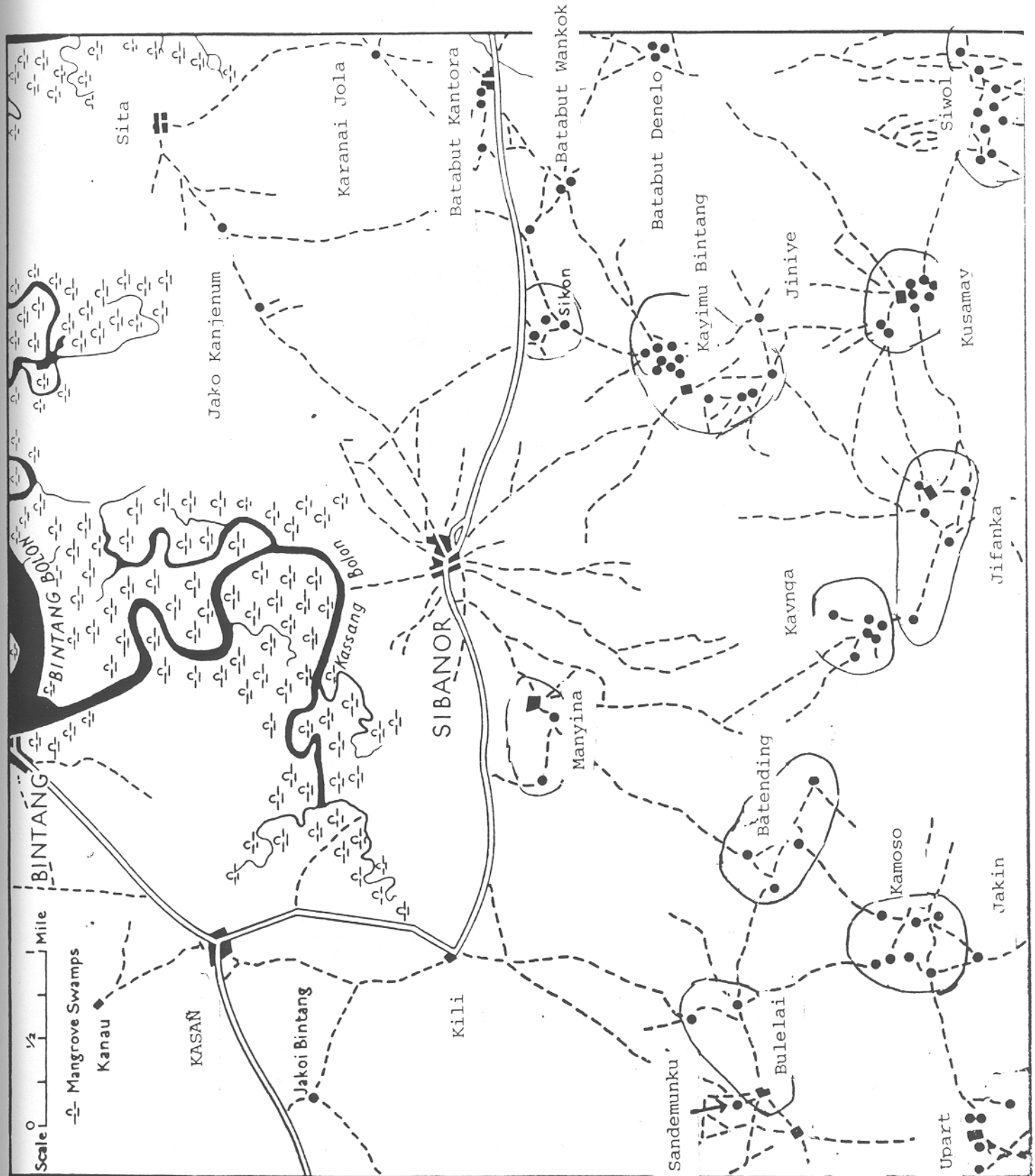
### TYPES OF SETTLEMENT

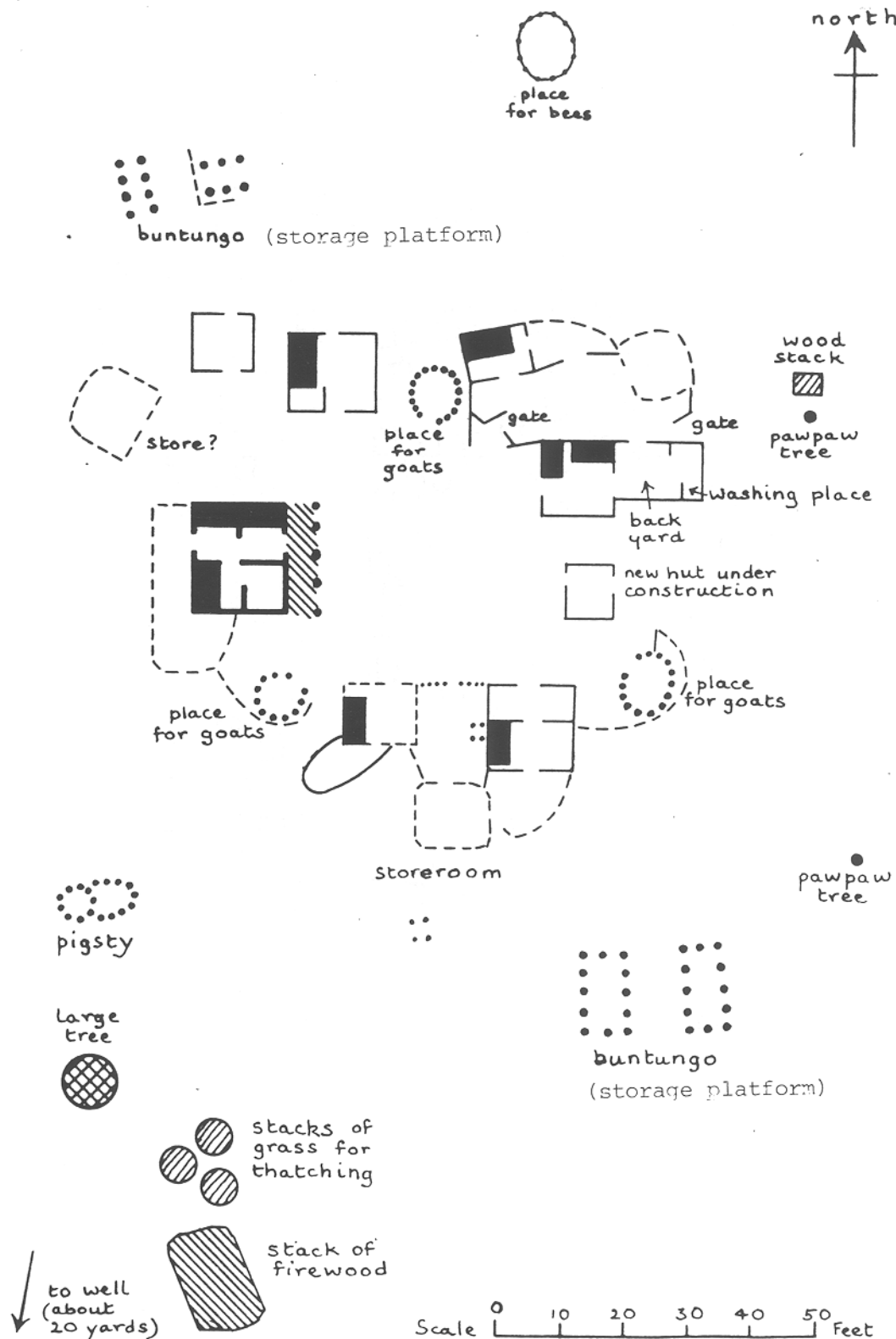
In Jola country one can distinguish three main types of settlement. The traditional type of Jola "village" consisted of a series of hamlets, generally from four to eight in number, and each having from a dozen to fifty people, scattered over a distance of several miles, but considering themselves a unit bound by ties of patrilineal kinship or tradition of common settlement. The total population of this type of settlement rarely exceeds 250 people. Examples are Kabokor, Bulelayi, and Kanuma in Fonyi Bintang District.

Secondly there are small hamlets unconnected with their neighbours by ties of descent or common origin. Here the population ranges from a dozen to fifty or sixty people. Examples are Kanau and Katakori in Fonyi Bintang District.

Thirdly there are compact villages which follow the Mandinka pattern of closely built compounds. These are often of recent origin or else deserted villages which have been revived. They are generally situated on the main road, and often house people of ethnic groups other than Jola. Examples are Besse (pop. c.300), Ndemban (pop. c.400\*) in Fonyi Brefet, Kasanyin Fonyi Bintang, etc. In recent years since a new main road has been made through Fonyi, there is a pattern of 'ribbon development', compounds being made along both sides of the main road. Somita has been transformed from a traditional pattern of scattered compounds to one stretching along the main road.

\* 1956 figures.





----- Reed matting  
 ———— Reed wall  
 ———— Mud wall

..... Palm posts  
 ..... Wooden posts  
 // // // Verandah      ■ Bed

K A N A U  
 FONYI BINTANG KARANAI DISTRICT

KASANG  
FONYI BINTANG  
April 1947

● well

to Bintang

mosque

to Kanau

main road to Bwiam

to Rest House

road to Brikama

(unoccupied)

Legend:

- ..... Fencing of posts
- Fencing of reeds
- - - - Fencing of matting
- K Kitchen
- Mud house
- Reed house
- Bu Buntungo

## NOMENCLATURE

At the present time the major people in Fonvi are called Jola in English, (Dyola), Diola/in French. This is to be distinguished from Jula (Diula) in French texts, who are a sub-group of the Mandinka.

The term Jola is used by both the Mandinka and Wolof. In speaking Jola, the people call themselves Kujamat.

In early writings they were termed Felups, Flups. For example, in Fernandes (1506-10) - Falupes, Falupos; De la Courbe (1685) Feloupes, Francis Moore (1730-35) Floops; Mungo Park (1795) Feloops; Golberry (1785-7) Felupps. Francis Moore described Fonvi as inhabited by Floops, and Banyoons (whom he calls a sort of Floops). The Banyoon were the Bainunka (a Mandinka term), Bagnon (old French), or Banhun (Portuguese). Currently they are often called Baynunk.

The Baynunk are to be found at present only in the south-east corner of Fonvi Jarrol, but formerly were much more widespread, controlling a number of long distance trade routes. Warfare and slave raiding led to many being sold as slaves, the end result being that they seemed to have been absorbed into the Mandinka and Jola populations.

About the early 1850s the term Jola began to be used in writings in place of Felups. Gambian Annual Report 1856, - Iolas. Huntley (1850) Jolur, Fox (1851) Jollars, Hecquard (1856) Yolas, Gambian Annual Report (1861) Jowlah, Mitchinson (1881) Djolas. This term would seem to have come from the Mandinka term jo-la, payer, perhaps from the fact that the Felups were reputed never to forget an injury, and continued to seek revenge. In time the term was accepted by the people of Fonvi themselves.

FONYI - ETHNIC COMPOSITION

According to data from the 1947 Assessment, the composition is as follows: (Based on figures for adults)

District ---	Jarrol	Bondali	Kansala	Bintang- Karenai	Brefet
	%	%	%	%	%
Jola	49.4	80.7	84.4	82.2	74.3
Mandinka	21.8	6.0	8.8	13.5	17.1
Fulbe	15.1	11.1	1.4	1.0	5.6
Laube	0.3	-	-	-	-
Wolof	0.8	1.0	2.3	0.6	0.7
Serer	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.7	0.9
Bambara	0.4	0.8	0.3	1.1	0.7
Serahuli	0.1	0.2	1.6	0.5	0.1
Mauritanian	0.2	-	0.5	0.1	-
Aku	-	0.1	0.1	-	-
Manjago	-	-	-	0.3	0.6
Bainunka	11.8	-	-	-	-
	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

A high proportion of the small minority groups - Wolof, Serer, Manjago, Bambara, Aku, Fula, Serahuli, Mauritanian are to be found in the major trade centers of Sibanor, Buyam, Bondali Tenda, and Sintet.

The only European in the area was a Catholic missionary at Buyam.

Bainunka villages are Kamamudu, Kamanka, Kansambu etc. in the south-eastern corner of Gambian Fonyi, though in former days the Bainunka were clearly spread over a wider area.

Buyam = Bwiam

POPULATION      (Assessment data)

	Fonyi Brefet	Fonyi-Bintang Karenai	Fonyi Kansala	Fonyi Bondali	Fonyi Jarrol	
1944	1724	4812	5181	2637	2909	
1945	1979	5119	5486	2774	3182	
1946	2025	5152	5577	2713	3028	
1947	2067	4928	5486	3007	2801	
1948	2031	5195	4225	2767	2497	
1949	2030	5482	4902	2882	2694	
1950	2132	5324	4757	2927	2650	
1951	2046	5103	4183	2843	2523	
1952	1979	4887	4352	2857	2365	
1953	2115	5377	4255	2960	2611	
1954	2187	4923	4272	2877	2700	
1955	2076	4991	4207	2731	2703	
1956	2137	4991	4553	2859	2739	
1957	2139	4909	4498	2705	2637	
1958	2027	4881	4584	2891	2632	
1959	n.a.					
1960	n.a.					
1961	2010	4743	3934	2562	2454	
1962						
1963	2653	5870	4561	2577	3008	CENSUS
1973	5431	8324	7019	3500	4238	CENSUS
1983	6888	10787	7268	3749	4904	CENSUS
1993	8511	11380	7734	4602	5353	CENSUS



FONYI JARROLLIST OF VILLAGES

1948 Map	1980 Map		AA Annual Assessment	Ce= Census
	x	Arankolikunda	shown on 1980 map where 1946 map gives Kambalayba. On new main road.	
x		Brumen (Brumang)	1950 AA	
	x	Busongai	South of Sintet	
	x	Chabai	South of Arankolikunda	
x		Duonki = Geonkili	= Jiwonker (1936)	= Jiwonkeh (1902)
x		Jarrol		
		Jarrol Wharf	1930 AA	
x		Joren Bonda	On old main road	
	x	Joren Bunda Kunda		
x		Joren Sane-kunda	North of old main road	
x	x	Kalaji (Kanlaji)	On old main road 1950 AA)	
x		Kambomb	On 1948 map	
x	x	Kamamadu	SE area	
	x	Kamanka	On old main road	
x		(Karmanka)		
x ,		Kambalayba (Kambaliba (Kanbaleba	1948 AA 1950 AA	
x		Kamemero	near Sintet	
x		Kamesing	South	
x	x	Kampasa	South east area	
x		Kanjeramba (Kannjuramma (Kangiramba	1902 1931	
		Kansambu	1931 map. south east corner	

1948 1980  
map map

Nemakunku (1950 AA)  
Nemakunda (1930 AA)

Sane-kunda - see Joren

Santang-koto 1950 AA ; 1973 Ce

Sanyang-kunda 1931 map. South of Jarrol near frontier)

x x Sintet

Tabayel 1946 AA, 1950 AA  
(Tabayeh)

Tamanto 1930 AA = Temanto ?

Tambakunda 1950 AA

Wasadu(ng) 1931 map  
(Wassadong 1946 AA  
(Wassadu

FONYI JARROL - POPULATION

	1946	1950	1973
	Assessment data		Census
Arankolikunda	328	263	236
Brumang	54	51	
Busongai			122
Chabai			
Duonki	124	87	
Jarrol	238	191	413
Joren Bonda	240	204	129
Jorem Sanéh-kunda			
"    Drameh    "			120
Kalaji	97	96	150
Kambomb			
Kamamadu	192	180	
Kamanka	149	133	196
Kambalayba	90	66	
Kamemero			
Kamesing			
Kampasa	138	110	182
Kanjeramba			
Kansambu	63	62	107
Nemakunku	77	74	
Santang-koto	71	59	106
Sanyang-kunda			
Sintet	747	697	1403
Tabayel	45	47	
Tambakunda	52	58	
Temanto			
Wasadung	323	272	515
villages under -100			559
	<u>3028</u>	<u>2650</u>	<u>4238</u>

### Ethnic Distribution

No detailed study was made of the villages, but the district, based on data from the 1947 tax assessment, contains a greater degree of mixture than the other Fonyi districts. The east-west road crosses the Bintang Bolong at Brumen, the main road leading up to Kwinella and Tendabaa in Kiyang, a traditional trade center on the river Gambia. There are paths southward from Jarrol and Sintet to Kampassa and Kamamudu, and onwards to the Casamance, and from Sintet to a Senegalese customs post at Sankanding.

The southern section has traditional Bainunka villages such as Kamanka, Kamamudu, Kansambu, etc. There are a number of Fula villages in the eastern part of Santangkoto, Tabayel, Duonki (Jiwonki), and a substantial number of Fulbe in Sintet. Mandinka are to be found in villages near the main road, and trade centers - Sintet, Kalaji, Jarrol, Jorem. Jola form the highest proportion in Sintet, Kampasa, Wassadong, Kambaliba, Kalaji, Jarrol, and Arankonikunda.

An estimate of the groups from the 1947 tax assessment is as follows:

	%
Jola	49.4
Mandinka	21.8
Bainunka	11.8
Fulbe	15.1
Laube	0.3
Wolof	0.8
Serer	0.2
Bambara	0.4
Serahuli	0.1
Mauretanian	0.2

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100.1

SPECIFIC PLACES

Brumen Ferry

Kampasa

Sintet

(BRUMEN

(BRUMANG FERRY (No longer existing)

Sibyl Porter: "Gambia Journey," West African Review, April 1952. p.330

"I had first seen Brumen Ferry in the smoke-like rising mists of dawn and it struck me then as the most stygian spot I would see on this earth. Now in the heat of early afternoon, it gave the same impression. The mangroves were shimmering in the baking heat, the water looked oily blue-green with its reflections of sky and mangrove, the stagnant mud popped with crab holes, and amphibious mud fish clambered up the black mud banks."

A bridge was built to replace the ferry in 1962. (Brumen Bridge)

GAMBIA 1962 and 1963.



*Brumen Bridge. Construction completed in 1962.*

Also: #336 C.O.I. The Gambia. 1965 . pp. 14/15

"Brumen bridge carries the Bathurst-Mansa Konko trunk road across the Bintang River."

### KAMPASA

Article by Jamo Sowe: The Crescent (School Magazine)- July 1984.

"My village is called Kampasa. It is found in the eastern part of Western Division, and is about two hundred years old. The first person to settle there was called Njongaily Sambou, a Bainunko by tribe and a hunter. He cleared a small area of land and built a house, where he lived with his wife Kumbanding Kombo.

These two people lived there alone for many years until one day Njongaily's [wife] fell ill and died. He was about to go and settle in another place, when a man arrived with his wife and a small boy. They were on their way to another village, but Njongaily suggested that they should stay with him and settle there.

In those days the bush was very thick, and the new arrival told Njongaily: "I am a palm-wine tapper, but the bush is so thick that I can't get to the palm trees." Njongaily replied: "I'll help you to clear the bush and make a foot-path, so that you can easily do your job." So the man agreed, and he and his family settled there. When people living in the nearby villages heard about him, they started coming to buy palm wine from him, and this led to some of them migrating from their village to Njongail's settlement. The settlement became very popular and acquired the name Kampasa, a Bainunko word meaning "a place of good fortune."

During those years there were no other tribes living there apart from Bainunkos, who are now very small in number. Later came the Jolas, who were also very much interested in palm-wine tapping. In the morning all the men would go to the swamp where a large area had been cleared under a mighty tree. They sat down and waited for the tappers to bring the fresh palm-wine. After each man had bought as much as he could afford, the rest of the day was spent drinking and chatting until sunset.



Kampasa became larger as different tribes came to settle there. When Niongaily died the village moved half a kilometre northwards. When it became too large some people left to settle in nearby villages, and even now these villages still pay homage to the head of Kampasa, Bakary Sambou, in recognition of Kampasa as their origin. The descendants of Niongaily are still in the village, but they now occupy one compound, Sambu Kunda.

SINTET

A brief history of Sintet was provided by Ensa Tamba, and published in  
 Freudenberger, Mark Schoonmaker  
Institutions and Natural Resource Management in The Gambia: A Case  
study of Foni Jarrol District.  
 University of Michigan: Land Tenure Center, 1993.  
 Research Paper No.114 pp. 20-22.

"Amalanga Badjie was the first of the Jola settlers to arrive in Sintet, which was then used as a prime palm wine tapping area by the Bainunka living in the area. Amalanga cleared land given to him by the Bainunkas and established his home in the section of Sintet known as Bako...Descendants of Amalanga are still present in Bako and remain today the most powerful family in this subsection of Sintet....

A year or so after the Badjie settlement in Bako, another Jola settler arrived across the stream and densely forested palm grove which is currently used for rice cultivation, and settled in the area of what is now Busongai. Yankuba Tamba came from Kanbenseng, near Chaboi, after a few Bainunka friends told him of the land available there....He eventually succeeded in bringing his brother, Akambi Tamba.

A short time after the Tambas had settled in the Busongai area, they were greeted by Amalanga Badjie, who discovered the settlement while on a hunting expedition. The two families were only 1 or 2 kilometers apart, yet neither knew of the other's settlement.....Amalanga was concerned that the Tambas would eventually take control of the area, which was valued for its palm wine. Badjie continued on to the village of Jwenkell to alert the Colley family of the potential threat that the Tambas posed to palm wine tapping and to rally their support for the expulsion of the Tambas from the village.

Representatives of the Colley family then traveled to Busongai to confirm Amalanga Badjie's account of the new settlement. The Colleys met with the Yankuba and Akambi Tamba and asked who had given them permission to settle there. The Colleys claimed that the palm tapping area was theirs and ordered the Tambas to leave....The Tambas were forced to remove their belongings and the Colleys set fire to their settlement.

(Word of this reached the British Commissioner, who summoned troops to Brumen to punish the Colleys. They reached Jwenkell and captured the Colleys whom they took to Kansala, who were executed. )

Yankuba Tamba returned to Busongai and once again persuaded Akambi Tamba to join him. Akambi later moved to Kabumb, as Mandinka settlers from Kiang began to migrate to the area.

The first alkalo of Sintet was Jansa Badjie of Bako, who was removed for his abuse of palm wine. He was succeeded by a Mandinka Dahaba from Kabumb, but only for a brief period before Musa Badjie gained the post. After his death Chief Kandion Sanyang appointed Malang Tamba from the Casamance to the post. Malang Tamba served for forty years, and was succeeded by his son, Ebrima Tamba, present alkalo of Sintet.

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A description of the tabo tree in the centre of Sintet, the traditional residence of a spirit called Nvamo, where rites are performed at times of crisis - fire, famine, disease, etc. and of another shrine Bantangkato, a dark grove overshadowed by two silk cotton trees is given in an article by Karamo N.M.Sonko "Everything remains a mystery," in Sunu Kibaro (Jubilee Edition 1929-1979), Banjul, 1979

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Recent articles & reports. (Fonyi Jarol)

"Abobo's bees, his duty to mankind,"

The Gambia News Bulletin, #95, 14 August 1980, p.2

(Deals with crocodile pool at Busonghai, and bees at Kabombu ,  
affected by lack of rain.)

Freudenberger, Mark Schoonmaker (Ed.)

Institutions and Natural Resource Management in The Gambia:

A Case Study of the Foni Jarrol District.

Madison: University of Wisconsin, Land Tenure Centre. 1993.

Research Paper 114.

FONYI BONDALI

## Village List

1948 Map	1980 Map		
x	x	Allakunda	Near frontier & boundary with Kansala.
x		Arankon Kunda	Near Bondali Tenda.
		Bajiran	= In Fonyi Kansala on map.
		Bantanjang	Near Bintam Bolong ?
x		Bisari	Eastern side, south of the main road.
	x	+ Bissari Bajonke	
x	x	Bondali Jola	on main road.
		(The 1948 map has a Bondali Jola in the far west of the District)	
x	x	Bondali Tenda	
x		Bulengat	south of road..eastern side.
		(Bulengart, Bulinat, Bullengate, Bullengat)	
x	x	Bunubor	Western side.
x		Dasilami	North of main road.
		Jandeng	West of Kanjiramba.
	x	Janding Jilahar	
		(Jandin, Jendin, Jantum)	
x		Jifon	North of main road. Near Bintam Bolong.
		(Jifoni, Jifong, Jifogne, Jiffoin)	
x		Jorem - Sane Kunda	North of road.
x		Jorem - Tambakunda	On main road.
		Kafenken	Near frontier & western boundary with Kansala.
		Kalang	
		(Kanlang, Kaleng, Kallang)	
x		Kalim	Near Bintam Bolong.
x		Kalimu	south of Bondali Jola near boundary with Kansala.

1948 Map	1980 Map		
		Kamessen	near frontier with Casamance.
		(Kamessan, Kamesing)	
	x	Kanjibat	
x	x	Kangwali/ Kawali	
		(Kanwali, Kawali	
		Kanilai	nr. western boundary with Kansala
		(Kalinlai ?)	south of Bondali Jola.
x		Kanjeramba	
		(Kanjirambi) = Kantate ?	
		Kanjinbat	
		Kaniibat	
x	x	Kankuran	
		Kangkurang	
		Kanlaf	
		Kantati	
x	x	Kayabor	North of main road.
		(Kiabor (1930), Kayabor (1936) Kaiabawr (1944)	
x		Marige	South of main road, eastern area.
	x	Mayor	
		(Mayork (1973), Maiawr (1944), Myorr (1930). Mayok	
		Nyafuyi	South of Bondali Jola).
		(Nyafui, Niafoi (1902), Nefwi (1930, 1944)	
		Nyamtempo	(1931 - on old main road, near western boundary with Kansala.
x		Sanyangkunda	Near frontier. eastern side.
x		Wesedung	south of main road.

The Commissioner, South Bank Province, wrote the following in 1944.

"The District consists of the following villages:-

- |     |                           |                                      |                             |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1.  | Bondali Jola              |                                      |                             |
| 2.  | Bondali Tenda             | (Trade centre, on Bondali Jola land) |                             |
| 3.  | Kaiabawr                  | )                                    |                             |
| 4.  | Kalim (on Kaiabawr land)  | )                                    |                             |
| 5.  | Jifoin                    | )                                    |                             |
| 6.  | Nefwi                     | )                                    | A group of related villages |
| 7.  | Kalang                    | )                                    |                             |
| 8.  | Dasilame (on Kalang land) | )                                    | known as Jibob.             |
| 9.  | Bajiran (on Kalang land)  | )                                    |                             |
| 10. | Maiawr                    | )                                    |                             |
| 11. | Ka-wali                   |                                      |                             |
| 12. | Kanjibat                  | (on Ka-wali land)                    |                             |
| 13. | Kangkurang                |                                      |                             |
| 14. | Kafengken                 |                                      |                             |
| 15. | Alakunda                  |                                      |                             |
| 16. | Jandin                    |                                      |                             |
| 17. | Bulengat                  | )                                    |                             |
| 18. | Bisari                    | )                                    | A group of related villages |
| 19. | Kantate (Kanjirambi)      | )                                    |                             |
| 20. | Syangkunda                | )                                    | known as Manike. (Marike ?) |

2. So far as is at present known, like other Jola areas, there was never any central authority controlling the individual villages, in contrast to the Mandinka "Kings".... But some of the villages were related and formed themselves into groups, though it is not known what common organisation, if any, these groups had, nor how much survives to this day. Two such groups are found in the Fonyi Bondali District, Jibob, and Manike. In addition to the villages shown as such in the list above, the Jibob group also includes the villages of Nianitempo and Kanjendi, which are now deserted; and the Manike group also includes the village of Jiwongker in the Fonyi Jarrol District, and the village of Kemesing, which is now deserted. Apart from these two groups, the other villages do not seem to have any cohesion except that provided by an artificial and government imposed District organisation with arbitrary boundaries. "

FONYI BONDALI - POPULATION

	1946	1950	1973
Alakunda	198	203	159
Bajiran	48	55	114
Bantanjang		84	111
Bisari	156	188	156
Bisari Bajonki			125
Bondali	278	281	471
Bondali Tenda	155	226	165
Bulengat	292	264	228
Dasilami	13	17	
Jandeng	123	144	
Jifon	29	34	
Kafenken	74	66	
Kalang	54	75	154
Kalim	63		119
Kamessen		32	
Kangwali	250	232	302
Kanjibat	81	55	116
Kankuran	177	161	163
Kanlaf		65	
Kantati	33	34	
Kayabor	155	152	153
Mayor	77	87	121
Nyafuyi	347	324	245
Nyamtempo		35	
Sanyangkunda	110	113	180
other villages less than 100 people			418
	<u>2713</u>	<u>2556</u>	<u>3500</u>



Ethnic Distribution.

No detailed study was made of the villages of this area.

It is essentially a Jola district, a high proportion of the non-Jolas being found in Bondali Tenda ( Mandinka, 61%, Wolof 18%, Fulbe 14%, Bambara 6%, Aku 1%).

Fulbe are to be found at Bisari, with some in the Jola villages of Bulengat, and Sanyangkunda, all in the eastern side of the district.

RECENT ARTICLES

Touray, Kawsu S.

"Bondali Chief Speaks Out On Local Issues,"  
Daily Observer, 21 May 1993, 11.

SPECIFIC PLACES

39

Marige

MARIGE

This stockaded village was once occupied by Fode Kaba. In 1892 British forces attacked it, and it was destroyed, Fode Kaba seeking refuge in French territory.

VILLAGE NAMES - FONYI KANSALA

Maps  
1948    1980

Angalabata                      named this way    in 1920s & 1930s.

See Kangalabata

Baipal                          an old settlement.

x    Bajiran                      near Bintam Bolong on eastern side.

x                      Bajonkoto                      on main road west of Bwiam.

x                      x    Ballen                          near frontier (1948 map).

x    Bassen Kansana              near frontier with Casamance .

Bujeling                          in the south east near the frontier.  
(Bajelling (1931), Bujiling (1950), Bujellin (1930))

x    Bunjinga                      listed in the 1930s.  
                    listed as    Bungiga    on 1948 map.    South of Bwiam.

Buluntu

x    Bunubor                      South of Kamfenda    (1948 map).  
                    (1902 - Banubaw)

x    Bunvai                          south of main road.  
                    (Buniai)

x                      x    Burok                          map.  
   on 1948/ North of main road. eastern side.

Corrected on 1956 map to    Sangajor Jiramba.

x                      x    Buyam.  
                                    Standard spelling    Bwiam

Bwiam Jola

Dandon(i)                          near southern boundary.

x                      x    Dasilami                      near Bintam Bolong. eastern side.

x                      Dobong                          north-east of Bwiam.  
                                    (1936    Dawbong )

x    Dubong                          Shown on 1948 map.    near Bintam Bolong.  
                                    Corrected to    Tintiba    on 1956 map.

Dumbutu/Dumbuto

Funtang                          near southern boundary.    an old settlement.

Giramba                          appears on 1931 map. north of main road.

x    Giniah                          near Bwiam. SW of town.  
                    Jinier ?

Maps  
1948 1980

Jalenyā  
(1936 Jalenga)

Janaki appears on 1931 map. south of main road.

Jatiko north of the main road.

x Jibangari 1980 map shows it on the main road south of  
(Gibagnari, Jibanari, Gebangar (1973). Kambong .

x Jikis  
(Gikis on 1948 map. Near southern boundary.  
(Gikis Dandoni 1973 Census

x Jilimfara western side of the district, near southern frontier.

x Jomakunda north of main road. eastern side.  
x (Jumukunda)  
1956 map places it where 1948 map has Tintiba.

x Jonger near Bintam Bolong. north-east side.

x Kaleng south of Kamfenda.  
(Kaling (1948), Kanling (1950)

x Kamfenda (Bajikunda)

x Kamfenda Mangakunda listed in 1973 census.

x A Kangfenda on the 1948 map is corrected to Dumbutto on the 1956 map.

x Kambagali south of Bwiam.

Kambok shown on 1931 map, south-west of Kansala.

x x Kambong near main road west of Bwiam.

Kambure shown on 1931 map. north of the main road.

Kamburga listed in the 1930s.

Kampart near Bwiam.  
(= Kampanta ?) (Kampante ?)

Kangalabata on frontier. SW of Bunubor  
(appears earlier as Angalabata)

Kanilai  
(Kaninlai)

x Kankuntu north of Bwiam.

x Kansala near Bintam Bolong, west of Kankuntu.

	Kansana	appears on 1931 map. south of Bwiam.
	Kantali	
	Kantelli	on 1931 map. near main road. eastern side.
x	Kantimba	near southern boundary. SE corner.
	Karawan	appears on 1927 list.
	Kapa	(On 1931 map)
	(Kappa, Koppa)	an old settlement.
x	Karan	on map as Kayrang. south of Kamfenda.
	Karunor	near southern boundary.
x	Karol	" " "
	(Karrol)	
x	Kujenjen	near southern boundary. eastern side.
	(Kunjengjeng, Kanjenjen)	
x	Kurinulain	just south of Bwiam.
	Luluchor	near southern boundary. (on 1905 map)
	Mandina	
	Manunya	on 1931 map. north of main road. eastern side.
x	Meris	north of Sangajor (1948 map).
x	Monong	south south west of Kamfenda.
	(Manong, Monom, Mornom)	
x	Nyafui	south east of Sangajor.
	Salikeni	on 1931 map. east of Bunyai.
x	x Sangajor(i)	on main road.
	x (Sanajor Jiramba	1973 census) near creek
	Santamba	north of main road towards Bintam Bolong.
x	Saringa	south west of Bwiam.
	Simangara	on 1931 map.
x	(Semangara (1948) (Simongara)	
x	Sindifula	west of Bwiam.
	(Shindifula on 1948 map	
x	x Tintiba	near Bintam Bolong. The place shown on the 1948 map has been corrected to <u>Jumakunda</u> . Tintiba was then placed where Dubong is shown.
	Wurumbang/Wurambang	an old settlement. on creek SW of Kambong.

CORRECTIONS MADE TO 1948 MAP

## Fonyi Kansala District

1948 map		1956 edition
Tintiba	corrected to	Jumakunda
Dubong	" "	Tintiba
Kangfenda	" "	Dumbutto
Burrock	" "	Sangajor Jiramba



PONVI KANSALA - POPULATION

	1930	1946	1950	1973
	Assessment			Census
Baipal	173	116	91	
Bujeling	100	122	97	135
Bujinga	71	62	59	
Buluntu	132	87	83	
Bunubor	179	96	113	122
Bunyai	98	141	96	101
Burok	131	105	112	555
Bwiam	530	611	616	1300
Bwiam Jola	290	196	130	
Dandoni		67	98	
Dasilami		78	51	146
Dobong	343	305	227	171
Dumbutu	114	87	60	106
Funtang	187	143	141	126
Jalenya	79	44	48	
Jatiko	96	30	31	
Jibangar	74	69	63	122
Jikis	67			108
Jomakunda	145	176	198	291
Kaleng	83	47	50	
Kamfenda	197	451	472	232
" -Mangakunda				357
Kambagali		115	58	
Kambong	139	51	20	
Kamburqa	126			
Kampat	58	81	82	265
Kangalabata	96	41	39	
Kanilai (Kalinlai ?)	355	325	290	391
Kankuntu	131	229	172	338
Kansala	74	26	32	
Kantimba	65	13	20	
Koppa/ Kapa	137	154	118	137
Karan	31	11	22	
Karunor	105	56	50	
Karol	82	89	70	
Kujenjen	58	33	11	
Luluchor		79	58	
Mandina	51	78	32	
Monong/ Momom	76	72	65	
Sangajori	561	649	529	603
Santamba	88	53	75	
Saringa	59	69	45	
Simangara	76	66	38	
Sindifula	74	40	45	
Tintiba	261	97	60	
Wurambang	29	17		
Sangajor Jiramba				202
villages less than				1211
100				
	5821	5477	4767*	7019

\* Figures for immigrant settlers (total 214, about half of whom were in Bwiam) have been added to the general population figures.

### Ethnic Distribution

No detailed study was made of the villages of this area, though Bwiam, Kankuntu, and Kansala were visited from time to time.

Bwiam is a trading town with a mixed population, as well as being the residence of the district chief. A Catholic Mission with a large school is also located there. Based on data from 1947 the composition of the town was as follows - Jola 39%, Wolof 20%, Mandinka 13%, Serahuli 13%, Fulbe 8%, Serer 3%, Bambara 3%, Aku 1%, Mauretanians 0.5%.

Predominantly Mandinka villages were close to the Bintang Bolong - namely Tintiba and Darselami, and other concentrations of Mandinka are to be found in Jola villages near the creek, such as Dobong, & /Kankuntu. Occasionally a compound of Mandinka - often religious teachers - may be found in Jola villages in the south of the district.

A few Fulbe were also to be found in Jola villages, but there were no Fula villages.

SPECIFIC PLACES

# GEREJE\*

Along the Bintang Creek is a place described in many texts.

Geregia in Francis Moore (1730), Guereque Sieur de la Courbe (1685), etc. which was formerly an important trading station. Also Gueiresque (1685).

Sir John Gray considered that the name was derived from the Portuguese word for church (igregia). At present there is a tract of farmland between the present Roman Catholic Mission compound and the Bintang Creek still called "Gereje". The land is slightly elevated above the surrounding "Jereje ?" swampland.

Francisco de Lemos Coelho in his Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684), translated by P.E.H.Hair refers to Aldea dos Herejes (Town of Heretics) which would seem to be the same place. The region had both Banyuns (Bagnons) and Feloups (Jola), and many foreigners traded there. The English had a trading station in De la Courbe's time, and he also went to see a Spaniard who had married the local king's daughter. This Spaniard told him that the Portuguese living there were for the most part of Jewish origin, and when he proposed bringing a priest to administer the sacraments, they were completely indifferent.

Stephan Buhnen in a recent article (History in Africa, 19, 1992, n.63, derives the name from the Bainunka word for crocodile. ji (locative prefix) + re:gire (crocodile). The old 17th century vocabulary gives crocodile - guareigue.

With so many nationalities (African and European) using the name it is easy to see how confusion remains. I still feel there is merit in Gray's interpretation.

\* Prof. William R. Stanley in his Tourist Map of The Gambia (1979?) makes an error labelling Bintang as 'Gereeja'.

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

p.5 #10

"If you wish to go further up Rio de Bintam, which is a branch of Rio de Gambia, six leagues from this port of Bintam is another kingdom of Banhus called the kingdom of Sangedegu, and in sight of the port is a village called the Village of the Heretics (Aldea dos Herejes). This used to be the village with most trade on Rio de Gambia; and even today the English have a commercial establishment there. Many hides, much wax and a number of blacks can be obtained, and some locally-born whites live there. The heathen are savages, and the country is usually split between the warring factions, each wanting to have its own king; in consequence the roads across the country are not very safe. The kingdom contains, apart from the Banhus who would like to turn the land into two kingdoms, many Falupos who are (their) subjects. These Falupos are very wicked here, being highwaymen on the roads and great thieves, so that no-one is safe from them along the whole route. In spite of this people travel over-land, and one can go from this village of the Heretics by land to Cacheo. I went this way three time because it is short. I made these journeys with correntes de negros (files of blacks ?) and plenty of merchandise, and nothing ever happened to me, except that one night, coming from Cacheo, these Falupos tried to rob me in the house in which I was lodging in the village of Boaguer, and actually stole from me 25 fine cloths (panos altos).....

After leaving the port of the (village of the) Heretics to go to Cacheo overland, you will (first ) sleep in a pretty village called Jamai, having made a journey of about six leagues. The village is a very prosperous one, and it possesses excellent hens. There is much trade throughout this

country, and whites used to live in this village, which is stockaded around, because of wars.

(The next evening one reaches Boaguer - situated at the edge of a river, with a good landing place. Take a canoe which goes to Bujeto (Bajeto, Bajato). Stop at O Porto dos Lagartos (Port of the Crocodiles), then with the tide to the main channel of the Casamance River. From Bujeto travel by land to Quinquim (a little more than a league). Resume journey by water heading for Cacheo.)

Jamai - There is a Diamaye Inor, SE of Bwiam (17 miles away), which would seem to match Jamai.

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

p. 200 "Gueregue, village eloignee de deux marées du lieu ou nous estions  
mouilles (Albreda)

204 ...le roy du pays..qui demeure a un quart de lieué du village.  
nous nous retirasmes a la case des Anglois. Le principal commis nommé  
Mr.Gouin, Irlandois de nation....

205 Les Anglois entretiennent ordinairement une case dans ce pays ou l'on fait  
un grand commerce de cire, de cuirs, d'yvoire, de captifs et d'un peu d'or;  
mais particulièrement de cire. Il y a des Portugais qui envoient dans les  
villages des negres qui sont a leurs gages, pour acheter ce qu'ils en peuvent  
trouver, et lorsqu'ils en ont beaucoup, ils la fondent et la mettent en pain  
et la vont vendre aux Anglois ou aux François, quand il y en a; mais ces  
derniers n'y avoient point eu de case jusqu'alors et ils y venoient seulement  
negocier dans des barques..

206 ...l'alquier nous estant venu prendre, nous mena voir le roy de Gueregue;  
nous le trouvasmes a l'entrée de sa case; c'estoit un petit homme trapu, il avoit  
un bonet a la portugaise et un habit de negre, et tenoit une epée à l'espagnole  
à la main, sur laquelle il s'appuyoit....

(Made arrangements for travelling south...)

207 J'allay voir un Espagnol qui avoit epouse la fille du roy; il se  
nommoit Signor Jean Philippe... (his wife had become a Christian).

Bagnons et les Feloupes. Les Bagnons sont civilisés, mais les Feloupes  
sont la pluspart sauvages, et par ce qu'ils ne le reconnoissent pour roy qu'  
avec contrainte, il leur fait souvent la guerre et en tire les esclaves qu'il  
vend; il est toujours bien muny d'armes et de poudre, et a plusieurs gens qui  
sçavent fort bien tirer.

(Defeated English who sent an armed vessel against him.)

208 Cet Espagnol me contoit que tous les Portugais qui demeuroient dans le pays estoient la pluspart juifs, et que, leur ayant proposé d'entretenir un padre ou prestre, pour leur administrer les sacremens, ils n'en avoient tenus aucun compte; il me temoigna que, si quelque religieux vouloit s'etablir la, qu'il ne manqueroit de rien et que peut etre il y feroit beaucoup de conversions...

le pays me parut parfaitement beau, et, comme il avoit deja commence a pleuvoir, toutte la terre sembloit des prairies; je vis des lougans de ris  
209 qui sont tout le long du bord de la riviere, ils sont traversés de petites chaussées, d'espace en espace pour empescher que l'eau ne s'ecoule; d'abord qu'il a plut, on seme le ris qui croit dans l'eau. Il y a dans ce pays des arbres d'une prodigieuse grandeur, qu'on appelle polons....

210 (As he went south)..nous passasmes d'abord par un pays boisé ou les chemins n'estoient que des sentiers...

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The vocabularies made for the Ancienne Compagnie Royale du Sénégal published in the Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique in 1845, were compiled in the late 1670s and possibly 1680s. Those for Bagnon and Floupe may well have been compiled in the Gereje region. The Mandinka vocabulary corresponds closely to Gambian Mandinka, and may have been compiled at Albreda.



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

p.51 "....The Governor went up in the Dispatch Sloop to Geregia, a Place up Vintain River about fourteen Leagues from the Fort, where the Company have a Factory for dry Goods chiefly, under the Direction of Mr. William Roberts. The Factory-House being very bad, and ready to fall, and the King of the Country not willing that a new one should be built nearer the River-Side than the old one is the Reason of the Governor's going up, in order to have it built in a Place more commodious for the Company's landing Goods, and on occasion to withdraw them. At the same time went up the Adventure Sloop to the same place, with our Ensign, a Corporal, Drummer, and sixteen or twenty soldiers.

Geregia is a small Town lying on the South-Side of Vintain River, and about eleven Leagues from the Mouth of it, which enters the Gambia about three Leagues above James Fort. It is inhabited by Portuguese and Banyoons the former are, as in other Parts of the Country, very civil, but the latter are scarcely civilized. The Factor here buys a great deal of Bees-Wax. Towards the Water-Side the Land is pretty well clear'd, and affords excellent Shooting.

On the 29th, the Dispatch and Adventure came down from Geregia with the Governor and Soldiers, having made the King of Geregia condescend to let the Factory-House be built in whatever Place the Governor pleases.... "

p. 72. (1731) "The 4th of June, the Sea-Nymph Sloop came down from Geregia, with Mr William Roberts, the Company's Factor there, and a good quantity of Cotton and Bees-Wax..."

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Originally there were two districts - Fonyi Bintang and Fonyi Karenai, Kekoto Darame living at Kasany in charge of Fonyi Bintang, and Bakari Jasi being in charge of the Karenai district. Kekoto Darame was succeeded by Bakari Koli, who came from Bintang to Kasany. The two districts were amalgamated under the next sefoo, Bakari Jobaate, who came from Bintang, and then lived at Sibanor. He was succeeded by Seni Bwiaji, originally from Kabokor, who took up residence at Kasany. After Seni Bwiaji, the sefoship was transferred to Sibanor, which was an important trade center, and buying station for groundnuts.

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Research in Fonyi Bintang-Karenai District

I lived at Kasany at intervals:	5 April- 19 May	1947
	23 Sept- 11 Oct.	1948
	25-31 Jan.	1949

while carrying out a short study of incomes and expenditure, and the system of agriculture in Kasany and the neighboring hamlets of Kanau, Katakori, and Jakoi Bintang. (Data published in Contributions to a Socio-economic Survey of the Gambia, London: Colonial Office, 1949. pp. 109-113, 133-134, 151. )

The place was later visited for short stays	- 24 Sept- 4 Oct.	1953
	3-5 July	1954
	6 Sept.	1956

During 1956 (August 18-19), and 1957 (October 24-26), an attempt was made to visit as many of the villages as was possible by motor bike, to check names and locations.

In my initial stay in 1947 I had no transport available, but nevertheless visited on foot - Kanau, Katakori, Somita, (Initiation ceremonies), (Girls' initiation), Kili, Jakoi, Kabokor, Bulanjor, Sibanor, Bullelai, and Bintang, and Batending (Funeral ceremony).

Later, when travelling up and down river, I might make a brief stop at Kasang, (1951, 1953 etc.), sometimes spending a night there.