

Paper presented at: *Colloque international, Migrations anciennes et peuplement actuel des basses cotes Guineennes*, Université des sciences et technologies de Lille, France, 1 December 1997.

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BAGA BOUNDARIES: EUROPEAN PERCEPTIONS, 1793 TO 1821.

While it is important to define Baga characteristics and their migrations to the coast, it is equally important to describe their boundaries during specific historical periods, especially if their histories and those of peoples located near them are to be brought into clearer focus.¹ This paper flows from a longer and broader study of peoples and commercial activities in the Rio Nunez to Iles de Los section of coast of Guinea-Conakry for the 1750 to 1865 period, that period just prior to French occupation and establishment of French suzerainty.² It also rises from a requirement to define specific locations and relative power-bases vis-a-vis peoples who lived nearby during this period of history. To be sure, the Baga were minor players in political and commercial transformations that accompanied the rise and decline of slave trading and corresponding establishment of new markets for commodities' traffic occurring after the late 1830s. But, as producers of rice, salt, and livestock, and collectors of cola, and as proprietors of land through which commerce between the coast and the interior inevitably flowed, the Baga favorably served trades that found their basis in the slave trade and that attached interior markets to those of the coast.³

¹In 1967, P.E.H. Hair, in "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast," *Journal of African History*, 8, 2(1967), 248, noted that early sources were "vague" about boundaries and cautioned that most reports described navigation landmarks that provide some guide to appropriate boundaries. From these records, however, he concluded, 254, that is "no evidence in the early sources that the Baga in these centuries ever occupied more than the beaches and a very thin slice of the interior." This paper attempts to draw boundaries with reference to specific site locations and zones of influence, as noted by Europeans who visited these rivers during the 1793-1821 period.

²Bruce L. Mouser, "Trade and Politics in the Nunez and Pongo River, 1790-1865," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1971.

³The author has not attempted, in this paper, to reconcile first-hand accounts from 1793 to 1821 with Baga/Susu traditions as interpreted by André Arcin, *Histoire de la Guinée Française* (Paris, 1911), 129-135,

The earliest detailed account of the Nunez Baga (Baga-Sitema, Baga-Kapatchez) that dates to this period (1793-1821) comes from the log of the Good Ship *Sandown*, commanded by Samuel Gamble, who spent nearly a year on this coast in 1793-1794.⁴ It is reasonable to generalize that the lower Nunez during this period was not an area to which slave-ship captains set their objectives. The banks of that river from its estuary to nearly 50 kilometers upstream were lined with swampy lowlands, and few villages were located along its banks. The most important entrepôts of commerce with the interior, the source of slaves, ivory, gold, and, to a lesser degree during this period, hides, were located near Cacundy, later known as Boké. The lower river, then, was a region to be crossed/skirted as an obstacle before reaching a greater objective, the trading centers of the upper river. Those captains who traversed the lower section of the river invariably noted the rocks, sand bars, islands, and obstacles, but seldom mentioned the peoples of this region. In late September 1793, however, Gamble and his crew anchored the *Sandown* off of Bania Point, restfully explored the neighboring left bank of the river near the entrance of Bania Creek, and made these observations:⁵

nor his headmen lists of 167-168.

⁴Gamble, Samuel. "A Journal of an Intended Voyage, by Gods permission, from London towards Africa from thence to America in the good Ship *Sandown* by me Samuel Gamble, Commander," Log/M/21, Manuscript Division, National Maritime Museum-Grenwich (hereafter cited as "Sandown." The author is editing this journal for publication. George E. Brooks, *Landlords & Strangers* (Boulder, 1993), 276-277, reviewed accounts by Almada (1594), Donelha (1625), and Barreira (1606), all of whom described Baga commerce and relations to Europeans/neighbors, with few references to specific sites.

⁵Gamble, "Sandown," 52r-53v. See also John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone* (1788/London, 1966), 12-13 for a 1785 account of stock/poultry raising among these Baga. Matthews also described them as "very indutrious in planting rice,

Wednesday Morn^e 25th at day break sent the Blacks out upon the furraging order, and to see if the Pinnacle was in sight. at Sun rise saw her at an Anchor[.] she having seen our fire in the night, came to[,] fir'd two Musquets[,] and she came in. at 8 the Blacks return'd with a Plentiful supply of Shell fish, Crabs, and Turtles eggs. set them to work roasting, boiling, and frigaseeing them, as best suited their Palates. having Breakfasted hearty tho upon such a rude spot we cleard our tent and every thing into the Boats and proceeded up the river to the Town of Bania about 8 Miles up the river to a Small creek that leads up to the town which is not large tho full of Inhabitants, great numbers of them diseas'd[,] their Legs swell'd as thick as their body has well as in other parts afflicted the same. both Men[,] Women & Children are by far the ordinaryest set of beings I ever saw[.] Perhaps the nature of their situation which is in a narrow creek surround'd by Mud and swamps may greatly contribute to it. [52v] They are equally as filthy and beastly as ugly, the Men all dress in the same manner that Women do on different part of the Windward Coast. The Women all go Naked excepting a Small slip of Cloth about a yard long and 3 fingers broad which they call a Funtungee (and never wash it its wore out). Their houses are Miserable[.] The chief of their employment seems to be in cultivating rice[,] Making Salt, and tapping their Palm wine tree[.] This latter appears to be their God. They are a tribe of Bagos, peculiar to them selves, follow their own laws, never make Slaves, or sell any. They breed great quantitys of Stock, but seldom make use of any them selves. only when either their Parents, some near Relation, or King dies then they Kill their cattle some time after they are dead to make what they term Sarrise, or the last tribute to the dead, which often ends in a debauch, their principal dish is Rice & fish. We saw here at the Chief of the Towns house who seem'd a near Relation. A White Negro Boy he appear'd to be greatly affected in his eyes by the rays of the Sun and in great pain to explore any object he seem'd a great eye soar [sic] amongst them[.] They frequently urg'd us, to take him with us. we staid here till 10 OClock at Night[,] having bought 5 Dozen of Fowls, for Knives, Beads, & C^o[untry] white cloths. when we was very glad to get away having been from our first entering their town expos'd to trouble Vices and as much admir'd for a Curiosity as the Crew when in England, especialy by the Ladies who where very attentive. 53[r] Those that carried long wands in their hands, as tokens of their Celibacy. we where follow'd every where by Women & Children[.] The Boys from 4 Years and upwards all carried Bows & Arrows, w[h]eather they are expert or not with them I cannot

tell. The Men appear'd rougeishly inclind in their dealings. We receive'd several presents of Palm wine. made them a return for it and left them and proceeded down the Creek into the River and to our old landing spot. during the whole of this Night we where in a state amongst the wretchedest Creatures living[.] The Musketos harrass'd and bit us to a degree of severity[.] at 4 we came to an anchor at our old spot[,] found our fire still burning[.] at daylight Thursday 26th landed[.] The Musketos all dispers'd. Boild some Tea in an old Iron Pot[,] roasted some Crabs, Clams, and Turtle eggs. made a hearty meal of it. at 9 set of[f] for Callibuch partly on purpose to buy a Milch Cow and Fowls & partly thro Curiosity to see the place and nature of the Inhabitants[.] at 10 AM got into the river and run up East about 3 Miles till be came to a Branch that run to the N^e[.] run up it about 2 Miles till we came to a Creek that run up W^d to the Town which is large and well Peopl'd[.] tho of the same tribe as the Bennas [Susu], they are a much better looking set of People. appear not so stiff in their manners, every Person as soon has they hear of our arrival hastned down to pay their respects to us, [53v] which the Men did by Curtseying and snapping our fingers with theirs twice, the Women crouch'd down resting their Posteriors on their heels, and stroak'd their hand through ours. They dard not snap fingers, or their Husbands & Parents would be Jealous of them.

Gamble also described methods that the Baga used to grow their wet-rice and a chart that demonstrated their techniques:⁶

The Bagos are very expert in Cultivating rice and in quite a Different manner to any of the Nations on the Windward Coast[.] The country the[y] inhabit is chiefly low and swampy. The rice they first sow on their dunghills and rising spots about their towns[.] when 8 or 10 Inches high transplant it into Lugars made for that purpose which are flat low swamps, at one side A they have a reservoir that they can let in what water they please[;] other side B is a drain cut so that they can let of[f] what they please. The Instruments they use much resembles a Turf spade with with [sic] which they turn the grass under in ridges just above the water which by being confind Stagnates and nourishes the root of the plant. Women & girls transplant the rice and are so dextrous as to plant fifty roots singly in one minute[.] when the rice is ready for cutting they turn the water of[f] til their Harvest is over[;] then they let the Water over it and lets it stands three or four Seasons it being so impoverishd[.] Their time of planting is in Sept' and reaping. [55v] Strangers that come into the Rio Nunez, ought to be very Watchful, and careful, to

making cloths, falt, and in fifhing, and trading for ivory. . .”

⁶Ibid., 55r-55v.

avoid any disputes with a set of Bloodthirsty People call'd Nelos that inhabit the north side of the River, they are a great pest to the White traders that are residents, drawing their Belmy's (or Cutlasses) for the least trifling dispute and putting it across the traders throat[.]. If they Steal anything, and the right Person sees them in possession of it, they dare not claim it. for the Chief never keeps the thing, but gives it to one of his Companions who if challeng'd drinks a Poisonous water¹ as they pretend which will not kill them if they are innocent. when they have done this, and recover^d. they instantly make a Country Palaver², and two or three Slaves goods will not suffice them. some times that the Challenger is oblig'd to pay. They ramble up and own 30 or 40 in a gang in large Canoes on purpose entirely to thief, and plunder. what they can from the Whites, which they sell to the Bagos (to subsist upon.) The King of whom thinks it no dishonour to receive things, that they know are stolen (even from a White that is a Tenant under them)[.] The Nelos are a hard Savage race, often when necessity forces them. Migrate in search of prey to immense distances bearing great hardships and fatigue. They in general are Robust Healthy good looking People[,] live chiefly upon rice[,] fish[,] &c. This is not the exaggeration of a traveller but what I have demd as demonstrations of the truth.

These two fragments from Gamble's log, in comparison to his descriptions of other peoples along the river, make clear several "outsider" perceptions about the Baga, in this case Baga-Sitema of the probable Dougoubona/Kakouli/Kouli River. By 1793, these Baga were apparently already acquainted with European trade, but were curious about Gamble and his largely "African" crew. The Baga-Sitema dressed in the fashion customary to other Baga along this coast, the "Tuntungee" for women, and grew rice, produced salt, and raised livestock in surplus which they used in trade. Their demands for European goods were already known (knives and curiosities), but they also wanted country cloth produced locally along the coast. They received Gamble in a welcome fashion; Gamble did not mention any apprehensions about his safety, or for his men or possessions, among them. But of greater interest is Gamble's observation that these Baga were very different from their neighbors. The Nalos he described in disparaging terms while complimenting the Baga for being "peculiar to them selves," seemingly little touched by the commerce which dominated factories upstream at Cacundy/Boké. Separateness meant, to Gamble, adhering to "their own laws;" certainly the observation that they neither held slaves nor sold them was unusual for the area. Perhaps Gamble was describing their character during a specific period, for later in his journal he described an incident in which Jolof slaves on board the *Venus of New York*, commanded by Captain Hammond, had rebelled and took flight into Baga territory where the Baga seized them; whether the Baga intended to return them to the *Venus* or to

retain them is unclear in Gamble's journal.⁷ But perhaps, the Baga simply offered them refuge. Complicating this analysis is Gamble's failure to indicate which Baga group had detained the Jolofs.

Equally important are Gamble's comments about rice raising. Daniel Littlefield, in his book on rice cultivation techniques used in the American South during the Antebellum (pre-Civil War) period, used Gamble's description quoted above to draw a parallel between African and American practice, incorrectly leaving the impression that perhaps this method came from the Nunez.⁸ Roland Portères noted instead that this technique, which Gamble described so well, became known to coastal peoples from the Sine-Saloum to the Melacorée, a considerable distance and covered by many diverse peoples; but Portères did suggest its peculiar roots lie in the Mopti region of Niger, implying a long migration of this method to the coast.⁹

James Watt, in his journal of an expedition made from the Boké to Timbo, capital of the Fula state in the Fuuta Jaloo, in 1794, did not mention the Baga at all, perhaps because he never saw any while onboard his transport to Boké; however, he devoted significant attention to the rice and salt trades between the Nunez and the Fuuta Jaloo and beyond. Watt noted that rice came coastward, rather than in the reverse, with Fula bearers, often numbering in the hundreds of persons, carrying large baskets of rice to exchange principally for equal quantities of salt from the coast.¹⁰ Indeed, according to his account of discussions with Almaami Saadu, the Fula ruler was in 1794 so dissatisfied with low prices paid for slaves by Nunez traders, that "he would have shut up the path altogether were it not for the want of salt."¹¹ Clearly, the Fula did not

⁷Ibid., 72r. In Anon, *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone* (n.p., 1795), 134, there is an account of a slave rebellion onboard a vessel (c.1794) in which the slaves captured the vessel and attempted to escape to shore, but were recaptured and resold to slavers. This may have been the vessel mentioned in Gamble's record.

⁸Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge, 1981), 92-97.

⁹Roland Portères, "Un problème d'Ethnobotanique: relations entre le Riz flottant du Rio-Nunez et l'origine médinigérienne des Baga de la Guinée Française," *Journal d'Agric. Topicale et de Botanique Appliquée*, T.2, No.10-11 (1955): 539.

¹⁰James Watt, *Journal of James Watt: Expedition to Timbo Capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, edited by Bruce L. Mouser (Madison, 1994), 5v, 12v, 31r, 32v, 98v. Adam Afzelius, in *Adam Afzelius: Sierra Leone Journal, 1795-1796* (Uppsala, 1967), 31v, noted that salt and rice were bartered near Bassaya "at equal measure."

¹¹Watt, *Journal*, 80v.

seek rice on the coast; rather the most important item for purchase was salt which they needed for their herds in the uplands.¹² Salt came from the lowlands, one of which was the territory of the Baga-Sitema. But Nunez traders also moved latitudinally along the coast, to commercial contacts in rivers north of the Nunez and southward to the lowlands of the Morebaya and Melacorée rivers. All of these areas were involved in salt production. Whether the Baga-Sitema were the only producers of Nunez-demanded salt is unclear, but highly unlikely considering the huge demands required by Fula merchants and by the fact that salt also entered the upper river's commerce via ships carrying salt from England.¹³ Watt also observed that salt, especially bar-salt, was used as currency in both the Nunez and the Fuuta Jaloo and that cola was in high demand in areas inland beyond the Fula.¹⁴ The only cola producing area of the Nunez was located within Baga-Sitema and Baga-Mandori (north of the river) territory, unless one considers the coastal commerce which could be used to gather cola as well as salt from long distances. Clearly, except for salt, the Baga-Sitema were minor/insignificant players in the river's overall commerce at the turn of the century.

It is unlikely that large numbers of Baga-Sitema became commodities in the slave trade during this period.¹⁵ Instead, Watt observed that many of those (presumably non-Fula) who carried rice and commodities coastward also became commodities in trade themselves, should their labor not be required on the return to the highlands. He was told in Timbo that a principal cause of wars there was to gather slaves with which to barter for guns and powder; clearly, the quantity of rice and ivory exported were not sufficient to purchase both salt and other goods wanted in return—guns and powder would require slaves in exchange.¹⁶ Indeed, Gamble at nearly the same time complained frequently that slaves seemed not to be in sufficient supply in the Nunez, that it was necessary to collect slaves from the Pongo and as far south as the Sherbro River to secure his cargo.¹⁷ Perhaps, insufficient numbers alone made the Nunez Baga immune to raids from coastal merchants, but more likely, as noted by Gamble, they were well-armed and were important additional sources of salt and therefore integral to continued profitability of commerce in the upper river.

¹²“Sandown,” 73v.

¹³Ibid., 71v, noted that a salt ship had arrived at Walker's factory from England, the *Zephyr of Liverpool*.

¹⁴Ibid., 13r, 14v, 16r, 26r, 31r.

¹⁵Adam Afzelius, *Adam Afzelius: Sierra Leone Journal, 1795-1796* (Uppsala, 1967), also noted that these Baga did not sell any of their own people.

¹⁶Watt, *Journal*, 62r-63r, 94r, 101r.

¹⁷“Sandown,” 67v, 71r, 71v.

Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society rarely mentioned the Baga-Sitemu in their records, and seldom in flattering terms. Rev. Butscher, however, in 1811 encountered the Nunez Baga when the vessel on which he had sought passage to the Nunez needed to land onshore for water and provisions, and they stopped at a small Baga village near the Nunez's mouth. Butscher described the anchorage there as very muddy, commenting that the Baga came into the water to carry them ashore. To Butscher, his hosts were friendly and offered them palm wine in great abundance. His informants, principally John Pierce who was then a prominent “headman” among the Nalos, told him that the Baga occupied the seashore and that the Nalos and Landuman held the upriver. Butscher did report that, on one occasion, Fula warriors were looking for runaway slaves who had escaped into the lower Kapatchez River area (clearly Baga lands) and that in their quest for these runaways, the Fula also seized Baga who were working on rice plantations. The tone of Butscher's report did suggest, however, that such seizures were unusual and unexpected, at least among the Baga.¹⁸

The boundaries of the Baga-Sitema for the 1793-1821 period are difficult to reconstruct from the documented sources cited above. Clearly, traders at Boké warned visitors that overland communications between the Nunez and the Pongo were difficult and dangerous, considering the armed status of peoples in the area, whether Baga, Nalo, or Hubu, the latter located in a direct overland line between Boké and trading settlements on the Pongo. Baga-Sitema boundaries, therefore, for this period will need to await further research and perhaps village-by-village oral reconstructions.

The first lengthy observations of Pongo-based Baga, the Baga-Kakissa (also called the Baga-Sobane) and Baga-Koba (also called the Kobatai), come also from travelers, but more particularly from missionaries or those interested in establishing schools or in learning a Susu language that was considered at this time the principal medium of trade used by European and African merchants located north of the Sierra Leone River. If the Baga-Sitemu were peoples whom captains only occasionally met in the Nunez, the Baga-Kakissa were far different because narrow feeder estuaries into the Rio Pongo flowed directly through their lands; Europeans, consequently, were interested in them, but more interested in the Susu who lived behind them perhaps as close as 15 kilometers from the shoreline. The main estuary of the Rio Pongo divided the Baga-Kakissa from the Baga-Koba, the latter occupying the area southward to the mouth of Konkouré (Dembia) River.

At the mouth of the Pongo River, the Baga-Kakissa occupied lands whose characteristics were similar to those of their ethnic kin in the Nunez, coastal lowlands with

¹⁸CMS, CA1/E2/103, Butscher to Secretary, 22 October 1811. Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (New York, 1965), vol.4, 513, noted that the *Doris* imported 70 slaves to America in 1806, composed of “Mandingos, Soozees, Ballams, Bagos, Naloofe Negroes,” but did not provide relative numbers of Bagas within that list.

meandering streams, mangrove swamps, and numerous islands.¹⁹ Between the Koumbalan River and Cape Verge, however, the mangrove coast quickly dissipates and the character of the land is much more amenable to occupation.

In consequence, the former area was sparsely populated with few villages, while the latter came to have the largest settlements of Baga-Kakissa along this coast.²⁰ Above the islands (called Caxa on early maps), often as little as 15 kilometers from the coastline, began a more hospitable land occupied principally by Susu peoples, the "old ones." Missionaries seldom ventured into Baga-Kakissa lands, but they did visit neighboring Susu villages because Susu was the recognized language of "superior" peoples and because "scholars"/students and converts/patrons generally came from Susu and from traders who lived among them. These reports from the 1796-1817 period designate Susu settlements and only incidentally Baga-Sitema ones, and, therefore, help indirectly to distinguish a boundary, of sorts, between the Baga and the Susu.²¹

Another important consideration for any treatment of the Baga-Kakissa is the character of Atlantic commerce near the mouth of the Pongo and possible reasons for significant ethnic changes that may have occurred during the mid- to late-eighteenth century. As long as Europeans

were willing to use "coasting" practices along this shoreline, any estuary into the Pongo would suffice, at least not be a hindrance to commerce. By mid-century, however, shippers began to use larger vessels, and the Pongo's main estuary became a problem because shifting sand bars were located here, making it treacherous to cross for vessels of deep drafts.²² The Modeba and Dangara estuaries, located north of the Pongo's main entrance, were fed by rivers with slower currents and, while muddy, had deeper and softer bottoms which meant that larger ships used them to enter the river, subsequently winding their way to factories nearby or to the river's main branch and further upstream to factories in the Bangalan and Fatala rivers. By the end of the eighteenth century, several new towns/factories had developed in the headwaters of the Modeba and Dangara rivers. These were called Kissing, Charleston, and Boston, but Europeans/Americans or Africans who operated these factories negotiated stranger/landlord contracts with Susu overlords of nearby Tiyé, apparently not with the Baga-Kakissa. In 1796, Adam Afzelius visited this section of the river and noted that Tiyé was only the latest Susu capital governed by the Kati family, the first being located further inland near the town of Domingya. He wrote:²³

The Susoo people, among which he [Thomas Cooper²⁴ at Freeport/Tonkekering] lives and which inhabit the Rio Pungas at least 150 miles up the country, are not so great beggars, and tho' slow and difficult to deal with, not half so much as the Foulahs. They [Susu] lived formerly more to the Southward but have of late extended there [their] dominion toward the north, driving away the aborigines and Bagas towards the seashore.

Afzelius' reference to a recent "of late" population shift may have been correct, or at least provides an explanation until better sources are discovered. As long as ships visiting the coast remained small, with shallow drafts, the headwaters of the Modeba and Dangara rivers would have remained unimportant to commerce in the river. But once shipping techniques changed, the Susu, as active participants in and financial profiteers from the trade, extended their sovereignty coastward, displacing or dominating the Baga along this section of the Modeba and

¹⁹Matthews (1788), 12-13, called these the Caxa Islands. Perhaps following his lead, Peter McLachlan, "Travels into the Baga & Soosoo Countries in 1821," in *The Royal Gazette: and Sierra Leone Advertiser*, No 177 (22 October 1821), called the Baga-Kakissa the Caxas whom he described as having "no kings nor headmen" and whose exports included palm-oil and ivory "in small quantities." [note: I have typed McLachlan's reports from RGLA, and they are available on request.]

²⁰See Frederick Lamp, *Art of the Baga: A Drama of Cultural Reinvention* (New York, 1996), 442-43; United States, Army Map Service-Corps of Engineers, Map Series 1501, Sheet NC 28-7, Edition 1.

²¹Church Missionary Records are kept in two depositories: the society's headquarters in London and the University Library, University of Birmingham. Earliest records are housed at the Birmingham site. The latter are arranged in categories of committee minutes of the home society, sub-committee minutes for committees that dealt with particular mission stations, outgoing correspondence to missionaries, and incoming letters from the missionaries. Missionaries were required to maintain regular correspondence with the patron society and to keep journals in which they summarized observations over a longer period. All of these records are valuable to a reconstruction of Pongo history. The society also published periodic reports that contained extracts of missionary letters. Lengthy selections are found in Samuel Abraham Walker, *Missions in Western Africa Among the Soosoo, Bulloms, Etc.* (Dublin, 1845) and [Church Missionary Society], *Missionary Records: West Africa* (London, 1836).

²²Edward Bickersteth, *Report of the Visit of the Assistant Secretary to the Settlements and Schools of the Society on the Western Coast of Africa*, "Journal," entry dated 22 March 1816.

²³Adam Afzelius, *Adam Afzelius: Sierra Leone Journal, 1795-1796* (Uppsala, 1967), 103.

²⁴For extensive treatment of Thomas Cooper's career in the Rio Pongo from 1795 to 1800, see the author's "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808," *Journal of African History*, 14 (1973):45-64.

Dangara rivers. This probably was occurring in the 1750-1790 period. This does not, however, provide a definitive border between Baga-Kassisa and Susu-Sumbia lands; the more probable answer would suggest that the Kati family exercised a suzerainty over remaining Baga villages and territory, with a significant segment of Baga moving to the region north and east of the Dangara River.

Information about the placement of Baga-Koba is more complete for this period because of insightful reports written by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (Church of England) who maintained missions and schools at Bassaya, Kalara, Canoffee in the Fatala River from 1807 to 1817, and at Bouramaya (Bramaya) on the Konkouré River and at Kaporo on Kaloum peninsula for shorter periods.²⁵ This area was also better known to European ship captains and to officials from Sierra Leone because of the prominent presence of Luso-Africans who were a political and commercial force in this region. John Matthews' description of 1785, for example, focuses almost entirely upon those persons of Portuguese descent, and with Bissao connections, who exercised political influence over coastal peoples.²⁶ Sierra Leone Company records and correspondence from 1794 to 1802 identified the Gomez family of Bakiya (Bakia) as a dominant family with authority (or sufficient powers) to call conferences

²⁵ Alfred Barrow, in *Fifty Years in Western Africa: Being a Record of the Work of the West Indian Church on the Banks of the Rio Pongo* (London, 1900), 127, mentioned a report by Rev. P.H. Doughlin, c.1885, who divided the Baga into the Koba Baga, Kakisa Baga, Black or Naken Baga, the Mikh-ii Fori, and Kálum Baga, and those peoples of Bouramaya as Susu. In 1875, Thomas George Lawson, an official of the Sierra Leone Colonial administration, submitted a report, "Information relative to the neighbouring countries," in which he divided territory between the Rio Pongo and Ile Tumbo into three regions—Kobah Bagga Country, Bramaiah Country, and Carlome Bagga Country. The Kobah Bagga (Rio Pongo to Bouramaya River) he described as occupying the coast, having a "King," being good seamen, and producing palm nuts, palm oil, groundnuts and Beniseeds for export. He described Bramaiah Country as having headmen of Luso-African descent and bordered on the east by the Konkouré, on the west by the Bouramaya, and "on the north by the mainland." Perhaps this was the way that Europeans divided the region at the time, but it is uncertain whether such divisions were as clearly drawn by 1821. For Lawson, see David E. Skinner, *Thomas George Lawson* (Stanford, 1980), 85-87. Denise Paulme, "Des riziculteurs africaines: Les Baga," *Les Cahiers d'Outre-mer*, 10 (1956), 260, also described the Baga-Koba as occupying the islands south of the Rio Pongo.

²⁶ Matthews, *A Voyage*, 13-15. Matthews' map shows the Baga as occupying all of the shoreline from Tumbo Island to the Kapatchez River

and negotiate agreements between headmen located between the Pongo and the Konkouré rivers, with the Fatala River serving as an inland boundary, of sorts, between Baga and Susu territories. Whether Baga were the only peoples within this sector is unlikely, because these records do not clearly designate villages as Baga.²⁷ But it is clear that Susu headmen were located on both banks of the river and that Europeans north of the main branch of the Rio Pongo on the right bank as far as Devil's Island (where the Fatala joins the Pongo) negotiated their landlord agreements with the Susu rulers at Tiyé. Those trading in the Fatala negotiated their arrangements with headmen who "sat down" under the protection of Mungé Baké of Bassaya /Lisso, and Baké was a Baga headman.²⁸ Traders in the Bangalan (Rio Baladi) branch of the river apparently were beyond Tiyé's effective control, and they negotiated their agreements with a Susu headman at

²⁷The author's, "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict," as cited. An 1814 reference (CMS CA1/E3/74, Wilhelm's Journal, entry dated 6 December 1814) to a conference called by Mongé Baké indicated that Susu headmen from "both sides of the [Fatala] river" should join forces to oppose Fula incursions into the river.

²⁸CMS CA1/E1/E5A/68, List of Children in Canoffee School [1816]. Baké's son was named Henry. The extent of Baké's influence in the area south of Bassaya is unclear in the sources; however, Bickersteth in 1816 noted, p. 5, that when he sought to travel from Bassaya to Bouramaya overland, it was necessary to go by canoe to the Tibola Creek, upstream to Ganganta and then overland to Kambaya, then to Bouramaya. This report may indicate that Baké rule only effected settlements along the Fatala River and did not extend more than a few kilometers southward. See also CMS CA1/E2/90, Wenzel's Journal, passim; on one occasion, the headman of Kalara threatened to "set down" under Kati of Tiyé, should Mongé Baké not honor a promise given to the missionaries. In CMS CA1/E3/39, Renner to Secr., 24 December 1812, every reference to Baké suggested that he had authority to summon Susu headmen to palavers at Bassaya. Baké (CMS CA1/E3/116, Wilhelm to Secr., 19 February 1814) again summoned an exclusive "Susu palaver" to meet at Lisso at which charges against the missionaries would be discussed. An earlier account by Anon, *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone, 1795*, 137, described Bassia as a town surrounded by Baga peoples.

Farénya or with a Fula governor who resided in the area.²⁹

Mungé Baké's territory of influence centered at Bassaya /Lisso, and extended further up the Fatala to Canoffee and Kalara, and perhaps as far as Korita, although Korita is not mentioned specifically in Company records or in those of Church Missionary Society reports. His period of rule is not certain from records thus far researched, but those records do cover 1794 to 1817, and Baké remained in place during this entire period. At first mention, his immediate landlord or effective superior was Emmanuel Gomez, Jr., of Bakiya on the Sandoro River, about 15 kilometers due east of the main branch of the Rio Pongo. Between 1794 and 1802, Gomez forced Baké's hand on several occasions by promising military support should he get into difficulty with traders in the Bangalan River, Susu from Tiyé, or Fula who followed the Fatala coastward to factories in the Pongo, in consequence of Gomez's directives. Records for 1807 to 1817 are more complete than those of the 1794 to 1802 period, and these support earlier observations of effective Baké/Baga control of the southern and eastern bank of the Fatala River and contain some (but limited) information about the composition of villages in the area. Bassaya, for example, was composed of two towns, the "old Bashia" which was comprised mainly of Susu while the main Bassaya was apparently Baga.³⁰ One obtains the impression that "being Baga" was something of a political statement; it meant that a headman identified himself as "outside" the control of both the Tiyé-based Susu and Susu/Fula of the Bangalan branch. Missionary records continued through 1817 to divide children/scholars at its mission schools along ethnic lines, identifying most as "mulattos," but many were listed as Susu, Baga, or others.³¹ By 1806, however, nearly every

²⁹See Mouser, "Trade, Coasters, and Politics," as cited. Recently discovered genealogical data in the archives of the Congregation du P.P. du St. Esprit also suggest an independent center of landlord relationships in the Bangalan branch of the river; these records are currently undergoing analysis with Victoria Bomba Coifman. See also CMS CA1/E3/39, Renner to Secr., 24 December 1812; CMS CA1/E3/99, Renner to Secr., 5 November 1813; CMS CA1/E6/53, Renner to Secr., Journal, 5 February 1817. In "A Map of the Pongas Country in West Africa, Shewing the Stations of the West Indian Mission," [c.1860] [note: still searching for the source of this map], six royal towns are listed—Tiah (King Katty), Bara (King Bango), Lisso (King Bango), Bashia (King Allafah), Yenungia (King Simor), and Bramia (King Jelloram [Fernandez]). Reconstruction, based on data from this map, West Indian Mission records, and Congregation du P.P. du St. Esprit records, remains to be completed.

³⁰Bickersteth, "Report of the Visit," 28.

³¹CMS, CA1/E2/92, Wenzel to Secr., 12 July 1811; CA1/E2/103, Butscher to Secr., 22 October 1811; CA1/E4/70, List of Wenzel's students [1814]; CA1/E4/74, Wilhelm's Journal, Account of the Children at Bashia;

student spoke Susu, clearly attesting to the importance of Susu as a trade language and perhaps a declining power-base for the Baga in this section of the Fatala River.

The principal difference between the 1790-1802 description of effective powers and that of 1807-1817 was found in the absence after 1806 of reference to Emmanuel Gomez, Jr., or of Bakiya as a principal base of power, and the appearance of William Fernandez (d.1823) of Bouramaya who was able to intervene forcefully in disputes that infrequently developed between missionaries and their immediate landlord, Mangé Baké. Generally when missionaries explained their differences with Baké to Fernandez, the latter generally sided with the missionaries and a messenger sent from him was sufficient for Baké to change his mind.³² It was Fernandez who, in response to a threatened punitive expedition into the lower Fatala by Fula warriors in 1813, called a grand palaver (conference) of all Baga and Susu chiefs within his territory and marshaled resources to repel such an assault upon his domain.³³ The absence of Gomez after 1806 may indicate little about a declining influence of Bakiya; it may instead say more about the nature of leadership among the Baga-Koba for this period. Power, apparently, was not location-based, nor was it linked to a traditional Baga center. Instead, effective power, at the top, was held within an extended family of Portuguese traders who had intermarried within the prominent Tanu (elephant, in Susu) clan of the Baga-Koba and who were able to provide the Baga-Koba with protection against interior peoples and deliver extensive opportunities in the Atlantic trade at the same time. Clearly, Fernandez in 1816 did not see himself as a "mulatto" nor identify with those merchants at Kissing and Domingya, nor with those in the Bangalan branch of the Pongo. He was an "African," with the welfare of his people, property, and lands foremost in his vision. Whether he saw himself as Baga is less certain; perhaps he only saw himself as modern or a "bigman," representing a new group that dominated domestic politics/power, protected his interests and those of his "retainers" or subordinate headmen, and adjusted to changes occurring in the Atlantic trade. Bickersteth's report of his 1816 visit to Bouramaya and Bassaya essentially supported the above analysis.

CA1/E5A/68, List of the Children in Canoffee School.

³²CMS CA1/E2/39, Butscher to Secr., 24 October 1810; CMS CA1/E2/102, Butscher to Secr., 22 October 1811; CMS CA1/E3/99, Butscher to Secr., 5 November 1813; CMS CA1/0/105/62, "Extracts from the Journal of a Missionary Tour . . ." 8. In CMS CA1/E3/99, Renner to Secr., 5 November 1813, Fernandez is identified as Baké's landlord. On one occasion, Fernandez had sufficient authority to have "delivered him [Ormond] up as a child to M. Bake in Lisso" for discussions relative to proper ownership of mission-held property at Bassiya.

³³CMS CA1/E3/83, Butscher to Secr., 16 June 1813.

Events in the Pongo after 1812, however, had changed circumstances, placed missions and schools in the Fatala in jeopardy, and lessened Fernandez's defense of the missionaries in the Fatala. From the beginning of the missions, the Church Missionary Society, whether rightly or wrongly, had published extracts from missionary letters and journals in its reports and some of these were critical of Mungé Baké and revealing in ways that the slave trade operated in the Rio Pongo. In some instances, these published reports (and rumored private letters to friends at Freetown) provided commanders in the Royal Anti-Slavery Squadron with suggestions of whose factories were operating and the names of factors who were breaking English laws that prohibited English subjects from engaging in that trade.³⁴ In 1813 and 1814, vessels of the Squadron raided factories in the lower and upper river and effectively forced landlords to defend strangers against those who sought their destruction. Traders having agreements with Baké or with those landlords within his region naturally appealed to him for protection and charged the missionaries with secretly reporting their every moves.³⁵ Gradually, from 1814 to 1816, Baké tried to protect commerce and, at the same time, to bring the missionaries under control, but he had little success in the latter task; by 1816 many traders had withdrawn their children from the mission schools. Finally, a group of Baga burned several buildings at the Bassaya mission/school, making it clear that CMS support at Bassaya had collapsed; Baké had given his permission for this attack, perhaps only in an indirect fashion by not opposing it.³⁶ Fernandez now offered to provide resources for a school at Bouramaya, as long as it was only for boys and for neither children from Freetown nor those of the mulatto traders in the Rio Pongo. Perhaps Fernandez sought only a way to educate his own children (none of his were listed as enrolled at the schools in 1814), but more likely he was interested in those of his headmen as well. In any case, in 1816 he discussed with Bickersteth the possibility of establishing a school at Bouramaya and of

³⁴CMS CA1/E4/40, Wenzel to Secr., 10 November 1814. Wenzel warned that these extracts might find their way into the hands of headmen whose continued support might, thereby, be placed in jeopardy.

³⁵CMS CA1/E3/99, Butscher to Secr., 5 November 1813; CMS CA1/E3/100, Butscher to Secr., 10 November 1813; CMS CA1/E3/108, Wenzel to Secr., 12 December 1813; CMS CA1/E3/113, Klein to Secr., 6 January 1814; CMS CA1/E3/116, Wilhelm to Secr., 19 February 1814; CMS CA1/E4/63, Butscher to Secr., 14 December 1814.

³⁶CMS CA1/E3/113, Klein to Secr., 6 January 1814; CMS CA1/E3/116, Wilhelm to Secr., 19 February 1814; CMS CA1/E4/10, Wenzel to Secr., 14 April 1814; CMS CA1/E4/74, Wilhelm's Journal, 6 December 1814.

closing the Bassaya mission/school.³⁷ This effectively ended the Bassaya experiment in 1816 and the Canofee and Kalara schools a year later. Peter McLachlan's 1821 comments about the Baga-Koba, specifically, are minimal and add little to our understanding of boundaries in the interior or of bases of power among this group.³⁸

The Kaloum-Baga (also called the Sangara-Baga and Sumbia-Baga) are in some ways easier to define because of physical characteristics of the area and the limited land space available for settlement. But that apparently was not to be so simple for the period of this study. The first to describe this group, if one separates the Îles de Los-Baga as a distinct subgroup, was Rev. Jonathan Klein who established a school near Kaporo, an important town belonging to Mongé [Boye] Demba, "land king" with proprietary rights over Baga territory between the Melacorée and Doumba/Dubrèka rivers.³⁹ Rev. Klein was also the person who most thoroughly investigated the placement of a school at Bouramaya, although that project never came to fruition. Klein's letters and journals certainly contain much on the character of Baga occupation and politics of this area and should be given more attention than they have received thus far. Bickersteth visited this area in 1816, and, in his published report, he described the strip of land on the northwestern base of the Mania/Sangara hills as densely populated, but even Kaporo had only 59 houses and perhaps as few as 400 inhabitants.

³⁷Bickersteth, "Report of a Visit," 5. See CMS CA1/E3/8, Renner to Secr., 8 June 1812, for Fernandez's request for a school only for Bouramaya boys.

³⁸McLachlan, "Travels," stated, in totality: "The *Coba Baga* are a race of people who inhabit a part of the north bank of the river Dembia [Konkouré], near its mouth: what I have already said regarding the former tribe [the Baga-Kaloum] may be applied to this, and also, with every degree of propriety, to those in the Rio Pongos, with this exception, that the two last tribes are a much more brave and warlike people [Kaloum and Koba]." In Sierra Leone Archives, Colonial Secretary's Letter Book, Colonial Secretary to King Jellorum Fernandez, 28 September 1860, Bouramaya and the Bouramaya [Konkoure] River are specifically designated as belonging to the "Cobah Baggars."

³⁹Mahawa Bangura, "Contribution à l'histoire des Sosoe du XVI^e Siècle," Mémoire de diplôme de fin d'études supérieures, 1971-72 (Institut polytechnique Gamal Abdel Nasser, Conakry), 161-165, wrote that Mongé Demba [Boye Demba] was the descendant of Mongé Tomboli of Kaporo who married a daughter of Sumba Turani Dumbuya, a Susu. Three sons of this union, Demba, Kanta, and Sangara were given sections of the coast to rule, but Demba was given jurisdiction over them all. Demba was, according to Bangura, of mixed descent and this perhaps helps to explain the preponderance of Moslem headmen among the Baga-Kaloum during the period covered in this paper.

The residents of Kaporo he described as primarily Baga, but all spoke Susu; indeed a headman of Kaporo and immediate landlord of the missionaries was Mongé Seaka, a Moslem. Bickersteth described Mongé Demba's influence as extending nearly 150 kilometers ("90 miles") along the coast and inland 320 kilometers ("200 miles"), an area that clearly would have duplicated some of that claimed by William Fernandez of Bouramaya. Perhaps, in the nature of things here, Demba was actually Fernandez's landlord. Demba also claimed paramountcy over Baga settlements on the Iles de Los, which will be discussed later in the paper. Demba's residence was at Tumania, in the highlands of the Sangara hills.⁴⁰

Klein's observations place the Baga-Kaloum in closer contact with Moslem teachers and traders than may have been the case at Bouramaya.⁴¹ It was not uncommon for Mandingos from Moria (Forékariah), Susu from Sumbuya (Wonkapong), or traders from the far interior to visit Kaporo or pass through Demba's territories on their way to Dubréka or to the Konkouré River, apparently intending to visit or make trade with Fernandez at Bouramaya. In his 1816 report to the Society, Klein listed Kippy, Rodoma, Robanne Fria (Rogbane), Cassuna, Dicksing (Dixinn), Kamaing, Tumbo and Butabina (Boulbiné) as towns located between Kaporo and the Ile Tumbo and within a day's walk from the mission settlement. Northeast, within a day's walk, were Nuneo, Kapporoo-Kungy, Kompy, Sambia (Simbaya), Kobia (Kobaya), Backy-Singnia, Foddia, Hansmania (Ansoumanya), Kasson Borimania, Debrica (Dubréka), Domia, Maffia, Kaeca, Kapaeleng, Kundia, and Tumania.⁴² Unfortunately, Klein did not indicate the ethnic composition of these towns, but he did note that nearly all of the headmen were Moslems and suggested that when the Society sent religious literature to Kaporo for distribution, it send tracts, printed in Arabic, for headmen.⁴³

McLachlan's 1821 visit to Kaporo, his travels to Bouramaya, and his report contains more particular comment about the Kaloum-Baga and mention of more towns, some of which he specified by ethnic group. First

⁴⁰Bangura, "Contribution," stated that his residence was at Tomboli, perhaps Tomboleya.

⁴¹No correspondence has thus far been located from missionaries who were at Bouramaya, even for a short period. Whether Moslem clerics or visitors came to Bouramaya in large or frequent numbers is unclear at present. See CMS CA1/E5A/60, Klein to Sec., Kaporo, 1 September 1816, for entries mentioning Moslem clerics visiting Kaporo.

⁴²CMS, CA1/E5/147, Reports of the Missionaries, Rev. Klein. In his journal of 1817, CMS CA1/E6/101, Klein's Journal, he mentioned many other towns but failed to give their ethnic group. This journal needs to be read more carefully.

⁴³Bickersteth, "Report of a Visit," 20.

he observed that there were Baga towns, Baga towns with some Susu living in them, Susu towns with some Baga, and Susu towns. Those towns in the highlands tended to be Susu, but those on the coast were of mixed descriptions; Baga towns located near Susu ones seemed to be in better condition. Kaporo was Baga, but had a Moslem headman. Dubréka was Baga, with a population of approximately 500 persons. North of Dubréka were the towns of Kontiah (Baga), Téliémaya (Baga), Yatiya (Baga), Bonéya (Baga) and Taban (Susu). He identified Taban as being populated by 700-800 people of the Kabitah-Susu group, with ties to Wonkapong; the headman of Taban was Andrew. The ethnic group that occupied lands between Taban and Bouramaya were primarily Baga (towns of Kangoleya, Yoniya, Wassou), although they dressed in the Susu fashion.⁴⁴

Assuming that McLachlan's observations were accurate, the lands of the Baga-Kaloum covered the territory from Ile Tumbo to Bouramaya itself; but these lands were jointly occupied by the Baga and a separate Susu group called the Susu-Kobatai. The latter may simply have represented outposts of the Sumbia Susu whose nominal capital(s) were located south of Kaloum at Wonkapong (Sumbuya) or with ties further south to Moria. His description, however, do attest to the mixed character of the region, with the general population basically Baga and headmen already converted to the faith of their more powerful neighbors to the south. This area, therefore, was perhaps more allied politically, socially, and economically with the Sumbuya Susu than to the Baga-Koba to their northwest.

The ethnic and political character of the Iles de Los in the 1793 to 1821 period is ambiguous, at best. Unlike reports about the coast which are scarce for this period, accounts of the Iles de Los and its peoples are numerous, even for much earlier periods.⁴⁵ Located but a few kilometers off the coast from Tumbo Island, these islands were frequented by European voyagers as early as 1461 (Cadamosta), and they continued as an important point of reference and source of commodities, fresh water, and protection for sail-driven vessels for the next four centuries.⁴⁶ By the mid-eighteenth century, traders regularly negotiated their "relationship" with a local Baga headman who generally was located on Tamara Island, the most western island in the chain. This headman was Thomas Williams in 1793; but Williams was considered

⁴⁴McLachlan, "Travels," 8-9.

⁴⁵Brooks, *Landlords & Strangers*, 279, and numerous articles by P.E.H. Hair.

⁴⁶See P.E.H. Hair, "The History of the Baga in Early Written Sources," *History in Africa*, 24 (1997): 288-391.

subject to Mangé Demba of the Baga-Kaloum.⁴⁷ In 1793-94, Samuel Gamble visited the islands and described them as having a mixed population, however small (approximated at 800 persons, with 600 of that number located on Tamara Island) that it was. The majority of its people were Baga, but there were significant numbers of Europeans and their offspring, and an unspecified number of slaves that were either Susu or Mandingos or of mixed descent.⁴⁸ In 1793/94, the islands continued as an important bulking center for the slave trade as well as for trade in other commodities coming from the coast.⁴⁹

The fact that the islands were important to trade and inevitably a source of revenue for coastal people, whether as landlords or traders, meant that property rights and duties owed to landlords were often contested. As noted above, Mongé Demba claimed traditional ownership to the islands, but rights to customs, anchorage, salt, trade, or allegiance could be owned by another person or persons. Although Mongé Demba held the superior claim to ownership, strangers generally made their agreements with Thomas Williams or, as of 1815, with Mongé Amurah, who lived but a few miles on Kassa (Factory) Island from the CMS mission established there.⁵⁰ Control over salt towns within Mongé Demba's lands were contested at the turn of the century by Mori Kanu of Samo/Tanéne (south of the Melacorée River) and Fendan Modu Dumbuya of Wonkapong, and Fendan Modu traded regularly with merchants located on the Iles de Los.⁵¹ These ambiguous claims made landlord/stranger agreements on the Iles de Los difficult to maintain and protect. Missionaries, in 1815, made their rent payments to Mongé Amurah, perhaps suggesting that Tamara Island and Kassa Island were treated separately by all landlords in the area.⁵² The reports by Bickersteth and McLachlan, as they

⁴⁷Bruce L. Mouser, "Iles de Los as Bulking Center in the Slave Trade, 1750-1800," *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 83 (4^e trimestre 1996): 77-90. See also Bangura, "Contribution," 161-165.

⁴⁸Gamble, "A Journal," 118r.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 32r, 33r, 33v, 35r, 36r, 49v, 58v, 59r, 60v, 63v, 68v, 71r, 88v, 89r, 118r.

⁵⁰McLachlan, "Travels," 3, described Amurah as the best scholar among the Baga. See CA1/E5/123, Klein to Secr., 27 May 1816.

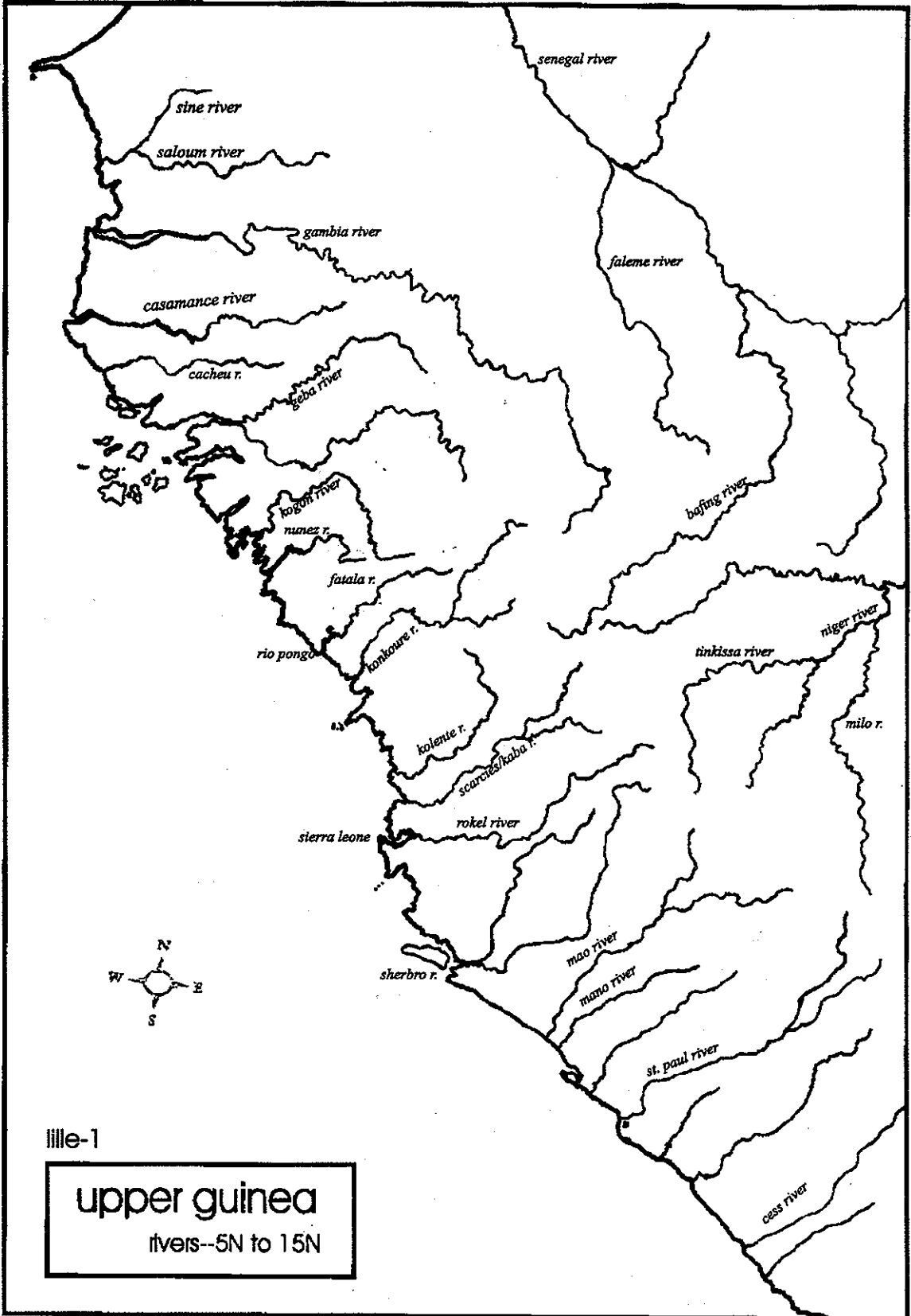
⁵¹George E. Brooks and Bruce L. Mouser, "An 1804 Slaving Contract Signed in Arabic Script From the Upper Guinea Coast," *History in Africa*, 14 (1987): 341-347.

⁵²Letter and journals from missionaries at the Iles de Los need to be researched more systematically for a clear understanding of the nature of landlords on the islands during this period. In CMS CA1/E3/108, Wenzel

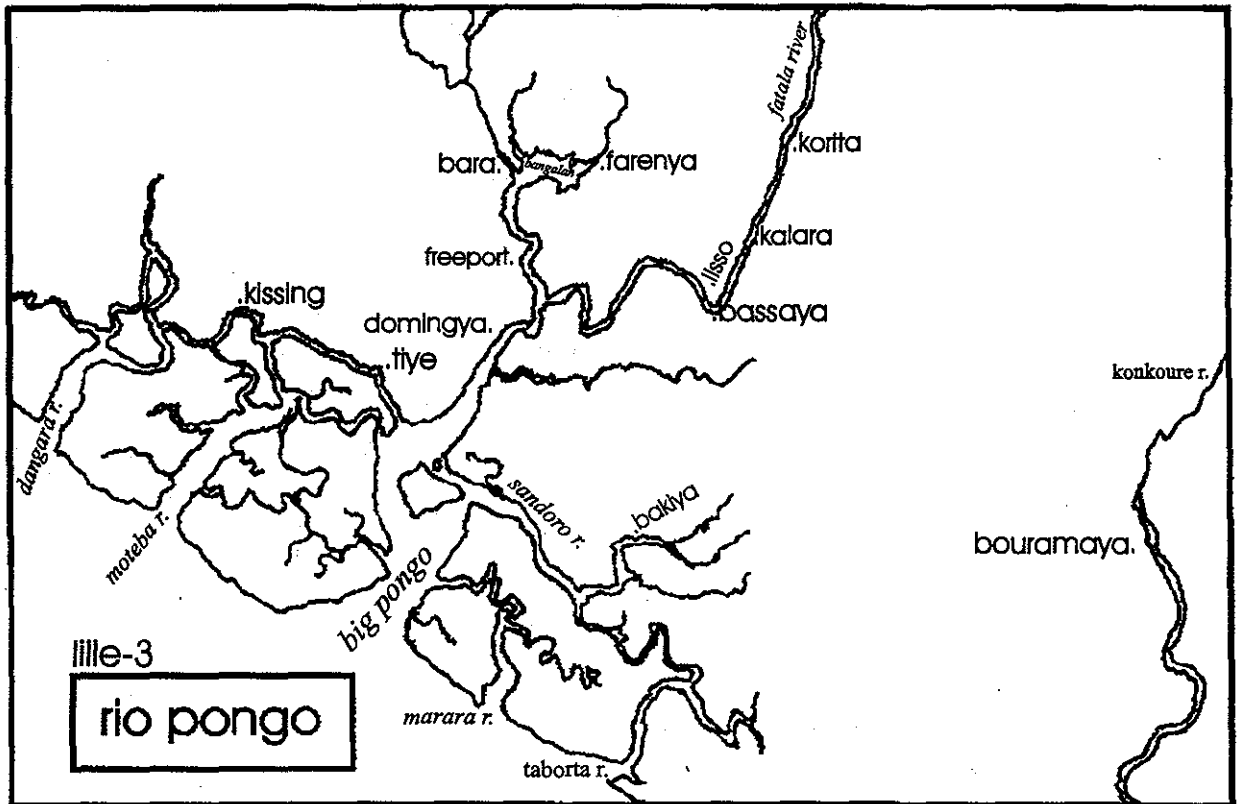
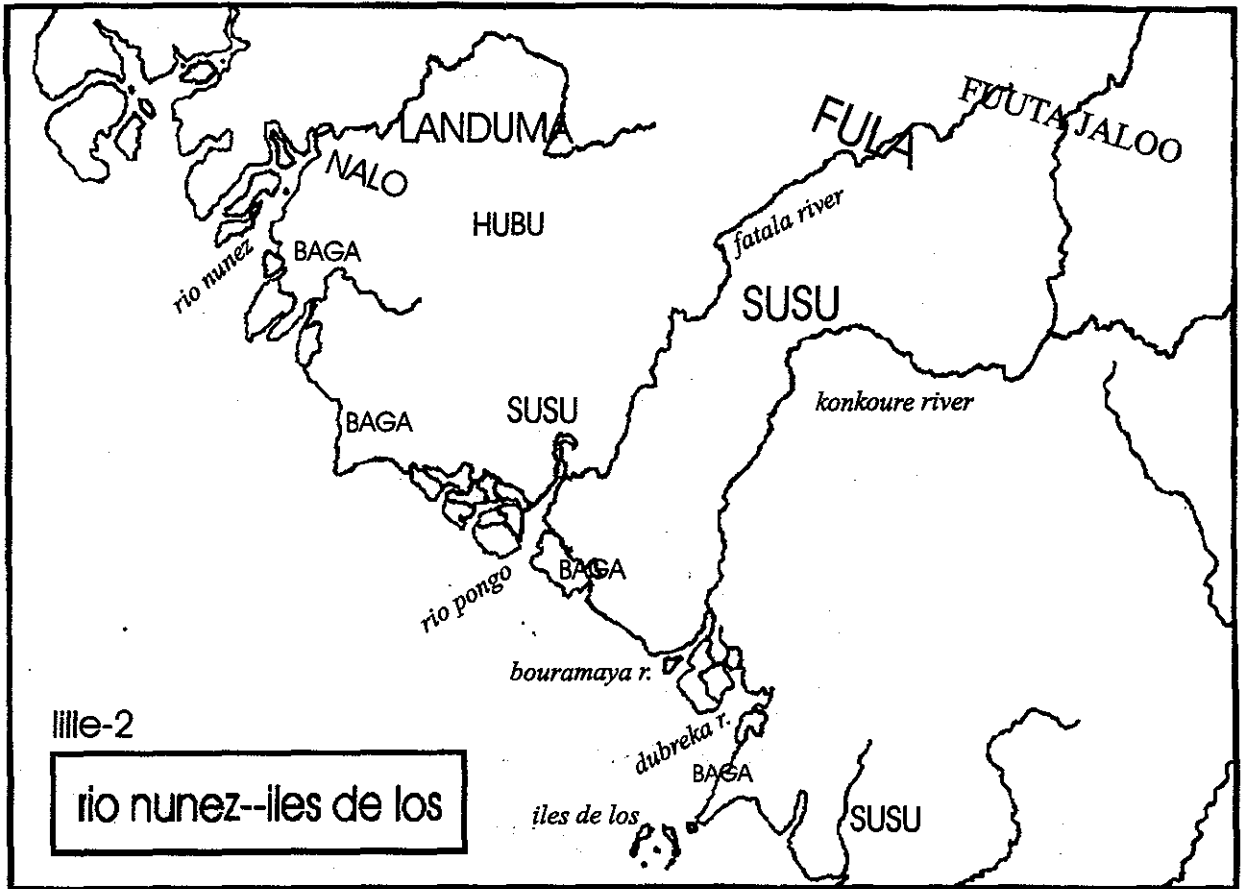
explain the ethnic composition or political status of the islands, say little and further research of this topic needs to be undertaken.

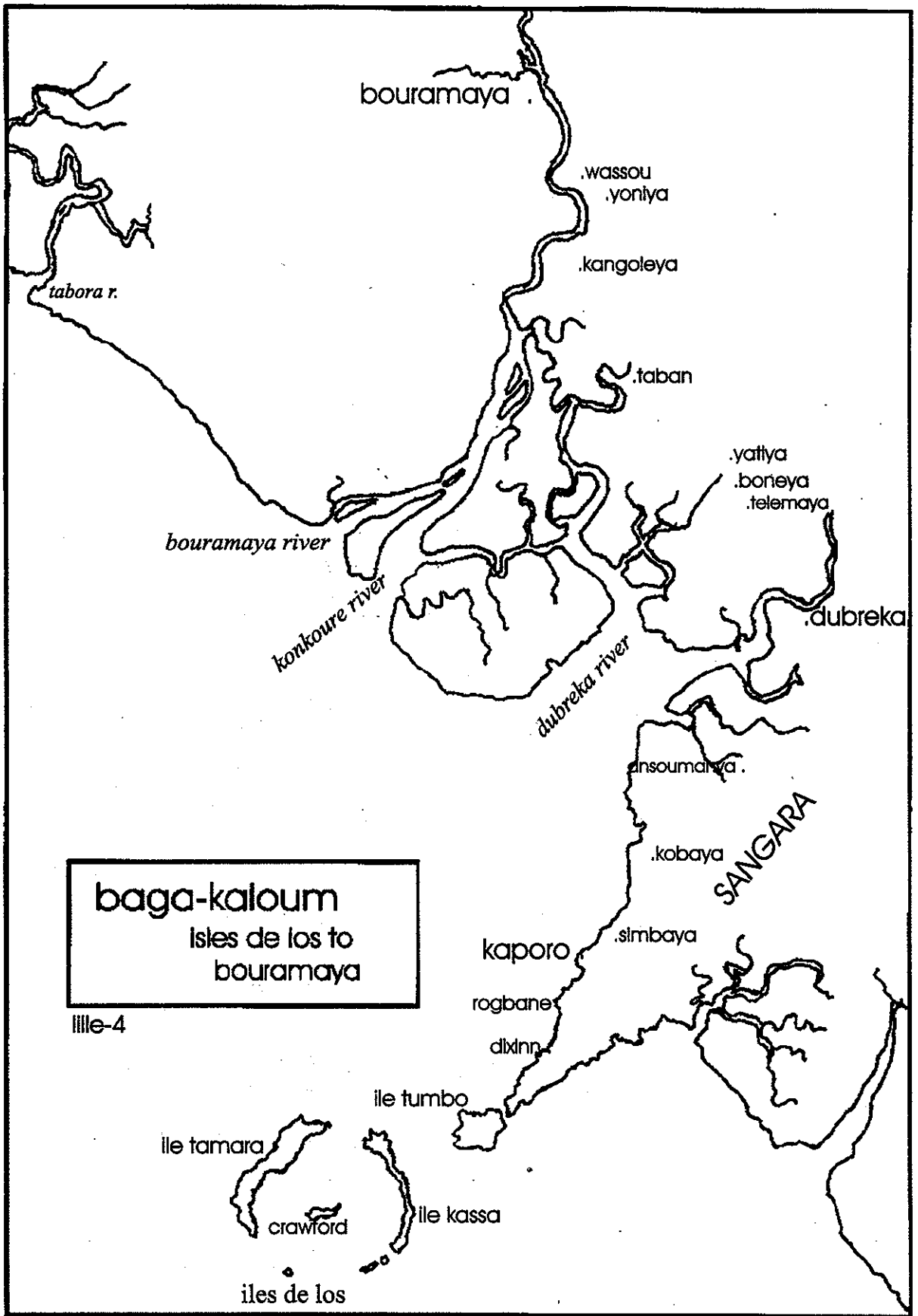
In summary, the sources consulted in this paper suggest that some boundaries, as reported by Frederick Lamp, need to be adjusted when considering the locations of Baga or Baga influence along the coast for the 1793 to 1821 period. Unfortunately, our information about borders for the Baga-Sitemu are unclear, especially the line dividing them from the Nalo, Hubu, or Susu peoples in their hinterland. The Baga-Kakissa were located in approximately the area that they now hold, but that may have been a consequence of a recent (1750 to 1790) forced migration coastward caused by Susu expansion to their new capital at Tiyé (c. 1795). The largest discrepancies with boundaries suggested by Lamp is in the placement of the Baga-Koba and Baga-Kaloum. The former, for the 1793-1821 period, apparently occupied a much larger space, bordered by the main branch of the Rio Pongo and the Fatała River (as far as Kalara) on the northwest and north, a near straight line from Kalara to Bouramaya on the northwest, and the Bouramaya River on the south. The Baga-Kaloum occupied, with mixed populations of Baga and Susu/Susu-Kobatai, the area from the Bouramaya River to the Ile Tumbo, with the Iles de Los Baga included as a subject subgroup. These reports indicate little about state building among the Baga-Sitemu or the Baga-Kakissa; perhaps there was none during this period. That is far different, however, than the case among the Baga-Koba or the Baga-Kaloum. These latter groups appear to have been highly structured, with paramountcies operating among both groups and with headmen or "bigmen" who were able to hold/host regional and international palavers and enforce agreements. The latter Baga were also apparently well integrated into the commercial life then existing along this coast; Baga regularly served as landlords to European and American strangers wishing to establish residence among them and profited directly, in the case of Fernandez, or indirectly, as with the Kaloum headmen, in the international trade that came through their territories. The impact of these contacts upon the economies of these peoples needs further investigation, much of which can be done within the voluminous records of the Church Missionary Society.

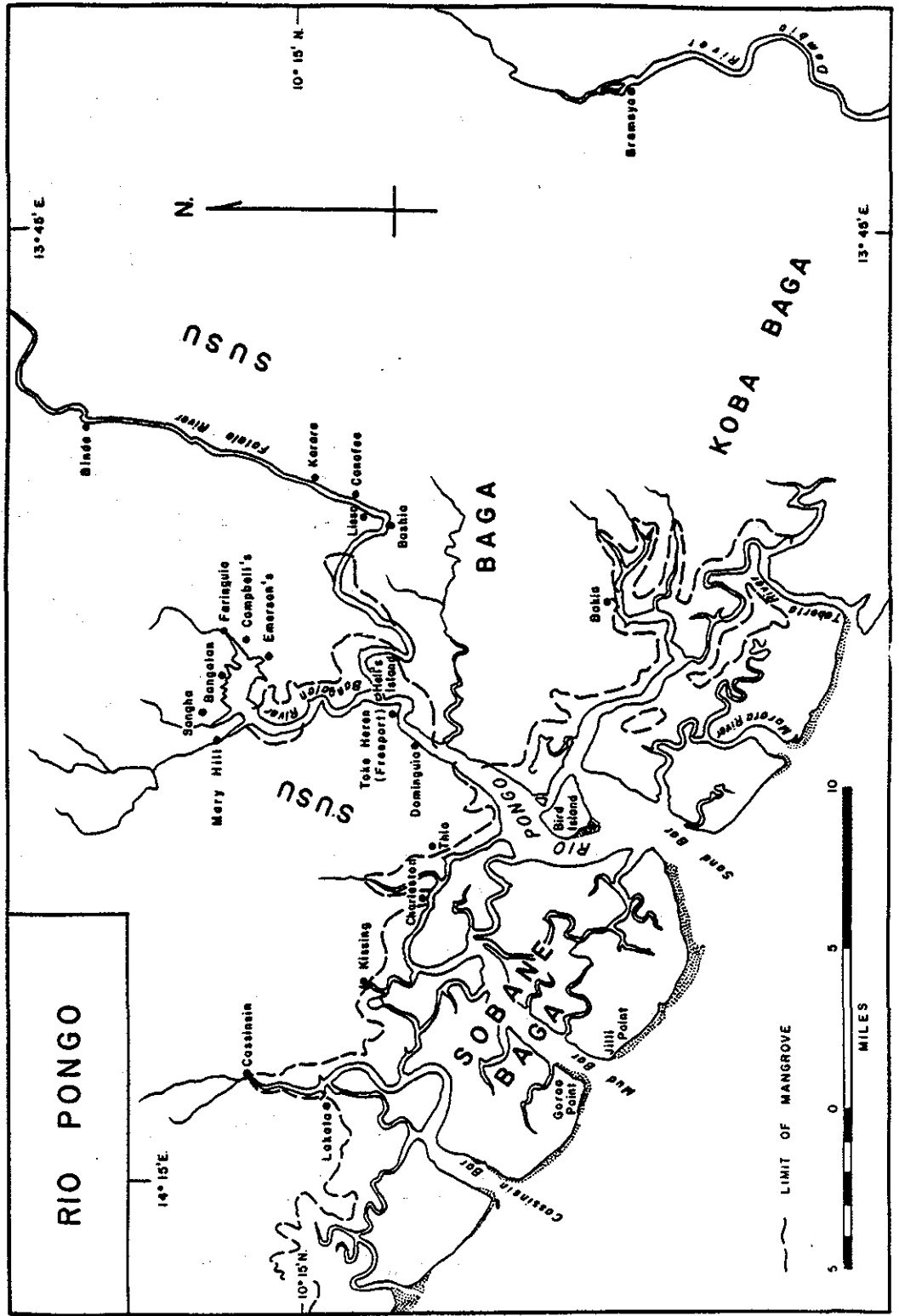
to Secr., 12 December 1813, Amurah was described as a Bullom whose father had sent him to Fula country for an education; he was a "Mahomedan preacher, and a teacher of Arabic. At the death of his father, he obtained his paternal inheritance the Isles and established it by a decision of arms." The above is unsubstantiated by other sources and contains contradictions of normal inheritance patterns along this coast.



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RIO PONGO

SUSU

BAGA

KOBA BAGA

SUSU

RIO PONGO

SOBAGANE

14° 15' E

10° 15' N

13° 45' E

13° 45' E

LIMIT OF MANGROVE

MILES



Bindo

Faina River

Kerere

Conofee

Boshio

Sanghe

Bangelon

Farisguio

Campbell's

Emerson's

Merry Hill

Take Hezen

(Freepost)

Child's

Island

Dominguito

Thio

Charleston

Mising

Castlanin

Lohetio

Goreas Point

Jilli Point

Sire Island

Bokio

Send Bar

Mad Bar

Cassianin Bar

Bokio

Taborio River

Nigoro River

10 AIR

Bramayo

10 ROAD