

FOURTH EDITION



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HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF  
THE GAMBIA

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ARNOLD HUGHES  
DAVID PERFECT

## HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF AFRICA

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Arnold Hughes and David Perfect

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For Petra, Tessa, Simon, and Jonathan



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## Editor's Foreword

Of all Africa's artificial boundaries, none is more artificial than that surrounding The Gambia. Just a narrow sliver of land along the river that gives it sustenance, it was already assumed in colonial times that the Gambia would be absorbed into surrounding French possessions. But Great Britain held on to it, and the new state was born in 1965. Again, following domestic upheavals, it appeared that it might, this time, be swallowed up by neighboring Senegal. However, that did not happen and is now unlikely with the demise of the Senegambia Confederation. Thus, after more than four decades, The Gambia is still charting its own course. For a great many years, it was one of Africa's few multiparty states with an uncommon degree of democratic participation. This abruptly ended in July 1994, following a military takeover. Although the country has returned formally to multiparty elected government, its authoritarian presidential rule continues to raise concern, both with respect to human rights and the management of the country's economy.

Because The Gambia seems likely to remain as a sovereign state despite its small size, it is worthy of greater notice. Certainly, now that another decade has passed, it merits a revised edition of the *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia*. This edition has undergone a more substantial expansion as well as the necessary updating, and provides more information than ever. The chronology traces Gambian history from pre-colonial to colonial times and then more closely the four decades since independence. This is reviewed again in the introduction, which is an overall presentation of the country, its geography and population, and its history. The bulk of the information is provided in several hundred dictionary entries on significant people; places and events; institutions and parties; and various political, economic, social, and cultural topics. Given the plethora of acronyms, these are included in their own section. And the bibliography directs readers to

other sources of literature, the body of which has grown considerably since the previous edition of the book.

This fourth edition builds on the foundation of its predecessors, namely, the first two editions by Harry A. Gailey, a pioneering historian of The Gambia, and the expanded and updated third edition by Arnold Hughes, who is a coauthor of the fourth. Emeritus professor of African politics and a former director of the Centre of West African Studies at the University of Birmingham, he has been researching West Africa since 1963, with a specialization in The Gambia, which he has visited frequently. He has written numerous articles on Gambian history and politics, as well as the book *A Political History of The Gambia, 1816–1994*, now the standard text for the period. This latter was coauthored with Dr. David Perfect who collaborated in this fourth edition as well. Dr. Perfect, who studied at the University of Cambridge and the Centre of West African Studies, has carried out extensive primary research in The Gambia and England, and also written several articles on Gambian political and labor history. Their combined knowledge and common interest in The Gambia have produced a book that remains an indispensable guide into its fourth decade.

Jon Woronoff  
Series Editor  
March 2008

## Acronyms and Abbreviations

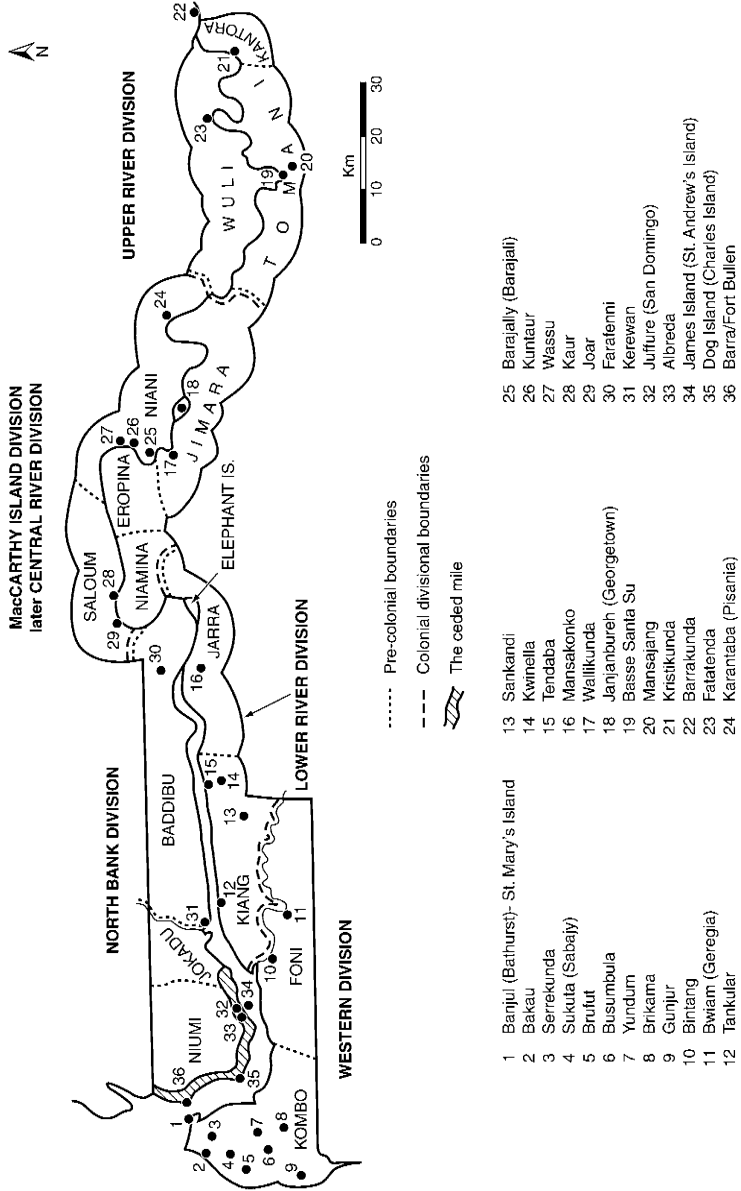
AFPRC	Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council
APRC	Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction
AU	African Union
B.Comm	Bachelor of Commerce
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BATC	Bathurst Advisory Town Council
BBWA	Bank of British West Africa
BCC	Banjul City Council
BTC	Bathurst Town Council
BTU	Bathurst Trade Union
BUDC	Bathurst Urban District Council
BYMS	Bathurst Young Muslims Society
CDC	Colonial Development Corporation
CDCentre	Curriculum Development Centre
CD&W	Colonial Development and Welfare
CMG	Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George
CRC	Constitutional Review Commission
CRD	Central River Division
DC	Divisional Commissioner
DCA	Democratic Congress Alliance
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
FGM	Female genital mutilation
GATU	Gambia Amalgamated Trade Union
GCP	Gambia Congress Party
GDP	Gambia Democratic Party
GFCMA	Gambia Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Association
GGC	Gambia Groundnut Corporation



GLU	Gambia Labour Union
GMC	Gambia Muslim Congress
GNA	Gambia National Army
GNAssocn	Gambia Native Association
GNDU	Gambia Native Defensive Union
GNG	Gambia National Gendarmerie
GNP	Gambia National Party
GNU	Gambia National Union
GPDP	Gambia Party for Democracy and Progress
GPMB	Gambia Produce Marketing Board
GPP	Gambia People's Party
GRC	Gambia Representative Committee
GSRP	Gambia Socialist Revolutionary Party
GUC	Gambia Utilities Corporation
GUSRWP	Gambia Underground Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party
GWC	Gambia Workers' Confederation
GWU	Gambia Workers' Union
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IDA	International Development Association
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KCMG	Knight Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George
KMC	Kanifing Municipal Council
KSM	Kombo St. Mary
LLB	Bachelor of Laws
LLM	Master of Laws
LRD	Lower River Division
M.Sc.	Master of Science
MA	Master of Arts
MBE	Member of the British Empire
MBHS	Methodist Boys' High School
MFDC	Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (Movement of Democratic Forces of the Casamance)
MOJA-G	Movement for Justice in Africa-Gambia
MP	Member of Parliament
NADD	National Alliance for Democracy and Development

NAFEO	Network of African Freedom of Expression Organisations
NBD	North Bank Division
NCBWA	National Congress of British West Africa
NCC	National Consultative Committee
NCP	National Convention Party
NDAM	National Democratic Action Movement
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NIA	National Intelligence Agency
NLP	National Liberation Party
NRP	National Reconciliation Party
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OBE	Order of the British Empire
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OMVG	Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Gambie (Organization for the Development of the Gambia River Basin)
PDOIS	People's Democratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PIEC	Provisional Independent Electoral Commission
PMINCC	People's Movement for Independence against Neo-Colonialism and Capitalism
PPA	People's Progressive Alliance
PPP	People's Progressive Party
RAC	Royal African Corps
RPA	Rate Payers' Association
SoS	Secretary of State
UDP	United Democratic Party
UN	United Nations
UP	United Party
URD	Upper River Division
WCL	World Confederation of Labour
WD	Western Division
WHO	World Health Organization

MAP 1. THE GAMBIA: PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL BOUNDARIES



- |    |                                      |    |                                    |
|----|--------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------|
| 1  | Banjul (Bathurst)- St. Mary's Island | 25 | Barajally (Barajall)               |
| 2  | Bakau                                | 26 | Kuntaur                            |
| 3  | Serrekunda                           | 27 | Wassu                              |
| 4  | Sukuta (Sabajj)                      | 28 | Kaur                               |
| 5  | Brulut                               | 29 | Joar                               |
| 6  | Busumbua                             | 30 | Faralenni                          |
| 7  | Yundum                               | 31 | Kerewan                            |
| 8  | Brikama                              | 32 | Juffure (San Domingo)              |
| 9  | Gunjur                               | 33 | Albreda                            |
| 10 | Bintang                              | 34 | James Island (St. Andrew's Island) |
| 11 | Bwiam (Geregeja)                     | 35 | Dog Island (Charles Island)        |
| 12 | Tankular                             | 36 | Barra/Fort Bullen                  |

## Chronology

**7th to 9th Centuries** Estimated date of construction of stone circles, possibly by ancestors of Jola people. First southeastward migrations of significant numbers of Fula (Fulbe) probably took place during this time.

**13th to 15th Centuries** Period of Malian hegemony over the western Sudan. Gambian Mandinka kingdoms were the westernmost extension of that empire. Beginning of large-scale Muslim conversion in the Senegambia.

**16th to 17th Centuries** Period of state building among the Wolof in Senegal. Development of Jolof, Walo, Baol, and Cayor. Serere (Serer) kingdoms of Sine and Saloum also developed in this period.

**18th Century** Creation of Islamic theocracy in the Futa Toro and continued conversion of large numbers of Gambians, particularly Fula, to Islam.

**1455** First European exploration of the Gambia River by Alvise da Cadamosto and Antoniotto Usidimare on behalf of Prince Henry of Portugal.

**1618** Royal charter given to the Company of Adventurers of London Trading into Africa.

**1620 25 October:** Richard Jobson of the Company of Adventurers departs on voyage to the Gambia (leaves the Gambia in May 1621).

**1621** Dutch West India Company established and obtains Island of Gorée.

**1651** Duchy of Courland leases St. Andrew's Island and builds a fort there.

**1660 December:** Formation of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa company.

**1661 19 March:** English capture St. Andrew's Island, renaming it James Island after James, Duke of York.

**1672 27 September:** Royal African Company (English) formed and granted monopoly of trade in West Africa.

**1677 1 November:** French capture Gorée from Dutch.

**1681 c. May:** French establish base at Albreda.

**1695 27 July:** French capture James Island. **22 August:** French blow up James Fort.

**1699 April:** Royal African Company reoccupies James Island.

**1709–13** James Fort abandoned by Royal African Company.

**1719** James Island sacked by pirates.

**1730** Francis Moore, factor for Royal African Company, arrives in the Gambia.

**1750 12 April:** Company of Merchants Trading to Africa formed as successor to Royal African Company.

**1752 April:** Company of Merchants Trading to Africa assumes sole control over the Gambia.

**1765 25 May:** British government formally assumes control of the Gambia, establishing Province of Senegambia. **28 December:** Lieutenant Colonel Charles O'Hara appointed as first governor.

**1779 11 February:** James Fort destroyed for the last time by the French and never rebuilt.

**1783** Province of Senegambia reverts to French control, with the British retaining the Gambia River and James Island. Company of Merchants Trading to Africa resumes control of the Gambia.

**1795 2 December:** Mungo Park leaves Pisania at start of first expedition.

**1800 April:** British take control of Gorée.

**1805 4 May:** Mungo Park leaves Pisanía at start of second expedition.

**1807 25 March:** Parliament passes Abolition of Slave Trade Act, abolishing slave trade in the British Empire from 1 May.

**1816 23 April:** Captain Alexander Grant purchases St. Mary's Island from King of Kombo. New town of Bathurst (Banjul) constructed on St. Mary's Island as main civilian settlement.

**1817 25 January:** French reoccupy Senegal, resulting in British merchants gradually transferring from Gorée to Bathurst.

**1821 21 January:** Arrival of William Singleton, a Quaker, on an exploratory mission. **8 February:** First Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, John Morgan and John Baker, arrive in the Gambia. **17 October:** Gambia forms part of the British West African Settlements under jurisdiction of the governor of Sierra Leone.

**1823 14 April:** Lemain Island ceded to British by King of Kataba and renamed MacCarthy Island. **8 December:** Hannah Kilham and other Quaker missionaries arrive in the Gambia.

**1826 15 June:** Ceded Mile granted to the British by the King of Barra.

**1829 12 December:** Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Findlay appointed as first lieutenant governor.

**1830** First recorded shipment of groundnuts from the Gambia (to the West Indies).

**1831 22 August:** Start of the Barra or Anglo–Niumi War between the British and the King of Barra.

**1832 5 January:** King of Barra and British sign peace treaty to end the Barra War.

**1834** Groundnuts shipped to Britain for the first time for trading purposes.

**1840 13 July:** Part of Kombo ceded to British by King of Kombo.

**1842** Parliamentary Select Committee recommends that each West African territory should have its own administration and governor.

**1843 24 June:** Gambia becomes a separate colony under Governor H. F. Seagram.

**1853 24 May:** Upper Kombo ceded to the British by King of Kombo.

**1855 17 July:** British force under Governor L. S. O'Connor routed at Sabajy.

**1857 19 May:** French surrender Albreda to British in exchange for rights at Portendic.

**1862 February:** Ma Bah begins attacks on Soninke in Baddibu.

**1865 26 June:** Report of Parliamentary Select Committee on West Africa.

**1866 19 February:** Gambia forms part of British West African Settlements (headed by governor of Sierra Leone) under an administrator. **2 March:** French government proposes that the Gambia be exchanged for French territory.

**1867 July:** Death of Ma Bah Diakhou at Battle of Somb.

**1869 April–June:** Major cholera outbreak in the Gambia.

**1870 February:** British government accepts French proposals on the cession of the Gambia in principle. **April:** First petition against cession, signed by over 500 Gambians. **15 July:** House of Commons debate reveals opposition to cession and leads to formal abandonment of negotiations by Britain (on 16 July).

**1874 12 April:** French government proposes that the Gambia be exchanged for the Ivory Coast and the Mellacourie.

**1875 23 July:** British government makes formal proposal to France over cession. **29 September:** Tomani Bojang, last Soninke King of Kombo, surrenders to Fodi Silla and abdicates.

**1876 20 March:** Under secretary of state announces in the House of Commons that British government will abandon negotiations with France over the Gambia.

**1877–87** Civil war in Baddibu between forces of Biram Sise, Saer Maty Ba, and Mamur Nderi Ba.

**1883 23 January:** First issue of *The Bathurst Observer and West African Gazette*, the Gambia's first substantive newspaper. **5 March:** J. D. Richards appointed as first African member of the Legislative Council (from 1 May).

**1888 22 December:** Gambia becomes a separate colony as the administrative link with Sierra Leone is severed for the final time.

**1889 10 August:** Anglo–French agreement fixes the present frontiers of the Gambia.

**1891 9 June:** French and British commissioners sign an agreement marking the Gambia's boundaries.

**1892 2 January:** Fodi Kabba driven into Casamance by British forces.

**1893 21 January:** Appointment of first “travelling commissioners,” J. H. Ozanne and C. F. Sitwell.

**1894 10 March:** Fodi Silla captured by the French and exiled. **28 December:** First comprehensive ordinance for governing the Protectorate.

**1900 14 June:** Killing of Travelling Commissioners Sitwell and Silva at Sankandi.

**1901 4 March:** Administrator Sir George Denton upgraded to governor. **22 March:** Death of Fodi Kabba.

**1906 19 November:** S. J. Forster, Jr., appointed as permanent member of Legislative Council for first time (serves continuously until death in July 1940).

**1913** General revision of ordinance for the governing of the Protectorate.

**1920 May:** Formation of Gambia Section of National Congress of British West Africa.

**1922 31 January:** Demonetization of French five-franc piece. **22 March:** Muslims of Bathurst select Ousman Jeng to be their first representative on the Legislative Council. **May:** First issue of Edward Small's newspaper, *The Gambia Outlook and Senegambian Reporter*.



**1927 1 January:** Opening of Armitage School, Georgetown.

**1929 May:** Bathurst Trade Union (BTU) formed. **26 October–14 November:** BTU organizes successful strike in Bathurst.

**1930 November:** Establishment of Bathurst Urban District Council (BUDC).

**1931 18 March:** First meeting of BUDC.

**1932 31 March:** Sheikh Omar Fye appointed as Muslim member of the Legislative Council, replacing Ousman Jeng; Fye serves until 1947.

**1933 13 March:** BTU becomes first registered trade union in Africa. **17 March:** BUDC members vote for W. D. Carrol to be appointed to Legislative Council (from 28 May).

**1933** General reorganization of Protectorate government and courts system.

**1935 7 June:** Establishment of Bathurst Advisory Town Council (BATC), replacing BUDC.

**1939–45** World War II. Gambian troops of Royal West African Frontier Force active in Burma–India theater. Yundum airfield constructed as Allied transit base.

**1940** First British Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

**1941 13 November:** BATC members vote for E. F. Small to be appointed to Legislative Council in succession to the late W. D. Carrol (from 1 January 1942).

**1943** K. W. Blackburne's report on immediate and long-range economic needs of the Gambia.

**1945–50** Reconstruction of port, street, and sewer facilities of Bathurst with Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

**1946 May:** I. M. Garba-Jahumpa revives Bathurst Young Muslims Society (BYMS) (founded 1936) as a political organization. **July:** Establishment of Bathurst Town Council (BTC). **15 October:** First election to BTC. **29 November:** Constitution drawn up by Governor Andrew Wright, allowing for a direct election to the Legislative Council, endorsed by secretary of state for the colonies.

**1947 1 November:** E. F. Small wins first direct election to the Legislative Council. Small and two other African unofficial members of the Legislative Council appointed to Executive Council.

**1950 22 September:** Governor Percy Wyn-Harris formally draws up new constitutional proposals.

**1951 February:** Yundum Egg Scheme abandoned. **29 June:** Order-in-Council promulgating new constitution published. **June:** Gambia Democratic Party (GDP) launched. **25 October:** Second direct election to the Legislative Council; J. C. Faye (GDP) and I. M. Garba-Jahumpa (BYMS) elected in Bathurst and Henry Madi in Kombo St. Mary. Faye and Garba-Jahumpa subsequently appointed as “members of the government,” but not given specific portfolios.

**1952 January:** Garba-Jahumpa founds Gambia Muslim Congress (GMC).

**1953 May:** Consultative Committee meets six times to make recommendations for a new constitution. Wallikunda Rice Scheme abandoned. **31 July:** Second Wyn-Harris constitution, increasing number of directly elected members to four, published. **24 September:** J. C. Faye suspended from Executive Council.

**1954 c. April:** United Party (UP) formed by P. S. N’Jie. **19 October:** Third direct election to the Legislative Council; N’Jie, Faye, and Garba-Jahumpa elected in Bathurst and Henry Madi in Kombo St. Mary.

**1955 20 December:** P. S. N’Jie suspended from Executive Council.

**1956 2 January:** P. S. N’Jie dismissed from Executive Council. **15 December:** Gambia Workers’ Union (GWU) applies for official registration (achieved July 1958). **30 December:** Foundation of Protectorate People’s Society.

**1959 14 February:** Protectorate People’s Party formed. **23 September:** Constitution drawn up by Governor Edward Windley, establishing new House of Representatives, which replaces the Legislative Council, published (comes into force after 1960 election). **December:** Protectorate People’s Party renamed *People’s Progressive Party (PPP)*.

**1960 2 February:** GWU organizes successful general strike. **April:** Democratic Congress Alliance (DCA) created. **20–30 May:** First national

election held. PPP becomes the largest single party in the House, winning 9 out of 19 seats. The UP wins 5, the DCA 1 and 4 independents are elected. **16 June:** Governor Windley appoints members of all parties and independents to the Executive Council. **1 October:** PPP publishes its “independence” manifesto.

**1961 24–28 January:** GWU organizes successful general strike. **14 March:** P. S. N’Jie appointed as chief minister. **4–11 May:** Constitutional conference in Bathurst. **24–27 July:** Constitutional conference (London), leading to new constitution allowing full internal self-government and a 32-member House of Representatives with ministerial government.

**1962 22–31 May:** Second national election. PPP wins overall majority, with 18 out of 32 seats to the 13 for the UP and 1 for the DCA. **4 June:** D. K. Jawara becomes premier and appoints first cabinet. **October:** Formation of Gambia Congress Party (GCP). **11 December:** The secretary of state for the colonies, Duncan Sandys, announces in the House of Commons that independence will be granted to the Gambia if a satisfactory basis for association with Senegal can be achieved.

**1963 17–18 April:** First major comprehensive census of the Gambia. **4 October:** The Gambia achieves internal self-government; Jawara becomes prime minister. **16 October:** Arrival of United Nations (UN) team of experts led by H. J. van Mook.

**1964 16 March:** UN report submitted to Gambian government. **28–29 May:** UN report discussed by Gambian and Senegalese governments in Dakar. **11 July:** The Gambia and Senegal reach agreement on foreign policy, security, and defense issues, promising to support each other in the case of external attack (these come into force in February 1965). **22–30 July:** Independence constitutional conference convened in London.

**1965 18 February:** The Gambia achieves independence from Great Britain. **August:** Merger of PPP and DCA. **18–26 November:** Government fails to achieve required two-thirds majority for a republic in a national referendum by 758 votes.

**1966 10 February:** Sir John Paul replaced as governor general by Farimang Singhateh. **17–26 May:** First post-independence parliamentary election. PPP wins 24 seats to 8 for the UP/GCP alliance.

**1967 19 April:** Treaty of Association between The Gambia and Senegal signed in Bathurst.

**1968 7 March:** GCP dissolved and merged with PPP. **October:** Formation of People's Progressive Alliance (PPA).

**1969 11 January:** President L. S. Senghor accuses The Gambia of economic aggression. **6 February:** Demonstration against Senghor during a state visit to Bathurst.

**1970 24 April:** Voters approve proposal for a republic in a second referendum. Sir Dawda Jawara became first president under a new constitution.

**1972 12 February:** PPA formally dissolved. **28–29 March:** Parliamentary election. PPP further increases its majority, winning 28 seats to UP's three (one independent also wins). **29 March:** Jawara declared president on basis of earlier vote by members of Parliament (MPs). **1 July:** P. S. N'Jie forfeits seat in House of Representatives for non-attendance. **16 September:** Sheriff Dibba resigns as vice president following "butut" affair. **9 October:** Dibba replaced as minister of finance by I. M. Garba-Jahumpa.

**1973 24 April:** Name of capital changed from Bathurst to Banjul.

**1974 July:** Senegalese forces arrest around 20 Gambians in separate border incidents, resulting in strong Gambian protests.

**1975–79** First Sahel drought period.

**1975 29 July:** Sheriff Dibba sacked from PPP cabinet. **29 July–1 August:** GWU organizes successful general strike. **7 September:** Formation of National Convention Party (NCP). **4 October:** Launch of National Liberation Party (NLP) (earlier meetings from April).

**1977 25 January:** GWU banned for failing to submit its annual accounts. **4–5 April:** Parliamentary election. PPP again wins, taking 28 seats to NCP's five and UP's two. NCP replaces UP as main opposition party. Jawara reelected president by MPs.

**1980 27 October:** Deputy commander of Gambia Field Force, E. J. Mahoney, murdered by a soldier. **29 October:** The Gambia breaks off diplomatic relations with Libya. **30 October:** Movement for Justice in

Africa-Gambia (MOJA-g) and Gambia Socialist Revolutionary Party (GSRP) declared prohibited organizations.

**1981 30 July:** Attempted coup in Banjul by disaffected paramilitary police and radical political opponents of PPP government. Senegalese army intervenes to restore President Jawara to power. State of Emergency declared and estimated 500 persons killed. **2 August:** Jawara returns to Banjul in the closing stages of the insurrection. **17 December:** Agreement establishing Senegambia Confederation signed in Dakar.

**1982 1 February:** Senegambia Confederation officially inaugurated. **4–5 May:** Parliamentary and presidential elections. PPP returned to power with 27 out of 35 seats. Jawara wins first direct presidential election with 72 percent of the vote, defeating Dibba. **May:** Major cabinet reshuffle results in A. M. Camara being replaced as vice president and M. L. Saho as attorney general.

**1984 9 November:** Gambia National Army (GNA) formally established.

**1985 August:** Cabinet approves Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).

**1986 29 March:** Launch of Gambia People's Party (GPP) led by Camara. **19 August:** Formation of People's Democratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism (PDOIS) at end of inaugural conference.

**1987 11 March:** Presidential and parliamentary elections. PPP wins 31 out of 36 seats in House of Representatives and Jawara reelected president with 59 percent of the vote, defeating Dibba and Camara.

**1989 22 August:** President Abdou Diouf announces suspension of Senegambia Confederation. **7 October:** Formal dissolution of Senegambia Confederation by House of Representatives.

**1990 15 June:** The minister of finance, Saihou Sabally, announces the launching of the Programme for Sustainable Development to replace the ERP.

**1991 8 January:** The Gambia and Senegal sign Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. **28 September:** Dr. Lamin Bojang launches People's Democratic Party (PDP).

**1992 29 April:** Presidential and parliamentary elections. PPP wins 25 out of 36 seats and Jawara reelected president with 58 percent of the vote, defeating four other candidates.

**1994 22 July:** Successful GNA coup; Jawara escapes to Senegal and exile in Britain. 1970 constitution suspended and political parties banned. **26 July:** Creation of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC), led by Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh. **17 October:** Jammeh announces four-year transition to civilian rule. **11 November:** Unsuccessful attempt by disaffected junior officers to overthrow AFPRC, resulting in numerous deaths. **7 December:** National Consultative Committee (NCC) appointed to review the transition process.

**1995 27 January:** NCC report recommends two-year transition to civilian rule. **27 January:** Second unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Jammeh by two of the four original junta leaders, Captains Sana Sabally and Sadibou Hydara. Fourth original junta leader, Edward Singhateh, appointed vice chairman of the AFPRC. **20 April:** Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) appointed. **3 June:** Death of Sadibou Hydara in prison. **20 November:** CRC presents report to government.

**1996 15 March:** CRC report published. **8 August:** New constitution approved in national referendum with 70 percent support. **14 August:** Decree no. 89 reinforces ban on PPP, NCP, and GPP and most ex-ministers, but lifts it on PDOIS and PDP. **4 September:** Jammeh retires from GNA. **26 September:** Jammeh, candidate of army-backed Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction (APRC), defeats Ousainou Darboe of the United Democratic Party (UDP), Hamat Bah of the National Reconciliation Party (NRP) and Sidia Jatta of PDOIS. **8 November:** Supporters of Kukoi Samba Sanyang, leader of the suppressed coup of July 1981, raid army barracks at Farafenni from Senegal.

**1997 2 January:** First election to National Assembly. APRC wins 33 of 45 seats. **21 July:** Remnants of those involved in November 1994 coup attempt to raid Kartong police post from Senegal, but fail to reach Banjul.

**1999 March:** Formal establishment of the University of The Gambia.

**2000 10–11 April:** Security forces kill 12 demonstrators in Kanifing. **17 June:** UDP leader, Ousainou Darboe, arrested and charged with murder of an APRC supporter.

**2001 22 July:** Ban on former political parties lifted. **18 October:** President Jammeh wins presidential election for a second time, defeating four other candidates. **December:** Former president Sir Dawda Jawara, in exile in Britain, granted a pardon by President Jammeh.

**2002 17 January:** APRC wins 45 out of 48 seats in National Assembly election boycotted by UDP. **1 June:** Jawara returns to The Gambia. **29 August:** Sir Dawda Jawara stands down as PPP leader. **October:** National Democratic Action Movement founded by Lamin Waa Juwara, following split within UDP.

**2004 16 December:** Murder of prominent journalist, Deyda Hydar.

**2005 17 January:** Formation of National Alliance for Democracy and Development (NADD), a coalition of existing opposition parties. **July:** As many as 50 West African immigrants, most of them Ghanaians, murdered by Gambian security forces.

**2006 January:** UDP withdraws from NADD (followed later by NRP and one faction of PPP). **1 March:** Halifa Sallah (PDOIS) selected as NADD “flag bearer.” **21 March:** Unsuccessful attempted coup, led by chief of defence staff, Colonel Ndure Cham. **1–2 July:** The Gambia hosts African Union Summit. **22 September:** Presidential election. President Jammeh wins for a third time, defeating two other candidates, Ousainou Darboe (UDP/NRP) and Halifa Sallah (NADD).

**2007 25 January:** APRC wins 42 out of 48 seats in National Assembly election. **February:** Halifa Sallah stands down as NADD “flag bearer” putting the future of the alliance in doubt. **19 April:** 10 former army officers sentenced to long prison terms for their role in the Ndure Cham coup. **13–14 September:** Major cabinet reshuffle, with Edward Singhateh among those dismissed.

**2008 15 January:** Ghanaian government refers the murder of West Africans in July 2005 to the Economic Community of West African States. **24 January:** APRC wins overwhelming victory in the local government election, gaining 101 out of 114 seats. Between them, NADD, NRP, and UDP win only five seats, with the remainder being taken by independents.

## Introduction

When The Gambia achieved its independence from Great Britain on 18 February 1965, as mainland Africa's smallest state, its future seemed uncertain. Yet, despite its small size and population (around 315,000 at independence), and poverty of resources, it was able to establish itself as a functioning parliamentary democracy, a status it retained for nearly 30 years. The Gambia thus avoided the common fate of other African countries, which soon fell under authoritarian single-party rule or experienced military coups. In addition, its enviable political stability, together with modest economic success, at least until the early 1980s, enabled it to avoid remaining under British domination or being absorbed by its larger French-speaking neighbor, Senegal, as anticipated by many commentators at the country's birth. It was also able to defeat an attempted coup d'état in July 1981, but, ironically, when other African states were returning to democratic government, Gambian democracy finally succumbed to a military coup on 22 July 1994. Since then, the restoration of democracy has remained incomplete and disputed, as have the attempts by the military's successor government to meet the country's economic and social needs.

### LAND AND PEOPLE

The tiny Republic of The Gambia is situated in the extreme western part of the African continent, surrounded on three sides by Senegal. The boundaries of The Gambia are completely artificial, having nothing to do with natural ethnic or geographic lines of demarcation. They were first drawn in 1889 during a meeting of French and British delegates in Paris and were only slightly modified by later survey parties (and slightly altered again in the 1970s). The boundaries thus agreed upon



satisfied both European governments and were meant to be only temporary because both parties were convinced that eventually there would be an exchange of the territory. For a variety of reasons, no transfer ever took place. Thus, an estimated (2007) 1.7 million Gambians are constrained to live in a country whose limits are six miles distant from either side of the Gambia River, save at the river's estuary, where the country is 30 miles wide and about 200 miles in length; making a total land area of 4,361 square miles (11,295 square kilometers), approximately the size of Lebanon or Jamaica. These boundaries exclude The Gambia from free access to its natural hinterland and divide the Gambian Wolof, Jola, Mandinka, Serere (Serer), and Fula (Fulbe) people from their kin in Senegal.

The present-day boundaries of The Gambia present specific problems for the historian. Much of its history was not confined to the narrow serpentine state, but extended over the broad savannah and sahel areas that today compose Senegal. This is particularly true of the period extending from the 13th to the 16th centuries when the Gambia Valley was being populated by a series of complex migrations. Although little detailed information is available, the Wolof, Mandinka, and Fula people established themselves in different parts of the Senegambia and there created first village- or clan-based polities and, later, large kingdoms. These state-building processes were still going on when the first European traders came to the Senegambian coast. By the beginning of the 17th century, however, large complex states had been created throughout the region with kings, advisors, bureaucracies, and armed forces. The economic basis of each of these states was village-oriented agriculture, although trade was important, particularly for those living near the rivers or close to a hinterland trade route.

## EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN THE GAMBIA

European contact with the Gambia region dates to 1455, when the Portuguese first entered the estuary of the river. For more than a century, they maintained intermittent contacts with the area, unchallenged by any European rival. During this period, a number of Portuguese settled in the Gambia, and the Portuguese government and Catholic Church sponsored missionary activities among the

Mandinka. However, the Gambia was never an important trading entrepôt, and the Portuguese had decided to concentrate their efforts elsewhere along the west coast even before their trading monopoly was attacked by other European states. During the early 17th century, few Portuguese traders came to the Gambia on a regular basis. By the 18th century, the Portuguese interlude was only dimly remembered by the people of the Gambia and the Portuguese left behind nothing of permanence.

Although occasional trading voyages were made from other European countries in the 16th century, it was not until the 17th century that the Senegambian trade became more important. Even then, as it was not an area possessing great amounts of ivory, timber, pepper, or gold, the Senegambia was never as important a trade area as the Gold Coast, for example. In England, France, and Holland, the three major mercantile powers of the 17th century, stockholders formed private companies, which would receive a charter from a European monarch giving them sole privileges to trade in a specific area. These companies would then attempt to exploit their grant by sending out to West Africa a wide variety of trade products to exchange for African goods. In some areas, the company men would be forced to trade directly from their ships; in others, they would be allowed by the African rulers to build temporary trading stations, and, in a few instances, including the Gold Coast, the Europeans manned a series of permanent fortified trading posts.

The first English company with significant trade interests in the Gambia was the Company of Adventurers of London Trading into Africa, which received a royal charter in 1618. The Dutch West India Company was founded in 1621 and established its base on the island of Gorée in the same year, while the French established a base at St. Louis at the mouth of the Senegal River in 1659. However, the first permanent trading post in the Gambia was erected by the tiny Baltic Duchy of Courland (Latvia) in 1651. It purchased an island in the Gambia River that the Portuguese had called St. Andrew's Island and there constructed a fort. In 1661, the Courlanders were driven out by the English, who renamed the tiny island after James, Duke of York, the younger brother of King Charles II. James Island continued to be the center of English trading activities in the Gambia for more than a century, first for the Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa (1660–72), then for the Royal

African Company (1672–1752), and for the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa (1750–1821).

The French, meanwhile, took Gorée from the Dutch in 1677 and established a station at Albreda, opposite James Island in 1681. Thereafter, there was regular conflict between the British and the French on the Gambia River, with the French seizing and then blowing up James Fort in 1695 and capturing (and ransoming) it three times between 1702 and 1708. In the 1760s and 1770s, the British held the upper hand, controlling all French territory and creating the Province of Senegambia in 1765, only to return it all except the Gambia after the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. Before then, in 1779, a French force had again destroyed James Fort. The Company of Merchants regained control over the Gambia River from the Crown in 1783, but did not rebuild the fort before the company was wound up in 1821.

In March 1807, the British House of Commons resolved to abolish the slave trade from 1 May 1807. It then became necessary to attempt to control the activities of British nationals along the western coast of Africa. For this purpose, a squadron of the Royal Navy was dispatched to patrol the coastline. The force needed harbor facilities, which meant that the British government became directly involved in the administration of the Colony of Sierra Leone. In 1816, Captain Alexander Grant was authorized to establish a base on the Gambia River.

Grant rejected the old site of British authority, James Island, and instead negotiated the cession, by the King of Kombo, of Banjul Island (which he renamed St. Mary's Island), adjacent to the south bank near the mouth of the river. In the next four years, Grant and his small garrison of a few hundred troops constructed government buildings, harbor facilities, and barracks on the island. Within a few years of its foundation, the new town of Bathurst (renamed Banjul in 1973) had attracted British merchants from Gorée, which had reverted to French control in 1817, and their mainly Wolof employees, as well as considerable numbers of neighboring Africans. Particularly between 1832 and 1843, its population was augmented by Africans liberated from captured slave ships by the Royal Navy squadron and later transferred to Bathurst from Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone.

## THE CROWN COLONY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

In 1821, the administration of the Gambia was taken from the Company of Merchants and vested in the governor of Sierra Leone. Affairs in the new Crown Colony of the Gambia were handled directly by the commandant of the garrison until 1829 and thereafter by a lieutenant governor subordinate to the governor of Sierra Leone. In 1843, the administrative link with Sierra Leone was broken and the Gambia was granted its own governor. However, on the establishment of the British West African Settlements in 1866, the Gambia once again became subordinate to Sierra Leone, with local authority being wielded by an administrator who was required to report regularly to the governor of Sierra Leone and to seek his approval for legislative decisions. This administrative link remained until 1888.

Throughout the century, the size of the Crown Colony remained very small, both in terms of geographical area and of population. Initially consisting solely of Bathurst, it was increased in 1823 by the acquisition of MacCarthy Island and in 1826 by the King of Barra's cession of what became known as the *Ceded Mile*. Parts of the Kombo were ceded to the Colony in 1840 and in 1853 and there were further small acquisitions of territory in the 1880s. But the population of the territory remained tiny, totaling only 14,266 in 1891, two-fifths of whom lived in Bathurst.

The Gambian economy also remained small and undeveloped in the 19th century. The main source of government revenue was provided by customs receipts generated on duties imposed on manufactured goods, clothing, and foodstuffs imported from Europe by trading companies. These were supplemented from 1863 by a duty imposed on the principal export crop, groundnuts, but, in the absence of any financial support from the Colonial Office, government revenue was very limited as was its expenditure (other than on the salaries and pensions of officials). Little attempt was made to develop Bathurst or to improve the quality of life of its inhabitants, for example by draining the swamp at Half Die at the southern end of the town. Not surprisingly, Bathurst remained a notoriously unhealthy place, particularly in the rainy season, and the Gambia experienced major epidemics of yellow fever in 1837 and 1859 and of cholera in 1869.

Prior to 1866, the governor was assisted both by an advisory Executive Council, consisting solely of officials, and by a Legislative Council, comprised both of official and unofficial members, with officials forming the majority. After the establishment of the British West African Settlements in 1866, the Executive Council was abolished and the Legislative Council downgraded, although unofficial representation on the latter body continued. Unofficial representatives on the Legislative Council were invariably British merchants or their agents until 1883, when the first African member of the council (J. D. Richards, an Aku merchant) was appointed; particularly in the early 1860s, they wielded considerable power through forming alliances on the council with official members. One outcome was to prevent the enactment of legislation to promote the interests of the Liberated African community in Bathurst; this, in turn, helped to stimulate the growth of more organized African opinion, which mainly took the form of petitions to the Colonial Office against government policies. The first of these, from a “Committee of Black Inhabitants,” was dispatched to London as early as 1849, but were drawn up more frequently from the 1860s.

## AFRICAN SOCIETIES BEFORE EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

European trade rivalry and the changes in the fortunes of one state or another had little to do with the lives of the majority of Africans in the Senegambia. They, of course, were affected by the volume, type, and direction of trade, but direct relations with Europeans were not typical in the Gambia. There were no revolutionary economic changes in any of the kingdoms because the area was never a major center for the slave trade and there were few other products that the Europeans wanted. Thus, the Mandinka polities along the river and the Serere and Wolof states to the north continued to evolve slowly with little outside interference.

In the early 19th century, nine Mandinka kingdoms were on the south side of the Gambia River: Kombo, Foni, Kiang, Jarra, Niamina, Eropina, Jimara, Tomani, and Kantora. Five kingdoms were on the north bank: Niumi, Baddibu, Upper and Lower Niani, and Wuli. Although each state was separate, and customs and polities differed to a certain extent in each, all of them shared certain commonalities. Each society was divided

into three endogamous castes: the freeborn; the artisans and praise singers; and the slaves. Each state had a king (*mansa*) chosen from a specific royal lineage. Each king had his council of advisors and an armed force to defend the state; if necessary, he could use this force to impose his will upon the state. Each kingdom was subdivided into the territorial units of the village, ward, and family compound. Each village area was governed by a *satee-tiyo*, a representative of the senior lineage of the village, and his council. The ward leaders, *kabilo-tiyos*, administered their areas with the help of advisors. Thus, each state was held together by a combination of tradition, kinship patterns, and force. The population of many of these kingdoms was relatively homogeneous, but some of the kings ruled over large non-Mandinka minorities. Wolof and Serere were in Niimi and Baddibu, the Jola were located in Kombo and Foni, and many Serahuli were in the upriver kingdom of Wuli. Large numbers of Fula had traditionally migrated from the Futa Toro to the Futa Jallon through some of the Mandinka states. By the mid-19th century, the Fula had become a significant factor in the affairs of four Mandinka kingdoms: Eropina, Jimara, Tomani, and Kantora.

To the north of the Gambia River were the larger, more powerful polities of the Serere and Wolof. Each of the Wolof states had evolved from the earlier kingdom of Jolof in the 16th century. The Serere kingdoms of Sine and Saloum had evolved in the same period with a mixed population. The Wolof and Serere states, like those of the Mandinka, were of the Sudanic type, with a king representing a particular lineage; nobles, who controlled much of the land, making up the king's councils, and commanding the armies, and peasants, artisans, and slaves. Each polity maintained a large army, and there was incessant diplomatic maneuvering and open warfare between the states because each king was jealous of his prerogatives and wanted to dominate his neighbors.

In the 19th century, all the Senegambian kingdoms were subjected to new pressures and the intensification of old cleavages. After the mid-century, the French became much more active in the hinterland of the Senegambia. The forward policy of Governor Louis L. C. Faidherbe effectively converted much of the coastal region of Senegal into a French protectorate. Groundnuts had become an important item of trade, particularly in Sine and Saloum, and French traders there demanded protection. Attempts to provide this embroiled the French in the internal affairs of all the kingdoms north of the Gambia River. The British

government, although disavowing territorial ambitions, nevertheless interfered regularly in the affairs of the Gambian kingdoms. From its base at Bathurst, the local administration mounted a number of punitive expeditions against both the traditional rulers and their Marabout challengers.

## THE SONINKE–MARABOUT WARS

The most fundamental changes in the 19th century were introduced by proselytizing Muslim teachers, known as *Marabouts*. Islam had made slow but steady progress among the peoples of the Senegambia during the previous two centuries. The religious revival that had wrought such great reforms in the societies of Futa Toro, Macina, Futa Jallon, and northern Nigeria reached the Senegambia by the 1850s. Seeking basic religious, social, and political reforms, the Marabouts and their growing number of followers attacked the traditional Mandinka—*Soninke*—systems of rule in the kingdoms of the Gambia. Thus began the half-century of internecine conflicts known as the Soninke–Marabout Wars.

The first major test between the old order and the new religious beliefs occurred in the south bank kingdom of Kombo in the 1850s, where Marabout forces challenged the Soninke ruler, Suling Jatta, and eventually killed him in 1855. They also inflicted a serious defeat at Sabajy on the troops of Governor L. S. O'Connor, who was favoring the Soninke. Initially controlling the western half of the kingdom, the Marabouts gradually strengthened their position and eventually, in 1875, they forced the king, Tomani Bojang, to surrender his last fortified town and became a Muslim. The conflict then spread to Foni and Kiang, also on the south bank; a prominent Marabout leader, Fodi Kabba, was generally successful in Kiang, but failed to defeat the Jola of Foni, who remained stubbornly independent and “pagan.” East of Kiang, Alfa and Musa Molloh, who were also nominally Muslim, but were very hostile to Kabba, also checked his expansion eastward and eastern Kiang and western Jarra became for the rest of the century the rough dividing line between the rival armies.

The reforms demanded by the early Marabouts related specifically to the spread of Islam. They wanted to eradicate “pagan” influences and substitute for them a well-ordered Muslim society. However, even at the

beginning, the movement drew to it a wide spectrum of protesters, many of whom were little concerned with the advancement of Islam. Throughout the Gambia, the initial Marabout successes were tied to the military or political skill of a few men. As these men supplanted their Soninke enemies, they tended to lose their religious fervor, and much of the warfare after 1870 was motivated primarily by personal or economic considerations rather than by religion.

The increasingly secular nature of revolt against traditional authority is best illustrated by the careers of the Mollohs of Fulladu. During the first half of the 19th century, there was an increasing influx of Fula into the south bank kingdoms of Tomani, Jimara, and Eropina. Egbe, a Fula elephant hunter of Jimara, who later took the name Alfa Molloh and was renowned for his ability with arms, quarreled with his Mandinka overlord in the late 1860s. This began a revolt that, within five years, swept away the old system of government. In this phase, as well as in later wars, Alfa Molloh counted heavily on the support of his fellow Fula rulers in the theocracies of Futa Toro and Futa Jallon. It was believed that he had taken the Tijaniyya oath and had been made a deputy of Al Hajj Umar Tall, the leading religious warrior in the middle Niger at this time. Such rumors were important in gaining Muslim adherents. However, neither Molloh was strongly committed to advancing the cause of Islam, being far more concerned with preserving the state of Fuladu that they had created. They opposed Fodi Kabba and, in the 1880s, Musa Molloh consistently allied his state against the Muslim rulers of Baddibu. After Alfa Molloh's death in 1881, Fuladu was initially divided into two parts between Musa Molloh and his uncle, Bakari Dembel, but in 1892, the former moved against the latter and proclaimed himself king of Fuladu. Long before this, he had created the best-organized state in the Gambia, with a highly centralized state bureaucracy. Now his control over the whole of Fuladu was complete.

The only serious attempt during the Soninke–Marabout Wars to establish a true theocracy of the type successfully achieved by Al Hajj Umar Tall and Usman dan Fodio elsewhere in West Africa was that of Ma Bah Diakhou. A religious teacher and Tijaniyya reformer, Diakhou seized power in the north bank kingdom of Baddibu in 1861, driving out the traditional rulers. He differed from most of his contemporaries in seeing himself as a religious teacher and leader who was merely working out God's will in destroying the “pagan” kingdoms of the



Senegambia. His efforts were largely concentrated on the north bank of the river; his one attempt to defeat the Soninke in the south bank resulted in a decisive defeat at Kwinella in Kiang in 1863. He was much more successful against the Serere and Wolof states to the north of Baddibu; by 1865, the bulk of Saloum was under his control and his forces had conquered Jolof. His lieutenant, Amer Faal, was also ultimately successful in Niimi. But in 1867, his attempt to gain control of the Serere state of Sine ended in his defeat and death on the battlefield. This ended the chances of a united Senegambia being created. Within a brief period, Saloum and Jolof had become independent, while Baddibu was rent by civil war. Ma Bah Diakhou's brother, Mamur Nderi Ba, became its ruler, but within a decade he was challenged by one of his lieutenants, Biram Sise, while Ma Bah's son, Saer Maty Ba, later also claimed the throne. In the armed conflicts that followed, Mamur Nderi Ba lost most of his power and the kingdom was ruled by Biram Sise and Saer Maty Ba. This state of affairs greatly reduced Baddibu's power and facilitated its absorption by the French and British.

## EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

The continuing disturbances of the Soninke–Marabout Wars interfered with trade and made the British possessions on the Gambia River appear worthless to Parliament and to successive British governments devoted to saving money. Successive governors and administrators were under orders to do nothing that would involve the British in a major conflict in the hinterland. Thus, they acted against the Soninke or Marabouts only when it was impossible to avoid some kind of definite action and when the chances of precipitating a larger conflict appeared minimal. Otherwise, the British were content to act as arbiters in the conflicts. In 1865, a Parliamentary Select Committee recommended on the basis of the Ord Report that the existing settlements should be placed under one centralized administration as a way of saving money and also confirmed the non-expansionist policy in the Gambia.

The French, however, since the governorship of Louis Faidherbe, had been pursuing an aggressive trade policy in the independent Wolof and Serere states. The increasing value of the groundnut crop aided the few, but ardent, French imperialists in Senegal and in France and successive

governors of Senegal adopted an aggressive policy toward local states. Responding to this pressure, in March 1866, the French government proposed to the British that the Gambia be exchanged for some corresponding French territory. After four years of negotiations that were held up by a British reluctance to accept any of the territories offered by the French, the British government finally decided to give up the Gambia in February 1870 in exchange for France renouncing any claim to the disputed Mellacourie region north of Freetown. The French accepted this offer in principle at the end of March, but once news of the impending deal broke, the proposed exchange of territory was fiercely opposed by British merchants and Liberated Africans in Bathurst, with meetings and petitions being organized in protest. This resistance was effective in delaying the process, and negotiations were broken off by the British in July 1870. The idea of exchange was revived by the French government in April 1874 and its latest proposal accepted by the British government in 1875; however, once again, coordinated opposition from British merchants and the Liberated African community in Bathurst, which formed the Gambia Native Association in 1875, halted the process and negotiations were abruptly broken off by Lord Carnarvon, the secretary of state for the colonies, in March 1876. Despite this failure, the French government was convinced that, in time, Britain would cede the unwanted territory and France would be in possession of the Gambia River, the most economical highway to the interior of West Africa.

The “scramble” for Africa became a reality in the 1880s, and the French began to occupy coastal areas that had long been considered British spheres. In Senegal, they absorbed the coastal Wolof states and began in the late 1880s to interfere in the internal conflict in Baddibu and Fuladu. The British government, spurred on by successive Gambian administrators, who believed that Britain was about to lose the Gambia by default, finally authorized the establishment of the Protectorate. In 1888, the Gambia was separated from the administrative control of Sierra Leone for the final time. In the following year, British and French representatives met in Paris at a convention to allocate spheres of influence in West Africa. The British delegation was prepared to cede the Gambia, provided that the French were flexible in their demands elsewhere. When it became apparent that the French delegates would not compromise, the British demanded control of the Gambia River. British

lack of interest in territorial acquisition in the Senegambia can be seen in their refusal to demand more territory than the narrow riverine strip that the French accepted as the British sphere. However, neither power considered that the boundaries drawn by the Anglo–French Convention of 1889 were to be permanent.

Administrator G. T. Carter had seen British policy change in the space of a few months from non-expansionist to expansionist. After the 1889 convention, Carter was charged with developing some suitable method of bringing law and order to the new Protectorate (which initially covered all the territory that had not formed part of the old Crown Colony, but by 1902 included all of the Gambia except St. Mary’s Island) and devising a permanent system of government for the area. At first, the administrator could do little but announce the Protectorate and enter into generalized agreements with various Gambian chiefs. The first use of the military, by his successor, R. B. Llewelyn, in 1891, was to protect the Anglo–French Boundary Commissioners from possible attack by Fodi Kabba and Fodi Silla. In January 1893, Llewelyn assigned two “travelling commissioners,” one for the north bank and the other for the south, to convey his orders and requests to the Gambian rulers. In the following year, the Gambian government issued the first comprehensive Protectorate Ordinance. Although the full implications of this ordinance were not felt for some time, it established the form of government for most of the Gambia, which was to continue until just prior to independence. Later called “indirect rule,” this system had the advantage of disturbing the Protectorate Gambians to a very limited extent only, and yet the British authorities at Bathurst could control overall political activities in the Protectorate by ordinances, which were then enforced by their travelling commissioners.

The British assumption of power in the Gambia was largely without incident. Most Gambians were obviously exhausted by the half-century of wars, and many welcomed peace. However, the Anglo–French Convention of 1889 caused many problems for the Gambian rulers in Senegambia. The accord meant for some the division of their kingdoms, forcing them to choose which European government to accept as their overlord. To others, the establishment of European authority meant the abandonment of a lifestyle that had been established for over a generation. Fodi Silla was the first to feel the changed nature of European activity. Initially recognized by the British as the ruler of western Kombo,

his continued participation in the slave trade prompted the British to invade his territory in 1894. His main base of Gunjur was taken, and he was forced to flee to the Casamance. There, he was arrested by French authorities and deported to Cayor, where he died.

Kabba was driven into the Casamance in 1892; from there, he continued to support those Gambians dissatisfied with British rule. Periodically, his followers would go on raids into the Gambia and retreat to French territory before effective pursuit could be organized. In 1900, Travelling Commissioner C. F. Sitwell and other members of his party were killed at Sankandi, a town known to be allied to Kabba. The following year, the British and French mounted a joint military expedition against Kabba and he was killed in March 1901. Meanwhile, Musa Molloh of Fuladu had settled at Hamdallai in the Casamance and cooperated with the French. He also took part in the expedition against his old enemy, Kabba, but when the French built a military post at Hamdallai, he burned the town and retreated with many of his followers to British Fuladu. There he was recognized as chief, received a stipend, and was generally left alone until after World War I. Then, reacting to rumors of his cruel and arbitrary actions, the British deposed him in 1919 and sent him into exile. Molloh was allowed to return in 1923, but had very little power in the small territory that the British allotted to him.

## GAMBIA UNDER COLONIAL RULE

The main features of the central government after the establishment of the Protectorate remained largely unchanged throughout the colonial period. The government was headed by a governor (an administrator until 1901), who was assisted by the appointive Legislative and Executive Councils, which had official majorities until the 1950s. The administration of government policies rested with the Secretariat and the various departments, such as Agriculture, Marine, and Public Works. The central government made all laws and regulations, not only for the Colony, but also for the Protectorate, which fixed the responsibilities of the state-supported chiefs. Central government departments were also responsible for work undertaken in the areas of their jurisdiction in the Protectorate. Government in the Protectorate was carried on by a minimal number of travelling commissioners, renamed “divisional commissioners” in 1944

(there were never more than five), who supervised the work of the 35 recognized chiefs and who saw that the laws enacted by the central government were carried out. Under this system of “indirect rule,” there was a considerable degree of continuity in the political and social systems, which had existed prior to 1889.

The key to social and economic development in the British system of rule in all Africa was the amount of money the Treasury would make available. The British Colonial Office followed a general rule that all territories had to live within their budgets. This meant that more economically viable territories, such as Nigeria, could expect considerable development of roads, transport, agriculture, and even education. A small, poor area, such as the Gambia, was hard pressed just to meet its recurrent budget. Another facet of British financial administration was its conservatism. Although the Gambia had acquired considerable cash reserves by 1918, these funds were not normally used for development. Thus, few improvements were made in the Protectorate until after World War II. The Colony area, i.e., Bathurst and, after 1946, Kombo St. Mary, was more fortunate. In Bathurst, the port facilities were improved, some streets were paved, and a hospital was established. Elementary and secondary schools were set up, but these were mostly run by Christian missions, rather than by the government.

The Gambia in the first half of the 20th century made little progress. It was sustained by a single export crop, groundnuts, whose taxable value was just enough to keep the government functioning. Beginning in 1942, the British government had promised that Colonial Development and Welfare (CD&W) funds would become available after World War II, but these promises were never fully realized. Although CD&W funds did improve the water supply, streets, and harbor facilities of the capital city, it was apparent by 1947 that funds to improve Bathurst further, build a new government center, and modernize the airport would not be forthcoming. The British government’s failure to improve Yundum airport meant that the worldwide air transport system would not have a major base in the Gambia. The major airlines instead chose Dakar, where the French were more willing to invest in the necessary facilities. To compound the situation, the Colonial Development Corporation wasted more than £2 million between 1947 and 1953 in two projects: the Yundum Egg Scheme and the Wallikunda Rice Scheme. Both of these failed more because of administrative errors than through

any other factor. Nevertheless, the failures inhibited the British from undertaking any further major development projects in the Gambia.

Thus, in the 1950s, the Gambia was still dependent upon one crop, and its communication and transport infrastructure was still primitive. In the Protectorate, there were no all-weather roads, only one secondary school, and one hospital for over a quarter of a million people. Government river steamers, plying from Bathurst to Basse, calling at numerous wharf-towns en route, and a large fleet of privately owned groundnut cutters played a vital part in trade and in keeping communications open during the wet season.

## POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE WORLD WAR II

As noted, the first signs of organized political activity by the Liberated African community in Bathurst dated to the mid-19th century, with Liberated Africans playing a crucial role in opposing the exchange in the 1870s. The Gambia Native Association formed in 1875 continued to operate until the 1880s, but then ceased to function, while the first substantive newspapers, *The Bathurst Observer* (1883–88) and *The Gambia Intelligencer* (1893–96) lasted for only a few years. Political activity prior to World War I mainly took the form of petitions to the Colonial Office against unpopular government policies. On occasion, the leading African member of the Legislative Council, S. J. Forster Jr., a barrister, who had been appointed in 1906 and served continuously until 1940, also publicly opposed the government, although he increasingly adopted a pro-government line from the 1920s.

After World War I, however, the extent of local political activity increased considerably, the main stimulus to this being the establishment of the National Congress of British West Africa at the Accra Conference of 1920. On his return to the Gambia, the sole Gambian delegate, E. F. Small, established the Gambia Section of the Congress; until the mid-1920s, this organization actively campaigned for the concession of the franchise, the right of Gambians to elect unofficial members of the Legislative Council directly, and frequently petitioned against government policies. Ultimately, however, the Gambia Section failed to achieve its aims; the franchise was not conceded until 1947 and the Colonial Office generally rejected its anti-government petitions. The Gambia Section

also failed to prevent Ousman Jeng, a former supporter turned opponent, being appointed as the first Muslim member of the Legislative Council in 1922 and being reappointed in 1927.

By 1928, the Gambia Section was moribund. Small, who had spent much of the 1920s abroad, concentrated on other activities on his return to the Gambia in 1927, reviving his newspaper, *The Gambia Outlook and Senegambian Reporter*, and establishing the Bathurst Trade Union (BTU) as the first Gambian trade union; in 1929, the BTU organized one of the most successful strikes in Africa before World War II, although it failed to develop effectively thereafter. In 1932, Small established a new organization, the Rate Payers' Association (RPA), to oppose the legal and administrative reforms of Governor H. R. Palmer, which were widely unpopular in Bathurst. It also criticized the more conservative element of Bathurst politics, led by Forster and his nephew, W. D. Carrol, which controlled the Bathurst Urban District Council (BUDC) that Palmer had set up in 1930. By the end of 1934, the RPA was winning all the directly elected seats to the BUDC and its successor body, the Bathurst Advisory Town Council (BATC) (although an official majority meant its powers were limited in practice), but it could not achieve more than the modification of government policies. It also failed to prevent its opponents continuing to secure nomination to the Legislative Council; Forster remained on the council until his death in 1940, being supported from 1932 by the new Muslim member, Sheikh Omar Fye, and Carrol, who represented the BUDC and then the BATC from 1933 until his death in 1941. It would therefore require the impact of World War II to result in major political change.

## THE NATIONALIST AWAKENING

The post–World War II years elsewhere in British Africa witnessed the rise of nationalist movements seeking greater African participation in government and eventual independence. This nationalism, combined with the desire of the British government to be rid of unprofitable territories, wrought a revolution in Africa within a decade. The British began by making concessions to the Western-educated, middle-class Africans, recognized African political parties, and eventually negotiated for the independence of their African territories. The Gold Coast (as

Ghana), Nigeria, and Sierra Leone, all became independent between 1957 and 1961, leaving the Gambia as the only area in West Africa still under British control.

Although Governor H. R. R. Blood had drawn up firm proposals for constitutional reform as early as February 1943, it was not until November 1946 that a new constitution was finalized. This allowed for a direct election to the Legislative Council for a single constituency covering the Colony (Bathurst and Kombo St. Mary) only. The first election to the Legislative Council took place in November 1947 and resulted in a victory for E. F. Small over his old rival, the former councilor, Sheikh Omar Fye. In a further constitutional change, Small and two other unofficial members were subsequently appointed to the Executive Council. A new constitution was drawn up by Governor Percy Wyn-Harris in 1950 and came into effect prior to the second election to the Legislative Council in October 1951; this allowed for the election of two candidates in a single constituency in Bathurst and one in Kombo St. Mary. The second Wyn-Harris constitution, which was drawn up in 1953 and came into effect in 1954, increased the number of elected members in Bathurst to three. The number of unofficial members of the Executive Council was increased to six and, following the election, three of the elected members were offered specific portfolios and termed “ministers,” although they were required to work with advisory committees, which included the European heads of departments.

These developments were sufficient to encourage the formation of political parties in the Colony by politically ambitious members of the Bathurst elite. Rev. J. C. Faye, an Anglican deacon of Wolof/Serere origin, who had represented the Upper River Division on the Legislative Council since 1947, was instrumental in creating the Gambia Democratic Party (GDP) in June 1951. I. M. Garba-Jahumpa, a Wolof Muslim schoolteacher, who had been an unsuccessful candidate in the 1947 election, formed the Gambia Muslim Congress (GMC) in January 1952. Around April 1954, supporters of P. S. N’Jie, a Roman Catholic Wolof barrister, set up the United Party (UP). All these parties were concerned primarily with Colony issues and were prevented by law from campaigning in the Protectorate, which remained largely unaffected by these developments.

Despite the constitutional reforms of 1946–54, the long-term future of the Gambia remained unclear. Both the Colonial Office and the Gambian



government considered that the territory was too small and poor for independence to be considered as a viable goal. As the other British West African territories progressed toward independence, several alternative arrangements were proposed for the Gambia. Percy Wyn-Harris, who became governor in 1949, favored a “Channel Islands” solution, whereby the Gambia would achieve internal self-government, but continue to rely on Britain in such matters as defense, foreign representation, and economic development. This plan was abandoned after the fall of the Labour government in Great Britain in 1951. In 1955, the Conservative government proposed adopting the “Malta Plan,” which envisaged the Gambia obtaining limited self-government, while at the same time sending representatives to the British Parliament. After the Maltese political parties rejected this option in 1958, this approach was also abandoned. Wyn-Harris’s successor, Sir Edward Windley, who became governor in 1958, aimed to encourage a union of the Gambia with the neighboring French colony of Senegal, which achieved its independence in 1960. In the end, however, most Gambians preferred independence as a sovereign state, in keeping with the rest of British Africa.

The devolution of power to Africans in British territories represented a reversal of the philosophy of government that had been dominant throughout the century. Traditional rulers, and the system of indirect rule they had loyally operated on behalf of the imperial power, were abandoned in favor of Westminster parliamentary institutions based on political parties and directly elected legislatures. Given that few traditional rulers had a Western education, it was inevitable that the previously despised Western-educated Africans would inherit power from the British. In the Gambia, this process was particularly difficult for the Colonial Office because it had always supported the chiefs in governing the Protectorate. Educated, Colony-based Gambians had been specifically prohibited from any type of political activity in the Protectorate. However, with the grant of independence to other West African territories, the British could not refuse the demands of Gambian political parties that the elective principle should be extended to the Protectorate. The 1959 Windley constitution (which came into force in May 1960) provided for direct elections for the seven Colony and 12 Protectorate seats in a new House of Representatives, which replaced the Legislative Council. The chiefs’ ability to influence central policy was severely curtailed because the Conference of Protectorate Chiefs had the

right to elect only eight members to the House from among their 35 members.

A new political party, the Protectorate People's Party, which was soon renamed the People's Progressive Party (PPP) to demonstrate its national and modern credentials, was formed in 1959 by a small group of educated provincials, anxious to ensure that political power would not be transferred to the urban elite. The Gambia's principal veterinary officer, David (who later changed his name to Dawda on reconvertng to Islam) Jawara, a Mandinka originally from MacCarthy Island Division, was selected as leader of the new party at the end of 1959. The party appealed most directly to the Protectorate because its leaders were primarily Mandinka and they stressed how much the Protectorate had been ignored in the past. The UP, led by P. S. N'Jie, also expected to do well in the 1960 election. N'Jie had gained a considerable reputation in the 1950s as an opponent of the policies of the British administration, mainly because he had clashed very publicly with Governor Wyn-Harris in 1955–56. The leaders of the GMC and the GDP, Garba-Jahumpa and Faye, joined their two parties together just before the election to form the Democratic Congress Alliance (DCA). All parties campaigned vigorously throughout the Protectorate and, despite the newness of the electoral system, there was heavy voter participation in the election.

Owing to the nature of the Windley constitution, the election failed to produce a clear-cut winner. Because of confusion over the party affiliation of some candidates, the results have been disputed. It is most likely that the PPP won nine seats (eight in the Protectorate and one in the Colony), the UP five (three in the Colony and two in the Protectorate), and the DCA one (in the Colony). Four independents, one of whom was very closely allied with the UP, were also elected. The eight chiefs thus became very important, not only for the composition of the House and the subsequent selection of ministers by Governor Windley, but for the appointment of the first Gambian chief minister. In March 1961, the governor made his choice. Because the chiefs would not support Jawara, and the PPP refused to consider a chief for this position, the governor appointed P. S. N'Jie. Jawara and the second PPP minister, and the sole DCA minister, immediately resigned from the government in protest.

It was soon apparent that the 1960 constitution was not satisfactory to any of the Gambian parties. Two constitutional conferences were

held, in May and July 1961, resulting in a new instrument that provided for responsible government. The new constitution further marginalized the Protectorate chiefs; in the 36-strong House, the chiefs were reduced to only four indirectly elected representatives, while 25 members were to be directly elected from the Protectorate and seven from the Colony. A new election was held in May 1962, and the results were a vindication of the PPP's claim that the previous government was not representative. The PPP gained 58 percent of the votes cast in the 26 constituencies it contested and won 18 seats, while its electoral ally, the DCA, gained 4 percent of the vote and won one seat; the UP managed only 38 percent of the vote and won 13 seats. Dawda Jawara became the premier at the head of a PPP government. Even before the election of 1962, it was apparent that within a short period the Gambia would receive its independence, although there were still serious doubts in Britain about the ability of the territory to afford that status. In October 1963, the Gambia was granted full self-government, with Jawara becoming prime minister, and a constitutional conference in London in July 1964 agreed to the mechanisms of achieving independence and its date. Despite protests from the UP, the British government agreed with Jawara that a new election was not necessary before the transfer of power. On 18 February 1965, The Gambia became an independent nation within the Commonwealth, less than four years after Governor Windley had appointed a chief minister with very circumscribed powers.

## INDEPENDENCE

Despite widespread skepticism expressed about the ability of such a tiny country to survive as an independent state, The Gambia both retained its sovereignty in the face of persistent Senegalese pressure for union between the two countries and was soon able to dispense with British financial subvention ("grant-in-aid"). Fears of ethnic-regional clashes, which occurred so frequently in other former African colonies, were assuaged by Jawara's deliberate policy of converting the PPP from a Mandinka-dominated organization into a nationwide party. This was achieved by a combination of measures: key opposition members of Parliament (MPs) were wooed to the ruling party through promises of ministerial appointments and development resources for their home areas;

government and party policy statements and development programs stressed the national character of the new administration; and the lack of trained personnel among the Protectorate elite now swept to office ensured a continuing place for the better-educated Bathurst elite in the administrative and legal branches of the state—even if the cabinet was now dominated by provincials.

This policy of reconciling historic divisions between capital and country and between the various ethnic communities helped bring about the collapse of the UP within a decade. After the 1962 election, the UP had 13 MPs, but by October 1964, this had fallen to only five. The UP regained some ground in the first election after independence held in May 1966 when it won seven seats. However, further defections to the PPP in 1970 and two by-election defeats in 1970–71 meant that it had only three MPs by the 1972 election and its rural following had been permanently lost. Political and economic patronage, combined with the lack of a credible leadership and program on the part of the UP, rather than state repression, led to this situation.

The UP's failure to do any more than retain its three seats, with sharply reduced majorities, in the 1972 election, coupled with the formal dissolution shortly before this election of another challenger to the PPP, the People's Progressive Alliance, confirmed the PPP's dominance. Following overwhelming approval in a national referendum on 24 April 1970 (an earlier attempt in November 1965 had been narrowly defeated), The Gambia had become a republic with an executive president. This suggested that The Gambia would rapidly become a single-party state under an authoritarian presidency. This failed to happen for two principal reasons. First, President Jawara personally remained committed to multiparty democracy and, second, the PPP itself faced internal upheavals, which led to the formation of a new opposition party in the mid-1970s to challenge its political hegemony.

A large number (19) of disaffected independent candidates, most of whom had been passed over as PPP candidates, had contested the 1972 election, but these were too unimpressive and disorganized to pose a serious challenge to the PPP. Only one had been elected and he had forfeited his seat in 1973. However in July 1975, former vice president and founder member of the PPP, Sheriff Dibba, clashed with Jawara and was expelled from the PPP. Supported principally by fellow Mandinka from his home area in the Baddibus, who were alienated by Jawara's policy of

opening up the PPP and government office to defectors from rival parties and ethnic groups, Dibba formed the National Convention Party (NCP), in order to contest the general election due in 1977. In the event, neither Dibba nor the NCP could present themselves as a credible alternative to Jawara and the PPP or as a replacement for the near-extinct UP. Jawara continued to enjoy a widespread national following, whereas Dibba found it hard to shake off the negative image of being a disgruntled tribalist. His party's manifesto offered little that was not already PPP policy, and he had to face the double humiliation of losing his own seat and of the NCP winning only five seats in the election. Three of these were in the Baddibus, while the population of the other two seats (Bakau and Serrekunda West) contained many migrants from that area.

Defeat in 1977 did not diminish Dibba's hopes of winning subsequent elections. He fared no better in the 1982 election, mainly because he (and other NCP candidates and activists) was in detention (though later to be released) for alleged involvement in an abortive coup of July 1981, with the NCP being discredited by government claims that it had supported the coup. In 1982, the strongest challenge to the PPP came from independent candidates (as in 1972), mainly frustrated party members as before. Five independents won, but several rejoined (or attempted to rejoin) the PPP in due course. The NCP won only three seats and Dibba was defeated in Central Baddibu. In the 1987 election, the NCP won four seats and its electoral ally, the UP, a fifth, but Dibba was once more defeated in Central Baddibu. In the 1992 election, the last before the 1994 military coup, the NCP (again in alliance with the UP) managed to increase its seats to six, but it was still hopelessly outnumbered by the PPP. Neither could Dibba dent Jawara's strong majority in the presidential elections of 1982, 1987, and 1992.

A new opposition party, formed in 1986 to offer a fresh challenge to the PPP, fared even worse. Three former PPP ministers, headed by another former vice president, Assan Musa Camara, set up the Gambia People's Party (GPP), in opposition both to the PPP and to the NCP. It failed to win a single seat in the 1987 election, with even Camara losing in Kantora, a seat he had held since 1960. Camara also trailed a poor third in the presidential election, despite his personal reputation as an honest politician. The GPP did little better in the 1992 elections; although it won two seats, Camara failed to regain his lost seat and again came in third in the presidential election.

It was clear in the post-independence period that, as long as the PPP remained united, there was little hope of any rival party defeating it. Jawara's own standing as the bringer of independence and the powerful political and economic patronage enjoyed by the PPP, together with a steady, if modest, growth in the economy and the distribution of social and economic benefits, ensured the government's success. However, the repeated successes of the PPP contributed to its eventual demise. Patronage politics led to an unacceptable toleration of corruption and misuse of office by leading politicians. In addition, their reluctance to share office with younger contenders or allow rival political parties any chance of success through electoral politics bred alienation and hostility among young people, particularly among educated and semi-educated elements in the Banjul area.

Such elements turned to revolutionary ideologies—a mixture of Marxism and radical pan-Africanism—and turned their backs on parliamentary politics. Instead, they intensified a tradition of urban militancy dating back to late colonial days; they denounced the Jawara government for a variety of defects, both real and invented, including corruption and mismanagement, despotism on Jawara's part, and excessive subservience to the West in economic and foreign policy. New radical organizations appeared or lurked beneath the surface of politics. These included the National Liberation Party (NLP), which had contested the 1977 general election with a conspicuous lack of success, before its leader, Pap Cheyassin Secka, helped organize the 1981 coup; the Movement for Justice in Africa-Gambia (MOJA-G) formed in 1979; the Gambia Socialist Revolutionary Party (GSRP), which together with the MOJA-G, was declared an unlawful society in October 1980 and subsequently went underground; and the clandestine publishers of a radical newsheet, *The Voice of the Future*, which appeared for the first time in late 1978. Acts of political vandalism took place, and there was open talk of political change having to come about through violent means. A sharp decline in the Gambian economy in the early 1980s, compounded by drought and poor harvests, as well as several financial scandals, eroded the standing of the government and provided additional grievances among frustrated youths in the urban centers. The political explosion that followed was not confined to civilian malcontents, however; it brought into politics for the first, but not last, time elements of the security forces.

The Gambian army, such as it was, was abolished as an economy measure in 1958, when the Gambia Regiment of the old Royal West African Frontier Force was replaced by a smaller and cheaper Gambia Field Force. A paramilitary force of a few hundred men, it was deployed periodically to deal with urban disorder and to police elections, but it was not considered as having any political aspirations or capacity to overthrow the state. In 1980–81, serious disaffection, based more on internal rivalries than ideology, broke out in the Field Force. Good government intelligence and prompt assistance from Senegal prevented a coup taking place in October 1980, though a senior Field Force commander was murdered. On 30 July 1981, another plot came to fruition, this time between disaffected Field Force elements and members of the banned GSRP, headed by Kukoi Samba Sanyang, an unsuccessful NCP candidate in the 1977 election, with the assistance of the NLP leader, Pap Secka. Subscribing to an ill-formed Marxist agenda, as well as pursuing personal grievances, the plotters almost succeeded in overthrowing the Gambian government during President Jawara's absence overseas. It was only the resistance of a small band of loyal police and a much larger Senegalese military intervention that caused the insurrection to fail, but only after a week of fighting, the loss of hundreds of lives in the Banjul area, and considerable economic damage.

Secure in their mutual defense alliance with Senegal, Jawara and the PPP sought to rebuild their partially shattered reputations. Mass arrests and trials, and a lengthy state of emergency, together with the need to put right the damage caused by the rebellion, preoccupied the government for the next couple of years. In time, normality was restored, and parliamentary and presidential elections were even held in 1982, despite the emergency. Although the PPP went on to win overwhelming electoral victories in two further elections, the economic situation continued to deteriorate, and The Gambia was forced to accept an Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) devised by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund in 1985. By 1990, the economy had achieved measurable improvement, and the ERP was replaced by the Programme for Sustainable Development that June. On the security side, the Field Force was disbanded and two carefully vetted new defense units formed: a paramilitary Gambia National Gendarmerie, trained by the Senegalese, and a Gambia National Army, set up with British assistance (later to be replaced by a Nigerian military mission). The Treaty of Con-

federation with Senegal (effective 1982–89) also legitimized the presence of Senegalese forces on Gambian soil on a long-term basis. Public pledges by the PPP leadership to put its house in order lent further credibility to the belief that The Gambia was back on course for democratic governance and economic development. These expectations were shattered by a new military insurrection in July 1994.

## MILITARY INTERVENTION AND APRC GOVERNMENT

Despite its small size, deliberate bifurcation, and political vetting, the Gambian military emerged as political arbiter on 22 July 1994, when a group of disaffected junior army officers seized power in a brief and bloodless coup. President Jawara and his immediate entourage were allowed safe passage to Senegal in a visiting American warship, but other members of government and senior officials fared less well. The self-declared Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC), headed by Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh, abolished the 1970 constitution, outlawed the existing political parties, except the radical People's Democratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism (PDOIS), and arrested those members of government still in the country. A purge of the civil service also took place. The army takeover was inspired by a number of factors. Members of the junta accepted the radicals' critique of PPP rule and denounced its alleged tyranny, corruption, and failure to develop the country over the past two decades. However, personal grievances on the part of the rebellious soldiers and collective dissatisfaction with the army's domination by seconded Nigerian personnel, as well as expectations of personal enrichment, were also important reasons for the coup.

On this occasion, the Senegalese government refused to intervene militarily; and neither was the United States government prepared to instruct the crew of the visiting warship, *La Moure County*, to put down the insurrection. Relations with Senegal had soured since the early days of the Senegambia Confederation, which had been ushered in with proclamations of a common destiny in February 1982, mainly because the two countries could not agree on its future. Clearly, the Senegalese had hoped to exploit the dependence of the Gambian government on Senegal and had sought to convert what, initially, had been a deliberately



loosely constructed association into a full-blown union of the two countries. Historical Gambian antipathy to a loss of political autonomy and fear of the economic consequences of merger with a much larger neighbor were reinforced by a growing belief in the 1980s that the country was now capable of managing its own affairs. The continued Senegalese military presence in The Gambia was an embarrassment to the government, and each attempt by the Dakar government to forge closer ties only led to further disenchantment with the relationship. Finally, in mid-1989, the Senegalese government, under the pretext of a military crisis on its border with Mauritania, unilaterally withdrew its forces from The Gambia and placed the Confederation on hold. The Confederation was formally wound up the same October, leaving the Senegalese government embittered and unwilling to provide any further military support to the Jawara government.

Despite its international reputation as one of the few democratic regimes in Africa, the Jawara government was abandoned. Its external friends were only prepared to cut off aid to the military junta, until an elected government was restored or conclusive evidence of a transfer of power was provided. As events would reveal, this no longer meant the restoration of former President Jawara and the PPP.

Initially, the AFPRC enjoyed a great deal of popularity, particularly among the young. Other groups in society, such as the press and labor and professional associations, were more cautious. To win support, the junta courted the Gambian public with promises of root and branch reform of government and a program of economic rehabilitation. Civilians representative of a broad spectrum of opinion (including, albeit briefly, two former PPP ministers) were co-opted into the government, and a number of commissions of inquiry were set up to punish corrupt politicians and officials and recover stolen public assets. The junta also sought to capitalize on a sense of national indignation arising from the severe economic disruption, particularly to the vital tourist industry, resulting from the sanctions policy imposed by major Western trading partners and aid providers.

Although pro-junta elements argued for an unspecified spell of military government in order to bring about a complete transformation of political life, most Gambians wanted a return to elected civilian rule as quickly as possible. The AFPRC was concerned about its own internal cohesion, following two attempts to overthrow Jammeh in November

1994 and January 1995 (on the latter occasion by two of its own members, Sana Sabally and Sadibou Hydara). After the first attempt, it had bowed to domestic and international pressure by establishing a National Consultative Committee (NCC) in December 1994 to sound out national opinion on the duration of the transition period. In a less-than-ideal situation, the NCC reported in January 1995 that most Gambians favored a maximum transition period of two years, rather than the four years favored by the junta. Consequently, the AFPRC chairman, Jammeh, announced a new transition program to be completed in 1996. In the event, the process was not completed until January 1997, when an election was held to a new Parliament, renamed the National Assembly.

The process of transition was not without controversy. The AFPRC pushed through the new constitution, disregarding some key recommendations made by its panel of constitutional experts, and put it to a national referendum on 8 August 1996, in which it was approved by 70 percent of voters. Chairman Jammeh who, initially, had stated he would give up politics, allowed himself to be named head of a new party, the Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction (APRC), and to stand as its presidential candidate (having had the minimum age requirement reduced to allow him to contest). A pro-junta civil organization, the July 22nd Movement, ostensibly formed to promote civic education, served very effectively as a propaganda instrument for the APRC and Jammeh. Presidential and parliamentary elections held in September 1996 and January 1997 produced an all-too-familiar result, a substantial personal victory for Jammeh in the former election and an overwhelming majority for the APRC in the latter; Jammeh won 56 percent of the vote, and the APRC won 33 out of 45 seats, easily defeating two new opposition parties, the United Democratic Party (UDP) and the National Reconciliation Party (NRP), and their leaders, Ousainou Darboe and Hamat Bah. The PPP itself and its leaders, together with the NCP and GPP and their leaders, were not allowed to contest either election; although the ban on each of these parties was lifted in 2001, none has regained its previous importance.

Both the referendum and the elections aroused a great deal of controversy, with all opposition parties claiming that the APRC had won by a combination of rigging the new constitution and the elections and making improper use of state resources; these were charges reminiscent of those made in past elections about the PPP. The accusations

were repeated during the 2001 presidential election, which was won comfortably by Jammeh against a divided opposition, leading the UDP to boycott the 2002 parliamentary election. The opposition faced additional difficulties of its own during the 2006 presidential election, when a new opposition coalition, the National Alliance for Democracy and Development (NADD), which had been formed in January 2005, split over the selection of a candidate to oppose Jammeh. The UDP and the NRP rejected Halifa Sallah, the leader of PDOIS, as the NADD candidate; instead, they put up Darboe once again, so splitting the anti-APRC vote, as well as convincing many voters not to vote at all. Opposition divisions remained for the January 2007 parliamentary election, which the APRC dominated, winning 42 out of 48 seats. The UDP won four seats, with the other two being taken by the NADD and an independent, respectively. The APRC also dominated the January 2008 local government election. Thus, despite continuing to face numerous accusations of human rights and financial irregularities, the Jammeh government has been able to cling to office.

Even so, the security situation has remained problematic, despite the activities of the National Intelligence Agency in seeking to uncover and eliminate threats to the government from within the armed forces. In November 1996, armed men, allegedly followers of Kukoi Samba Sanyang, leader of the abortive coup of 1981, caused a number of deaths in an attack, from across the Senegalese border, on an army barracks at Farafenni. Furthermore, former soldiers who had taken part in the 1994 attempted coup attacked a police post at Kartong, near the border with Casamance, in July 1997. Since then, there have been further arrests of army personnel and alleged civilian fellow conspirators, the most recent being in March 2006, when the chief of defence staff, Colonel Ndure Cham, mounted an unsuccessful coup attempt while Jammeh was in Mauritania on an official visit. The following January, further detention of seven military and police personnel took place. Such incidents, and continuing problems with neighboring Senegal over transit rights for the Gambian reexport trade, and the insurgency in its Casamance region, provide fresh evidence of the vulnerability of such small states as The Gambia, not only to internal pressures, but also to destabilizing forces outside their territorial boundaries.

The Gambia's economic situation deteriorated substantially in late 1994, when Western aid donors sharply reduced their assistance pro-

grams in response to the overthrow of the elected Gambian government. Moreover, the British government advised British visitors, the mainstay of the tourist industry, itself a major element of the economy, to stay away from The Gambia, owing to the volatile political situation. Jammeh, initially, chose an intransigent line toward established donors, turning instead to Taiwan, Libya, and Cuba for economic assistance. Even so, he retained the principal elements of the economic program of the deposed PPP, with its emphasis on the primacy of the private sector in generating economic growth.

Following a formal return to elected government, in 1996–97, economic sanctions were lifted and the economy has since made a significant recovery. However, despite the bold assertions of the “Vision 2020” and “Gateway” projects, launched in 1996 and 2002, respectively, which are aimed at turning The Gambia into a high-technology manufacturing and service economy (the “Singapore of West Africa”) and a regional entrepôt, the country remains one of the poorest in the world. Indeed, poverty alleviation remains the immediate priority of the government and its principal donors. The future achievement of these wider economic goals will depend on a number of imponderables. These include the ability of the government to complete the internal economic and administrative reforms, which would provide foreign investors with the financial climate and human resources necessary to invest in The Gambia, and the resolution of wider problems in the sub-region, which would enable the country to fulfill its regional aspirations.



## THE DICTIONARY

– A –

**AFRICAN UNION (AU), GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** The Gambia joined what was then known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) following independence in February 1965. Under President **Dawda Jawara**, The Gambia generally adopted a pro-Western interpretation of non-alignment and identified with the more moderate group of states within the OAU—the “Monrovia Bloc.” Its pro-Western position led it to reject an OAU call to sever relations with Great Britain in 1967 for failing to end the unilateral declaration of independence by the government of Southern Rhodesia under Ian Smith. At the same time, The Gambia strongly opposed the Smith regime as well as apartheid in South Africa and continuing Portuguese colonial rule on the continent. Jawara also urged the OAU and fellow-African heads-of-state to denounce oppression in Uganda under Idi Amin and to adhere to a continental agreement on human rights. An African Charter on Human and People’s Rights, known as the “Banjul Charter,” was adopted in 1981, as a result of determined canvassing by the Gambian government. Following this, the African Commission for Human and People’s Rights Studies was located in Banjul in June 1989. President **Yahya Jammeh** was a strong supporter of the Libyan move to recast the OAU as the African Union in 2002 and has played a more forceful part in its activities, including conflict resolution. The Gambia hosted an AU heads-of-state summit in July 2006. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**AGRICULTURE.** The Gambia is predominantly an agricultural **economy** with more than 70 percent of the population dependent on farming. Farming in The Gambia is overwhelmingly based on small family

holdings, centered on over 1,000 small villages, cultivating crops for immediate consumption, and for cash. Land is generally owned by the local community and vested in individual families according to customary law. Though farming is based on family labor, some activities are carried out using communal labor organized through age grade associations (*kafos*). A division of labor occurs, with men clearing the ground for cultivation and growing sorghum, maize, and millet, and **women** being responsible for rice and vegetables. With the increase in value of rice, men now also cultivate it. The major cash crop is **groundnuts**, cultivated by men, and accounting for 50 percent of cultivated land. Cotton is cultivated in the **Upper River Division**. Animal husbandry, a male activity, also plays an important part in the rural economy.

Traditionally, **Fula** (Fulbe) have predominated in cattle raising, and tending the herds of other groups as well as their own. Goats, sheep, and poultry are also found in large numbers, but pigs are rare, owing to The Gambia being a predominantly **Islamic** country. Farm production is very dependent on the vagaries of rainfall, as most crops are rain fed, notwithstanding the close proximity of the **Gambia River**, which tends to be cut off by mangrove swamps from the principal farming land. Additionally, Gambian farmers suffer from poor soils and a lack of capital, fertilizers, and technical inputs. Government attempts to introduce agricultural extension services and several large-scale agricultural schemes have not met with great success. Cooperative societies, organized nationally through a government Cooperatives Department, have played an important part in the production and sale of groundnuts since colonial times, but have also suffered considerably from corruption on the part of national and local officials.

In recent years, some success has been achieved by expatriate non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in promoting village “vegetable farms,” to improve diet and provide women with surpluses to sell in local markets. Very little large-scale commercial farming exists in The Gambia, though there has been interest on the outskirts of the Greater **Banjul** area, in supplying horticultural produce for the urban market and the **tourist** industry, and for exporting by air to overseas markets. As groundnut production has declined in recent years, government policy has sought to promote food crop production as part of

its wider anti-poverty strategy. *See also* HUNGRY SEASON; WAL-LIKUNDA RICE SCHEME; YUNDUM EGG SCHEME.

**AKU.** A name initially given to Yoruba **recaptives** rescued by the Royal Navy from **slave** ships, it was subsequently extended to cover all the captives' Westernized descendants in the **Colony** area. The great majority lived in **Bathurst**, while there was a smaller community in **Georgetown** on **MacCarthy Island**. In the Gambia, the Aku in the late 19th and 20th centuries came to exercise an influence far beyond their numbers. They adopted Western modes of living, accepted **Christianity**, and educated their children in Sierra Leone and Britain. The Aku became successful traders, entered the professions, and, in the period between 1945 and independence, came to dominate many important government positions in the Gambia. **Muslim** members of the Aku community were known as *Aku-Marabout*, while **Wolof** who converted to Protestantism were known as *Aku-Wolof*. Owing to intermarriage with surrounding peoples and a low fertility rate, the Aku population has risen only slowly in recent years from 2,974 in 1963 to 6,556 in 2003, virtually all of whom continue to live in the Greater **Banjul** and **Brikama** districts. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**ALBRED A.** Today, a small river-port village located in upper **Niumi**, for many years, it was a base for the French in their efforts to dominate the **Gambia River** trade. The French **Compagnie du Sénégal** first obtained trading rights to that portion of the north bank area in 1679, and a "comptoir" was established at the village of Albreda two years later opposite the English post on **James Island**. During the century-long period of wars between England and France, Albreda was looted and abandoned many times. French rights to Albreda were exchanged for British rights to Portendic in 1857. Runaway slaves who reached the flag post at Albreda, from which the British Union Jack flew, were granted political sanctuary.

**ALKAALOO** (**ALKALO**, pl. **ALKAALOO LU**). A village head, appointed either by a district chief or the government.

**ALLIANCE FOR PATRIOTIC RE-ORIENTATION AND CONSTRUCTION (APRC).** The APRC was launched on 26 August



1996 at a rally in **Banjul** by the military junta, the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council**, to contest the 1996 presidential election in support of its leader, President **Yahya Jammeh**. The new party brought together supporters of the military coup and defectors from banned opposition parties. The APRC won the disputed general election of January 1997 with a large majority, 33 out of 45 seats (52.1 percent of the vote, but with five candidates returned unopposed) on a platform of “Empowerment of the People,” stressing national unity, transparency, and probity in government, and economic and social development.

Despite growing public dissatisfaction with aspects of APRC leadership, the party won overwhelming victories in the subsequent **National Assembly** elections of 2002 and 2007. The main opposition party, the **United Democratic Party**, boycotted the 2002 election, enabling the APRC to win most of the seats (45 out of 48); it gained 63.4 percent of the vote in the 15 contested constituencies and won unopposed in 33 others. Opposition fragmentation in the 2007 election similarly allowed the APRC to take 42 of the 48 elected seats (five other APRC supporters were nominated to the National Assembly by Jammeh). In both elections, public dissatisfaction with the conduct of the elections and the behavior of the **political parties**, resulted in much reduced turn-outs, down to 42 percent in the 2007 election. The APRC share of the vote in the 43 contested constituencies dropped to 59.7 percent. In January 2008, the APRC won an overwhelming victory in the local government election, winning 101 out of 114 seats (56 of its candidates were elected unopposed).

**ALMAMI (IMAM).** An *almami* is the spiritual leader in **Muslim** societies, concerned with prayer, education, and general religious rule-making. In many **Mandinka** villages, a type of dual control was shared between the religious leader and the *alkaalo*, the secular leader. In the 20th century, the *almami* of **Bathurst** also played an important role in local politics. Momadu N’Jai (*almami*, 1902–22) briefly endorsed the **National Congress of British West Africa** in the early 1920s, while Omar Sowe (*almami*, 1923–37) was a strong opponent of it and a close political ally of **Ousman Jeng**; Sowe’s nephew and successor, Mama Tumani Bah (*almami*, 1937–53) supported **Sheikh Omar Fye** in the 1947 **Legislative Council** election

and **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa** in the 1951 election; and Momadou Lamin Bah (*almami*, 1953–83) backed the **United Party** until joining the **People's Progressive Party** following the marriage of **Dawda Jawara** to his second wife, Chilel, in 1968.

**ANGLICAN CHURCH.** At the request of **Sir Charles MacCarthy**, the Church Missionary Society in London sent a chaplain, Robert Hughes, to provide for the spiritual needs of the **Bathurst** garrison. Hughes arrived in the Gambia in March 1821, but he and his wife died within six months. Because of continued high mortality rates, there was no Anglican representative in Bathurst for much of the first half of the 19th century and the **Wesleyan Church** had to supply the garrison with a chaplain. No permanent church in Bathurst was erected until St. Mary's Church (now Cathedral) was built in 1900–1901, on land provided by the government near MacCarthy Square. In 1855, missionary work was begun by the Anglican Church of the West Indies among the Susu along the Rio Pongas. In 1935, this area was combined with that of the Gambia to form the diocese of the Gambia and Rio Pongas, with Rev. John Daly as its first bishop. Although not as active in the education field as the Wesleyans, the Anglicans did open a church school in Bathurst as early as 1876, and from 1940, they maintained one small elementary school at Kristikunda, in the **Upper River Division**.

The 1881 census recorded a total of 751 Anglicans in Bathurst. In the three censuses of 1931, 1944, and 1951, there were little more than 1,000 Anglicans in the capital and the most recent estimate (for the early 1990s) is that about 1,500 Anglican communicants are in the country as a whole. Most of these reside in the Greater **Banjul** area, although the Church maintains rural mission stations at **Farafenni** and **Basse**. Since 1985, the Anglican Church has been part of the modern Diocese of Gambia, which is named after the **Gambia River**, not the country, and also includes Senegal and the Cape Verde Republic.

**ANGLO-FRENCH CONVENTION (1889).** Because an 1882 Anglo-French Convention was never ratified by the French Chamber of Deputies, further British pressure, by 1887, led to a specific understanding with the French government on delimitation of territory

in Senegambia. By the end of 1888, the French were present in a number of places along the banks of the **Gambia River**, and the Gambian government had begun to sign treaties with riverine rulers. In April 1889, a series of high-level meetings were initiated in Paris with the object of warding off any possible conflict between Great Britain and France in the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. The Convention established coastal boundary lines between the spheres of influence of the two powers in all these areas, but the agreement had more far-reaching ramifications for the Gambia than for any of the other territories.

The British delegates at first tried to obtain a clear-cut demarcation of spheres of influence in western Africa. Failing in this, they decided to force the French to recognize their claims to both banks of the Gambia River, effectively conceding its hinterland to French control. At the third general session, this limited British objective was gained when the French delegates admitted in principle that the Gambia was a British river. Ultimately, the two parties agreed that the British should have occupation rights to the banks of the Gambia six miles north and south of the river as far inland as **Yarbutenda**; there, the eastern boundary of the Gambia was to be the arc of a six-mile radius drawn from the center of the town.

Both sets of negotiators considered the agreements reached to be only temporary. The British believed that they would eventually be able to trade their exclusive rights to the downriver areas for concessions by the French elsewhere. The French believed that in time the British government would realize the nonviable character of their new **Protectorate** and would be content to allow it to be absorbed by **Senegal**. Neither prognosis proved correct. Thus, the boundary agreed upon in 1889 and demarcated on the ground in the 1890s became the permanent boundary between The Gambia and Senegal.

**ANGLO-FRENCH CONVENTION (1904).** This most important agreement cleared the way for the entente between France and Britain, which was to have such fateful consequences for European peace in 1914. It finally settled the most outstanding differences between the two states, including border disputes in western and central Africa. Article five of the agreement ceded **Yarbutenda** to France, with the stipulation that if the **Gambia River** was not navigable for

seagoing vessels at that point, then the French would be given access to territory lower down the river. This claim was later resisted by the British on the grounds that such an enclave would allow the French to draw off the bulk of the **groundnut** exports and thus further impoverish **Bathurst** and the British **Protectorate**.

Anxious to maintain better relations with Britain, in the face of the perceived German threat, the French, from 1906 to 1910, did not press the issue of a mid-river port. After 1910, the French government ceased to press Britain for territorial enclaves on the Gambia or exchanges of territory. World War I and the building of the railway and road system in **Senegal**, and the concentration of French capital in the ports of Kaolack and Ziguinchor, made possession of the Gambia less important to France. After 1918, virtually all diplomatic activity concerning an exchange of territory for the Gambia ceased.

**ARMED FORCES PROVISIONAL RULING COUNCIL (AF-PRC)**. This was the name adopted by the group of four young **Gambia National Army** officers who overthrew President **Dawda Jawara**'s government on 22 July 1994. The members of the AFPRC were all lieutenants: **Yahya Jammeh** (chairman), **Sana Sabally** (vice chairman), **Sadibou Hydara** (minister of the interior), and **Edward Singhateh** (minister of defence). A fifth lieutenant, **Yankuba Touray**, subsequently joined the junta. The AFPRC justified its seizure of power because of the alleged widespread corruption and undemocratic rule of the **People's Progressive Party**. These "soldiers with a difference," as they described themselves, promised to restore "transparency and honesty" to government and reestablish full democracy. Several sympathetic civilians and civil servants were co-opted as ministers in the junta's attempt to create a national consensus. However, growing domestic and international pressure forced it to shorten its four-year program of transition to civilian rule to two years, but not before a serious split developed within the junta concerning the pace of change. Sabally and Hydara were arrested following an alleged attempted coup on 27 January 1995 and the latter subsequently died in detention.

Following a referendum on a new constitution, which was accompanied by the banning of the three major opposition parties, the

AFPRC mutated into the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** in 1996.

**ARMITAGE, SIR CECIL HAMILTON (1869–1933).** A medical doctor's son, Armitage was born on 8 October 1869. A soldier by profession (he rose to the rank of captain), Armitage joined the colonial service in 1894. He spent most of his career in the Gold Coast, rising to chief commissioner, Northern Territories, Gold Coast, in 1910. In October 1920, he was promoted to governor of the Gambia, arriving in the colony in the following January.

Armitage was in charge of administration during the recession following World War I and was partially responsible for the slowness in recalling from circulation the French five-franc piece, which ultimately cost the Gambia more than £200,000 (*see* DEMONETIZATION CRISIS). Governor Armitage's main positive contributions to the Gambia were the establishment of the Department of Agriculture in 1924 and the founding of a new school, named **Armitage School** after him, for the sons of chiefs at **Georgetown** in 1927. Armitage, who was never reticent about expressing his trenchant political opinions, made his opposition to the **National Congress of British West Africa** (NCBWA) and its leaders, including **E. F. Small** and **J. A. Mahoney**, clear from the outset of his time as governor. Armitage rejected most of the petitions presented to him by the NCBWA, including for the franchise, although, surprisingly, he did recommend to the Colonial Office in 1926 that when the term of office of **S. J. Forster Jr.** expired in 1927, his successor should be decided by election, not nomination. The Colonial Office, however, rejected the proposal. He also appointed the first **Muslim** member of the **Legislative Council, Ousman Jeng**, in 1922.

Armitage retired to England on leaving the Gambia in February 1927 and died on 10 March 1933.

**ARMITAGE SCHOOL.** The school was established by Governor **C. H. Armitage** at **Georgetown** in January 1927, following the earlier closure of the **Roman Catholic** school in the town. It aimed to enable the sons of chiefs to be educated locally, rather than in distant **Bathurst** with its unsettling possibilities, and to play a more informed role in local administration (it paralleled similar initiatives at

Bo in Sierra Leone and Kaduna in Northern Nigeria). Initially, it gave its students the rudiments of reading and writing. In the 1920s, the **Protectorate** had only one other elementary school, a Catholic school at **Basse**. There was, therefore, little demand for more secondary school facilities until after World War II. The expansion of **education** in the postwar years dictated improvements to Armitage and it became a boarding postprimary school, the only one in the Protectorate; in 1961, its facilities were expanded to accommodate 200 pupils. After World War II, Armitage School became a nursery for many leading provincial political leaders; its graduates included **Sheriff Sisay** and **Sheriff Dibba** as well as other **People's Progressive Party** politicians of the 1960s and 1970s.

**ASSOCIATION FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE INTERIOR REGIONS OF AFRICA.** This was an organization created in 1788 by Sir Joseph Banks and others with similar curiosity about the “un-explored” parts of the world. Of particular interest to the Association was the question of the existence and course of the Niger River. It commissioned Major Daniel Houghton to penetrate the mysteries of the western Sudan in 1790, but he was killed after accomplishing little. More successfully, in 1795, it sponsored a venture by **Mungo Park**, who departed from Pisania in what is now **Central River Division**, eventually reached Segou on the Niger before being forced to turn back. His two-and-a-half-year journey was the first successful European exploration of the interior of Africa and helped the Association convince the British government to support further exploration. A memorial stone at Pisania commemorates Park's journey.

– B –

**BA, MAMUR NDERI (MAMADOU N'DARE) (c. 1820s–1889).** An austere and orthodox Muslim, Ba studied the Koran in Mauritania, and helped his brother, **Ma Bah Diakhou**, run a religious school in **Jolof** before the 1860s. Succeeding his brother as the leader of the **Marabouts** in **Baddibu**, he continued the wars along the **Gambia River** and reached the apex of his power when he loosely controlled much of the north bank from the Atlantic to **Wuli**. Indeed, in 1873,

the British signed a treaty with him that recognized his hegemony in all these areas, except **Niumi**. He also received a regular stipend from the British until 1886. However, his Marabout forces were not able to conquer Sine and the inland **Wolof** territories, where the French had become dominant.

In 1877, one of Ba's war chiefs, **Biram Sise**, built his own fortified base and refused his order to tear down the walls of his town. This began a devastating civil war, which lasted for a decade. **Musa Molloh** allied with Sise, while in the mid-1880s, Ba was also challenged by **Saer Maty Ba**, the son of Ma Bah Diakhou, who claimed the kingship created by his father. As a result, he lost control over almost all of his territory. However, Saer Maty Ba had alienated the French and in 1887, they defeated him and forced him to flee. A French protectorate was declared over Baddibu, with Mamur Nderi Ba being restored as ruler of Northern Baddibu by the French (Sise was granted Southern Baddibu). He enjoyed this shadow power until his death in 1889.

**BA, SAER MATY (SAIT MATY) (c. 1863–1897).** The son of **Ma Bah Diakhou**, Ba was dissatisfied that his uncle, **Mamur Nderi Ba**, had succeeded his father as ruler of the kingdom of **Baddibu** and never gave him wholehearted support. By the early 1880s, he had gained considerable influence because of transferred allegiance from his father and also because of his own leadership qualities and, after Mamur Nderi Ba's defeat by **Biram Sise**, he became involved in a series of wars with Sise over control of the riverine areas of Baddibu. It appeared briefly in 1886 that Sise would accept Saer Maty Ba's overlordship and peace would come to the north bank, but the war continued, and the French, fearful of an extension of the war to Saloum, decided to pacify the territory. In April 1887, the French defeated Saer Maty Ba's forces a number of times, forcing him to flee to British protection in the **Ceded Mile**. The British, concerned with French operations so near the **Gambia River**, refused to surrender him and he continued to live quietly near Bakau until his death on 23 December 1897.

**BADDIBU.** Located in the **North Bank Division**, with a recorded population of 85,394 in 2003, the three Baddibu districts (Upper, Central,

and Lower) stretch from the **Kerewan** Creek to just below the town of Ballanghar in Lower Saloum. The bulk of the present-day population of Baddibu is **Mandinka**, although a significant concentration of **Wolof** is in Upper Baddibu. In the 19th century, Baddibu was one of the most important of the Gambian kingdoms. In the 1860s, **Ma Bah Diakhou** used Baddibu as his base in attempting to create a large **Islamic** kingdom. At its greatest extent, the kingdom of Baddibu comprised not only the present-day riverine areas, but also Saloum, parts of Cayor, and **Jolof**.

**BADGE MESSENGERS.** A **Protectorate** Ordinance of 1909 gave chiefs and certain headmen the right, with the permission of the British authorities, to appoint men to keep the peace in a given area. Called badge messengers because of the distinctive symbol of authority they were authorized to wear, they had the same rights, duties, and responsibilities as the regular police who operated in the **Colony** area. They remained a local constabulary to the very eve of independence.

**BADJIE, FATIM MBENGA (c. 1982– ).** A **Jola** from **Banjul**, Ms. Badjie was educated at the Gambia Senior Secondary School and in Belgium. She then attended Tennessee State University, where she obtained a BA in Communication. Previously employed as senior communications officer for Comium Gambia, a cellphone company, she was appointed as secretary of state for communications and information technology in March 2008. She replaced another **woman** minister, Mrs. Neneh Maccouall-Gaye (1957– ), who had held the post since October 2005, and who instead became managing director of *The Daily Observer* in June 2008. Badjie's father, Dembo M. Badjie, is the Gambian ambassador to Sierra Leone at the time of writing.

**BAH, HAMAT NGAI KUMBA.** Originally from Upper Saloum in **Central River Division** (CRD), Bah was employed as a manager at the Novotel Hotel in Kotu Strand, after previously working as a student teacher at the Gambia College, when he founded the **National Reconciliation Party** (NRP) in 1996. He came third in the presidential election in 1996, winning 5.5 percent of the vote, and was then elected to the **National Assembly** in the 1997 election for Upper Saloum in CRD, with 56.2 percent of the vote (one of the other four NRP



candidates was also successful). Bah was a leading critic of the **Alliance of Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (APRC) government in the National Assembly thereafter.

Bah contested the 2001 presidential election, improving his share of the vote to 7.8 percent and retained Upper Saloum in the 2002 National Assembly election with an increased majority. He then lost his parliamentary seat in June 2005, when the Supreme Court ruled that all opposition MPs had to resign and recontest their seats, following their decision to affiliate with the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD) in January 2005. Along with other NADD leaders, Bah tried to regain the seat in a by-election in September 2005, but was defeated by the APRC's Sainey Mbye. Together with **Halifa Sallah** and **O. A. Jallow**, Bah was briefly detained in November 2005 on specious subversion charges. These were dropped the following February. Bah did not stand in the presidential election of 2006, but instead supported **Ousainou Darboe** of the **United Democratic Party**, having withdrawn his party from the NADD earlier in the year. He did contest the National Assembly election of January 2007, but narrowly failed to regain Upper Saloum.

**BAINUNK (BAINOUK).** Possibly the earliest inhabitants of the coastal area of The Gambia between the **Gambia** and **Casamance Rivers**, the Bainunk are no longer a culturally distinct people as a result of assimilation by later migrants to the area.

**BAJO, LAMIN KABA (1964– ).** Born in **Brikama** on 10 November 1964 and educated locally at primary level and at the Muslim High School in **Banjul** (1978–83), Bajo joined the Gambia National Gardarmie in April 1984. He worked his way up to become commander of the presidential guard in January 1994, having been promoted to captain the previous October, and retired from the **Gambia National Army** in September 1996. After the 1994 coup, he was appointed commissioner for the **Western Division**, before being appointed minister of the interior in January 1995 replacing **Sadibou Hydara**; he then became secretary of state (SoS) for youth and sports in March 1997 and SoS for local government and lands in March 1998, before being dismissed in May 2000. He returned to favor in October 2002 when he was appointed Gambian ambassador to Saudi

Arabia (2002–2005), before being appointed SoS for foreign affairs in October 2005. Sacked from the cabinet in October 2006, he was appointed as the first Gambian ambassador to Iran in February 2007.

**BALA-GAYE, MOUSA GIBRIL (1946– ).** Born on 13 August 1946 and educated at the Gambia High School, Bala-Gaye completed a BA in Combined Studies at Legon University, Ghana (1967–70), and a postgraduate diploma in Development Administration at the University of Manchester, England (1976–77). After a brief spell as a schoolteacher, he joined the civil service in 1970, working in the Establishment Office, and the Ministries of Works and Communications, Local Government and Lands, and Finance and Trade, before serving as the permanent secretary in the Office of the President in 1989–90. Between September 1990 and September 2003, he held several senior positions in business and finance, before being appointed secretary of state for finance and economic affairs. After switching to Foreign Affairs in March 2005 and very briefly to Trade, Industry and Employment that October, he returned to his old position at Finance and Economic Affairs in November 2005, a post he retains at the time of writing. He is now the most experienced of the secretaries of state recruited from the Gambian civil service.

**BALDE, MUSA MOLLOH.** *See* MOLLOH, MUSA.

**BALDEH, BUBACARR MICHAEL.** The son of **Michael Baldeh**, Buba Baldeh was “adopted” by **Assan Musa Camara**, who financed his education. He first became prominent politically in the early 1980s as the secretary general of the youth wing of the **People’s Progressive Party (PPP)** and the head of a non-governmental organization in the **Upper River Division**, the Freedom from Hunger Campaign. In 1982, Baldeh expected to replace the aging incumbent, Kebba Krubally, as the PPP candidate for **Basse**, but the latter was retained; Baldeh then stood as an independent and also offered support to independents in three other constituencies.

Baldeh was one of five independent candidates elected, but failed to give an effective lead to the independent group in the **House of Representatives** and was expelled from Parliament in 1985 for repeated nonattendance. He did not contest the 1987 election, but, having

made his peace with the PPP, was appointed to Parliament as a “nominated” member of Parliament around 1989 and in May 1990, was appointed parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Health. In 1992, he was selected as the PPP candidate for **Jimara**, following the retirement of **M. C. Jallow**. After his easy victory, he was appointed to the cabinet as minister of youth, sports, and culture, a post he held at the time of the 1994 coup.

Although twice arrested by the **Yahya Jammeh** government in 1994, Baldeh publicly supported the new regime by 1996. By 2001, he had become managing editor of *The Daily Observer*, which had been under pro-government ownership since 1999 (although he no longer holds this position). Moreover, after the freeze on his assets was lifted in early 2001, he also served as the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** deputy national mobilizer and chairman of its campaign committee for the October 2001 presidential election. However, following the abortive **coup of 2006**, Baldeh’s house was raided by soldiers and soon after, he left The Gambia and moved to Dakar, where he resides at time of writing.

**BALDEH, MICHAEL JOSEPH (?–1965)**. A **Fula** Roman Catholic schoolteacher, Baldeh was a member of one of the two most prominent families of Upper Fulladu East in the 1950s and 1960s, the Baldehs of Mansajang Kunda, the other being the Kruballys of Koba Kunda. In the 1950s, Baldeh fluctuated between the **Gambia Muslim Congress** and the **Gambia Democratic Party**, but prior to the 1960 election, he was courted by both the **People’s Progressive Party** (PPP) and the **United Party** (UP) as their candidate in **Basse**; the former paid his election deposit, but he eventually stood secretly as a candidate for the latter and easily won the seat. He retained Basse for the UP in 1962, but by the end of 1963, he had defected to the PPP. He died in July 1965.

**BALDEH, PAUL LOUIS (1937–1968)**. The son of one of the biggest cattle owners in Fulladu West, Baldeh was born at Sare N’Gai in 1937 and converted to Roman Catholicism as a child. A Lorobo **Fula**, he was educated at local Catholic mission schools and at the Catholic Secondary School at **Bathurst**. After completing a BA at Trinity College Dublin, in Ireland, he returned home to teach at St. Augustine’s

School, Bathurst. He resigned his teaching position to stand successfully for the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) in the 1962 election in his home area of Lower Fulladu West and was then appointed minister of education. Following disagreement with the party leadership, he was dismissed in November 1963, but regained the post just before independence. He was reelected to Parliament in 1966, but did not receive a ministerial portfolio after the election. On 1 September 1968, he was expelled from the PPP and a month later helped to found the **People's Progressive Alliance** with other discontented PPP members of Parliament. Seriously ill for several years, he died soon afterward, in December 1968, at the age of 31.

**BAMBARA.** The Bambara, who are the most numerous ethnic group in Mali, have been present in The Gambia since the early 19th century. In 1911, nearly 1,000 Bambara lived in the **Protectorate** and there was a small Bambara community in **Bathurst**. The number of Bambara recorded at each census thereafter fluctuated, probably because of differential classification of Bambara as Gambians or as Malians; in 2003, their recorded population was 13,043, when they comprised 1.1 percent of the Gambian population and were most likely to live in **North Bank Division**.

**BANJUL.** The capital city and chief port of The Gambia, Banjul (Island) was ceded by the King of **Kombo** on 23 April 1816 to Captain **Alexander Grant**, who immediately constructed houses and barracks there to help control the entrance to the Gambia estuary. Grant renamed the island *St. Mary's* and called the new town *Bathurst*, in honor of Lord Henry Bathurst (1762–1834), the secretary of state for the colonies between 1812 and 1828. The streets were laid out in a modified grid pattern and named after the principal Allied generals at the Battle of Waterloo (1815). Bathurst thus became the center of British activity in the Gambia and the most populous part of the **Colony**. In April 1973, in keeping with its status as the capital of an independent African country, its name reverted to Banjul.

In 2003, Banjul had a population of 35,061. A quarter of its Gambian population was **Wolof** and a quarter was **Mandinka/Jahanka**. Because of overcrowding, its population has steadily migrated to the nearby mainland district of **Kanifing** (Bakau, **Serrekunda**, and Fajara)

over several decades. Banjul's population fell by 9,000 between 1983 and 2003, whereas Kanifing's increased by more than 200,000 in the same period. However, Banjul remains the administrative center of the country, the seat of government, and The Gambia's major port. It also remains the commercial and business center, although industrial activity is now concentrated in the Kanifing area.

**BANJUL CITY COUNCIL (BCC).** The BCC was established at independence in February 1965, initially as the Bathurst City Council, replacing the **Bathurst Town Council**. Although at independence, the **United Party** held most seats, the **People's Progressive Party (PPP)** gradually wrested control over the BCC through a combination of defections from other parties and the appointment of pro-PPP nominated members. In May 1967, **I. B. A. Kelepha-Samba** was elected as the first PPP mayor of Bathurst and after the 1968 election, the PPP had the majority of elected members. Temporarily dissolved in June 1971, replaced by a management committee, and later reconstituted as the Banjul City Council, its membership is now dominated by the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**.

**BANKING.** The first bank in The Gambia was the Government Savings Bank, which opened in **Bathurst** on 1 January 1886. Although the Elder Dempster Shipping Company had formed the Bank of British West Africa (BBWA—later Bank of West Africa, the Standard and Chartered Bank, and now Standard Chartered Bank) in 1893, it only began operating in Bathurst in September 1902. A rival bank, the Colonial Bank, arrived in 1917, but failed to survive the effects of the financial crisis of 1922 (*see* DEMONETIZATION CRISIS). The BBWA thus enjoyed a monopoly of banking services until after Gambian independence, when a string of usually unsuccessful rival banks was created, among them the government-sponsored Gambian Commercial and Development Bank (1972–92), its short-lived successor Meridien Bank, and the International Bank for West Africa (1983–92). Banking became necessary as the British colonial government introduced a monetary **economy** and local taxation and overseas traders expanded the **groundnut** trade. Banking was very much tied to government needs and financing the groundnut trade. The Central Bank of the Gambia came into being in 1971. It was the

successor to the Gambia Currency Board (itself derived from the former West African Currency Board, which was wound down as individual colonies established their own currencies and control). It regulates the commercial banking and insurance sectors, as well as meeting government needs. In 2007, the Central Bank recognized eight commercial banks, including Standard Chartered Bank.

**BANTABA.** The *bantaba* is a meeting place, usually a raised platform in the shade of a large tree in each village, where the elders and the village head come together to discuss matters of concern and to arrive at decisions consensually.

**BANTA FARO.** This is a **Mandinka** term for land areas above river levels that remain arid in the dry season, although they are flooded during the rains. In The Gambia, these lands are higher than the mangrove swamps, but lie below the levels of the sandstone plateau that is an extension of the soil type found throughout southern Senegal and the **Casamance**. The two types of *banta fero* in The Gambia are the estuarine and the upper river. The dividing line between the two is found roughly in the vicinity of **Kerewan (North Bank Division)**.

**BARRA.** Barra is a coastal settlement opposite **Banjul**, though the name (derived from the Portuguese for “narrows” or “strait”—a reference to the narrowing of the **Gambia River** at this point) was used more generally for the **Mandinka** kingdom of **Niumi**.

**BARRA WAR.** In 1827, **Burungai Sonko**, the King of **Barra**, disturbed by Commodore **Charles Bullen**’s decision to build a fort (Fort Bullen) at Barra Point, decided to abrogate the **Ceded Mile** treaty of the previous year. This decision resulted in a number of incidents culminating in the important Barra War, which began in August 1831 and did not end until January 1832. The hostilities forced Bullen to stop construction of the fort and, for a time, it appeared that the British would be driven out of Barra and the Ceded Mile. At one point, the fledgling town of **Bathurst** was also threatened. The situation was reversed because the French at Gorée dispatched a warship and troops to aid the British. This aid allowed the British to recommence construction of Fort Bullen in 1831, and this fort, with its

three-gun battery, helped to give them command of the entrance to the **Gambia River**.

**BARRAKUNDA.** A town in the **Wuli** district of the upper **Gambia River**, it was the site of the furthest inland of the upper river factories (trading posts) established by English companies because the falls at Barrakunda marked the limit of river travel in the dry season. A post was established there as early as 1651, but was later destroyed by fire. An English factory was sited there again in 1678, and traders were posted there, intermittently, as late as 1810.

**BASSE SANTA SU.** The administrative capital and commercial center of **Upper River Division**, and an important transit point for goods going to Eastern Senegal, Guinea, and Mali, it is conventionally known as *Basse*. It had an estimated population of 18,000 in 2003.

**BATHURST.** *See* BANJUL.

**BATHURST ADVISORY TOWN COUNCIL (BATC).** The BATC was established in June 1935 by Governor **A. F. Richards** to replace the **Bathurst Urban District Council** (BUDC). It operated until July 1944 when it was dissolved and replaced by the Bathurst Temporary Local Authority, the forerunner of the **Bathurst Town Council**. The new body was responsible for a wider range of functions than its predecessor, but possessed no executive authority. The official majority on the council was retained, but the BATC had a different franchise to the BUDC; only ratepayers were permitted to vote or stand for election and the voting rights of government employees were thus removed. In the first election to the BATC in May 1936, all six elected seats were won by the **Rate Payers' Association** (RPA). Indeed, it is probable that all elected councilors thereafter were RPA members. But there were very few contested elections, with candidates usually being nominated by RPA executive and ward committee meetings and then returned unopposed.

Like the BUDC, the BATC was granted the right to nominate a member of the **Legislative Council**. In March 1938, the BATC voted by seven votes to four for **W. D. Carrol** to be reappointed. The four elected members who were present voted for **E. F. Small**, but Gov-

ernor **W. T. Southorn** had previously instructed the four officials to vote for Carrol and the three nominated European unofficial members did likewise. In a second election to the Legislative Council in November 1941, the majority of elected members voted for Small, while the official members abstained, thus ensuring his victory.

**BATHURST CITY COUNCIL.** *See* **BANJUL CITY COUNCIL.**

**BATHURST TOWN COUNCIL (BTC).** The BTC was established in July 1946 replacing the Bathurst Temporary Local Authority. It had 15 elected members (three for each of the town's five wards) and enjoyed much greater powers over municipal affairs than its predecessor bodies. Civil servants were permitted to stand as candidates, whereas they were barred from contesting elections to the **Legislative Council** or later on to the **House of Representatives**.

In the inaugural election to the BTC in October 1946, the **Rate Payers' Association (RPA)** won six seats and the **Bathurst Young Muslims Society** won three seats; five civil servants (who probably supported the RPA) and one independent were also elected. During the 1950s, BTC elections were hotly contested by the three major **political parties**, the **Gambia Muslim Congress**, **Gambia Democratic Party**, and the **United Party (UP)**, and a number of those who became members of Parliament in the 1960s began their careers on the council. In the early 1960s, the UP became the dominant force on the BTC, holding seven out of 15 seats when the BTC was replaced by the **Bathurst City Council** in 1965; four were held by the **Gambia Congress Party** and four by the **People's Progressive Party/Democratic Congress Alliance** coalition.

**BATHURST TRADE UNION (BTU).** A Bathurst-based general workers' **trade union**, the BTU was an umbrella body incorporating a number of craft societies, notably the Carpenters' and Shipwrights' Society. Having negotiated a successful conclusion to a strike of artisans in 1921, this society had been revived in May 1929 to resist wage cuts imposed by European private-sector firms. Its leaders, who were poorly educated Muslim **Wolof** artisans, turned to **E. F. Small** for assistance and he turned their organization into the BTU, with himself as chairman. Other craft unions joined the BTU, so that by



October 1929, it felt strong enough to confront employers over the wage cuts. Small and the BTU coordinated and extended strike action over a three-week period and succeeded in reversing the situation; the wage cuts were replaced by wage increases for private-sector artisans and river craft workers, and the BTU was recognized by employers. As a result of this success, Small claimed a union membership of 1,000 in 1930.

The strike, which received international attention, is also credited with having influenced the “Passfield Memorandum” of 1930; a circular issued by Lord Passfield [Sydney Webb] who was secretary of state for the colonies in the second Labour administration of 1929–31, it urged colonial governments to extend recognition to trade unions. In March 1933, following the earlier passage of a trade union ordinance, the BTU became the first trade union to obtain such recognition in colonial Africa, but by then control of the union had passed to Small’s rivals in the organization, J. L. N’Jie and J. L. Owens, backed by the **Gambia Representative Committee**. Small and his supporters went on to form the **Gambia Labour Union** in 1935, while the BTU’s membership dwindled, until it was wound up in 1960.

**BATHURST URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (BUDC).** The BUDC was established in 1930 by Governor **H. R. Palmer** as the first municipal council in the Gambia and met for the first time in March 1931. It replaced the Board of Health that had been set up in 1887 (with African unofficial representation from the outset), but was now moribund. The BUDC was entitled to discuss such municipal matters as roads, markets, and sanitation. Initially, it had 14 members; four of these were officials, four were nominated Europeans, and six were elected African members, one for each ward of the town. The franchise was restricted to persons on the rating list (i.e., owners rather than occupiers) and to government employees, with the ballot being open, not secret.

Palmer’s intention was that the BUDC should strengthen the position of the more conservative elements of society led by **S. J. Forster Jr.** at the expense of **E. F. Small** and his associates. This proved to be the case; the **Gambia Representative Committee** (GRC) was revived in October 1930 to contest the first election to the BUDC in

January 1931 and its members won at least five out of six seats. Those elected included **W. D. Carrol**. The GRC was equally successful in the 1932 and 1933 elections, but in the December 1934 election, four of the existing councilors (all GRC members) were defeated by candidates of the **Rate Payers' Association (RPA)**. In June 1935, the BUDC was replaced by the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council**.

During its brief existence, the BUDC became embroiled in the wider political controversy of the 1930s, Governor Palmer's determination to codify the laws of the Gambia for the first time, starting with a Criminal Code and a Criminal Procedural Code. Codification was strongly supported by Forster and by the elected councilors led by Carrol, but equally strongly condemned by Small and the RPA. Palmer rewarded the BUDC for backing his plans by granting it the right to nominate a candidate to the **Legislative Council** in March 1933; the unanimous choice of European and African councilors alike was Carrol, who was duly appointed for a five-year term.

**BATHURST YOUNG MUSLIMS SOCIETY (BYMS)**. The BYMS was formed in August 1936 as an offshoot of the Mohammedan Society to promote the status of young educated **Muslims** in **Bathurst**. Its first honorary secretary was **P. S. N'Jie**, who had not yet converted to Roman Catholicism. The BYMS functioned intermittently as a cultural organization until May 1946 when it was revived by **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa** as an overtly political body, which appealed exclusively to Muslims, to contest the inaugural election to the **Bathurst Town Council**. Three of its candidates were elected, including Garba-Jahumpa himself. Garba-Jahumpa then stood in the 1947 **Legislative Council** election (albeit nominally as a **trade union** leader, rather than as the BYMS candidate), but was defeated. Selected once again to contest the 1951 Legislative Council election, this time explicitly on behalf of the BYMS, Garba-Jahumpa was successful, his organization's appeal to Muslims being enhanced by its criticisms of the limitations of the new constitution. After the election, in January 1952, the BYMS was absorbed into the **Gambia Muslim Congress**.

**BENSOU DA, FATOU BOM (1961–)**. Born in **Banjul** in 1961 and educated at the Gambia High School, Mrs. Bensouda undertook legal

studies at Ife University, Nigeria. Appointed senior state counsel for the Gambian government, she rose to become solicitor general and then, in August 1998, minister of justice and attorney general. The first **woman** to hold these posts, she was dismissed in March 2000. After working for a commercial bank, she was appointed legal adviser and trial attorney at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, before being elected deputy prosecutor at the International Criminal Court in The Hague in September 2004.

**BINTANG.** A village located approximately five miles up the **Bintang Bolong** from Bintang Point, Bintang was the residence of the King of **Foni**, and one of the most important trade centers in the 18th century. Both the English and French maintained factories there, while English independent traders continued to use it as a trading base into the early 19th century.

**BINTANG BOLONG.** This is an 80-mile long creek (*bolong*) joining the **Gambia River** some 30 miles east of St. Mary's Island, dividing **Kiang** and **Foni**. From the earliest period of European activity, a number of temporary trading stations were always located along the *Bolong*. In some early literature, the waterway is referred to as the **Geregia River**.

**BLACKBURNE REPORT.** The report was named after Sir Kenneth W. Blackburne (1907–80), who served as colonial secretary of the Gambia (1941–43), and headed a five-man development committee set up by Governor **W. T. Southorn**. This committee was the Gambia's response to a Colonial Office directive that all colonies and territories prepare detailed analyses of their needs and make recommendations for the use of **Colonial Development and Welfare Act** funds at the conclusion of World War II. The Blackburne Report, published in 1943, was the first logical statement of the Gambia's needs encompassing all areas of the economy. Although many of its recommendations were ignored, the report served as the guide for Gambian development between 1945 and 1950.

**BLOOD, SIR HILARY RUDOLPH ROBERT (1893–1967).** Born on 28 May 1893, the son of an Anglican clergyman, Blood was educated

at the University of Glasgow before serving in the Royal Scots Fusiliers during World War I. He was employed in the Ceylon civil service (1920–30), before becoming colonial secretary of Grenada (1930–34) and then Sierra Leone (1934–42). He was appointed governor of the Gambia in March 1942. His administration was responsible for drawing up proposals for improvements to the **Colony** area utilizing **Colonial Development and Welfare Act** funds. Although these funds fell short of expectations, the modernization of **Bathurst's** water supply, the establishment of a sewerage system, paved streets, and improvements to the port all date to his period of office. Blood was also responsible for establishing the Bathurst **Town Council** in 1946, while a new constitution, allowing direct elections to the **Legislative Council** for the first time, was introduced in November 1946. Blood left the Gambia in March 1947 and then served as governor of Barbados (1947–49) and Mauritius (1949–54). He was later constitutional commissioner in British Honduras (1959) and Zanzibar (1960) and chairman of the Constitutional Commission on Malta in 1960. He died on 20 June 1967.

**BOJANG, LAMIN (c. 1952– )**. Bojang was educated at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, where he obtained his first degree and then trained as an engineer at Stanford University, where he gained a Master's degree. After further training in Great Britain, he returned to The Gambia to work for a private consulting firm, before joining the civil service in 1977. He left the civil service in 1990 as a principal engineer, then worked for a number of private-sector construction firms. In October 2007, he was appointed secretary of state for works, construction and infrastructure, a post he retains at the time of writing.

**BOJANG, DR. LAMIN "BOLONG" (1954– )**. Bojang was educated at the Crab Island School and the Gambia High School (1968–74), before winning a scholarship to study medicine in Egypt in 1974. After qualifying as a medical doctor, he returned to The Gambia to work as a medical assistant in government employment in 1982 and, after a period in Nigeria, was eventually registered as a doctor in The Gambia and set up a private practice in **Brikama** in 1989. He considered joining the **People's Democratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism** (PDOIS), but found its left-wing politics unacceptable, and

instead founded his own political party, the **People's Democratic Party**, in September 1991, becoming its president and leader. Bojang relied on the financial support of a local businessman, Solo Darbo, and defectors from other parties. Bojang's centrist political beliefs differed little from those of rival political leaders and neither he, nor his party, succeeded in the 1992 elections. Bojang came fourth out of five candidates, winning 6 percent of the vote in the presidential poll and only 7 percent of the vote in his parliamentary constituency of Central **Kombo**. After these crushing defeats, Bojang retired from active politics and in the 1996 presidential election, he publicly supported President **Yahya Jammeh**.

**BOJANG, SANJALLY (1910–1995)**. A **Mandinka** of chiefly lineage from Central **Kombo**, who was brought up in **Bathurst**, but received a Koranic education only, Bojang joined the United Africa Company in the late 1920s, and had become its head labor contractor by the early 1940s, before establishing himself as a successful, independent, dock labor contractor. In the early 1950s, he established the *Lillahi Warasuli* (Arabic for “For God and His Messenger”), a burial society for Mandinka living in the **Colony** area known originally as the Kombo-Niumi Friendship Society. Bojang had previously alternated between supporting the **Gambia Democratic Party** and the **Gambia Muslim Congress**, but in October 1958, following attacks on him and on other **Protectorate** people by members of the Bathurst elite, he merged his organization with the Protectorate People's Society. This soon after became the Protectorate People's Party and then the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP). Bojang became national president of the PPP and in 1959–60, he helped to finance and promote the new party, particularly among more conservative elders, and led its enormously successful tour of the Protectorate, before the first national election in May 1960.

During **D. K. Jawara's** absence in Nigeria in late September 1960, Bojang sought to commit the PPP to a political union with the **Democratic Congress Alliance** and the **United Party**, but the Gambia Progressive Union (popularly known as the Gambia Solidarity Party) failed to get off the ground. Subsequently expelled from the PPP, Bojang helped form the **Gambia National Union**, but had rejoined the PPP as an ordinary member by 1963. He was

appointed district chief of Kombo Central in 1975, but was deposed in August 1981, after speaking against the government, allegedly under duress, on Radio Gambia during the abortive coup. Bojang then retired from national politics to concentrate on developing his large horticultural estate, although he remained as *alkaalo* of his home village, Kembuje, at the time of his death on 23 October 1995.

Bojang was well-known for helping fund the education of children from the Kombos and **Niumis**, including that of **Bakary Dabo**.

**BOJANG, TOMANI.** The **Soninke** King of **Kombo**, Bojang agreed to a truce arranged by Governor **G. A. K. D'Arcy** in February 1864 with **Fodi Kabba** and **Fodi Silla**, after being hard pressed by **Marabout** dissidents at **Gunjur**. However, in 1871, hostilities broke out again and within two years, all of the Soninke towns in Kombo, with the exception of **Busumbala** and **Brikama**, were in Marabout hands. In 1874, Bojang lost Brikama, and a small remnant of his territory was saved only by a British-arranged truce, but in 1875, Silla renewed hostilities and his forces took Busumbala, forcing the king to take refuge at Lamin, a few yards away from British territory.

Administrator **C. H. Kortright**, fearing that war would spread to **Kombo St. Mary**, refused Bojang any further British support and the latter was forced to yield to Silla in September 1875. He was compelled to convert to **Islam**, and dismantle his stockade. Silla allowed him enough land for himself and his people in the territory over which his dynasty had ruled for more than two centuries.

**BOOKER, JOHN (?–1693).** Booker became chief agent of the **Royal African Company** in the Gambia in 1688. In 1689, the outbreak of war with France found him in charge of fewer than 200 men, and no ships of war were permanently stationed on the **Gambia River**. Nevertheless, he used visiting company vessels to drive French shipping from the coast, to deal with privateers, and finally to transport an expeditionary force against St. Louis and Gorée. Both French stations were captured in December 1692, their stores seized, and their defenses demolished. Booker's death by fever on 8 June 1693 removed the one man who might have resisted the French forces that recaptured St. Louis and Gorée later that year.

**BRIDGES, SIR PHILLIP RODNEY (1922–2007).** Born in England on 9 July 1922 and educated at Bedford School and the University of Aberdeen, Bridges served with the Royal Artillery, and was attached to the **Royal West African Frontier Force** in Burma during World War II. He first served in the Gambia as lands officer, before becoming a barrister and solicitor at the Supreme Court of the Gambia in 1954. He was appointed solicitor general in 1963 and attorney general in 1964, a post he continued to hold until 1968, being the only European in the Gambian cabinet. In 1968, he was replaced as attorney general by **M. L. Saho** (and ceased to be in the cabinet); instead, until his retirement to Suffolk, England, in 1983, he served as chief justice. Knighted in 1973, he died on 26 December 2007.

**BRIKAMA.** The administrative and commercial center of the **Western Division** and the second largest town in the country, it is located some 40 miles southeast of **Banjul**. Its estimated population in 2003 was 63,000, up from 42,000 in 1993.

**BRITISH KOMBO.** *See* KOMBO ST. MARY.

**BRITISH WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS.** In 1866, on the recommendation of the Ord Report, all the British territories in West Africa—Sierra Leone, Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Lagos—were placed under a governor-in-chief (the governor of Sierra Leone), with each of the other territories being placed under an administrator. Thus, the administration of the Gambia became subordinate to decisions made in Freetown, as had previously occurred between 1816 and 1843; in addition, the **Executive Council** was abolished and the **Legislative Council** downgraded. In 1874, the British possessions on the Gold Coast and at Lagos were separated from Sierra Leone. However, despite the opposition of both the **Liberated African** community and British merchants engaged in the West African trade, the Gambia remained under the control of the governor of Sierra Leone until December 1888, when the administrative ties between the two territories were severed for the final time.

**BROWN, THOMAS (1811–1881).** The most important British merchant in the Gambia during the 19th century, Brown first came to

**Bathurst** in 1829 to work as a clerk for the British firm, **Forster and Smith**, initially combining this role with employment in government service. In the early 1840s, he worked as the agent of Thomas Hutton, before setting up his own firm, Thomas Brown and Company, in 1843.

Appointed high sheriff in 1843 and as a justice of the peace in 1845, Brown was added to the **Legislative Council** as an unofficial member in 1850, but the position lapsed in 1855, when he retired to England. However, by 1859, he was back, and soon his agents were challenging French firms for supremacy on the lower **Gambia River**.

In 1861, Brown was reappointed to the Legislative Council and also became an ex officio member of the **Executive Council**, having been appointed as acting queen's advocate, owing to a shortage of Europeans to fill official positions (his position lapsed when the Executive Council was abolished in 1866). As a result, he exerted considerable influence over government policy under Governor **G. A. K. D'Arcy**. In 1870, the British government announced its intention to cede the Gambia to France. Brown, who was now the only unofficial member of the Legislative Council, made clear his opposition to **cession** both inside and outside the council and also persuaded the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to do likewise. He even established the first Gambian newspaper, *The Bathurst Times*, in May 1871, to oppose cession, but this proved a short-lived creation. Brown was also one of the chief opponents of the second attempt to cede the Gambia in 1875–76. He wrote long polemical letters, signed memorials, and personally lobbied the Colonial Office against the tradeoff because he was convinced that British and African firms would not receive adequate compensation and would be forced out of business by the French.

By 1875, Brown was the sole remaining resident British merchant in Bathurst. However, he was no longer a member of the Legislative Council; in May 1874, he had been forced to resign in the aftermath of an abortion scandal (the Anna Evans case). He did not serve again on the council, except briefly in 1879 when he was acting chief magistrate. He died in December 1881 at the age of 70 and, after his death, his firm seems to have gone out of business.

**BRUE, ANDRÉ (1654–1738)**. Brue was appointed director of the **Compagnie du Sénégal** in April 1697, with his headquarters at St.



Louis. He was dedicated to driving English traders from the Senegambia and gaining French dominance of trade on the **Gambia River**. However, he failed because of his inability to control piracy, the losses sustained by the company during the War of the Spanish Succession, and its growing economic weaknesses. Brue was replaced as director of the company in May 1702, but later served in a similar position for the *Compagnie de Rouen* (1714–18) and the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* (1718–20).

**BULLEN, SIR CHARLES (1769–1853)**. Bullen enlisted in the Royal Navy in 1779 and saw considerable action in the French wars, commanding HMS *Britannia* at Trafalgar in 1804. He first served on the West Africa station in 1801 and returned there in 1824–27 as a commodore on HMS *Maidstone*, which was sent to the Gambia to support the acting governor of Sierra Leone, Kenneth MacAulay, in his negotiations with **Burungai Sonko**, the King of **Barra**. This resulted in the acquisition of the **Ceded Mile** in 1826. Immediately after the signing, Bullen transported two cannons to Barra Point. A military guard was placed over these guns and the site was named Fort Bullen in his honor; this, and Fort Louvel in **Bathurst**, were the only forts constructed by the British on the West African coast to prevent, rather than promote, the **slave trade**. Bullen became an admiral in 1852 and died on 2 July 1853.

**BUSUMBALA**. A town midway between Sabajy (modern Sukuta) and **Brikama**, Busumbala was the main fortified base of the rulers of **Kombo**. By mid-1874, it was the only town loyal to the **Soninke** king, **Tomani Bojang**. Its capture in 1875 led to Bojang's overthrow by **Fodi Silla**. The **National Convention Party** was launched in the town in 1975.

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**CADAMOSTO, ALVISE DA (1432–1488)**. The first European to reach the Gambia, Cadamosto was a Venetian captain commissioned in 1455, by Prince Henry of Portugal, to investigate rumors of gold to be obtained along the banks of the **Gambia River**. Joined off Cape

Verde by Antoniotto Usidimare, a Genoese captain also in Portuguese service, their three ships entered the river estuary. Armed resistance from Africans in canoes so unnerved the crews that they refused to proceed further, but, the following year, Cadamosto returned with three ships to the Gambia and proceeded approximately 60 miles up-river. He was warmly received by the **Mandinka** ruler of **Baddibu**, Battimansa, concluded a treaty of friendship with him, and acquired a few slaves and some gold. After staying in Baddibu for 11 days, he sailed downriver, explored the southern coastline as far as the **Casamance** River, and then returned to Portugal.

**CALLAGHAN, JEREMIAH THOMAS FITZGERALD** (c. 1830–1881). An Irishman who had entered the colonial service in 1860, Callaghan was appointed governor of the Gambia in May 1871, arriving in the **Colony** that August. But in April 1872, he was forced to return to England on sick leave and never returned. However, having recovered his health, he later served as the governor of the Falklands Islands (1876–80), succeeding **G. A. K. D’Arcy**, and the Bahamas (1881). He died on 9 July 1881 in New York while en route to England to try to recover his health.

**CAMARA, ASSAN MUSA** (formerly **ANDREW DAVID CAMARA**) (1923– ). The son of a **Fula** farmer and cattle-breeder, Camara was born at Mansajang, **Basse** in **Upper River Division** (URD), on 21 April 1923. An Anglican convert (taking the forenames Andrew David), he was educated at St. Mary’s School in **Bathurst** (1930–38) before attending the Anglican Mission School at **Kristikunda** in the URD. In 1948, he began working as a teacher at **Kristikunda** School, later becoming its head teacher. He resigned to stand as an independent in **Kantora** in the first national election in 1960. Winning the election, he was pressed by his constituents to join the **United Party** (UP) in 1961. He defended **Kantora** successfully as a UP candidate in the 1962 election. Disillusioned with the UP leader, **P. S. N’Jie**, he switched to the **People’s Progressive Party** (PPP) in 1963 and subsequently won **Kantora** at each election between 1966 and 1982. Camara served as minister of education in the UP administration of 1961–62 and was appointed minister of education, labour, and social welfare in November 1963 on joining the PPP. In 1968, he

moved to External Affairs and was appointed vice president in September 1972, following the dismissal of **Sheriff Dibba**. In July 1974, he moved to the Ministry of Local Government, combining this portfolio with the vice presidency; a few months later, he converted to **Islam** and took the names Assan Musa.

After the 1977 election, Camara was appointed minister of finance and trade (after a very brief stint as minister of education), but was replaced as vice president by **A. B. N’Jie**; however, he regained the vice presidency in August 1978 when N’Jie resigned. He was thus the senior minister left in Banjul during the attempted **coup of 1981** and played a prominent role in resisting the coup; his actions helped to persuade the **Senegalese** to intervene to restore President **Dawda Jawara**.

Camara came under the president’s suspicion in 1982 for allegedly backing independent candidates in URD at the general election, which saw Basse fall to his “adopted” son, **Bubacarr Baldeh**, and A. K. Touray win Sandu, although Camara was himself elected unopposed in Kantora. After the election, he was dropped from the cabinet. He remained out of favor with the party until his resignation from the PPP in February 1986. A month later, he formed the **Gambia People’s Party** (GPP) with two other former ministers, **M. L. Saho** and **H. O. Semega-Janneh**. He lost Kantora, his parliamentary seat, to the PPP in the 1987 election, as well as being defeated by Jawara and Sheriff Dibba in the presidential election, winning only 13 percent of the vote. He met similar defeats in the 1992 elections (winning only 8 percent of the vote in the presidential election).

Following the **1994 coup**, the GPP was banned and Camara himself was barred from standing for Parliament. Although critical of aspects of President **Yahya Jammeh**’s rule, Camara did not relaunch the GPP when the ban on it was lifted in 2001. Talks with Jammeh led to nothing; instead, in January 2005, Camara’s GPP supported a new opposition coalition organization, the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD), and Camara was chosen as its chairman. Tensions within NADD led to his resignation in early March 2006 and he has not since been active politically.

**CAMERON, SIR EDWARD JOHN (1858–1947)**. The son of a British Army doctor, born on 14 May 1858, Cameron was educated

at Shrewsbury School and Clifton College, and at Merton College, Oxford. He joined the colonial service in 1882 as private secretary to the governor of the Bahamas and, apart from a brief spell in Sierra Leone in 1885–86, spent the next 30 years in the Caribbean, as president (administrator) of the British Virgin Islands (1887–93), commissioner of the Turks and Caicos Islands (1893–1901), administrator of St. Vincent (1901–09), and administrator of St. Lucia (1909–13). He was appointed governor of the Gambia in February 1914, arriving in the colony in April. Cameron was responsible for putting into effect the provisions of the comprehensive **Protectorate Ordinance** of 1913, which had been passed by his predecessor, **H. L. Galway**. In 1919, he issued another Protectorate Ordinance, which further defined the relative powers of the central government and the chiefs, and also introduced a new scale of Protectorate taxes. It was during his tenure of office that British firms gained supremacy in trade over their French competitors, but the failure of Cameron and his successor, **C. H. Armitage**, to act quickly to equalize the exchange rate for the five-franc piece led to the **demonetization crisis**. After leaving the Gambia in 1920, Cameron retired to England where he died on 20 July 1947.

**CARROL, WILFRED DAVIDSON (1900–1941)**. The son of Henry Richmond Carrol (died April 1913), a prosperous **Aku** merchant in **Bathurst** whose business dated back to 1883, Davidson Carrol was educated at the Methodist Boys' High School, before proceeding to Britain in 1920 to study law at Oxford; while in England, he was elected the first president of the West African Students Union. He then trained as a barrister and was called to the bar in 1924. He returned to the Gambia in 1925 and set up a practice in Bathurst as a barrister and solicitor.

In October 1930, the **Gambia Representative Committee** was revived by J. A. N'Jai-Gomez to support the more conservative element of Gambian society against **E. F. Small**. Carrol was elected to the **Bathurst Urban District Council** (BUDC) in January 1931 for **Joloff Town** North ward, remaining as a member until his defeat in the 1934 election. Carrol played a key role in ensuring the implementation of the Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code against stiff opposition from the **Rate Payers' Association** and was

the favored candidate of the BUDC, when the latter was granted the right to elect one of its members to the **Legislative Council**. He was elected in March 1933 (from May) and reelected in May 1938 (when no longer a councilor); on the second occasion, he was selected by seven votes to the four of his old rival, Small, thanks to the support of official members. In Spring 1934, Carrol and others founded *The Gambia Echo* as a rival to *The Gambia Outlook* edited by Small. He also served on several other public bodies besides the BUDC. In poor health from about 1938, he died on 30 October 1941.

**CARTER, SIR GILBERT THOMAS (1848–1927).** Born on 14 January 1848, Carter was educated at the Royal Naval School at Greenwich before entering the Royal Navy in 1864. He first served in West Africa as paymaster on the colonial steamer *Sherbro* in Sierra Leone. He took part in the Ashanti War in 1873 and then spent two years in the Leeward Islands, returning to West Africa as collector of customs on the Gold Coast in 1879. Appointed treasurer of the Gambia in October 1882, he served as acting administrator for lengthy periods between December 1885 and November 1888, when he was finally appointed to the substantive position. After Great Britain reversed its decades-old policy against territorial expansion, Carter was ordered to enter into definite treaties of cession with Gambian chiefs. However, his recommendation that Britain should claim a large segment of the hinterland of the **Gambia River** was largely ignored by the delegates to the **Anglo–French Convention** of 1889. After the declaration of the **Protectorate**, Carter with his small force and few resources could do little but announce the change to the upper and middle river Gambian chiefs. Carter also reconstituted the **Legislative Council** in 1888–89, removing **J. D. Richards**, whom he distrusted, and appointing **H. C. Goddard**.

Upon leaving the Gambia in 1890, Carter served successively as the governor of Lagos (1890–96), Bahamas (1898–1904), and Barbados (1904–10). He later changed his name to Gilbert-Carter and, after returning to Barbados, died there on 19 January 1927.

**CASAMANCE.** Casamance is the part of **Senegal** between The Gambia and Guinea Bissau, and is named after the river that flows through it. It currently comprises two of the administrative regions of the Re-

public of Senegal. The present-day Casamance was historically a part of the **Gambia River** complex and it was not until 1889 that it was arbitrarily separated from the Gambia. Ethnic ties between **Jola** in The Gambia and in Casamance and a guerilla struggle, dating back to 1982, against the Senegalese state by Jola, organized by the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC), led by Father Diamacoune Senghor (who died in January 2007), have contributed to the sensitivity of this region in Senegal–Gambia relations. Despite a partial peace agreement in December 2001, rival MFDC elements continued to fight the Senegalese army. Following a renewed offensive against them by Senegalese forces in August 2006, an estimated 7,500 refugees had crossed into The Gambia by early 2007; they are mainly cared for by Gambian host families, who are often related to them, or are in a refugee camp and receive **United Nations** World Food Programme assistance. The situation is complicated by the presence, among the refugees, of MFDC fighters, seeking to regroup. President **Yahya Jammeh** is seen as being sympathetic to these fellow Jola and tolerant of their presence, possibly because the leader of the attempted **coup of 2006**, the chief of defence staff, Colonel Ndure Cham, was granted refuge in Senegal, and is accused of continuing to seek the overthrow of the Gambian government.

**CEDED MILE.** In June 1826, Kenneth MacAulay, acting governor of Sierra Leone, negotiated with **Burungai Sonko**, the King of **Barra**, the cession to the British Crown **Colony** of a coastal strip one mile in depth, beginning at Jinnak Creek in the west and stretching as far as **Jokadu** Creek in the east. In January 1832, following the **Barra War**, this cession was reconfirmed and the area controlled by the British was extended slightly. The Ceded Mile was placed under the **Protectorate** system of government in 1896. *See also* BULLEN, CHARLES.

**CEESAY, YAYA (1937– ).** The son of a **Mandinka** farmer from Sankwia in **Lower River Division** (and a Muslim), Ceesay was educated to elementary level at Pakalinding School (1947–55) before entering the Police Force in 1955. He resigned in 1959 to fight the first nationwide general election in 1960, winning **Jarra** for the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP). He retained this seat in the 1962 election,

before transferring to Western Jarra in 1966, a seat he held until the **1994 coup**. First appointed as a parliamentary secretary in 1965, Ceesay held various ministerial positions in the 1960s and 1970s: Agriculture and Natural Resources (1968–69; 1974–78) and Local Government and Lands (1969–74). In August 1978, he was demoted to minister of state in the President’s Office, and then sacked altogether in September. After the 1982 election, he was appointed minister of state in the President’s Office and then surprisingly reappointed as minister of local government and lands after the 1992 election. He lost his position after the 1994 coup, was found guilty of corruption in 1997 by the Public Assets and Properties Recovery Commission and banned from holding office for 15 years by the **Yahya Jammeh** government in 2001. Nevertheless, after the restoration of the PPP in 2001, Ceesay became its chairman and initially supported the party’s decision to join the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD) in 2005. However, in March 2006, along with other ex-PPP ministers, including Omar Sey, B. L. K. Sanyang, and Dembo Jatta, he voted to withdraw from the NADD against the wishes of the “interim leader,” **O. A. Jallow**.

**CENTRAL RIVER DIVISION (CRD)**. Known until 1995 as MacCarthy Island Division, which had been established as one of five administrative areas of the **Protectorate** in the early 20th century, CRD is the largest division in The Gambia. It is located on both sides of the **Gambia River** and includes two Local Government Areas: **Janjanbureh**, formerly Georgetown, and Kuntaur. It has 10 districts: Janjanbureh, Lower Saloum, Upper Saloum, Niani, **Niani**, Sami, **Niamina** Dankunku, Niamina West, Niamina East, and Fulladu West. In 2003, the total population of CRD was 185,703, while its largest city, Bansang, had an estimated population of 8,500. Two-fifths of its Gambian population was **Fula/Tukulor/Lorobo**, a quarter was **Wolof**, and a quarter was **Mandinka/Jahanka**.

**CESSION OF THE GAMBIA TO FRANCE**. In March 1866, the French government proposed to the British that the Gambia be exchanged for corresponding French territory. After a lengthy delay, the British government accepted in principle in February 1870, but because it did not want any of the French settlements on offer, proposed to cede the **Colony** in exchange for the French renouncing any claim

to the disputed Mellacourie region north of Freetown. This was accepted by the French in March.

When news of the impending deal broke, the **Liberated African** community in **Bathurst** objected strongly. Local political leaders, including **J. D. Richards**, **S. J. Forster Sr.**, and **W. C. Walcott**, organized three petitions against cession between April and October 1870; in London, **Joseph Reffles** condemned the idea in letters to *The African Times*. The British merchants and firms involved in the Gambian trade, including **Thomas Brown**, **Thomas Quin**, and **Forster and Smith**, also organized opposition to the proposal. All this held up the negotiations and in July 1870, the secretary of state (SoS) for the colonies in the Liberal government, the Earl of Kimberley, was forced to announce a delay in proceedings.

In April 1874, the French government once more proposed that the Gambia should be exchanged, this time for the Ivory Coast and the Mellacourie region. Once the news broke in mid-1875, there was further vociferous opposition in Bathurst, with Liberated African political leaders forming the **Gambia Native Association** to coordinate their protests. British merchants, including Brown and the newly formed **Gambia Committee**, also condemned cession. Once again, the negotiations were delayed and the resolve of the SoS for the colonies in the Conservative government, the Earl of Carnarvon, crumbled; in March 1876, when it appeared that he might be accused of having misled Parliament, he abruptly broke off the negotiations.

The idea of exchange remained on the political agenda in the 1880s, but no firm proposals were ever put forward by either government. Thus, the Gambia remained a British colony.

**CHAM, MOMODOU CADIIJA (1938– )**. The son of a Muslim **Tukolor** trader, Cham was born in **Basse** on 19 August 1938, and educated locally at primary level, and then at St. Augustine's School, **Bathurst** (1952–57). He entered the civil service in 1958 and was employed as a civilian clerk in the police department prior to being elected **United Party** (UP) member of Parliament (MP) for **Tumana, Upper River Division**, in 1962. A political protégé of **M. M. N'Jie**, he successfully defended the seat for the UP in the 1966 general election, but in October 1970, he crossed over to the **People's Progressive Party** after the death of **E. D. N'Jie** and the reinstatement as party



leader of **P. S. N’Jie**. Cham retained Tumana until the 1992 general election, when he lost to the **Gambia People’s Party**’s Mbemba Tamedou. While serving as an MP, Cham also developed a wide range of business interests.

First appointed as a minister of state in the Office of the President after the 1972 election and as a minister in October 1972, Cham held a series of ministerial positions in the 1970s: education, youth, and sports (1972–77); economic planning and industrial development (1977–78); and finance and trade (1978–81). He was dismissed in January 1981, following press attacks on his ministerial performance, but rejoined the cabinet after the 1987 election as minister of works and communications in succession to **Lamin M’Boge**. In October 1988, he was one of four ministers accused of corruption by the editor of *The Torch*, Sanna Manneh; unlike the other ministers, Cham did not sue Manneh for libel and he was eventually sacked from the cabinet in June 1990.

In October 1995, Cham was arrested by the military junta and detained until September 1996. Found guilty of corruption in 1997 by the Public Assets and Properties Recovery Commission, he was banned from holding office for 15 years by the **Yahya Jammeh** government in 2001. In March 2006, he was briefly detained again, for allegedly taking part in the attempted **coup** led by the chief of defence staff, Colonel Ndure Cham, but was released without charge.

**CHAM, MOMODOU KOTU (c. 1953– )**. Cham joined the civil service in 1975, becoming executive director of the National Environment Agency in 1996. In 2003, he was made permanent secretary in the Department for State, Fisheries, and Natural Resources, before transferring to Forestry and Environment in 2006. In September 2007, he replaced **Edward Singhateh** as secretary of state for forestry and the environment, a post he retains at the time of writing.

**CHINA, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH**. Initially after independence, The Gambia adopted a “Two China” policy, recognizing both the Taiwan (Republic of China) and Beijing governments, but had limited formal diplomatic relations to Taiwan only (from November 1968). In December 1974, The Gambia reversed its policy, when it

established full relations with Beijing and severed those with Taiwan. This was part of an Africa-wide move toward switching recognition to Beijing only, and was followed up by an Agreement on Technical and Economic Cooperation in February 1975. Further assistance followed President **Dawda Jawara**'s visit to Beijing four months later. Following the **1994 coup**, the military junta, faced with a series of economic sanctions by its traditional Western aid partners, once more turned to Taiwan, with which it resumed diplomatic relations in July 1995. Taiwanese financial assistance played an important part in enabling the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** to weather the economic crisis and in meeting the present government's development objectives, including upgrading Gambian information technology capacity to meet **Vision 2020** and **Gateway Project** goals. In turn, The Gambia supports Taiwan's bid for **United Nations** membership. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**CHOWN, THOMAS, JR. (1816–1915).** Born in Stepney, Middlesex (London), Chown seems to have joined the family business in the Gambia in the mid-1830s and succeeded his father as head of the family firm in 1845. He served on the **Legislative Council** between 1857 and 1861. Under his leadership, the firm prospered and, in the late 1860s, he retired to Edmonton, Middlesex, to live in the appropriately named "Gambia House." Along with his son, Thomas Collingwood Chown (c. 1846–1905) (who had worked in the family business in **Bathurst** since the 1860s), he was at the forefront of the mercantile opposition to the proposed **cession** of the Gambia to France in 1870. T. C. Chown was also a member of the **Gambia Committee** in 1875–76. The family business having closed in the 1870s, Chown lived in very comfortable retirement until his death at Hove, Sussex, on 4 August 1915 at the age of 99.

**CHOWN, THOMAS, SR. (?–1845).** A former naval captain, Chown turned to commerce around 1811, moving to the newly established town of **Bathurst**, after the French had resumed control of Gorée in 1817. One of the first British merchants to export **groundnuts** from the Gambia (around 1836), he remained a prominent member of the mercantile community until his death in Bathurst in 1845. He was the father of **Thomas Chown Jr.**

**CHRISTENSEN, ERIC HERBERT (1923–1990).** Born on 29 October 1923 in **Bathurst**, a Roman Catholic of mixed Gambian–Danish parentage, Christensen was educated at St. Augustine’s School; he later taught there (1941–43). After military service (1944–45), he became a clerk in the Government Secretariat (1946–47), before working as vice consul at the French Consulate (1947–60) and attaché at the **Senegalese** Consulate-General (1961–65). Returning to government service, he was employed as assistant secretary, External Affairs (1965–66) and assistant secretary, Prime Minister’s Office (1966–67). He was appointed as the first Gambian head of the civil service in 1967, a post he combined with that of secretary-general to the President’s Office from 1970, until his retirement in 1978. Awarded the CMG in 1968, he died on 30 July 1990.

**CHRISTIANITY.** *See* ANGLICAN CHURCH; RELIGION; ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH; WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH.

**COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE (CD&W) ACTS.**

The first of these acts was passed by the British Parliament in early 1940 and represented a reversal of the previous doctrine for the dependent territories. Instead of demanding fiscal self-sufficiency of all territories, Parliament recognized a responsibility to assist the development of all of its territories—even though an area might not itself have the available funds. Under these acts, Great Britain, although hard pressed in the years immediately after World War II, made massive grants of funds to its African territories. Although falling far short of expectations, the Gambia in the decade after 1957 received over £1.5 million in CD&W funds. These paid for the construction of a new bridge, a high school, the Royal Victoria Hospital (**Bathurst**), a better water supply, paved streets, and an adequate drainage system for the capital city. The bulk of the funds allocated to the **Protectorate** were spent on improving **agriculture**, constructing an asphalt road from **Brikama** to **Mansakonko**, and building a hospital at **Bansang**, **MacCarthy Island Division**.

**COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (CDC).** Created by the British government in 1948, the CDC’s role was to devise development schemes that would provide the necessary income for

colonial territories, but would also be profitable. The CDC was concerned with funding two major projects in the Gambia (the **Wallikunda Rice Scheme** and the **Yundum Egg Scheme**), but both were economic failures.

**COLONY.** Correctly speaking, the British Crown Colony of the Gambia was restricted to the capital city, **Bathurst**, and the surrounding area of **Kombo St. Mary**, the narrow strip of territory across the river estuary known as the **Ceded Mile**, and **MacCarthy Island**, some 150 miles up the **Gambia River**. The remainder of the Gambian dependency, acquired at the close of the 19th century, constituted the **Protectorate**, while all areas apart from St. Mary's Island (Bathurst) had been placed under the Protectorate system of administration by 1902. The inhabitants of the Colony enjoyed a number of constitutional and legal privileges denied to the inhabitants of the Protectorate until the 1960s, as well as greater access to medical facilities and educational and work opportunities.

**COMMONWEALTH, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** The Gambia became a member of the Commonwealth following its independence in February 1965. Relations with the Commonwealth were good under the **Dawda Jawara** government, but have been more fractious under his successor, **Yahya Jammeh**. The **Gambia National Army's** illegal seizure of power in 1994, restrictions on opposition **political parties**, and human rights abuses led to the threat of suspension from the organization in 2001. Jammeh has also used Commonwealth summits to attack his critics within the organization. In May 2007, the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative called on the African Commission on Human and People's Rights to investigate the unlawful killing by elements of the Gambian security forces of up to 50, mainly Ghanaian, immigrants, in July 2005, an act that had gone uninvestigated by the Gambian authorities. Even so, the Commonwealth has continued to provide a variety of aid packages to The Gambia. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**COMPAGNIE DU SÉNÉGAL.** A short-lived, but important, commercial company established by the French in 1673, its main base of operations was Gorée, which had been captured by a French fleet in

1677. In the next few years, the company, in conjunction with French naval vessels, harassed the shipping of the **Royal African Company** and attempted to supplant the English on the **Gambia River**. The first trading station at **Albreda** was established, opposite **James Island**, in 1681, but the company lost its monopoly to the *Compagnie d'Afrique* a year later.

**COMPANY OF ADVENTURERS OF LONDON TRADING INTO AFRICA.** The company was granted a royal charter by King James I of England in 1618, its principal organizer being a London merchant, Nicholas Crispe (1598–1666), who was granted a 31-year monopoly on West African imports to England. Although the company's primary trading interests were in modern Sierra Leone and Guinea, it did sponsor two expeditions to the **Gambia River**. The first of these by George Thompson in 1618–19 ended in his death in a quarrel with his companions; although the leader of the second expedition in 1620–21, **Richard Jobson**, did proceed beyond the **Barrakunda Falls**, it was ultimately no more successful, despite Jobson's subsequent attempts to promote the value of the Gambian trade. The company was also known as the Guinea Company, but this was a quite separate organization from the **Guinea Company** established under the Commonwealth in 1651.

**COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO AFRICA.** Created by an act of the British Parliament in April 1750, as the successor to the **Royal African Company**, and exercising sole control from 1752, the Company of Merchants was prohibited from actual trading in its corporate capacity. Instead, its appointed executive committee, under the supervision of the Crown, was empowered to make rules regarding trading in West Africa, and could charge trading fees and customs duties. It received an annual subsidy from Parliament for the maintenance of trading forts and stations. The fort on **James Island** was repaired and restaffed, and with the aid of the Royal Navy, French attempts to dominate Gambian trade from **Albreda** were thwarted at the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756.

In 1765, the company relinquished its rights of administration over the Gambia area and it was not until 1783 that the Crown returned control over it to it. The company showed no great zeal in reestab-

lishing trade relations. Parliament many times refused a grant that the company directors felt necessary for the reconstruction of James Fort (which had been destroyed by the French in 1779), and it was never rebuilt. British trade on the river was maintained by private merchants. Finally, in 1816, the Crown sent Captain **Alexander Grant** with a small party to build a fort whose main function would be to prevent the **slave trade** near the river's mouth. The company did not underwrite this venture, and a theory of duality of control developed. Finally, an Act of Parliament passed on 7 May 1821 abolished the company, with all its forts and territories being placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Crown.

**CONFERENCE OF PROTECTORATE CHIEFS.** An annual meeting of the *seefoolu* of the Gambia was instituted in 1944 as a means of better communication between them and the governor and the central agencies of the administration. The conferences, held in different places in the **Protectorate** each year, were occasions of great pomp and ceremony. The meetings all followed a similar format. The governor would address the chiefs, outlining his proposals for action for the coming year. This would be followed by presentations by the heads of the central departments of their activities during the previous year and their plans for the coming year. Until 1958, the chiefs did not take an active role, asked few questions, and accepted the government's predetermined policy without demur. From 1958 onward, a number of chiefs, at times vehemently, began to comment on and question the performance of the government. However, **political parties** soon supplanted the chiefs as the dominant spokesmen for the Protectorate, and the conference never became more than a passive sounding board for the central administration.

**COUP ATTEMPT OF 30 JULY 1981.** This was a weeklong insurrection mounted by disaffected members of the para-military **Gambia Field Force** and a self-styled Marxist civilian organization, the **Gambia Underground Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party** (known as the **Gambia Socialist Revolutionary Party** before its banning in October 1980). It was organized and led by **Kukoi Samba Sanyang**, a **Jola** from the **Fonis**. The coup was put down by the **Senegalese** army, called in by President **Dawda Jawara**,

who was in London when the coup attempt was launched. The plotters' intention was to replace the Jawara government with a vaguely defined revolutionary Marxist state, though dissident members of the Field Force were more motivated by internal rivalries. Despite initial claims of Libyan involvement, the attempted coup was essentially a Gambian affair and no left-leaning foreign government supported it. Initially seizing the most strategic locations in the **Banjul** area, the rebels were driven out and overwhelmed by superior Senegalese forces, though not without severe fighting, considerable economic damage, and an estimated 500 deaths. A state of emergency was declared after the suppression of the coup and some 1,400 people detained; most of these were later released, though ringleaders were imprisoned and several sentenced to death. Subsequently, all death sentences were commuted. Kukoi Sanyang and several leading rebels escaped to Guinea-Bissau, from where they were deported to Cuba, rather than being returned to The Gambia. *See also* COUP ATTEMPT OF 11 NOVEMBER 1994; COUP ATTEMPT OF 21 MARCH 2006; COUP OF 22 JULY 1994.

**COUP ATTEMPT OF 11 NOVEMBER 1994.** A serious division within the ranks of the new military regime, the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council**, resulted in an alleged attempted counter-coup led by Lieutenants Basiru Barrow, Abdoulie Faal, and Gibril Saye. Opinion remains divided over whether this was a genuine coup attempt, rather than a fabricated incident to eliminate potential rivals within the army. The incident was savagely crushed by the junta leadership, with a reported 30 insurgents killed. Remnants of the group, who had escaped to **Senegal**, were foiled in an attempt to advance on **Banjul** in July 1997, following an attack on a police post in Kartong on the Gambian border with **Casamance**. *See also* COUP ATTEMPT OF 30 JULY 1981; COUP ATTEMPT OF 21 MARCH 2006; COUP OF 22 JULY 1994.

**COUP ATTEMPT OF 21 MARCH 2006.** During the absence of President **Yahya Jammeh** in Mauritania, the chief of staff of the **Gambia National Army** (GNA), Colonel Ndure Cham, backed by elements within the army and the **National Intelligence Agency** (NIA), together with some civilian supporters, attempted to seize power. He

sought to capitalize on growing public dissatisfaction with the Jammeh government, as well as disaffection within the GNA. Poor security arrangements among the plotters allowed loyalist elements to regain control quickly and Cham fled to neighboring **Senegal**. It is widely believed that five individuals, including a former head of the NIA, Daba Marenah, were summarily executed in April 2006 in the wake of the abortive coup. Following a court-martial, 10 soldiers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in April 2007, as were three civilians, following a trial before the Banjul High Court, in August 2007. *See also* COUP ATTEMPT OF 30 JULY 1981; COUP ATTEMPT OF 11 NOVEMBER 1994; COUP OF 22 JULY 1994.

**COUP OF 22 JULY 1994.** Elements of the **Gambia National Army** (GNA) successfully carried out a bloodless coup against the **Dawda Jawara** government on 22 July 1994. The disaffected junior officers who organized and carried out the coup claimed to be acting in the national interest to replace a corrupt and undemocratic government, but it was evident that other factors also lay behind their action, including personal ambition and resentment toward the large Nigerian military training mission, responsible for training the new GNA. Lieutenant **Yahya Jammeh** emerged as the leader of the army plotters and was appointed as chairman of the military junta, the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council**. **Political parties** were banned and the constitution suspended following the coup, but domestic and international pressures led the army to withdraw from power in 1996; although Jammeh and his fellow army conspirators successfully contested the presidential and parliamentary elections through their newly created **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**. *See also* COUP ATTEMPT OF 30 JULY 1981; COUP ATTEMPT OF 11 NOVEMBER 1994; COUP ATTEMPT OF 21 MARCH 2006.

**COURLAND, DUCHY OF.** In the 17th century, Courland was an independent Baltic duchy (roughly present-day Latvia) under the suzerainty of the kings of Poland. Jacobus (James), Duke of Courland, caught up in dreams of the wealth of Guinea, formed a trading company in 1650. In the following year, his agents leased **Banjul** from the King of **Kombo**, a small plot of land at **Juffure** on the north



bank, and most importantly, St. Andrew's Island (the future **James Island**) in the **Gambia River** from the King of **Barra**. A fort was constructed to try and dominate river trade. The duke's dream of a mercantile empire based on the Gambia and the West Indies was dashed by the corruption of his lieutenants, the open hostility of greater European powers, and events in the Baltic. The duke was captured by Charles X of Sweden in 1658, and he assigned the rights to manage his Gambian holdings to the **(Dutch) West India Company**. In 1661, St. Andrew's Island was captured by the English and, in 1664, Courland ceded its rights in the Gambia to England in return for a guarantee to respect the duke's control over Tobago in the West Indies.

**COURLANDERS.** *See* COURLAND, DUCHY OF.

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**DABO, BAKARY BUNJA (1946–)**. A **Mandinka**, born at Dumbutto, Western **Kiang**, Dabo was educated locally at primary level and then at the Methodist Boys' and Gambia High Schools in **Bathurst** (1957–64) and the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, graduating in modern languages in 1967. Dabo received graduate training from the University of Abidjan, Ivory Coast, and specialized economic training from the Bank of America, National Westminster Bank, and Ghana Commercial Bank. He spent two tours in the provincial administration upriver at **Basse** and **Kerewan**; the first of these (1967–68) was as assistant divisional commissioner, and the second (1970–71) as divisional commissioner. In the intervening years, Dabo served as assistant secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs. In July 1971, he was appointed director of economic and technical affairs and in June 1974, he was made manager of the commercial operations of the Gambia Commercial and Development Bank in **Banjul**.

In March 1979, Dabo was appointed Gambian high commissioner to the Republic of **Senegal**, a position he held until September 1981, when, following his key role at the time of the attempted **coup** in Banjul in mobilizing Senegalese support for President **Dawda Jawara**, he became a "nominated" member of Parliament (MP) and was given the post of minister of information, broadcasting, and

tourism. Prior to the 1982 election, Dabo replaced **H. O. Semega-Janneh** as **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) candidate for Western Kiang. This was despite the fact that he had only recently joined the party and, as a member of the *Teeri Kafoo*, a social club of Mandinka intellectuals, was rumored formerly to have been sympathetic to the **National Convention Party**. He was subsequently elected as an MP (retaining the seat until the 1994 coup) and was elevated to vice president after the election.

Dabo played a prominent role in the PPP's 1987 electoral campaign and received a specific portfolio (Education, Youth, and Culture), as well as remaining as vice president, after the election. By 1991, he was regarded as one of the two most likely successors to Jawara (the other being **Saihou Sabally**). But when Jawara announced his intention to stand down prior to the 1992 election, Dabo overplayed his hand and, after the 1992 election, he was demoted to minister of finance and economic affairs as a result of Jawara's suspicions of him, fueled by factional intrigue within the PPP. During the **1994 coup**, Dabo escaped to Dakar, but was surprisingly persuaded to return to serve as minister of finance under the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** in September. However, he resigned on 10 October and was subsequently accused of being the "civilian instigator" of the abortive **coup of November 1994**. He then fled first to Senegal and then to Great Britain, from where he has continued to oppose the **Yahya Jammeh** government. He also began legal training and was called to the bar in 1998.

**DARBOE, A. N. M. OUSAINOU (1948– )**. A Muslim **Mandinka**, born at Dobo village, **Central River Division**, on 8 August 1948, he was the son of Numukunda Darboe (Darbo), the **United Party** member of Parliament for Upper Fulladu West between 1962 and 1970. Darboe graduated from the University of Lagos in 1972, subsequently acquiring further legal qualifications at the Federal Law School in Lagos and the University of Ottawa. After initially working as a government lawyer in **Banjul**, he went into private practice in 1980, but was not active in politics under the **People's Progressive Party** government. He did, however, develop a strong legal reputation, particularly by acting as a defense lawyer in high-profile cases, including that of **Sheriff Dibba** in 1982. In 1996, by which time he

was vice president of the Gambia Bar Association, he was instrumental in creating the **United Democratic Party** (UDP). As secretary general and leader of the UDP, he stood against **Yahya Jammeh**, the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** candidate in the presidential elections of September 1996, coming second with 35.8 percent of the vote.

Despite this setback, and his arrest in June 2000 on a murder charge (later dropped) for the killing of a government supporter during a UDP rally in **Upper River Division**, Darboe stood again in the 2001 presidential election. His share of the vote dropped to 32.6 percent, amid accusations of government vote-rigging. This led the UDP to boycott the parliamentary election of January 2002, but Darboe decided to stand again in the 2006 presidential election—against President Jammeh and former **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** coalition ally, **Halifa Sallah**. Darboe obtained 26.7 percent of the vote, well ahead of Sallah, but far behind Jammeh, who took over two-thirds of the vote. With four seats won in the January 2007 general election, it meant that the UDP was once again the official parliamentary opposition, and Darboe, though not in the **National Assembly** himself, remains a vocal critic of government policy.

**D'ARCY, GEORGE ABBAS KOOLI (c. 1818–1885)**. After serving in the 3rd West India Regiment as a colonel, D'Arcy succeeded **L. S. O'Connor** as governor of the Gambia. He arrived in the **Colony** in September 1859 in the midst of a yellow fever epidemic, which had reduced the European population of **Bathurst** to fewer than a dozen persons. His pleas to the Colonial Office for extra funds to be able to drain **Half Die** and improve the sanitation facilities of the Colony fell on deaf ears, and many of his recommendations were not put into effect until a half-century later.

D'Arcy's expedition against **Baddibu** in 1861 set in motion the series of events that brought **Ma Bah Diakhou** to power. Prevented from adopting any policy toward Ma Bah and the middle and upper **Gambia River** areas that would have committed the British government to any more expense, he therefore signed a treaty of friendship with Ma Bah in February 1863 to try to maintain the peace in the **Niumi** area. Closer to Bathurst, D'Arcy could act more firmly against

**Marabout** forces; thus in July 1866, with naval support and a force of 500 warriors from Niimi, his troops stormed Tubab Kolon, the stronghold of Amer Faal, one of Ma Bah's lieutenants, who had previously raided the **Ceded Mile**. Nevertheless, aside from a few such punitive forays, D'Arcy could do little to increase British control along the Gambia River. D'Arcy also initially attempted to pass legislation to improve the position of the **Liberated African** community in Bathurst, but his efforts were thwarted by the combined opposition of the European merchants and some of his own officials. In 1864, a number of Liberated Africans signed a petition to the secretary of state for the colonies in 1864 that called for his term of office as governor to be extended. However, by the end of 1865, his popularity among Liberated Africans had deteriorated.

In 1866, the **British West African Settlements** were reorganized. D'Arcy ceased to be governor, but stayed on as administrator until December 1866, when he was replaced by **Charles Patey**. He subsequently served as governor of the Falkland Islands (1870–76), before retiring to England to live in Penzance, Cornwall, where he died in 1885 aged 67.

**DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS ALLIANCE (DCA)**. The DCA was formed in April 1960 by a merger of the **Gambia Democratic Party** and the **Gambia Muslim Congress**. Their leaders, **J. C. Faye** and **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**, wanted a stronger party to challenge the **United Party** (UP) and the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) in the first election to the **House of Representatives** in the following month. Faye became "leader of alliance" and Garba-Jahumpa its secretary general, with other posts being divided up among the two parties. However, only one DCA candidate, **A. B. N'Jie**, was elected in 1960, with both Faye and Garba-Jahumpa being defeated; after the election, N'Jie was appointed minister of communications, resigning in March 1961 after Governor **Edward Windley** had appointed **P. S. N'Jie** as chief minister.

By now the DCA and PPP were beginning to coordinate their activities in opposition to the UP; they formed an electoral pact for the 1961 **Bathurst Town Council** election and another pact for the general election of 1962, with the PPP agreeing to support the DCA in five seats in **Bathurst** and **Serrekunda**. Despite the victory of the

PPP, the DCA could win only one seat in the expanded House of Representatives through A. B. N’Jie, with both Faye and Garba-Jahumpa again being narrowly defeated. This failure, and political differences between Garba-Jahumpa and Faye, soon led to the breakup of the party. Garba-Jahumpa and a few other DCA activists withdrew to form the **Gambia Congress Party** in October 1962, but the majority remained loyal to the Alliance. The DCA and PPP continued to work closely together up to independence and the two parties finally merged in August 1965. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**DEMOGRAPHY.** Censuses of The Gambia, comprising both the **Colony** and **Protectorate**, have been conducted since 1911. It was only in 1963, though, that a proper national census took place. The Gambian population has undergone considerable change since 1911, having grown tenfold, from 146,101 to 1,360,681 (2003) and to an estimated 1,688,359 in 2007. The population also is increasingly youthful as a result of improved **health** facilities and a higher birthrate, estimated at 2.78 percent per annum in 2007. Nearly 49 percent of the population in 2005 was estimated to be under 18 years of age. Females outnumber men by 845,581 to 842,778 (2007 estimate). Life expectancy at birth in 2007 was estimated to be 54.5 years: 52.7 for males and 56.5 for females, a reversal of the situation in many developing countries.

The Gambia is a multiethnic society, with no one community forming the majority of its population. Historically, the Gambians were **agriculturalists**, save for the pastoral **Fula**, but in recent decades there has been a substantial drift from the countryside to **urban** areas. The largest and most geographically widespread group is the **Mandinka**, found in every administrative division, but historically concentrated in the **Lower River Division** and **Western Division** (WD). Although their numbers have more than tripled between 1963 and 2003, they have declined from 46 percent to 36 percent of the Gambian population. The Fula, historically concentrated in **Central River Division** (CRD) and **Upper River Division** (URD), have increased in numbers to become the second most numerous in the country. They have increased from 17 percent (1963) to 22 percent of the Gambian population (2003). The **Wolof** are found predominantly in the **North Bank Division** and the Saloum district of CRD,

as well as in the **Kanifing Municipal Council** (KMC) area; though the third most numerous ethnic group, their share of the Gambian population has declined slightly since 1963, to 14 percent. The **Jola**, mainly living in WD and the KMC area, comprise the fourth largest ethnic community and, while having increased in numbers significantly (partly through migration from the conflict-torn **Casamance** region of neighboring **Senegal**), constitute only 11 percent of the Gambian population. Of the remaining four other ethnic groups, the **Serahuli**, found principally in URD, are the most numerous at some 8 percent of the Gambian population. The once-influential Creole or **Aku** community comprises only 0.5 percent of the Gambian population. Non-Gambians (most of whom are West Africans) make up an estimated 13 percent of the population; their share has probably increased in recent years because of political unrest and economic difficulties in surrounding countries. There is also a small, but economically important **Lebanese** community, as well as a shifting number of other non-Africans employed by diplomatic missions and aid agencies.

**DEMONETIZATION CRISIS.** In 1843, the five-franc piece was accepted as legal tender in the Gambia, with the exchange rate set at three shillings, ten and one-half pence. At the start of the 20th century, it comprised more than 80 percent of the total money in circulation in the Gambia. By the end of World War I, the franc had fallen in value, but nothing was done in the Gambia to make the official rate conform to the world rate. Issuance of the new West African alloyed coins in 1920 did not drive out the older currency. The Gambia was the only place in the world where the five-franc piece could be exchanged at a rate approximately 1.75 times its real value, and the area was thus flooded with the coins. They ceased to be valid for overseas transfers in March 1921, and in April their importation was prohibited. These actions did not halt the influx of the coins. Eventually, in January 1922, the British decided to demonetize, and called in all the five-franc pieces at the legal rate. The failure of the British authorities to act promptly had to be borne by the Gambia. The demonetization cost the Gambia more than £200,000, at a time when social and economic improvements were being denied, ostensibly because of a lack of funds.

**DENHAM, SIR EDWARD BRANDIS (1876–1938).** Denham was educated at Malvern College and Merton College, Oxford, before joining the colonial service as a cadet in the Ceylon civil service. He subsequently served as colonial secretary of Mauritius (1920–23) and acting governor of Kenya (1923–28). From Kenya, he moved to the Gambia, where he became governor in November 1928. The most significant event of his period of office was the general strike called by the **Bathurst Trade Union** in October–November 1929. Denham proved unable to deal with the crisis; after initially relying on the influence of **S. J. Forster Jr.** to bring a strike to the end, he later overreacted by allowing the police to carry out a bayonet attack on a group of unarmed strikers, an action denounced by left-wing members of Parliament in Britain. In January 1930, Denham left the Gambia to become governor of British Guiana, where he served until his retirement in 1934. He died on 2 June 1938. Denham kept a diary of his time in the Gambia that is now at Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

**DENTON, SIR GEORGE CHARDIN (1851–1928).** A vicar's son from Dorset, Denton was born on 22 June 1851. Educated at Rugby, he then pursued a military career, being commissioned in the 57th Regiment of Foot in 1869. He changed careers in 1880, joining the colonial service as chief of police, St. Vincent. Promoted to administrator in 1885, Denton moved to West Africa in 1889, serving as colonial secretary and acting governor of Lagos (1889–91 and 1893–1900) before being appointed administrator of the Gambia in November 1900. He arrived in the colony in January 1901 and in March, his position was upgraded to governor, the first individual to hold this title since **G. A. K. D'Arcy** in the mid-1860s. He completed the work begun by his predecessor, Administrator **R. B. Llewelyn**, in devising the framework of British rule in the **Protectorate**. This was done by a series of Protectorate Ordinances that refined and clarified the earlier system.

Denton also successfully resisted the requirements of the **Anglo–French Convention of 1904** that would have assigned a mid-river port on the **Gambia River** to the French. His argument that this would destroy the British and Gambian merchants at **Bathurst** helped persuade the British government to delay the cession until after World War I, when subsequent events made the French abandon

their designs on the middle river areas. Denton's main contribution to domestic Gambian politics was to appoint **S. J. Forster Jr.** to the **Legislative Council** in 1906 in succession to his father; Denton had earlier appointed him acting colonial registrar and was impressed by his talents. After retiring from the Gambia in December 1911, Denton returned to England, where he died on 9 January 1928.

**DIAKHOU, MA BAH (also known as MA BA or MABA JAAKHU (c. 1809–1867)).** Ma Bah Diakhou was the son of N'Dougou Pende Bah, a **Fula Torodo** Koranic teacher from a largely **Wolof** area of **Baddibu**, and a Wolof mother. He received Koranic education in Cayor and then later taught the Koran in **Jolof**. While in Jolof, Ma Bah married the niece of its king and thus forged ties with the premier Wolof state. After his father's death in 1827, he returned to Baddibu to assume his father's responsibilities. Around 1850, Ma Bah had a meeting with **Al Hajj Umar Tall** at the village of Kabakoto, and was then chosen as the **Tijaniyya** representative in Baddibu; he continued to teach the Koran in Baddibu for the next 10 years, gradually building up a considerable following.

In 1861, Governor **G. A. K. D'Arcy** launched an offensive against the King of Baddibu, Jeriba Marong, who was accused of harassing **Bathurst** traders. The British forces first attacked a **Marabout** town, Suwarekunda. Although Ma Bah had helped defend the town against the British, he later changed sides, aided the British in the course of their invasion, and helped to arrange the peace terms. After the war, Marong sought revenge on this potential enemy with such a large **Muslim** following, and sent his son to kill Ma Bah. Instead, the son was killed by Ma Bah's followers, and the revolt in Baddibu began. Within a short period of time, the Marabout forces had overcome their **Mandinka** overlords, the king was killed, and large numbers of his followers were forced into exile.

The success of Ma Bah's revolt caused other Marabouts on the north bank of the **Gambia River** to look to him for aid, and in May 1862, Ma Bah sent his army into **Niumi** to aid his fellow Muslims. This was partially successful, with Niumi (although remaining independent) thereafter paying him tribute through his lieutenant, Amer Faal. A further campaign against Saloum was also generally successful, so that by the fall of 1863, the Marabout forces that acknowledged



Ma Bah controlled most of the territory between the **Gambia River** and the Saloum River, except for part of Niimi. In June 1865, he sent his forces northward into Jolof; within a few months, he was in almost complete control of that Wolof state. Ma Bah was less successful on the south bank of the river, his one attempt to defeat the **Soninke** there resulted in a decisive defeat at Kwinella in **Kiang** in 1863.

Ma Bah's successes worried the French authorities, who aimed to dominate the trade of the **Serere** states of Sine and Saloum. Although they recognized him as the *almami* of Baddibu and of Saloum by treaty in 1864, the French governor, Jean Pinet-Laprade, disturbed over his growing power and influence, led a large army to strike at Ma Bah's forces near Kaolack in 1865. Ma Bah's capital, Nioro, and other Marabout towns were destroyed, but many Europeans were killed or wounded during the campaign and Pinet-Laprade withdrew his forces northward.

This proved to be Ma Bah's final success. In 1867, he accompanied his army in an invasion of the kingdom of Sine, the last Soninke state standing between his kingdom and the French. But the Serere *tyeddo* repulsed the invading forces in a major battle at Somb in July 1867 and, after the battle, Ma Bah's body was discovered on his prayer mat. With his death, the most important threat to European power in the Senegambia ended. He had come very close to restoring the old Jolof empire by utilizing the militant forces of Islam that he discovered in Baddibu, Saloum, and Jolof, but none of his successors came close to unifying the Senegambia. Ironically, the wars launched by Ma Bah had weakened the Senegambian states to the extent that the French and British found little resistance to their further penetration of the interior in the following two decades.

**DIBBA, SHERIFF MUSTAPHA (1937–2008).** The son of Mustapha Dibba, a **Mandinka** farmer (who became district chief of Central **Baddibu** in 1965), Dibba was born in Salikene in the Central Baddibu district of the **North Bank Division** on 10 January 1937. He was educated at **Armitage School** and then at the Methodist Boys' High School, **Bathurst** (1955–1957). He then worked briefly as a clerk for the United Africa Company, until resigning in 1959 to work for the newly formed **People's Progressive Party** (PPP).

Dibba was particularly active in organizing the youth wing of the party and stood successfully as the PPP candidate for Baddibu in the

first national general election in 1960. He transferred to the new constituency of Central Baddibu in 1962, which he represented for the PPP, until he broke with the party in 1975. In June 1962, he became minister of local government and lands. In October 1963, he added labor to his portfolio and was responsible for dismissing, or forcing to retire, seven **Protectorate** chiefs in March 1965. After the 1966 election, he was appointed minister of works and communications, and replaced **Sheriff Sisay** as minister of finance in December 1967. He was now the second-ranked member of the party after the prime minister, **Dawda Jawara**.

When The Gambia became a republic in 1970, Dibba was chosen to be vice president, while continuing as minister of finance. However, he was forced to resign from the first post in September 1972 and dismissed from the latter post a few weeks later. As partial compensation, he was appointed to be the first Gambian envoy to the European Economic Community, but this was a less prestigious position. His downfall was in part the result of the “*butut scandal*”; his brother, Kutubo, had been arrested smuggling Gambian currency and other contraband goods into **Senegal** in August and was found to have been working out of No. 1 Marina, Sheriff Dibba’s official residence.

In July 1974, Dibba was recalled from Brussels by President Jawara and made the first minister of economic planning and industrial development, but at the end of July 1975, he was accused of seeking to unseat Jawara through a cabinet revolt and was dismissed. Dibba later blamed his downfall on a group of **Banjul Wolof** cabinet opponents, **A. B. N’Jie**, **M. L. Saho**, and **A. S. Jack**. He was subsequently expelled from the PPP in August and on 7 September launched his own political organization, the **National Convention Party** (NCP). Dibba sought to portray Jawara as a dictatorial leader and accused him of presiding over a corrupt and incompetent administration.

In the 1977 parliamentary election, Dibba was reelected in Central Baddibu, but the NCP captured only four other seats in the **House of Representatives**. It became the official opposition, with Dibba appointed “leader of the opposition.” After the abortive **coup of 1981**, he was arrested and detained for more than a year on suspicion of complicity, before being exonerated by the courts and released in July 1982. During the 1982 presidential election, he campaigned for the presidency from his cell, managing to secure 52,095 votes, 28 percent of those cast. But the accusations of NCP involvement in the

abortive coup, though never proven, damaged its political reputation, and the party was fortunate to retain three seats in the House. Dibba himself was defeated in Central Baddibu by **L. K. Saho** by 120 votes after a hard-fought contest. Upon his release, Dibba continued as the major spokesman for the opposition against continued PPP rule, though no longer the official “leader of the opposition.”

In the 1987 parliamentary election, Dibba was again defeated in Central Baddibu by Saho; he once again obtained 28 percent of the vote, but was easily defeated by Jawara in the presidential poll. He finally regained Central Baddibu in the 1992 parliamentary election, but won only 22 percent of the vote in the presidential election, outpolling Jawara in only three constituencies. Despite Dibba welcoming the **1994 coup**, he was barred from political office and the NCP was one of three parties banned by the military junta. When the ban on the NCP was lifted in July 2001, Dibba stood again in the presidential election of October 2001, but was badly defeated, winning just 4 percent of the vote. Subsequently, he made his peace with President **Yahya Jammeh**, allying the NCP with the ruling party. He was rewarded initially with a seat in the **National Assembly** as a “nominated member,” and, in January 2002, with the speakership of the Assembly. However, he was dismissed from both positions in April 2006, having been detained for nine days in connection with the abortive **coup** of Colonel Ndure Cham in the previous month and retired from active politics. He died on 2 June 2008.

**DIOUF, ABDOU (1935– )**. Born on 7 September 1935, at Louga in **Senegal**, Diouf served as president of Senegal from January 1980 to April 2000, when he was defeated in the presidential election of that year by **Abdoulaye Wade**. A technocrat turned politician, Diouf was singled out for high office at an early age by the first Senegalese president, **Léopold Senghor**, whom he served as prime minister before succeeding him in 1980. Diouf pursued Senghor’s vision of a Senegambian union, responding quickly to the Gambian government’s pleas for assistance during the abortive **1981 coup** to overthrow President **Dawda Jawara**. He was able to press the beleaguered Gambian government to agree to a **Senegambia Confederation** in 1982. Gambian reluctance to enter into a closer economic and political union led Diouf to put the Confederation “on ice” in August 1989; it was formally ended later that year. Reflecting his irritation with Jawara’s

perceived obstructionism, Diouf, while offering the Gambian president political sanctuary in Senegal, refused to restore his neighbor through military action against the **Gambia National Army** after the **1994 coup**. Following his electoral defeat in the Senegalese presidential election of 2000, Diouf gave up office without a struggle and was elected secretary general of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (International Organization of French-Speaking States), in October 2002, and reelected in 2006.

**DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONERS (DCs)**. Known until 1944 as **travelling commissioners** or provincial commissioners, DCs were responsible in the colonial period for supervising the activities of district chiefs and village heads and for implementing government policy in the **Protectorate**. They also chaired the Area Councils established in each division in 1961–62 and served as registration officers in elections to the **House of Representatives**. DCs have continued to be the agents of the Gambian central government in the Provinces since independence.

**DRAMMEH, MOMADOU LAMINE (c. 1835–1887)**. A **Serahuli Marabout** from Gunjuru in the kingdom of Khasso, who had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1864, Drammeh returned to **Senegal** in the late 1870s. In the mid–1880s, he contested French domination and was driven to take refuge at Toubacouta in 1886. A French expedition followed Drammeh to the Gambia, and **Musa Molloh**, then an ally of the French, crossed the **Gambia River** with a large army. The combined forces took Toubacouta in 1886; Drammeh escaped, but was subsequently killed in December 1887.

**DUMBUYA, FODI KABBA**. *See* KABBA, FODI.

**DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY**. *See* WEST INDIA COMPANY (DUTCH).

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**ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS), GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH**. A strong supporter of West African unity, The Gambia joined ECOWAS when it

was established in May 1975, seeing membership as a means of reducing its dependency on its large neighbor, **Senegal**, gaining the friendship of **Nigeria** (together with, Togo, one of the two initiators of ECOWAS), and overcoming the severe limitations of its resources through access to a wider regional market. Both the **Dawda Jawara** and **Yahya Jammeh** governments have supported ECOWAS. Sir Dawda Jawara emerged as one of its elder statesmen, serving as its chairman in 1989–90 and again in 1991–92. In August–September 1990, Jawara hosted a meeting of Liberian political leaders in **Banjul** that led to the formation of Government of National Unity in their country; and, even after being overthrown, he served as the leader of the ECOWAS observer team monitoring the Nigerian elections of April 2007. His successor, Yahya Jammeh, also sought to gain ECOWAS approval, following the **coup of 1994**, and structured his major economic policies, **Vision 2020** and the **Gateway Project**, to benefit from the creation of a regional economic union under ECOWAS auspices. President Jammeh has also strongly backed the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) involvement in neighboring countries torn by civil war, sending detachments of the **Gambia National Army** to join ECOMOG forces in Liberia and Sierra Leone. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAMME.** *See* ECONOMY.

**ECONOMY.** The Gambian economy, since colonial days, has been largely a monocrop economy, based on the export of **groundnuts**. Despite attempts by postcolonial governments to diversify into other crops, such as rice and cotton, and to promote manufacturing, fisheries, and **tourism**, both personal incomes and national revenues still depend heavily on groundnut production. Like other monocrop economies, the country has been exposed to the vagaries of external shocks deriving from the uncertainties of crop output, world prices, and the knock-on effects of industrial recession and oil price hikes. These difficulties have been compounded by a very small national territory and **population**, a low **educational** and skills level, and a very heavy dependence on external markets and financial support. Gambian economic performance is also strongly affected by relations with **Senegal**, as it has been estimated that up to one-third of Gross

Domestic Product derives from the reexport trade across its borders to Senegal and the sub-region.

After initially confounding its critics, who, before independence, claimed the country was unviable, The Gambia enjoyed a measure of economic success until the mid-1970s. A combination of adverse natural conditions and the impact of steep rises in the price of imported oil, then led to mounting crisis, culminating in an attempted **coup in 1981** and near-bankruptcy by 1985. National insolvency led the country to default on its loan repayments to the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, which in turn forced The Gambia to accept an **IMF–World Bank** reform package. The Economic Recovery Programme (1985–90) compelled the government to take unpopular decisions in order to lay the foundations of economic recovery. In keeping with similar IMF–World Bank measures adopted elsewhere, The Gambia was required to cut back on public spending, through reducing the size of the public sector workforce and ministerial budgets, addressing the problems of corruption and inefficiency in public sector management, initiating the sale of state-owned enterprises, floating the currency and abolishing fixed exchange rates, and actively promoting **agriculture** and private enterprise as motors of economic recovery.

By June 1990, sufficient progress had been made for the government to launch the Programme for Sustainable Development, which permitted some easing of cutbacks, while at the same time limiting government intervention in the economy to the facilitation of greater domestic and external private investment. Economic recovery was only achieved through large transfers of foreign aid (80 percent of the development budget is met in this way) and remittances from Gambians working abroad.

Despite economic sanctions imposed by most of the country's external donors, in response to the **1994 coup**, the **Yahya Jammeh** government has broadly kept to the earlier program of recovery, although some extravagance crept in before the 1996–97 elections, in order to woo the electorate. In due course, external sanctions were lifted and there has since been a partial economic recovery. The steady decline in groundnut exports has been partially offset by a recovery in tourism, which is an increasingly important sector of the economy. In 1996, the government launched its **Vision 2020** policy statement,

aimed at transforming The Gambia into the Singapore of West Africa by 2020. This is premised on the country becoming a regional center for high-technology service industries, although few, outside official circles, believe this is likely.

The Gambia being among the world's poorest countries, in 2007 the government's most immediate priority was poverty reduction, and its Second Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility Programme (2007–11), met with IMF approval and financial support. Although groundnut marketing and processing continued to face serious problems, the remainder of the agricultural sector, together with industry and services, including tourism, fared much better. Inflation and debt servicing costs also fell and the Gambian currency (the *dalasi*) had stabilized. *See also* BANKING; DEMONETIZATION CRISIS.

**EDUCATION.** The Gambia's modern educational system was established during the colonial period and was characterized by an initial heavy reliance on the **Anglican**, **Catholic**, and **Wesleyan** missions and a disproportionate concentration of school facilities in the **Colony** area, to the neglect of the **Protectorate**. Educational provision also favored boys' schooling over that of girls. Most schools are now either directly under state direction or follow government decreed syllabi and are subject to official regulation and oversight. There remains a considerable external voluntary input into educational provision at all levels.

Under both the **Dawda Jawara** and **Yahya Jammeh** governments, there has been an attempt to extend schools into the Provinces; to increase educational opportunities for girls and other neglected social groups, such as adult illiterates; and to tailor educational syllabi to meet national development goals and to overcome poverty. As a result, school enrollment has grown considerably and the number of girls attending schools has increased sharply; there are now slightly more girls than boys at Senior Secondary level. Under the Universal Primary Education policy, the goal is to achieve full school attendance by 2012. Problems remain, both in meeting this target date and in improving the standards of schools and the teaching profession.

In 2007, educational provision was divided into pre-school, a nine-year Lower and Upper Basic (primary and lower secondary) cycle

and a two-year Senior Secondary cycle. In 2005–06, school enrollments were: Lower Basic 154,664; Upper Basic 64,392; and Senior Secondary 26,600. There were 411 Lower Basic, 160 Upper Basic, and 49 Senior Secondary schools. Thirty-six of the latter schools were in the Greater **Banjul** and **Brikama** areas, reflecting both the traditional bias toward these coastal areas and a rapid shift in population to **urban** areas.

Tertiary and vocational education has been extended under the Jammeh government and, reflecting these priorities, in 2007, a separate Ministry of Higher Education, Research, and Scientific Technology was created, with its own secretary of state. The four higher-level institutions are the **University of The Gambia**, established in 1999; the extension and upgrading of the pre-existing Gambia College (teacher training, and agricultural and health studies); the Management Development Institute; and the Gambia Technical Training Institute.

**EROPINA (WUROPANA).** One of the smaller **Mandinka** kingdoms located along the south bank of the **Gambia River**, Eropina was conquered by **Alfa Molloh** and incorporated into his kingdom of **Fuladu** during the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**. In the 20th-century reorganization of the **Protectorate**, it was joined to the old kingdom of **Niamina**. This composite territory was divided into three districts, each under the direction of a chief.

#### **EXCHANGE OF THE GAMBIA FOR FRENCH TERRITORY.**

*See* CESSION OF THE GAMBIA TO FRANCE.

**EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.** One of the two official councils established in British colonies to assist the governor in making decisions, the other being the **Legislative Council**, the Executive Council met for the first time in October 1843. Initially, it had five members, including the governor, all of whom were officials. In 1866, the council was abolished on the establishment of the **British West African Settlements**, before being reconstituted in 1888. Except between 1890 and 1896, when an agent of a British firm, James Topp, served as its “unofficial member,” the council contained officials only until 1947, when three unofficials were appointed. Unofficial representation was



increased to six in 1954; after the 1960 election, unofficials formed the majority for the first time. The council was abolished in October 1963 on the attainment of self-government and replaced by a cabinet appointed by the prime minister.

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**FACTOR.** A factor was in charge of a factory or trading post for British-chartered companies. Most chief factors in the Gambia also administered **James Fort** and the outlying trading stations and applied English common law to all Europeans in their jurisdiction. Although primarily commercial, many factors, particularly during the century-long rivalry between France and Britain, were forced to assume military command as well.

**FAIDHERBE, LOUIS LÉON CÉSAR (1818–1889).** Born in Lille on 3 June 1818, Faidherbe joined the French army in 1840, rising to the rank of general in 1863. Twice governor of Senegal (1854–61; 1863–65), Faidherbe was a principal architect of the early French forward policy in West Africa. He promoted French trade and deployed military force and diplomacy to expand the colony's boundaries to the banks of the **Gambia River**. After leaving West Africa, he commanded the Army of the North during the Franco–Prussian War of 1871 and was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1879. He died on 29 September 1889.

**FARAFENNI.** A fast-growing commercial center at the northern end of the Trans-Gambia Ferry and the main commercial center in **North Bank Division**, Farafenni is also the location of the **Gambia National Army's** engineering base and of a provincial hospital established in 1999. It had an estimated population of 25,000 in 2003.

**FAYE, FATOU LAMIN (1954– ).** Born on 10 February 1954, Faye was educated at Crab Island School and the Gambia High School, before attending Ahmadu Bello University, Kaduna, Nigeria. Following a mid-career break, she attended the University of Huddersfield, England, graduating with a BA and MA in Education. Initially employed

in the Department of Agriculture (1975–79) and subsequently in the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) sector, she retired from the civil service in 2000 to become director of The Association of Non-Governmental Organizations, the coordinating body for NGOs. She was appointed director of the Gambia Technical Training Institute in January 2002, where she worked until her appointment as secretary of state for education in September 2004, a post she retains at the time of writing.

**FAYE, REVEREND JOHN COLLEY (1907–1985).** Faye was born in **Bathurst**, the son of a **Serere** employee of the Public Works Department and a **Wolof** mother. Educated at St. Mary's Anglican School and the Methodist Boys' High School (MBHS), he received a first-class teacher's certificate in 1927 and became a tutor and later headmaster (1932–34) at the MBHS, before transferring to St. Mary's Anglican School, where he became headmaster in 1938. He next became headmaster of the Anglican mission school at Kristikunda in the **Upper River Division** (URD) in 1942, holding this position until his return to Bathurst in 1949. In February 1947, he became the first Gambian to be ordained a deacon of the **Anglican Church** and in the same year, received an MBE for his pioneering work in **education** upriver. He also organized the Gambia Teachers' Union in 1938 and was its first liaison officer (1938–42).

Faye's political career began in 1940 when he was elected to the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** as a candidate of the **Rate Payers' Association**; he transferred to the **Joloff Town** ward in 1941 and resigned from the council in November 1942 on being posted to Kristikunda. In November 1947, he was appointed to the **Executive Council** by Governor **Andrew Wright** to represent the URD on the recommendation of its commissioner, in recognition of his pioneering educational activities in that area. In June 1951, Faye was instrumental in creating the **Gambia Democratic Party** (GDP), the first political party in the Gambia; that October, he was elected to the **Legislative Council** at the head of the poll in the Bathurst constituency. After the election, he was appointed to the Executive Council, but was twice dismissed from it prior to the 1954 election by Governor **Percy Wyn-Harris**, on the first occasion for a few weeks in July 1952 and then permanently (for a prolonged unsanctioned absence

from the Gambia) in September 1953. Reelected to the Legislative Council in 1954, he was subsequently appointed minister of works and communications, serving until June 1960.

Shortly before the 1960 election, the GDP merged with the **Gambia Muslim Congress** to form the **Democratic Congress Alliance** (DCA), with Faye becoming “leader of alliance,” but the **United Party** (UP) candidate, **H. O. Semega-Janneh**, defeated him at the polls in **Kombo West**. He transferred to **New Town West, Bathurst**, for the 1962 election, but lost again, despite having the support of the **People’s Progressive Party** (PPP). The PPP leader, **D. K. Jawara**, had hoped to appoint Faye as a “nominated” member of Parliament after the election so he could bring him into the cabinet, but Governor **John Paul** refused to allow this; instead, in November 1963, Faye was appointed as the first Gambian high commissioner to the United Kingdom. However, he was increasingly at odds with the PPP government and was recalled in December 1964; he also strongly opposed the PPP’s support for the republic issue in 1965, only reluctantly supported the merger agreement between the PPP and the DCA in August 1965, and resigned from the PPP the following month. He later joined the UP, for whom he unsuccessfully contested the 1968 **Bathurst City Council** election, but he did not reenter national politics and devoted most of his energies to the Anglican Church. He was ordained as a priest in January 1973, retired as Provost of St. Mary’s Cathedral in 1982, and died on 10 December 1985.

**FINDEN, HARRY.** A **Liberated African** Methodist of Ibo (Nigerian) descent, Finden was a successful trader in the **Gambia River** trade, the owner of a shop in **Bathurst** selling spirits and wines, and the agent of *The African Times*, even though he had little formal education and was barely literate. He succeeded **Thomas Refles** as the leader of the Ibo society in 1849. From the early 1860s, he was the acknowledged leader of the Liberated African community in Bathurst. He organized several petitions to the secretary of state for the colonies and also raised the grievances of individuals with Governor **G. A. K. D’Arcy**. Initially, D’Arcy respected Finden (he appointed him to command a force of African troops during the **Baddibu War** of 1861), but in December 1865, he be-

lieved a bizarre plot that Finden had plotted to kill all the Europeans in the town. Finden's relations with the British merchants also varied; regarded with hostility by many merchants in the 1860s because of his defense of Liberated African interests, he developed a close relationship with **Thomas Brown** in the early 1870s.

Not surprisingly, Finden was selected in April 1870 to head the first petition to oppose the **cession** of the Gambia to France. He was also a member of the **Gambia Native Association** in 1875–76, although its leader was **J. D. Richards**. Finden continued to be involved in local affairs in the late 1870s, but had disappeared from public view (and had possibly died) by the mid-1880s.

**FIRDAUS, MARIE SAINÉ (1973–)**. Born on 25 April 1973, Firdaus was educated in **Banjul** at St. Joseph's High School (1987–92) and St. Augustine's High School (1992–94). She then attended the International Islamic University in Malaysia (1996–2000), graduating with a LLB, later gaining an LLM in Human Rights and Democratisation in Africa, from the University of Pretoria, South Africa (2006). Admitted to the bar in Banjul in November 2000, she worked as a state counsel (2000–2003), senior state counsel (2004–05), principal state counsel (2006), and as acting deputy public prosecutor (January–May 2007). She was then appointed technical adviser to the Office of the President. As part of a cabinet reshuffle in September 2007, she was unexpectedly brought into the government as attorney general and secretary of state for justice, posts she retains at the time of writing. *See also* WOMEN.

**FITZGERALD, CHARLES (1791–1887)**. Born in Kilkee, County Clare, Ireland, and a distant relative of the Dukes of Leinster, FitzGerald entered the Royal Navy in 1809 and was commissioned as a lieutenant in 1826. In 1838, he was sent to West Africa to help suppress the **slave trade**, but was invalided home to England in 1840. Commander FitzGerald was appointed governor of the Gambia in May 1844, but did not arrive in **Bathurst** until the following December. He inherited a bitter conflict between the colonial secretary, Thomas L. Ingram, who had acted as governor on a number of occasions since 1839, and a group of British merchants (among them

**Thomas Brown**), which he appears to have resolved; he was also popular with the burgeoning **Liberated African** community.

FitzGerald left the Gambia for England in April 1847 and was appointed governor of Western Australia two months later, although he did not arrive there until August 1848. Captain FitzGerald (who should not be confused with the secretary of the **Gambia Committee**, Captain Charles Fitzgerald) left Western Australia in 1855, subsequently retiring to the family home at Kilkee, where he died on 29 December 1887.

**FONI (FOGNI)**. One of the nine **Mandinka** kingdoms along the south bank of the **Gambia River** in the early 19th century, Foni lay south of **Bintang Bolong** and adjoined **Kombo** in the west. During the latter stages of the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, its traditional rulers were overthrown and most of the territory was controlled by adherents of either **Fodi Kabba** or **Fodi Silla**. However, the large **Jola** population resident there resisted conversion and was never completely conquered. In 1887, most of the Jola chiefs placed themselves under British protection and in 1894, they refused sanctuary to Silla's forces. The non-Jola leaders also assumed a pro-British position in the 1890s, thus depriving Kabba of much-needed support. In the 20th-century British reorganization of the **Protectorate**, Foni was divided into six districts, each under the direction of a chief.

**FOON, KEBBA WALLY (1922–2002)**. A **Wolof** Muslim, Foon was educated at the Mohammedan School in **Bathurst** before entering government service. In 1945, he traveled to London to train as a chartered accountant, returning in 1955 to start his own firm in Bathurst. While in Great Britain, he had formed the Gambia League and worked closely with nationalists from other British territories for African independence. In 1957, Foon helped form the **Gambia National Party** (GNP) and became its president. After the GNP ceased to exist in 1960, Foon joined the **Gambia National Union**, which supported the **United Party** (UP), and unsuccessfully contested Bakau for the UP in the 1962 election. On behalf of the UP, he subsequently stood in Bakau (1966); Saloum (January 1971 by-election and 1972 and 1977 general elections); and **Banjul Central** (1977 by-election and 1982 and 1987 general elections), but lost on all occa-

sions. He retired from politics after the 1987 election and died on 8 May 2002.

**FORDE, DR. ROBERT MICHAEL (1861–1948).** A surgeon and medical researcher who had previously served in the Gold Coast since 1891, Forde was appointed colonial surgeon in the Gambia in February 1895 and became senior medical officer in 1904. In April 1901, he discovered the cause of “sleeping sickness,” the *trypanosoma brucei gambiense* carried by tsetse flies, the first major breakthrough in the treatment of this deadly disease. Forde transferred to Sierra Leone as principal medical officer in 1907.

**FOREIGN POLICY.** Gambian foreign policy has always been greatly influenced by the personalities of its heads of state. During **Dawda Jawara’s** leadership (1965–94), The Gambia adopted a broadly pan-Africanist and non-aligned position in its external relations. This meant recognition of Soviet Bloc states (though not the People’s Republic of **China** until 1974) and establishing closer relations with neighbors, most notably **Nigeria** and **Senegal**, and membership of African regional and continental bodies, such as the **Economic Community of West African States**, the **Organization for the Development of the Gambia River Basin**, and the **Organization of African Unity**, and African liberation movements in Lusophone and southern African countries.

However, support for African unity and international autonomy was combined with a pragmatism born of the country’s small size and economic dependence on its former colonial master, **Great Britain**, the **United States**, and Western development agencies, such as the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and the **World Bank**. Its Muslim character, and search for aid partners, also led The Gambia to develop links with the **Islamic world**, principally moderate and wealthy states, such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, as well as pan-Islamic aid agencies. Thus, despite its pan-African identification and symbolic links with the Soviet Bloc, Gambian foreign policy was essentially moderate and pro-Western in outlook, reflecting both the preference of President Jawara and his country’s historic political and economic ties to the West and its post-independence development needs, which were largely met by Western countries and aid agencies.

Following the **1994 coup**, the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** was initially ostracized by Western countries and aid agencies, leading the new administration to cultivate relations with such countries as Cuba, Libya, and Taiwan, all of which provided vital assistance in this difficult period. Yet the economic policies of the military junta and its successor, the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**, have adhered to the liberal-capitalist development programs of the Jawara period. By 1997, when a fresh round of presidential and parliamentary elections had met with qualified Western approval, American, European Union, and IMF/World Bank aid was fully restored. Despite periodic outbursts of anti-Western rhetoric on the part of President **Yahya Jammeh**, and, more recently, overtures to Iran and Venezuela, foreign policy has once again shifted back toward rapprochement with Western states and support for practical expressions of African unity, such as peace-brokering in the West Africa sub-region and contributing to peacekeeping forces, both at home and further afield. President Jammeh's denunciation of Islamic terrorism and participation in **United Nations** peacekeeping operations have also helped improve relations with the West. *See also* AFRICAN UNION; COMMONWEALTH, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.

**FORSTER, SIR SAMUEL JOHN, JR. (1873–1940).** The son of **Samuel John Forster Sr.**, and an Ibo by descent, Forster was born in **Bathurst** on 27 June 1873. He was educated at the Wesleyan Boys' High School in Bathurst and the Anglican Church Missionary Society Grammar School in Freetown, before traveling to Britain to attend first Epworth College in Rhyl, North Wales, and then the Liverpool Institute. He then read law at Merton College, Oxford (1893–96), before becoming the first Gambian (excluding the Bathurst-born resident of Lagos, J. E. Shyngle) to qualify as a barrister (at the Inner Temple) in 1898. He returned to practice law as a barrister and solicitor in Bathurst in 1899 and continued to do so until the 1930s. A pillar of the **Aku** establishment in Bathurst, Forster founded the Bathurst Reform Club in 1911 and remained as its president for much of his life; he was also a leading lay member of the **Wesleyan Methodist Church**.

Official confidence in him was first seen in his appointment as acting colonial registrar and public prosecutor by Governor **George**

**Denton** in March 1901. He held other official posts in the 1920s and 1930s, twice serving as police magistrate (1928; 1929–30) and was made Coroner of St. Mary's Island in 1929. He was awarded an MBE in 1927, an OBE in 1930, and became the first Gambian to receive a knighthood in 1933.

Forster's most important contribution to public life was as a member of the **Legislative Council** for over 30 years. First appointed temporarily by Denton in July 1906, he was appointed permanently in November 1906, taking the oath of office for a further five-year term in March 1907. He was subsequently reappointed on six successive occasions, remaining a councilor until his death on 9 July 1940, such was his standing with the colonial administration. Particularly in his earlier periods of service on the council, Forster was willing to support local opposition to government policy, but he adopted an increasingly conservative stance in later years. Perhaps the prime example of this was his determined support for the legislative and other reforms introduced by Governor **H. R. Palmer** in the early 1930s.

Forster was also heavily involved in local politics. In 1917, he founded the informal Committee of Gentlemen to represent the interests of the Aku elite. Initially, in 1920, he was willing to support the **National Congress of British West Africa**, contributing to the fund, which enabled **E. F. Small** to attend its inaugural conference at Accra. But in 1920, concerned by its apparent radicalism, he turned decisively against both the Congress and Small. In order to combat Small's influence in Bathurst, he supported the establishment of the **Gambia Representative Committee** (GRC) in 1926 and the later attempts of the GRC to gain control of the **Bathurst Urban District Council**. He also strongly opposed the **Rate Payers' Association**.

**FORSTER, SAMUEL JOHN, SR. (c. 1830s–1906).** Forster was the son of a freeborn Ibo trader who had migrated voluntarily from southeast Nigeria to Freetown and then moved on to **Bathurst**. A Wesleyan Methodist (either by birth or conversion), he worked as a clerk in the Commissariat Department in Bathurst before resigning to concentrate on commerce. He specialized in trading in rice and, thanks to family connections in the interior, he prospered; by 1875,



he was one of the wealthiest men in Bathurst. He later expanded his business; by the mid-1880s, he was importing clothing and other goods from Europe as a merchant.

Forster first became involved in politics in 1870 as part of a deputation, which called on Governor **A. E. Kennedy** in May 1870 to declare its opposition to the **cession** of the Gambia. He was a member of the **Gambia Native Association**, which opposed cession in 1875–76, but did not support its later petitions against the government. He was appointed as a justice of the peace in 1884; deputy sheriff in 1885; and was added to the **Legislative Council** in December 1886, as a second African member and as a counter to the more radical **J. D. Richards**.

When Administrator **G. T. Carter** reconstituted the Legislative Council in December 1888, he dropped Richards, but retained Forster, who was also granted the lucrative contract to supply the government with provisions. In the indirect “election” to the council organized by Administrator **R. B. Llewelyn** in August 1895, Forster received fewer votes than Richards (and **H. C. Goddard**), but was reappointed for a further five-year term; he was again outpolled by Richards in the second “election” of November 1900, but was once more reappointed. Although generally supportive of government policy, Forster was not uncritical; in 1894, for example, he opposed a proposed salary increase for Llewelyn. He also used *The Gambia Intelligencer*, a newspaper he helped establish in July 1893 and edited, to criticize the government, particularly with regard to its actions in the **Protectorate** and its failure to control **Musa Molloh**. In addition, he defended the commercial interests of the merchants to the hilt, for example leading the opposition to the government’s Customs Tariff Ordinance of 1896.

Despite increasing infirmity, Forster was reappointed once more by Governor **George Denton** in November 1905, but was unable to complete his term. In June 1906, he left Bathurst for the Canary Islands to try to recover his health, but died there on 15 October 1906. His son, **Samuel John Forster Jr.**, replaced him on the council.

**FORSTER, SMITH AND COMPANY.** One of the oldest British trading firms in the Gambia (and the Gold Coast), its senior partner for many years was Matthew Forster (c. 1786–1869). Forster, the Liberal

member of Parliament for Berwick upon Tweed between 1841 and 1853, had been involved in the West African trade since at least 1817. In that year, his younger brother, William (1793–1849) transferred from Gorée to **Bathurst**, where he served as the company's agent until his death. After the death of Matthew Forster in September 1869, the firm's business was drastically reduced. Shortly before the death of the surviving partner, Forster's son, John, in January 1873, the firm's assets were transferred to two of its former employees, James Lintott and Peter Spink. In turn, Lintott and Spink traded in the Gambia until around 1878.

**FOWLIS, ROSAMOND AROENKEH (1910–1994).** An **Aku**, and one of the first Gambian **women** to take a prominent part in public life, she was born in **Bathurst** on 3 October 1910 and educated locally and at a college in Leicester, England. She taught domestic science for 35 years, during which time she was elected president of the Gambia Teachers' Union (1941–44), and appointed as a member of the Gambia Education Board in 1945. Fowlis, who was awarded an MBE, died on 20 August 1994.

**FULA (FULBE, FULANI, PEUL).** A pastoral people whose original homeland was in the vicinity of the upper Senegal River, the Fula established themselves throughout the western and central Sudan as far east as the Cameroons between the 13th and 18th centuries. They were instrumental in the creation of theocratic states in the **Futa Jallon** and northern Nigeria.

The Portuguese reported contact with Fula in the **River Gambia** region as early as the 15th century and they were present in large numbers in the upper Gambia region in the 19th century, where, although living in **Mandinka** states, they maintained close ties both with **Futa Toro** and Futa Jallon. **Alfa Molloh**, in his revolt of the 1860s, used the Fula to create his kingdom of **Fuladu**, while **Ma Bah Diakhou** was the son of a Torodo Fula from the Futa Toro. The principal Fula dialect-based sub-groups in 19th-century Gambia were the Fula Firdu, Fula Futo, and the Torodo. The Fula are also closely related to the **Tukulor**; indeed, in recent censuses, the two ethnic groups have been combined. According to the census of 2003, the Fula are now the second largest ethnic group in The Gambia,

numbering 272,354 (21.9 percent of the Gambian population). *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**FULADU.** A late 19th-century state created by **Alfa Molloh**, with the support of **Al Hajj Umar Tall** and the rulers of **Futa Jallon**, to whom Fuladu remained tributary until 1893, it was later extended by his son, **Musa Molloh**. Subsequently, the British divided Fuladu into three chiefly districts: **Niamina** Dankunku, Niamina East, and Niamina West, which were located in **MacCarthy Island Division**.

**FULBE.** *See* FULA.

**FUTA JALLON.** A highland area in what is now Guinea, with elevations up to 5,000 feet, it is the source of the **Gambia**, Senegal, and Niger **Rivers**. In the early 18th century, **Fula** reformers created a theocratic state there, under elected *almamis*. The Futa Jallon experience acted as a model for **Islamic** reformers elsewhere in West Africa. Many Fula from the Futa Jallon [Fula Futo] regularly migrated to the area that would later become southern **Fuladu** in the **Gambia**. These became an important factor in the success of **Alfa Molloh**; the *almami* of Futa Jallon also loaned him fighting men to oppose the **Mandinka** traditional rulers. The state of Futa Jallon came under French protection in 1888.

**FUTA TORO.** An area adjacent to the middle Senegal River inhabited largely by **Tukulor** and **Fula** people, a new theocratic state was created there by **Qadiriyya Marabouts** in 1776. In the 19th century, it became the center of the empire established by the **Tijaniyya** leader, **Al Hajj Umar Tall**. A training ground for most of the Marabouts who wanted to convert the “pagan” peoples of the Senegambia region, the rulers of Futa Toro also gave direct military assistance to some Gambian Marabout leaders during the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**.

**FYE, SHEIKH OMAR (1889–1959).** The son of Ebriema Fye, a **Wolof** shopkeeper from **Bathurst**, Sheikh (which was a personal name, not a Muslim religious title) Omar Fye was a member of the **Tijaniyya** brotherhood. Probably educated at a mission school, he then worked as a commercial agent (a dealer) for one of the European

firms. Ebriema Fye had been a prominent member of the Muslim community in Bathurst, as one of the trustees of the Mohammedan School between 1903 and his death in 1925, and his son emerged as one of the two candidates to become the first Muslim member of the **Legislative Council** in 1922. But Fye received less public support than his opponent, **Ousman Jeng**, who was duly selected by Governor **C. H. Armitage**. Fye then attempted to increase his popular standing in the community, first by briefly flirting with the **National Congress of British West Africa** and then by winning the backing of *Almami* Omar Sowe, but Jeng remained in official favor and was reappointed to the council in 1927. However, in March 1932, Fye at last replaced his rival.

Fye was reappointed to the Legislative Council for a second five-year term in March 1937. The Gambian government was aware of his growing unpopularity among Bathurst's Muslims, but the only alternative candidate, Jeng, was now too closely associated with **E. F. Small** to be acceptable. Fye was appointed for two more years by Governor **H. R. R. Blood** in March 1942 because no suitably qualified younger alternative could be found, but in fact remained on the council until the first direct election to it in 1947. During this period, Fye generally supported government policy and thus was at odds with the other two African unofficial councilors, Small and **J. A. Mahoney**; there was also growing personal hostility between Fye and Small. By now a wealthy merchant and businessman and the recent recipient of an OBE, Fye was defeated by Small in the 1947 Legislative Council election, and thereafter ceased to be politically active, though he did support the **Gambia Muslim Congress** in the 1950s. He died on 12 December 1959.

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**GALWAY, SIR HENRY LIONEL (1859–1949)**. Born on 25 September 1859 (and called *Gallwey* until 1911), Galway was the son of a British Army doctor. Educated at Sandhurst and commissioned in the 30th Regiment of Foot in 1878, he joined the colonial service in 1882 as aide-de-camp and private secretary to the governor of Bermuda. He transferred to Nigeria in 1891, serving in various posts, including

acting governor of Southern Nigeria in 1900, before becoming governor of St. Helena in 1902. By now a lieutenant colonel in the East Lancashire Regiment, he was appointed governor of the Gambia in December 1911 and held the position until January 1914, when he left the colony to become governor of South Australia. Several of the ordinances, which were passed during his term of office, were strongly opposed by the local African community in **Bathurst**, including by **S. J. Forster Jr.** Galway retired in 1920 and died on 17 June 1949.

**GAMBIA.** The origins and meaning of the word “Gambia” are unclear. Even as late as the mid-18th century, “Gambra” was still an alternative spelling for the name of the **Gambia River** and the surrounding country. “Gamba” was another early variant of the name. One local account states that the word derives from “Kambi-yaa,” meaning Kambi’s country, the response of a man called *Kambi* when asked the name of the country by early Portuguese visitors. The definite article has tended to be used casually, or even no definite article used, but the official name of the country became “The Gambia” upon independence; previously the name was prefixed by “the,” rather than “The.”

**GAMBIA ADVENTURERS.** A joint stock company that was allowed by the **Royal Adventurers** in 1669 to assume the monopoly of trade in the areas adjacent to the Gambia, it and its parent company relinquished their trading monopoly to the **Royal African Company** in 1684, after little profit and much litigation in London.

**GAMBIA COMMITTEE.** The Gambia Committee was set up in 1875 to coordinate the opposition in London to the **cession** of the Gambia to France. Its secretary was Charles Fitzgerald, a retired officer of the West India Regiment, while its members included two merchants involved in the Gambian trade, **Thomas Quin** and T. C. Chown (the son of **Thomas Chown Jr.**), as well as others involved in the West African trade. In 1875, the committee published a widely circulated pamphlet (written by Fitzgerald) entitled, *The Gambia and Its Proposed Cession to France*.

**GAMBIA CONGRESS PARTY (GCP).** The GCP was formed in October 1962 by **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**, after he had broken away

from the **Democratic Congress Alliance**. Garba-Jahumpa remained as its secretary general until the GCP was wound up in 1968. The GCP, like the **Gambia Muslim Congress** before it, appealed primarily to **Muslim Wolof** from **Bathurst**; it was also closely associated with the **Gambia Labour Union**. The GCP also adopted a radical, pro-Nkrumah, foreign policy.

The GCP formed an electoral pact with the **United Party** (UP) for the 1962 and subsequent **Bathurst Town Council** (BTC) elections; UP support enabled Garba-Jahumpa and other GCP members to be elected to the council, so that at independence it held four of its 15 seats. The GCP also joined the UP in opposing the 1965 republic referendum and in February 1966, they formed an electoral pact for the general election; the sole GCP coalition candidate, Garba-Jahumpa, was elected in Bathurst South. After the election, however, the two parties began to drift apart (opposing each other in BTC elections). In March 1968, Garba-Jahumpa suddenly dissolved his party, which merged with the **People's Progressive Party**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**GAMBIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY (GDP)**. The first **political party** in the Gambia, the GDP was formed in June 1951, out of an earlier "Committee of Union and Progress." Its first (and only) leader was Rev. **J. C. Faye**. The GDP, which was established to support Faye's candidature in the 1951 **Legislative Council** election, derived the bulk of its support from the **Aku** and **Wolof** communities in **Bathurst**, including civil servants, traders, commercial clerks, and some of the more elderly former supporters of **E. F. Small**. Many GDP supporters were **Christians**, but the party also attracted support from a number of **Muslims**.

Faye headed the poll in Bathurst in the election, thanks to the GDP's superior organization, his support from both the Christian and Muslim communities, and his willingness to criticize the unpopular administration of Governor **Percy Wyn-Harris**. Faye stood again as the GDP candidate in the 1954 election and was once more elected, although finishing behind the **United Party** (UP) leader, **P. S. N'Jie**, in the poll. In 1955, the GDP formed a tactical alliance with the UP against the **Gambia Muslim Congress** (GMC) for the **Bathurst Town Council** election, but this pact had broken down by 1957. By

1959, the GDP was on closer terms with the GMC and in April 1960, the two parties merged to form the **Democratic Congress Alliance**.

**GAMBIA FIELD FORCE.** The Field Force was established in 1958 to replace the disbanded **Gambia Regiment**. A paramilitary unit, it had 140 men initially, a figure that might have risen to as many as 500 by the early 1980s. The Field Force, though under the Inspector General of Police, had a separate command structure from the police force and was deployed principally to deal with civil unrest in the capital and to maintain order in the **Provinces** at election time. A sufficient number of the Field Force either joined the attempted **coup of 1981**, or refused to support the government, for the latter to disband it in 1982. It was replaced by a new **Gambia National Army** in 1984.

**GAMBIA LABOUR UNION (GLU).** The GLU was established in May 1935 by **E. F. Small** at the culmination of a bitter internal feud within the **Bathurst Trade Union (BTU)**, the first Gambian **trade union**. Small was its first chairman and remained its leader until his death in 1958. Like the BTU, the GLU catered primarily for artisans, but its membership remained tiny and the union was almost totally ineffective. After Small's death, the GLU was superseded by the more militant **Gambia Workers' Union**; the GLU played no part in the industrial disturbances of 1960–61.

In 1962, the GLU was taken over by the **Gambia Congress Party** led by **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**. Soon after, the union severed its ties with the pro-Western International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to which it had affiliated in 1951. In 1967, it affiliated to the pro-Soviet World Federation of Trade Unions, which henceforth provided much-needed financial support. The GLU also established ties with North Korea, again largely to secure external funding. But it was quite unable to build up an effective membership base in The Gambia, primarily because of its consistent opposition to strikes. Despite its external connections, the GLU denounced the **1981 coup** (admittedly after its suppression), but remained a largely ineffective organization. It was still officially listed by the Labour Department in 2006 as one of the Gambian trade unions, but by this time was no longer active.

**GAMBIA MINERALS LIMITED.** A British company, it was formed to explore and exploit deposits of ilmenite ore (a source of rutile and titanium oxide) at a time of increased world prices. Gambian deposits were found to be marginal, but construction began, nevertheless, in 1956 of a railroad, electric dry mill, and other facilities. Although the company invested more than £1 million, the entire operation was closed down in 1959 because the world price of rutile had fallen to the point where it was unprofitable to continue. Renewed interest in rutile mining was expressed in 2006, but in February 2008, the government closed down the operations of Carnegie Minerals, the Australian mining company involved, charging it with committing “economic crimes.”

**GAMBIA MUSLIM CONGRESS (GMC).** The GMC was formed by **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa** (who became its general secretary) in January 1952 from about 40 **Muslim** organizations, including the **Bathurst Young Muslims Society**. The GMC, which was endorsed by **Sheikh Omar Fye** and *Almami* Mama Bah, drew its support largely from educated Muslim **Wolof**, particularly those employed in the civil service or as commercial clerks. The party sought to combine religious affiliation with political activity, but was not successful in this, although individual members did gain some political standing. Its candidate, Garba-Jahumpa, was reelected to the council in 1954 and appointed minister of agriculture, but was discredited by his close association with Governor **Percy Wyn-Harris**. This weakened the GMC, which was outflanked by its rivals, the **United Party** and **Gambia Democratic Party (GDP)**, until 1959, when its involvement in the Committee of Citizens established to oppose the limitations of the 1959 constitution of Governor **Edward Windley**, brought it back into the political mainstream. The GMC was also now drawing close to the GDP; in April 1960, the two parties merged to form the **Democratic Congress Alliance**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**GAMBIA NATIONAL ARMY (GNA).** The GNA was formed in 1984 following the earlier dissolution of the paramilitary **Gambia Field Force**. A separate Gambia National Gendarmerie (subsequently renamed Tactical Support Unit) was merged with the army



proper following the **1994 coup**. Training was initially provided by **Great Britain** and later conducted by a **Nigerian** military mission, which was withdrawn after the 1994 coup. The command of the army then passed to Major (later Colonel) Baboucarr Jatta (1960– ), one of the five pre-coup Gambian majors. Jatta remained as army commander until January 1999, also becoming chief of staff of the Gambian armed forces; after losing this post in November 2004, he subsequently served as secretary of state of the interior in the **Yahya Jammeh** government (2005–06). Maintaining military discipline since 1994 has been difficult and there have been several unsuccessful **coup** attempts by disaffected soldiers, notably one led by Colonel Ndure Cham, the chief of defence staff, in March 2006.

The current strength of the GNA is estimated at 1,900, divided into two infantry battalions and an engineers' squadron, National Guard, and Presidential Guard. Also, a 70-strong naval unit operates four in-shore patrol boats. Despite its small size and limited military resources, elements of the GNA have seen service with peacekeeping forces in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Eritrea, and Darfur in Africa, and further afield in Bosnia, East Timor, and Kosovo. The GNA's main base is at **Yundum**, while the chief of defence staff and army commander at the time of writing is Major General Lang Tombong Tamba, who was appointed in March 2006 in the aftermath of the coup led by his predecessor, Colonel Ndure Cham.

**GAMBIA NATIONAL FLAG.** This consists of three equal horizontal bands of red, blue with white edges, and green. The red represents the sun or savanna; the blue, the **Gambia River**; and the green, the land and **agriculture**. The narrower white bands represent peace.

**GAMBIA NATIONAL GENDARMERIE.** *See* GAMBIA NATIONAL ARMY.

**GAMBIA NATIONAL PARTY (GNP).** A Colony-oriented **political party** formed in July 1957 by a small number of educated **Bathurst** citizens, previously active in an informal Committee of Gentlemen. Its leadership included E. J. Samba, a trader with a radical reputation; **M. B. Jones**, an outspoken anticolonial journalist; J. W. Bidwell-Bright, a leading businessman and owner of *The Vanguard* (from

1958); and **K. W. Foon**, an accountant and the party's president. Although the GNP never had much popular support, it took an active part in the public deliberations on the revision of the **Edward Windley** constitution prior to the 1960 general election. However, its leaders were divided over the issue and the party split. In 1960, Jones was elected to the **House of Representatives for Soldier Town**, Bathurst, but as an independent, since the GNP had ceased to function.

**GAMBIA NATIONAL UNION (GNU).** A small **Colony-based political party** formed in late 1960 by **Sanjally Bojang**, after his expulsion from the **People's Progressive Party**; its other members included **K. W. Foon**, previously of the **Gambia National Party**, a former member of Parliament turned **Protectorate** chief, Landing Omar Sonko, and possibly **M. E. Jallow** and **Omar M'Baki**. In the 1962 election, it campaigned for the **United Party (UP)** and by 1965, most of its members had either joined the UP or had ceased to be active. The GNU was briefly revived as a **trade union** by Tairu A. K. John (who had been an unsuccessful UP candidate in the 1966 election), but collapsed following the failure of a general strike in February 1967.

**GAMBIA NATIVE ASSOCIATION (GNAssocn).** The GNAssocn was established in 1875 by a group of traders and shopkeepers to coordinate the opposition of the **Liberated African** community to the **cession** of the Gambia to France. Its first secretary was **J. D. Richards**, with other committee members including **Harry Finden** and **S. J. Forster Sr.** Under a new leader, Jeremiah D. Jones, a shopkeeper and trader originally from Sierra Leone, the GNAssocn spearheaded local opposition to the policies of Administrator **V. S. Gouldsbury** in the late 1870s and early 1880s; however, it welcomed the appointment of Richards as the first African member of the **Legislative Council** in March 1883. The GNAssocn, which also called for the establishment of a town council and other municipal and legal reforms, ceased to function by the late 1880s.

**GAMBIA NATIVE DEFENSIVE UNION (GNDU).** The GNDU was established in early 1919 at **Kaur**, a trading depot on the **Gambia River**, by a group of young, educated, **Aku** from **Bathurst** to expose

the failings of the Gambian government. All its known members were employed as clerks, traders, or commission agents by private-sector firms; none was currently in government employment. The first secretary of the GNDU was **E. F. Small**, who was then employed as a trader at Kaur by the French commercial firm, Maurel et Prom; its other members included Cyril J. D. Richards (1897–?), one of the sons of **J. D. Richards**, and Benjamin J. George (died 1945), a former government clerk who had recently been dismissed from the Treasury Department for refusing to work in the **Protectorate**. In October 1919, Small converted the GNDU into the committee to select a Gambian delegate to attend the Accra Conference of 1920 that resulted in the establishment of the **National Congress of British West Africa**.

**GAMBIA OILSEEDS MARKETING BOARD.** *See* GAMBIA PRODUCE MARKETING BOARD.

**GAMBIA PARTY FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS (GPDP).** The GPDP was founded in 2004 by its leader and secretary general, Henry Gomez (c. 1964– ), a businessman. Although initially based at New Jeshwang, near **Banjul**, Gomez subsequently moved to Hamburg, Germany, before returning to The Gambia in late 2006. Gomez appeared torn between some understanding with President **Yahya Jammeh** and joining the anti-government **National Alliance for Democracy and Development**. After Gomez was barred on 28 August 2006 from contesting the 2006 presidential election by the **Independent Electoral Commission** for living abroad, the GPDP joined the **United Democratic Party/National Reconciliation Party** opposition coalition a few days later, but made no impact on local politics. Notwithstanding its ambitious manifesto, the GPDP seemed little more than a one-man organization. The GPDP did not contest the local elections in January 2008. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**GAMBIA PEOPLE'S PARTY (GPP).** The GPP was founded in March 1986 to contest the 1987 parliamentary and presidential elections. Its leaders were **A. M. Camara**, **M. L. Saho**, and **H. O. Semega-Janneh**, all former ministers in the **People's Progressive**

**Party** (PPP) government (Camara and Saho were also members of Parliament at the time of the party's formation). Camara was chosen to head the new **political party**. Prior to the 1987 election, the GPP experienced a number of setbacks. Saho was arrested in London in October 1986 and subsequently convicted on fraud charges; released soon after on compassionate grounds, he tried to rejoin the PPP, but his application was rejected. Another prominent GPP founder member, Suntu Fatty, also quickly rejoined the PPP. The GPP also suffered from a government campaign to discredit it for seeking to raise funds from a Nigerian businessman, Chief Alfred Nzeribe, in return for post-election business concessions and for its perceived pro-**Senegalese** stance.

Despite these difficulties, the GPP managed to field 34 candidates in the 1987 parliamentary election, but it lacked the resources and distinctive political program necessary to achieve much success and failed to win a single seat, though winning 15 percent of the vote. Half of its candidates lost their deposits and even Camara failed to hold on to his seat at **Kantora**. Camara also obtained only 13 percent of the vote in the presidential election. Prior to the 1992 election, the party experienced some high-profile defections to the PPP, including at least four of its parliamentary candidates from 1987, and could field only 17 candidates; though, on this occasion, it did win two seats—**Tumana**, through Mbemba Tamedou and Upper Fulladu West, through M. J. M. “Babung” Phatty. Once again, Camara failed to win back his old seat. Camara also fared badly in the presidential election, this time winning only 8 percent of the vote.

Even though Camara had initially welcomed the 1994 coup, the GPP was barred in 1996, so could not contest the 1997 election. When the ban was lifted shortly before the 2001 election, the GPP supported the **United Democratic Party** candidate, **Ousainou Darboe**, in the presidential election and did not contest the 2002 **National Assembly** election. It also did not contest the 2006–07 presidential and parliamentary elections and is now effectively moribund.

**GAMBIA PRODUCE MARKETING BOARD (GPMB)**. Formerly called the *Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board*, it was created by the British government in 1948 to act as the chief purchasing agent for the **groundnut** crop. It established a fixed payment for nuts and all

groundnut byproducts, based upon the previous year's experience. Its considerable reserves (the difference between the price paid to producers and the price obtained on the world market by the GPMB) were meant to subsidize farmers' income when export prices fell, but became an important part of general government revenues. The name of the board was changed to the GPMB in 1973, when rice, as well as groundnuts, was purchased. As part of the government's divestiture program, the GPMB was sold to the Spanish Alimenta S.A. company, in 1993, and renamed the Gambia Groundnut Corporation (GGC). In 1999, Alimenta ceased operating in The Gambia and the GGC limited its activities to transporting and processing groundnuts. The creation of a new Gambia Agricultural Markets Company as sole purchasers of groundnuts for the 2004–05 buying season was mainly blamed for the collapse in exports for that year. *See also* AGRICULTURE; ECONOMY.

**GAMBIA REGIMENT.** The Gambia Regiment was established in 1940 out of the Gambia Company of the Sierra Leone Battalion of the Royal West African Frontier Force (founded in 1901). In 1941, the Second Battalion was formed. Both battalions fought in the Far East during World War II; they returned to the Gambia in 1945, and after demobilization, selected elements were combined to form the Gambia Company of the Sierra Leone Battalion once again. In 1950, "A" Company became a separate entity and was presented with its colors in April 1951, the only unit of company strength to have them. The company was disbanded for financial reasons in 1958 on the recommendation of Governor **Percy Wyn-Harris**, with some of the soldiers joining the new **Gambia Field Force**. *See also* GAMBIA NATIONAL ARMY.

**GAMBIA REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEE (GRC).** The GRC was established in February 1926 by John Ambrose N'Jai-Gomez (1874–1945), a retired Methodist tide surveyor of mixed **Wolof** and **Manjago** origin, who became its secretary. N'Jai-Gomez was a close associate of **S. J. Forster Jr.** and **W. D. Carrol** and an opponent of **E. F. Small**, and the GRC was established to outline the views of the conservative faction of **Bathurst** society to the under secretary of state, W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, who visited the colony that year.

In October 1930, N’Jai-Gomez revived the moribund GRC, which won at least five out of six seats in the first election to the newly formed **Bathurst Urban District Council** (BUDC) in January 1931; those elected included N’Jai-Gomez and Carrol. GRC candidates continued to dominate BUDC elections until that of December 1934, when four of its members, including N’Jai-Gomez and Carrol, were defeated by candidates of the rival **Rate Payers’ Association**. Subsequently, the GRC faded into obscurity.

**GAMBIA RIVER.** The river that gives its name to the country rises in the **Futa Jallon** uplands of Guinea, some 12 miles northwest of Labe and heads north into eastern Senegal before turning in a westerly direction into Gambian territory at Koina. From here, it meanders across the length of The Gambia before reaching the Atlantic a few miles west of the capital, **Banjul**. The river is 680 miles long overall, with about half its length in The Gambia. It is tidal to the Senegalese border and saline as far as Elephant Island. Salinity and water level vary according to season. The river is 12 miles wide at its estuary, bordered by Cape Point to the south and Jinnak Creek to the north, but only 200 yards wide at the eastern extremity of The Gambia.

For most of its length in The Gambia, the river is bordered by dense growths of mangrove and swamps, where salinity is low. Some of the swamps sustain rice cultivation. Ironstone scarps are a feature of the river in its upper Gambian reaches; where the rock traverses the river, shallow rapids are found. Silt deposited on rock outcrops over time has formed a series of islands, the most important historically being **MacCarthy Island** and **James Island**. Numerous creeks (*bolongs*) feed into the river, the most important of which is the **Bintang Bolong**. A deep bar at the estuary of the Gambia and sufficient draught as far as **Barrakunda**, enabled European sailing ships to trade into the African interior from the 16th century onward, but seagoing vessels no longer go beyond **Kaur** and Kuntaur. Until the advent of modern roads, the river was the principal means of **transport**; during the colonial period, both the government and trading companies constructed a string of wharf towns (*tendas*) along its length to load **groundnuts** and sell imported goods to the local farming communities. The width of the

river has prevented bridge construction; ferries are the only means of crossing.

More recently, the use of the river has declined. Despite plans going back to the early 1960s to harness the river's resources for transportation, irrigation, and hydroelectric power generation, nothing has come of these to date. The reasons have included the collapse of the **Senegambia Confederation** in 1989, the enormous costs of constructing a bridge-barrage across the middle reaches of the river, and the concerns about environmental damage caused by a river barrier, following a major environmental impact study conducted by researchers from the University of Michigan. The most recent Gambian government development plan, **Vision 2020**, no longer gives central place to exploitation of the river. Instead, there is a policy of seeking to develop the waterway for ecotourism, so as to distribute the benefits of **tourism** away from the coastal resorts to upriver communities. Although the numbers of larger animals, such as crocodiles and hippopotami, have been greatly reduced as a result of overhunting, the river attracts a wide range of bird life, which in turn has made The Gambia popular with ornithologists. *See also* ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GAMBIA RIVER BASIN.

**GAMBIA SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (GSRP).** The GSRP was an obscure self-styled Marxist opposition movement formed in early 1980 by "Dr." Gibril L. ("Pengu") George, a disaffected, small-scale, **Aku** businessman. It might have been linked with an abortive Gambia Socialist Party formed in the early 1970s. Banned, together with the **Movement for Justice in Africa-Gambia**, following the discovery of a plot against the government in October 1980, it went underground and now termed itself the Gambia Underground Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party (GUSRWP). It was during this time that **Kukoi Samba Sanyang** returned to The Gambia and joined the movement. On 30 July 1981, members of the GUSRWP, together with disaffected members of the **Gambia Field Force**, launched an unsuccessful **coup** against the government. George was killed during the fighting and Sanyang fled abroad. Although Sanyang continued the struggle in exile, the party itself ceased to exist. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**GAMBIA UNDERGROUND SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY.** *See* GAMBIA SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

**GAMBIA WORKERS' CONFEDERATION (GWC).** The GWC was formed in 1985 as the first viable **trade union** center in The Gambia on the initiative of the **Senegalese** trade union center, the Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal. Its first secretary general was **M. E. Jallow**, the former leader of the **Gambia Workers' Union (GWU)**, which remained a banned organization. After Jallow's death in May 1987, leadership of the GWC passed to Pa Modou Faal, a former employee of the Gambia Insurance Company, who was the leader of the Gambia Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union (founded in 1985).

Unlike the GWU, the GWC has never been a militant organization and has called few (if any) strikes. Faal cautiously welcomed the **1994 coup** on behalf of the GWC, but subsequently proved willing to criticize the **Yahya Jammeh** government, and was detained by the **National Intelligence Agency** in both December 1996 and April 1997 when attempting to travel abroad. Formerly affiliated to the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), the GWC is now an affiliate of the International Trade Union Confederation, which was established in November 2006 through the merger of the WCL and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

**GAMBIA WORKERS' UNION (GWU).** The GWU was founded in December 1956 as a general workers' **trade union**, with **M. E. Jallow** as its first general secretary. After a slow start (the union was not registered until 1958), it organized a successful one-day strike of unskilled laborers in **Bathurst** in February 1960, on the eve of the country's first nationwide election. Rather than seek confrontation, the government set up a wages enquiry and agreed to a 25 percent increase in the minimum wage. This greatly increased the union's popularity. Spurred on by his earlier victory, Jallow called a second two-day strike in January 1961, in pursuit of a much larger pay claim. A large public demonstration organized by the GWU in support of the striking workers was dispersed by the police and Jallow was charged with incitement to riot. This merely inflamed public opinion, which readily identified the GWU's action with the wider



independence struggle; Jallow escaped with a nominal fine and the employers, with the tacit support of the administration, negotiated an acceptable pay rise.

The GWU was now at the height of its popularity, claiming more than 1,100 paying members, but it failed to build on its initial success; by 1967, it had gone into decline. The GWU's difficulties lay in part with Jallow's decision to affiliate it with the anticommunist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in 1963; this divided its membership, promoted misuse of external funding by union officials, and drew Jallow away to Lagos as secretary of the ICFTU's African Regional Organisation (1964–65). Equally damaging were Jallow's decisions to join the **United Party** (UP) in denouncing the 1965 republic referendum and then to stand as an independent candidate (primarily against the UP leader, **P. S. N'Jie**) in the 1966 general election. Finally, Jallow's attempt to regain popular support by organizing another general strike in February 1967 was a dismal failure. Worker support was divided, and Jallow and the GWU were seen as undermining the efforts of the new Gambian government. The GWU had to abandon the strike on its second day and accept terms it had earlier rejected. Another unsuccessful general strike was called in January 1970, which forced the GWU on the defensive in subsequent years.

Union rank-and-file militancy pushed the GWU to call another general strike in July 1975. The government of **Dawda Jawara**, facing an unrelated leadership crisis, decided to settle on favorable terms to the union, but was now deeply suspicious of it. Further industrial unrest in 1976 led to tougher legislation on strike action. GWU militants forced the union into supporting an illegal strike at the Gambia Utilities Corporation (power and water) in the **Banjul** area. This was too much for the government, and it used legislation from colonial days to deregister the GWU in January 1977 for repeatedly failing to send in annual financial returns to the registrar general. It was only in 1982, after the failed **coup** attempt of the previous year, that the government decided to grant temporary recognition to the GWU, following Jallow's constructive role during and after the uprising. Recognition was subsequently withheld when younger and more radical GWU leaders supported workers in an industrial dispute at the Jahally-Pacharr rice project in **MacCarthy Island Division**. The

union was eventually allowed to operate legally, but experienced internal divisions and failed to regain its former prominence. It is now moribund.

**GARBA-JAHUMPA, BALA (1958– )**. Born in **Banjul** on 20 July 1958, the son of **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**, he completed secondary education in The Gambia and then studied in the United States at Suffield Academy (Preparatory Studies) and Vassar College (BA in International Relations and Political Science, 1975–80). A career civil servant, Garba-Jahumpa worked in the Ministries of Agriculture (1981–82; 1987–90) and External Affairs (1982–85, including a one-year posting to the Gambian embassy in Washington, D.C.), and as assistant commissioner, **Upper River Division** (1986–87). After further training in England at the University of Birmingham (MA in Development Administration, 1987–89), he was promoted to principal assistant secretary, Ministry for Local Government and Lands, in 1990.

Soon after the **1994 coup**, Garba-Jahumpa was made minister of finance and economic affairs (1994–95 and 1995–97); he also served briefly as minister of trade, industry, and employment (March–July 1995). He then moved to External Affairs as deputy, then acting Gambian high commissioner in London (1997–2001), and ambassador to Cuba (2001–03). He returned home to become secretary of state (SoS) for works, construction, and infrastructure (2003–06) and then SoS for foreign affairs in October 2006, but was sacked in a cabinet reshuffle in September 2007. He was then appointed as the first Gambian ambassador to Venezuela.

**GARBA-JAHUMPA, IBRAHIMA MOMODOU (1912–1994)**. A Muslim **Wolof** born in **Bathurst**, Garba-Jahumpa was the son of **Momodou Jahumpa**. He attended the Mohammedan School in Bathurst (1925–30), before winning a government scholarship to St. Augustine's High School, where he won several academic prizes. After first working as a commercial clerk (1933–35), he obtained his teaching certificate in 1936 and then worked as a teacher at the Mohammedan School until 1944.

Initially enjoying the political patronage of **E. F. Small**, Jahumpa was appointed assistant secretary of the **Rate Payers' Association** in 1935 and served as secretary of the **Gambia Labour Union** (GLU)

(1942–45), accompanying Small to the World Trade Union Conference in London in February 1945. In June 1942, he was nominated by Governor **W. T. Southorn** to serve on the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** in succession to J. A. N’Jai-Gomez.

In late 1945, Garba-Jahumpa broke with Small (ostensibly over the selection of the Gambian delegate to the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Manchester that October, a position both men sought). In May 1946, he revived the **Bathurst Young Muslims Society** (BYMS) and, standing in his home area of **Half Die** in the 1946 election, he was one of three BYMS candidates elected to the **Bathurst Town Council** (BTC). He remained on the BTC until the end of 1959, serving as its first chairman, before losing his seat in that year’s election.

In January 1947, Garba-Jahumpa established the Gambia Amalgamated Trade Union (GATU) as a rival to Small’s GLU in the hope that its predominantly **Muslim** Wolof membership would vote for him in the 1947 **Legislative Council** election. But the ploy failed and he finished a well-beaten third behind Small and **Sheikh Omar Fye**.

After his election defeat, Garba-Jahumpa wound up the GATU and returned to teaching, first at the Teachers’ Training College at **Georgetown** and then, from 1950, as headmaster of Bakau School. In 1951, he contested the second Legislative Council election, again standing as the candidate of the BYMS. This time he fared better, coming second in the polls, which gave him a seat on the council. He was also appointed to the **Executive Council** and given the new status of “Member of Government,” a proto-ministerial appointment created by Governor **Percy Wyn-Harris**.

In January 1952, Garba-Jahumpa sought to strengthen his position politically by forming the **Gambia Muslim Congress** (GMC) and becoming its general secretary. In the 1954 Legislative Council election, he placed third, but this was enough to give him a seat on both the Legislative and Executive Councils. He was appointed as minister of agriculture and natural resources (a position he held until 1960) by Wyn-Harris, who was widely seen as favoring him over his rivals, **J. C. Faye** and **P. S. N’Jie**. A year later, in 1955, a violent clash in Bathurst between GMC and **United Party** (UP) supporters led to N’Jie’s dismissal as a minister; Garba-Jahumpa was widely thought to have engineered the downfall of his rival. As a result, his personal popularity and that of his party waned. By the late 1950s, Garba-

Jahumpa was politically isolated, but in 1959, a rapprochement between the GMC and the **Gambia Democratic Party** resulted in the merger of the two parties to form the **Democratic Congress Alliance** (DCA) shortly before the 1960 general election. Garba-Jahumpa, who was appointed secretary general of the new party, contested Half Die in the election, but was narrowly defeated by the UP's Joseph H. Joof.

Despite the support of the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP), Garba-Jahumpa fared no better in the 1962 election, this time losing to Joof by just 11 votes. Garba-Jahumpa now abandoned the DCA to form the **Gambia Congress Party** (GCP). In 1965, Garba-Jahumpa joined forces with the UP in successfully defeating the republic referendum. In the 1966 election, he was at last elected to the **House of Representatives** for Bathurst South (Half Die). But in March 1968, he suddenly disbanded the GCP in order to join the PPP. He was rewarded by being made minister of health. He retained **Banjul** South in the 1972 general election and was promoted a few months later to the prestigious Finance Ministry, which he held until his electoral defeat in the 1977 general election. He never stood for Parliament again and faded from public life.

The ultimate political chameleon, at various times Garba-Jahumpa posed as a radical pan-Africanist, cultivating links with Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, and yet was a cooperative member of the Wyn-Harris administration; sought early on to exploit the religious ticket and yet entered into tactical alliances with both his **Christian** rivals, Faye and N'Jie; and, finally, though a spokesman for the **Colony**, readily came to terms with the rural-based PPP in the 1960s and so ensured himself a political future. He died in Banjul on 4 September 1994.

**GATEWAY PROJECT.** The Gateway Project, launched in 2002, is an ambitious **World Bank**-backed scheme to develop The Gambia as a regional center for processing, manufacturing, assembly, and distribution in West Africa, building on its existing regional reexport role and its successes in **tourism**, agro-business, and fisheries exports. The Free Zones Act of 2001 allows for the creation of several customs-free zones, providing a range of services, facilities, and inducements for private investors, commencing with the area around **Yundum** International Airport. This is under the management of a Gambia Investment Promotion and Free Zone Agency. The project is

still in its implementation stage, but is considered by the Gambian government to be a key element in its aim to modernize and expand the country's **economy** in line with its **Vision 2020** program.

**GEORGETOWN.** *See* JANJANBUREH.

**GEREGIA (JEREJA).** The site of a Portuguese settlement on the south bank of the **Bintang Bolong** approximately 20 miles from the village of **Bintang**, the English traded there from the 1650s to the early 18th century.

**GODDARD, HENRY CHARLES (1857–1915).** Goddard was born in **Bathurst** on 31 August 1857, but brought up in England. He was probably the grandson of **W. H. Goddard** and was certainly a mulatto. Having returned to the Gambia in 1882 to work as the manager and agent of the River Gambia Trading Company (whose managing director was his father, William), he was appointed to the **Legislative Council** by Administrator **G. T. Carter** in December 1888. In both indirect “elections” to the Legislative Council in 1895 and 1900, Goddard topped the poll and was duly reappointed; he resigned in January 1905, but served again briefly in 1907. Goddard also served as an “extraordinary” member of the **Executive Council** on two occasions in 1894. Goddard generally supported government policy, but sometimes joined with European and African merchants to criticize particular measures. He retired to live in Portsmouth, England, in May 1907, where he died on 26 August 1915.

**GODDARD, WILLIAM HENRY (c. 1795–1872).** One of the most important European merchants in the Gambia in the 19th century, Goddard moved to **Bathurst** from Gorée with his *Senhora* wife around 1819. He was the first unofficial member of the **Legislative Council**, attending its inaugural meeting in November 1843 (although his official appointment dated from May 1844). He continued to serve on the council regularly until it was downgraded in February 1866, often criticizing what he considered to be excessive government expenditure. In 1860, he established the River Gambia Trading Company, which became the Bathurst Trading Company in 1887. Retiring to England in 1869, having amassed a considerable

fortune in the Gambian trade, he died in Hampstead, London, in late 1872 aged 77.

**GOMES, DIEGO.** Gomes led a Portuguese expedition to the Gambia estuary in 1458, meeting chiefs who in 1456 had received **Alvise da Cadamosto**, traveling upriver to **Kantora**, and trading for considerable amounts of gold. His reports of the rich goldfields of the interior, combined with the gold he brought back, helped convince Europe of the wealth to be had from interior trade. Gomes's reports also led to the first two Portuguese missionaries being sent to the Gambia in an abortive attempt to convert the riverine Africans.

**GOULDSBURY, VALESIOUS SKIPTON (1839–1896).** A former British Army surgeon major, Gouldsbury arrived in the Gambia as its administrator in March 1877. A controversial figure, his policies were strongly criticized by the **Gambia Native Association**. He did, however, appoint **J. D. Richards** as the first African member of the **Legislative Council** in 1883.

In 1881, Gouldsbury led an expedition into the hinterland as far as **Futa Jallon** to investigate trading possibilities and to enter into friendly relations with African rulers, making a number of treaties with them. The expedition was valuable only because it gave the government up-to-date information on the events then transpiring in the interior and because it confirmed what Governor **Richard MacDonnell** had stated in 1849 about the paucity of trading opportunities there. Gouldsbury believed that any profits to be made there would be more than offset by the expenses involved. His negative report helped support the general British attitude that the interior lands were worthless, and it predisposed the Colonial Office to adopt a quiescent attitude toward French expansion into the interior during the 1880s.

After leaving the Gambia in March 1884, Gouldsbury served as commissioner of St. Lucia between 1891 and 1896. He died on 11 November 1896 in England, having left St. Lucia in a vain attempt to recover his health.

**GOVERNMENT HOUSE.** The residence of colonial governors and administrators, situated on the foreshore in central **Bathurst**, it was renamed *State House* after independence and is now the official residence of the president.

**GRANT, SIR ALEXANDER.** Captain Grant was sent from Gorée in March 1816 with two officers, 50 men of the **Royal African Corps**, and 24 artisans with orders to reoccupy **James Fort**, in order to protect British trade rights to the Gambia and to check the **slave trade**. However, he soon discovered that the fort was almost beyond repair and suggested to his superiors that **Banjul** Island be occupied instead. Together with Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brereton, he negotiated the cession of the island for a payment of approximately £25 per year to the King of **Kombo** and took formal possession of the island on 23 April 1816. He renamed it St. Mary's, and established the town of **Bathurst** on it, being responsible for laying out its basic pattern. He built the earliest section of **Government House**, and parts of the barracks he constructed are still used as government offices. He also used all the forces at his command to stop the riverine slave trade and encouraged the missionary activities of the Society of Friends and the **Wesleyan Church**. In 1823, he negotiated the occupation of Lemain Island (renamed **MacCarthy Island**) and ordered the construction of a mud fort, Fort George, which was then manned by a dozen soldiers.

Grant also served as acting governor of Sierra Leone in 1820 and again in 1821; he became the first governor of Sierra Leone to receive a knighthood. He was promoted to major in the 2nd West India Regiment and appointed commandant of the Gambian garrison in April 1822, holding this position until August 1826, when he was succeeded by Captain Alexander Findley (who was later appointed the first lieutenant governor of the Gambia in December 1829).

**GREAT BRITAIN, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** As the former colonial power, Britain maintained close relations with The Gambia in the post-colonial period. It provided the **Dawda Jawara** government with a grant-in-aid during the immediate post-independence period and remained a major aid provider, though a declining one, relative to other donors, subsequently. Britain was also The Gambia's main source of military training and equipment and, in return was granted tropical training facilities. **Yundum** airport was also made available to British military aircraft during the Falklands War in 1982. Although relations between the Jawara government and Britain were close, a range of economic sanctions were imposed by the British government

following the **1994 coup** and only relaxed following the return to elected government after the 1996–97 elections. The **Yahya Jammeh** government has not established the same degree of closeness to Britain as its predecessor and remains sensitive to any perceived act of interference by outside powers. The British deputy high commissioner, Bharat Joshi, was declared *persona non grata* in August 2001, for observing an opposition party gathering, but even so, Britain has committed £3 million for 2007–08 in support of the Gambia's Strategy for Poverty Alleviation. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**GREY-JOHNSON, CRISPIN (1946– )**. Born on 7 December 1946, a member of a leading **Aku** family, Grey-Johnson was educated at the Methodist Boys' High School and the Gambia High School in **Bathurst**, before taking higher degrees at McGill University, Canada (BA Political Science and French, 1968), the University of Oxford (Post Graduate Certificate in Education, 1971), and George Washington University (MA Human Resources Development, 1980). He was employed as a schoolteacher at the Gambia High School (1968–77), before working for the **United Nations** (UN) Economic Commission for Africa until 1996. After a brief period working in the private sector, he joined the Gambian diplomatic service in 1997, serving as ambassador to the United States, Brazil, and Venezuela (1997–99); Gambian high commissioner to Sierra Leone (1999–2002); and Gambian representative at the UN in New York (2002–07). In February 2007, he was appointed secretary of state (SoS) for higher education, research, science, and technology. In President **Yahya Jammeh's** cabinet reshuffle of September 2007, he was promoted to SoS for foreign affairs, a post he retains at the time of writing. Grey-Johnson has also written extensively on African human resources issues.

**GRIOTS**. This is a French word for the traditional caste of praise singers, called *gewel* in **Wolof** and *jali* in **Mandinka**. Courty praise singers acquired a new role after the collapse of traditional rulership and the shift to modern politics, as oral propagandists for the new **political parties** and their leaders.

**GROUNDNUTS (PEANUTS)**. A spreading, hairy, annual leguminous herb (*Archis hypogasa*), the groundnut provides the main cash crop



of Gambian farmers. Groundnuts are planted in April or May, just before the rainy season. Harvesting is normally done by hand, generally during October. The plants are then stacked to dry, and threshing is done after the trading season opens in December. The nuts are then bagged and transported to the buying stations.

The plant, which is native to Brazil, was brought to Europe in the 16th century and was introduced to the Gambia by the Portuguese. However, its cultivation as a cash crop did not begin until the great increase in European demand for fats and oils in the 19th century. The first shipment of groundnuts from the Gambia was in 1830 (to the West Indies), with the first commercial shipments occurring in 1834. In 1890, more than 18,000 tons, worth £130,000, were exported. Groundnut production peaked in 1983–84 at 151,000 tons. Groundnut earnings were the principal source of government revenue and foreign exchange until recently, when **tourism** replaced them as the major foreign exchange earner. The slump in production in recent years, is the result of a combination of environmental and management problems. *See also* AGRICULTURE; ECONOMY; GAMBIA PRODUCE MARKETING BOARD.

**GUINEA COMPANY.** Formed in 1651 by the Commonwealth (which governed England between 1649 and 1660) in expectation of riches to be gained from West African trade, the company (which succeeded the Royalist **Company of Adventurers of London**) sent two trading expeditions to the Gambia. It established a factory on **Bintang Bolong** and sent traders as far into the interior as **Barrakunda**. Costly accidents, illness, and the seizure of company ships by a small Royalist force under **Prince Rupert** in 1652, led the Commonwealth to abandon all attempts to trade in the Gambia.

**GUNJUR.** A town in southern **Kombo**, Gunjur was a **Marabout** stronghold from the 1850s and was the main base of operations of **Fodi Silla** from the 1870s to the 1890s.

**GYE, MASS AXY [GAI] (1946– ).** Born in **Banjul** on 16 October 1946, Gye was employed as an accounts clerk between 1973 and 1976, before training as an auditor, receiving further training in Great Britain and the United States in the 1980s and 1990s. Gye worked as

a senior audit manager for the Gambia Ports Authority until his retirement in October 2001. He was also a leading sports administrator (second vice president of the Gambia Football Association). Gye was unexpectedly appointed secretary of state for youth, sports, and religious affairs as part of a cabinet reshuffle in September 2007, a post he retains at the time of writing.

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**HALF DIE.** A swampy and unhealthy area (also called *Wildman Town* or *Moka Town*) at the southern extremity of **Bathurst**, it was inhabited by its poorer residents. Until protective measures were taken in the 20th century, Half Die was nothing but a sandbank in the dry season and a swamp during the rains. It apparently acquired its name because of the high mortality rate there in the 19th century, particularly in the cholera outbreak of 1869. Since 1966, it has formed part of the Bathurst/**Banjul** South parliamentary constituency.

**HAY, SIR JAMES SHAW (1839–1924).** Born on 25 October 1839, Hay was commissioned in the 89th Foot and served in India during the 1857–58 Indian Uprising. After joining the colonial service, he served in the Gold Coast (1875–80) and as inspector general of police, Mauritius (1880–85). He arrived in the Gambia as administrator in February 1886, but left for Freetown in the following June to serve as acting governor of Sierra Leone and did not return to **Bathurst**. After the death of **Sir Samuel Rowe**, he was promoted to be governor of Sierra Leone (1888–92) and was later governor of Barbados (1892–1900). He died on 20 June 1924.

**HEALTH.** As an impoverished underdeveloped country, The Gambia faces a range of serious health problems, ranging from such established tropical diseases as malaria and water-borne illnesses to the more recent phenomenon of HIV/AIDS. Modern medicine was introduced during the colonial period, but limited resources meant that facilities were severely limited and concentrated in the **Bathurst** area. Under both the **Dawda Jawara** and **Yahya Jammeh** governments, health policy has sought to increase access to health care in

the **Provinces** and to address the issue of providing for young children and mothers. A Primary Health Care program was introduced in the 1980s to deal with high infant mortality, in which international donor agencies have played an important part. To back up the two hospitals in **Banjul** and **Bansang**, a network of health clinics was established across the country and the Jammeh administration has added a third hospital at **Farafenni** in the **North Bank Division**. Health care is closely linked to poverty eradication and **education** under an integrated second Strategy for Poverty Alleviation.

In 2004, health accounted for 6.8 percent of government spending, with 23 percent of resources externally funded. In 2003, 156 doctors, 1,618 nurses, 263 midwives, and 1,000 other health workers were in post. While the government recognizes there is a great deal to be done, with life expectancy at birth only 53 for males and 57 for females, there has been a considerable improvement in the provision of safe drinking water across the country, though adequate sanitary provision lags in the Provinces. Female genital mutilation (FGM) is practiced by an estimated 80 percent of the population. Government policy is ambiguous, in that officially FGM is opposed, but President Jammeh himself has defended it as an aspect of traditional African culture. HIV/AIDS first appeared in 1986 and an estimated 4,000 deaths occurred in 2007. However, the 2005 estimate by the World Health Organization (WHO) that 2.4 percent of adults aged 15–49 were living with HIV/AIDS is much lower than in many other parts of Africa. In January 2007, Jammeh announced that he had found a cure for HIV/AIDS using natural herbs, a claim supported by the then secretary of state for health and social welfare, Dr. Tamsir Mbowe, but condemned by the WHO. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**HOLMES, SIR ROBERT (c. 1622–1692)**. After fighting on the Royalist side in the English Civil War, Holmes was appointed in 1661 as commander of a small fleet of ships outfitted by the **Royal Adventurers** to establish their dominance on the **Gambia River** (which he had previously visited in the 1650s serving under **Prince Rupert**). Holmes occupied Dog Island, cultivated the friendship of the King of **Kombo**, and finally forced the forces of the Duke of **Courland** on St. Andrew's Island to surrender, renaming the island after James, Duke of York, the younger brother of Charles II of England. Although his

action against the Courlanders was unauthorized, English possession of their fort and trading stations was used to force the Courlanders to cede their rights in 1664. In 1663, Holmes was again sent with two ships to the Gambia to unload stores and ascertain the situation of the garrison he had left. When informed of the presence of a hostile Dutch ship in Gambian waters, Holmes sailed northward and captured the Dutch trading entrepôt of Gorée in January 1664. His actions precipitated the second Anglo–Dutch war, for the Dutch States-General dispatched Admiral de Ruyter and 13 ships to recapture Gorée, which they duly achieved.

Knighted in 1666, Holmes was later appointed as an admiral and played an important role in the Second and Third Dutch Wars of 1666 and 1672. A staunch supporter of both King Charles II and King James II, he served as governor of the Isle of Wight from 1667 until his death on 18 November 1692.

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.** The House of Representatives was established by the 1959 constitution of Governor **Edward Windley** and came into operation following the first nationwide election of 1960. It replaced the **Legislative Council**. Initially, the House contained 34 members of Parliament (MPs); 27 of these were elected and seven were nominated, plus a speaker. Nineteen were elected directly by universal suffrage (the voting age was 21) in single-member constituencies and the other eight were elected indirectly by the **Conference of Protectorate Chiefs**. Of the 19 elected members, 12 represented **Protectorate**, and seven **Colony**, constituencies. Although the Protectorate now possessed the majority of elected seats, it remained underrepresented in terms of population. All its MPs had either been born or appeared on the electoral register in the Protectorate or were recognized as being from Protectorate families and, in theory, all MPs were supposed to speak English well enough to be able to take part in parliamentary business.

A constitutional conference in London in July 1961 agreed some changes to the composition of the House; these were implemented after the 1962 election. The number of directly elected members was increased from 19 to 32; the Colony's representation remained at seven, with that of the Protectorate increasing to 25. The number of chiefs was reduced to four; there was also one ex-officio and two nominated

members (who were not permitted to vote). Prior to the 1966 election, the number of **Bathurst** seats was reduced from five to three, with the additional two seats being granted to the Provinces; the number of directly elected seats was increased to 35 in 1977 and to 36 in 1987, with all MPs still being elected by the first-past-the-post system. In 1982, the number of indirectly elected chiefs was increased by one to five, while by 1992, there were eight “nominated” MPs, representing special-interest groups, such as **women**, business, and **trade unions**.

Initially, the House met three or four times a year, but by the 1990s, it was meeting as many as eight times a year, with sittings lasting up to eight days.

Following the **1994 coup**, the House of Representatives was abolished. It was replaced in 1997 by the **National Assembly**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**HUNGRY SEASON.** An excessive concentration on **groundnuts**, the one cash crop of the Gambia, poor roads, and a faulty system of distribution of local surpluses of foods led to chronic food shortages by the early 1930s for the period just before harvest time. In some of the upper river areas, near-famine conditions prevailed during this “hungry season.” The government responded by importing large quantities of usually inferior rice for distribution to the people. From the 1950s, more farmers were induced to plant rice, fertilizers were used, ox-plowing schools were started, and foreign rice experts were brought to the **Protectorate**. Increased rice production, coupled with improved market facilities and all-weather roads, mitigated the hungry season that was once an accepted part of the lives of many Gambians. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

**HUNTLEY, SIR HENRY VERE (1795–1864).** The son of an Anglican clergyman, Huntley joined the Royal Navy in 1809 and served on the West Indian and North American stations and in the Mediterranean before being transferred to anti-**slave trade** duties on the west coast of Africa. By now a captain, he was appointed lieutenant governor of the Gambia in December 1839, arriving in **Bathurst** the following April.

Huntley found the **Colony** in debt, the problems of the **Liberated Africans** still unresolved, and British prestige in the upper **River**

**Gambia** at a very low level. He persuaded **Suling Jatta**, the King of **Kombo**, to cede Upper Kombo to the Crown for the resettlement of Liberated Africans. He also restored British prestige on **MacCarthy Island**, following a period of factional fighting, although a treaty of protection with the chief was disavowed by the Colonial Office. Huntley was not popular with the British merchants, however, who disapproved of his policy in the interior and accused him of wasting money on improvements to **Government House**. Huntley left the Gambia in May 1841, following his appointment as lieutenant governor of Prince Edward Island, and afterward served in the consular service in Luanda and in Santos, Brazil. He also later wrote a two-volume account of his career in colonial service in West Africa, including his period in the Gambia.

**HYDARA, DEYDA (1946–2004)**. Born on 9 June 1946 in **Banjul**, the son of a Mauritanian grocer, and educated at primary level in Banjul, Hydara moved with his family to Senegal, where he attended secondary school and subsequently took a degree course in journalism at the University of Dakar. He returned to The Gambia in 1970 to work for the newly established local radio station, Radio Syd, and later as the local representative of the Agence France Presse news agency. With two other journalists, Pap Saine and Baboucar Gaye, he set up two newspapers, *The Senegambia Sun* in 1983 and *The Point* in 1991, serving as the senior editor of the latter. He quickly earned the hostility of the new **Gambia National Army** junta in 1994, by criticizing their illegal seizure of power. His fearless journalism marked him out for further harassment by the authorities. At the time of impending new draconian press legislation, which he vigorously opposed, Hydara was shot dead on 16 December 2004 by unknown assailants as he left his newspaper offices in Fajara. His murder has become a cause célèbre, both internationally and locally; this is principally because no thorough investigation of his death has been carried out by the authorities and the **Yahya Jammeh** government is widely believed to be involved in his shooting. *See also* NEWS MEDIA.

**HYDARA, SADIBOU (1964–1995)**. Born at Dippakunda, near **Banjul**, in April 1964, a Gambian Muslim of Mauritanian origin, Hydara spent most of his childhood in Sierra Leone. He joined the Gambia

National Gendarmerie in 1984 and transferred to the **Gambia National Army** in 1993, having worked his way through the ranks to become lieutenant (he was promoted to captain in November 1994). One of the four organizers of the **1994 coup**, he was a founding member of the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** and was appointed minister of the interior after the coup. However, on 27 January 1995, he was suddenly arrested for allegedly seeking the overthrow of the junta leader, **Yahya Jammeh**. He died in Mile Two prison, outside Banjul, of natural causes (his family denied he had a record of ill health) on 3 June 1995, before coming to trial.

– I –

**ILER.** A tool with a short handle and an inverted, heart-shaped blade used in cultivation by **Wolof** and **Mandinka groundnut** farmers of Saloum and The Gambia, it appears with the *konko* on the coat-of-arms of the Republic of The Gambia.

**INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION (IEC).** The IEC was established in 1997 to replace an earlier body, the Provisional Independent Electoral Commission (PIEC), which had been set up in December 1995 by President **Yahya Jammeh** to supervise the referendum on the 1996 constitution. The main responsibility of the new IEC was to conduct presidential, **National Assembly**, and local elections and to organize the electoral roll.

The first chairman of the IEC was Bishop **S. Tilewa Johnson**, but he was sacked by President Jammeh in December 2000 and replaced by a Gambian educationalist, Gabriel J. Roberts, the chairman of the earlier PIEC. Roberts was generally considered to favor the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction (APRC)** during the 2001 presidential election campaign. Nevertheless, along with the two other commissioners, he was dismissed in July 2005, having been accused of allowing the opposition **United Democratic Party** to intimidate APRC supporters, and was replaced by Ndondi S. Z. Njie. In turn, Njie was sacked in July 2006 and replaced by the former vice chairman, Mustapha L. Carayol, a retired head of anaesthesia at the Royal Victoria Hospital, **Banjul**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**INDIRECT RULE.** The term used to describe the general administrative policy followed by Great Britain in governing most of its African territories. It was first introduced by Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard in Uganda, and, more systematically, in Northern Nigeria at the start of the 20th century. The system was subsequently extended across the African dependencies and beyond. In theory, African traditional rulers continued to rule their subjects, but under the supervision of European district officers. In the Gambia, this was complicated by the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, which had disturbed and, in some cases destroyed, the older kingdoms and their ruling classes. The first attempt at indirect rule came with the appointment of **travelling commissioners** in 1893 and the **Protectorate Ordinance** of 1894. By 1945, subsequent ordinances had created a system whereby most of the Gambia was governed by 35 appointed chiefs.

Through a series of ordinances between 1933 and 1935, Governors **H. R. Palmer** and **A. F. Richards** brought the theory and practice of government in line with the concepts of Lugard and Sir Donald Cameron (governor of Tanganyika, 1925–31). A senior commissioner was appointed in 1944 to provide continuity of policy and centralization of planning. In the same year, the government established the annual **Conference of Protectorate Chiefs**.

**INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF), GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** The IMF has been a major source of financial assistance to The Gambia since the 1980s, when it helped rescue the **economy** from financial collapse, following the Gambian government's defaulting on its debts to the international community in 1985. The Gambia was obliged to accept an IMF-devised and monitored recovery package, the Economic Recovery Programme. In turn, the IMF provided vital short-term financial assistance and so restored the creditworthiness of the country. Since then, apart from a temporary withdrawal of aid between July 1994 and early 1997, in protest at the **Gambia National Army's** seizure of power in The Gambia, the IMF has remained a major donor to the country, as well as continuing to oversee the recovery programs of both the **Dawda Jawara** and **Yahya Jammeh** governments. The IMF is the leading backer of the country's Second Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility Programme (2007–11).



*See also* FOREIGN POLICY; WORLD BANK, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.

**ISLAM.** *See* JIHAD; MARABOUTS; MOURIDE; QADIRIYYA; RELIGION; SONINKE-MARABOUT WARS; TIJANIYYA.

**ISLAMIC WORLD, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** Although an overwhelmingly **Muslim** country, The Gambia did not develop an Islamic dimension to its **foreign policy** until the oil price crisis of the 1970s and the Arab–Israeli War of 1973. In response to these events, the Gambian government strengthened links with Arab states, both in North Africa and the Middle East, and, as a result, bilateral and multilateral Arab aid—from the Islamic Development Bank and Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries—came to constitute a major source of aid by the late 1980s. Despite formal economic assistance agreements with Libya, following President **Dawda Jawara**'s visit to Tripoli in 1974, a failure to deliver all the promised aid and increasing Gambian concern about Libyan foreign policy in the West African region and suspected involvement with radical elements within The Gambia, led to the closure of the Libyan embassy in **Banjul** in October 1980. Although no concrete proof of Libyan involvement in the subsequent attempted **coup of 1981** was produced, under the Jawara government, only limited relations were reestablished (in 1984). In marked contrast, the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** and the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** established close ties with Libya, with diplomatic relations being restored in November 1994, faced as they were with a range of economic sanctions by principal Western donors and international aid agencies.

Under Jawara, relations with more conservative Muslim Arab states were also established, with Morocco in North Africa and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in the Middle East. Morocco provided assistance with military training after the 1981 coup; Saudi Arabia and Kuwait emerged as major aid donors from the 1970s onward, funding a variety of infrastructural projects. Limited links with Iraq ended with the invasion of Kuwait in 1981, which The Gambia vigorously denounced. The Jammeh government, despite its Libyan links, has also sought to retain much-needed economic assistance from moderate Middle Eastern states, as well as to initiate relations with Iran.

The Gambia also joined the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and, in 1984, President Jawara took over the chairmanship of its Peace Committee to mediate in the Iraq–Iran War. The Gambia also supported the OIC’s condemnation of Russian military intervention in Afghanistan and Israel’s role in the Occupied Territories. Relations with Israel were broken off in 1973 and not restored until 1992, and the Palestine Liberation Organization was permitted to open an office in Banjul in 1984. These links have continued under President **Yahya Jammeh**, but he has also come out strongly against Islamic terrorism.

– J –

**JABANG, LAMIN KITTY (1942– )**. A **Mandinka**, born at Pirang, Eastern **Kombo**, on 12 December 1942, Jabang entered **Yundum College** in 1961, was appointed an assistant teacher in 1963 and became headmaster of Jambanjelly School in 1966. In 1970, he was selected as the successor to **Dawda Jawara** as the candidate of the **People’s Progressive Party (PPP)** in Eastern Kombo, when the latter became president. Elected unopposed in a by-election in July 1970, he comfortably retained the seat for the PPP in all elections between 1972 and 1992.

First appointed as a parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs after the 1972 election, Jabang was promoted to the cabinet after the 1977 election as minister of external affairs. He retained the post until after the 1987 election, with his most important contribution being to acquire substantial aid from Middle Eastern countries after the failed **1981 coup**. After the 1987 election, he was appointed minister of the interior, a post he held at the time of the **1994 coup**. Afterward, he was twice detained and then went into exile. He finally made his peace with President **Yahya Jammeh**, when he was appointed ambassador to Saudi Arabia and permanent representative to the Organization of the Islamic Conference in March 2006.

**JACK, SIR ALIEU SULAYMAN (1922– )**. The son of a **Wolof** Koranic teacher, Jack was born in **Bathurst** on 14 July 1922. He was educated at St. Augustine’s School and joined the civil service in 1939. After working for the British Army (1940–44) and the Accountant General’s Department, he joined S. Madi & Sons, becoming a director

of the company in 1964. He began his political career in 1949 when he was elected to the **Bathurst Town Council** (BTC) in **Half Die** for the **Gambia Muslim Congress** (GMC); he remained a member of the BTC until 1961.

In 1960, Jack was appointed an assistant secretary general of the **Democratic Congress Alliance** (DCA), following the merger of the GMC and the **Gambia Democratic Party**, but was not selected to contest the first election to the **House of Representatives**. In the 1962 election, the DCA was allied to the **People's Progressive Party** and, as part of the deal between the two parties, Jack was elected speaker of the House. He remained as speaker until after the 1972 election (serving briefly as acting governor general during **Sir Fari-mang Singhateh**'s absence on leave prior to the 1970 republic referendum and receiving a knighthood in January 1970), when he was appointed as a "nominated" member of Parliament and then made minister of works and communications.

After the 1977 election, Jack was sacked, after political gossip in **Banjul** had linked his name to (unsubstantiated) allegations of corruption. As compensation, he resumed his old position as speaker, before, in 1982, taking on a similar role with the Senegambia Confederal Assembly. On the dissolution of the **Senegambia Confederation** in 1989, Jack retired from public life.

**JAHUMPA, MOMODU (c. 1841–1945).** The son of a **Wolof** Koranic teacher who had moved from Gorée to **Bathurst** in the early years of the settlement, Jahumpa was a shipwright from **Half Die**. An important figure in Bathurst's **Muslim** community for several decades, he was one of the first trustees of the Mohammedan School established in 1903 and a leading member of the *Juma* Society, a society of elders. This society claimed to have nominated successive *almamis* of Bathurst from the 1880s to the early 1920s and to have been influential in securing the appointment of **Ousman Jeng** to the **Legislative Council** in 1920. However, later in the 1920s, Jahumpa and his associates turned against Jeng and, in 1928, they accused him of adultery and demanded his dismissal from the council. When Jeng refused to resign, they brought a case against him and his father-in-law, *Almami* Omar Sowe, who had condoned Jeng's behavior, but the case was dismissed by the Supreme Court in March 1929.

The dispute within the Muslim community had wider ramifications. Jahumpa joined forces with Jeng's main **Christian** opponent, **E. F. Small**, and became a key member of the **Bathurst Trade Union** and later a prominent member of the **Rate Payers' Association** in Half Die. Jahumpa also tried (but ultimately failed) to wrest control of the Mohammedan School from Jeng. However, in September 1935, the two men were reconciled and became members of the Mohammedan Society. Jahumpa died in October or November 1945, reportedly at the age of 104, by which time his son, **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**, was already prominent in public life.

**JALLOW, HASSAN BUBACAR (1950–)**. Jallow graduated from the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, with a degree in law in 1973, before attending the Nigerian Law School in Lagos (1976) and University College, London (1977–79). He then worked as a state attorney in **Banjul** (1976–82), before being appointed solicitor general. In July 1984, he succeeded **Fafa M'Bai** as attorney general and minister of justice, holding both posts until the **1994 coup**. Although found guilty by the Public Assets and Properties Recovery Commission in 1997 (and banned in 2001 for five years from holding public office), he was nevertheless appointed as a judge of The Gambia's Supreme Court in December 1998. He held this post until 2002 and then served as a judge of the Appeals Chamber of the Special Court for Sierra Leone until September 2003, when he was appointed prosecutor to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. He retains this post at the time of writing.

**JALLOW, MOMODOU C. (1919–2000)**. A **Fula** Firdu, who was the son of the *almami* of **Basse**, Cherno Abdoulie Jallow, Jallow was born in Basse on 10 October 1919. Educated first at St. George's School, Bansang, he enrolled at St. Augustine's School, **Bathurst**, around 1935. He entered the civil service in 1939 as an inspector in the Veterinary Department, retiring on a pension as a veterinary assistant in May 1962 to stand as the **United Party** (UP) candidate in **Wuli**. He was only narrowly defeated by 44 votes and in 1966, transferred to the safer UP seat of **Jimara**. Duly elected, Jallow remained loyal to the UP until August 1970, when he joined the **People's Progressive Party**, allegedly with the approval of his constituents. After

the 1972 election, he was appointed parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

Following the 1977 election, Jallow was promoted to be minister of health, labour, and social affairs. He held this position for 10 years before finally relinquishing the post after the 1987 election at the age of 67. He remained the member of Parliament for Jimara until being persuaded to retire in favor of the much younger candidate, **Bubacarr Baldeh**, before the 1992 election. He was given a “nominated” seat in the **House of Representatives** as compensation. Commonly known as “Jallow Veterinary” because of his earlier occupation, he retired from public life altogether after the 1994 election and died on 27 January 2000.

**JALLOW, MOMODOU EBRIMA (1928–1987).** A **Fula**, born in **Georgetown** in June 1928, Jallow moved to **Bathurst** as a child and attended St. Augustine’s School, before joining the civil service as a clerk in the Education Department in January 1949. In 1954, he won a scholarship to the Cooperative College at Ibadan, Nigeria, and on his return to Bathurst, after briefly working in the Income Tax Division, he was appointed as a 2nd grade inspector in August 1954. His task was to establish small-scale cooperative societies in Bathurst. However, in August 1955, he was convicted of the theft of £30 from one of these societies and dismissed. At the urging of friends, he formed the Gambia Construction Employees’ Society, which led to the creation in December 1956 of the **Gambia Workers’ Union (GWU)**. Although possessing little experience of **trade unionism**, Jallow was able to negotiate several favorable contracts with employers following industrial action, including one at the **Gambia Minerals Limited** in February 1957.

After attending a four-month course in trade unionism at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) College at Kampala, Uganda, Jallow returned to Bathurst and concentrated on building up union strength among the dockworkers and daily paid employees. In February 1960, on the eve of the first nationwide election, his union organized the first successful general strike in the Gambia since 1929. The strike achieved a substantial increase in the wages of daily workers and eventually led to the formation of Joint Industrial Councils for the arbitration of labor disputes. After re-

maining neutral in the 1960 election, Jallow then organized a second successful general strike in January 1961. The British government's decision to indict him for taking part in a riot merely increased his popularity among Gambians. Jallow was now considered important enough to be appointed as an independent delegate to constitutional conferences in Bathurst and London in 1961.

In 1964, Jallow became the full-time secretary general of the ICFTU's African Regional Office based in Lagos. On his return to The Gambia in 1965, Jallow resumed leadership of the GWU and played a prominent role in helping defeat the 1965 republic referendum, but both personal problems and clashes with the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) government adversely affected his career. Having refused to stand for Parliament previously, Jallow unwisely stood as an independent candidate in Bathurst North in both 1966 and 1972. He did so on the first occasion in a fit of pique, having been denied a safe seat by the **United Party** leader, **P. S. N'Jie**, his ally in the referendum, while in 1972, his criticisms were mainly directed against the PPP government. But he fared badly on each occasion, an indication that the electorate did not take kindly to trade union leaders adopting a political role.

In 1975, Jallow launched another successful general strike, which resulted in a marked increase in union members. However, a further general strike in November 1976 in support of a group of dismissed workers at the Gambia Utilities Corporation (GUC) proved disastrous; Jallow had been reluctant to support the GUC employees, but had been overruled by his more militant colleagues. The strike was a failure and soon after the GWU was deregistered.

Jallow's relations with government improved after the abortive **coup of 1981**, and although his efforts to secure the reregistration of the GWU eventually failed, he was selected as a "nominated" member of Parliament in May 1987 to represent the interests of labor in the **House of Representatives**. However, two weeks later, on 23 May 1987, he died.

**JALLOW, OMAR AMADOU (c. 1949– )**. After leaving school, Jallow (a **Fula** by origin) joined the Cooperative Department in 1966 as an inspector, remaining there until 1972; he joined the Gambia Commercial and Development Bank around 1973 as a public relations officer,

working there until 1977. In the 1960s, he was active as an organizer in **Serrekunda** for the **Gambia Workers' Union** and as a local youth leader. Jallow was also a prominent member of the **People's Progressive Party (PPP)** in Serrekunda and, around 1972, he worked for a time as an administrative assistant at the PPP National headquarters.

Prior to the 1972 election, Jallow was selected by the party to contest Serrekunda against the **United Party** incumbent, Gibou Jagne. He was unsuccessful, but his good performance meant that he was re-selected in 1977 for the new seat of Serrekunda East. This time he won, defeating the **National Convention Party** candidate in a hard-fought contest. Appointed as parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs in 1978, Jallow was promoted to the cabinet in January 1981 as minister of water resources and the environment (later water resources, forestry, and fisheries), before becoming minister of agriculture in October 1990. He held this post until the **1994 coup**.

Along with other former ministers, Jallow was barred from political office after the coup. He suffered detention and investigation by the military junta—he has been arrested on more than 20 separate occasions since 1994—and suffered a serious eye injury because of his harsh treatment in prison. Although he was disqualified from holding public office by the government for five years in early 2001, he nevertheless returned to active politics when the ban on **political parties** was lifted in July 2001. With the PPP leader, **Dawda Jawara**, still in exile in Great Britain, and later to give up politics, and many defections to the new ruling party, the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**, Jallow became acting secretary general and “interim leader” of the rump PPP, though challenged by another former minister, **Yaya Ceesay**. He played a leading part in forming the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development (NADD)** in January 2005 and, together with two other NADD leaders, **Halifa Sallah** and **Hamat Bah**, he was briefly detained in November 2005 on specious subversion charges. These were dropped the following February. Jallow was initially a strong contender to be the NADD’s “flag bearer” and presidential candidate, but withdrew from the contest in February 2006. Unlike the Ceesay faction within the PPP, Jallow remained loyal to the NADD in the 2006–07 elections, but did not stand for election to the **National Assembly**. In

wider recognition of his political significance, he was appointed by the **Commonwealth** Secretariat to be part of a Commonwealth Observer Group that monitored the Nigerian presidential and parliamentary elections in April 2007.

**JALLOW, TAMSIR (1941– )**. After graduating from the University of Cape Coast, Ghana, in 1970, Jallow began his career in The Gambia as a science teacher in the same year, moving on to managerial positions in secondary schools and then working as a senior curriculum officer (1980–89). He also obtained postgraduate degrees from the Universities of Birmingham and Pittsburgh, and from a Kenyan university, and served as general secretary of the Gambia Teachers' Union (1989–2000). The first chairman of the **July 22nd Movement** (1995–97), he became a “nominated” member of the **National Assembly** in January 1997 and served as the “majority leader” of the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (1997–2002). After serving as Gambian deputy high commissioner to Great Britain (2002–05), he was appointed high commissioner to Britain in June 2006 after working briefly as a security guard. In August 2007, he was appointed permanent representative of The Gambia to the **United Nations** based in New York, but in October 2007, he was summarily dismissed. However, in December 2007, he was appointed as Gambian ambassador to the United States.

**JAMES FORT.** *See* JAMES ISLAND.

**JAMES ISLAND.** Located about 19 miles upriver from the estuary of the **Gambia River**, the fort on this small island was fought over by rival European powers for nearly 130 years. The Portuguese named the island *St. Andrew's*, but did not occupy it. It was only purchased and fortified in 1651, when the **Duchy of Courland** bought it from the King of **Barra**. In 1661, the island was captured by Major **Robert Holmes** on behalf of the **Royal Adventurers** and renamed *James Island* after James, Duke of York (later King James II). Its defenses were strengthened, though this did not prevent the fort being captured by the French in July 1695 and then blown up. Reoccupied by the English in 1699, it was three times surrendered to French forces and subsequently ransomed between 1702 and 1708. The island was



abandoned altogether between 1709 and 1713, with the fort gradually being rebuilt until reoccupied by the **Royal African Company** in 1717. Although sacked by Welsh pirates in 1719, the island remained in British hands until February 1779, when the French destroyed the fort once again. It was never restored by the **Company of Merchants**, its owners from 1783 to 1821, when it finally came into the possession of the British Crown. But by then the British had moved their base to the more defensible and strategically located **Banjul** Island, where they had constructed the town of Bathurst, and the last troops left James Island in 1829. After this, the fort degenerated into the picturesque ruin it is today, with the Gambia River gradually eroding its shoreline and ramparts. *See also* ORFEUR, CHARLES; STIEL, OTTO.

**JAMMEH, KEMESENG S. M. (1943– )**. Born in Sikunda, Western Jarra on 1 December 1943, Jammeh was educated at **Armitage School** and **Yundum College**, qualifying as a teacher in July 1964. He gave up teaching in 1971 to take up employment as executive officer of **Mansakonko** Area Council. He subsequently worked for local government authorities in Kuntaur and **Kanifing** until May 1975, when he was dismissed, allegedly as a result of political victimization. A founder member of the **National Convention Party** (NCP), later that year, he worked for the party as an administrative officer. He stood unsuccessfully in Western Jarra in the 1977 general election. One of a number of NCP activists detained after the abortive **1981 coup**, he was released without charge in May 1982. He stood again, unsuccessfully, in Western Jarra, in the elections of 1982, 1987, and 1992. Opposed to the **1994 coup**, he helped organize the **United Democratic Party** (UDP) in September 1996, but was detained, again without charge, for three months during the election campaigning period. Released in December 1996, he succeeded in winning Jarra West in the January 1997 general election, defeating his brother-in-law, **Baba Jobe**, of the ruling **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (APRC) and became the Leader of the Opposition in the **National Assembly**. He lost his seat in 2002, when the UDP boycotted the general election, but regained it in a by-election in July 2004, after Jobe had been imprisoned and forfeited his seat. He won a second by-election in September 2005, after all

opposition members of Parliament were required to forfeit their seats on the formation of the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development**, but lost to the APRC's Njai Darboe in the 2007 general election. The leader of the UDP in the **National Assembly** until 2007, he remains on its national executive.

**JAMMEH, OUSMAN.** A career civil servant, Jammeh served as permanent secretary in the Departments of Agriculture, Works, Construction and Information, and Health, before being appointed as secretary general in the Office of the President and head of the civil service in May 2007. In a cabinet reshuffle in September 2007, Jammeh was concurrently appointed secretary of state in the new Department of Petroleum, Energy, and Mineral Resources. In March 2008, Jammeh was replaced as secretary general and head of the civil service by Ms. Teneng Mba Jaiteh, but retained his ministerial position.

**JAMMEH (JAME), TAMBA (? –1987).** A **Mandinka** from Illiassa who was the son of Jata Silang Jame, the first district chief of Upper **Baddibu** after the establishment of the **Protectorate**, Jammeh was appointed *seefoo* of Upper Baddibu in 1928. He had previously been deputy chief (1925–28). In 1947, Jammeh was one of the first three chiefs to be appointed to the **Legislative Council**, a position he held until 1960. He was also one of five chiefs elected to the **House of Representatives** in the separate election of chiefs in 1960, but did not stand in 1962, and was awarded the OBE.

In 1962, Jammeh was forced to retire as a chief by the government, allegedly on grounds of old age, although the fact that his son, Kalilu B. Jammeh, had contested Illiassa for the **United Party** in the 1962 election was another factor. Another of his sons, Kebba Tamba Jammeh, who succeeded him as *seefoo* of Upper Baddibu (1963–83), was a stalwart of the **National Convention Party** in the 1980s, before joining the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) in 1990 and winning Illiassa for the PPP in the 1992 election.

**JAMMEH, DR. YAHYA ABDUL AZIZ JEMUS JUNKUNG (1965–).** The president of the Republic of The Gambia and secretary of state for defence, Jammeh was born at Kanilai in the **Foni** Kansala district, **Lower River Division**, of a Muslim **Jola** farming family on

25 May 1965. He completed primary education locally (1972–76) and then attended Gambia High School, **Banjul** (1978–83). He joined the Gambia National Gendarmerie (GNG) in April 1984, was commissioned as an officer (second lieutenant) in September 1989 and transferred to the **Gambia National Army** in August 1991. He was promoted to lieutenant in February 1992, to captain in November 1994, and then straight to colonel in August 1996. Jammeh was assigned to various duties as a junior officer. These included: commander of mobile gendarmerie (January–June 1991); commander of the military police, GNG (June–August 1991); and, finally, head of the army military police at **Yundum** Barracks. He also attended a Military Police Officers Basic Course in the United States (September 1993 to January 1994) and was in charge of presidential and VIP security on a number of occasions as deputy head of the Presidential Guard (1990–92).

Jammeh was one of four junior officers who organized the army **coup of 1994**, and was appointed chairman of the military junta, the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** from July 1994 to September 1996. He officially retired from the army on 4 September 1996 just before that month's presidential election. The leader and candidate of the newly formed **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (APRC), Jammeh won the election with 55.8 percent of the vote, easily defeating his main opponent, **Ousainou Darboe** of the **United Democratic Party**. Jammeh won further presidential elections in October 2001 and September 2006, taking 52.8 and 67.3 percent of the vote respectively. His party, the APRC, also comfortably won successive elections to the **National Assembly** in January 1997, January 2002, and January 2007. However, despite meeting with the approval of teams of foreign observers, these presidential and parliamentary elections have been strongly criticized as flawed and unfair.

Although undoubtedly enjoying the support of many Gambians, Jammeh's leadership has aroused considerable controversy. His intolerance of opposition and the **news media**, and his retention of military decrees and the powers enjoyed by the **National Intelligence Agency**, have being denounced by international human rights organizations, as well as by domestic political opponents. Neither his authoritarian leadership nor legislation has saved Jammeh from attempts to over-

throw him by force. Since July 1994, there have been at least eight attempts to remove him by elements within the armed forces or by exiled groups of opponents, the last attempted **coup** being led by the chief of defence staff, Colonel Ndure Cham, in March 2006.

In the social and **economic** fields, Jammeh has promoted the interests of the poorer sections of Gambian society, **women** and rural society, in particular; yet at the same time, he and his government have been accused of large-scale financial mismanagement, notwithstanding frequent dismissals of ministers and senior officials. International aid agencies, although generally supportive of his achievements, continue to draw attention to fiscal and administrative indiscipline in official circles.

The same contradictions are seen in Jammeh's **foreign policy**. He has promoted his **Islamic** credentials, denounced Islamic terrorism, and projected himself as a regional "peace-maker" in West Africa and beyond, in contrast with his domestic record of conflict management.

**JANJANBUREH.** Known as *Georgetown* until 1995, Janjanbureh on **MacCarthy Island** is the administrative center of **Central River Division**. It was the home of an important **Liberated African** settlement from the 1830s to the 1870s and the site of the first schools established outside **Bathurst**.

**JARRA.** One of the nine **Mandinka** kingdoms located along the south bank of the **Gambia River** in the early 19th century, Jarra adjoined **Kiang** on the west and extended eastward to Sofaniama *Bolong*. During the latter stages of the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, much of Jarra was controlled by **Fodi Kabba**. Because of the antipathy between Kabba and **Musa Molloh**, eastern Jarra became a particular arena of conflict. In the 20th-century reorganization of the **Protectorate**, Jarra became a part of the Central Division (later **Lower River Division**) and was divided into three districts, each under the direction of a chief.

**JATTA, SIDIA SANA (1945–).** A **Mandinka** from Sutukoba in **Wuli**, Jatta was educated locally and at Nungua secondary school, near Accra, Ghana (1961–63), before returning to the Gambia to attend **Yundum College** (1964–66). After working as a schoolteacher in various primary and secondary schools until 1972, he enrolled at the

University of Grenoble in France (1973–78), obtaining undergraduate and master’s degrees in linguistics. Returning to The Gambia, he was employed by the Curriculum Development Centre (CDCentre) (1978–80), before traveling to London to become a research fellow in African linguistics at the International African Institute (1980–82). Returning to The Gambia in 1982 to work at the CD-Centre as senior curriculum development officer, he returned to France for a time in 1983 for further study and eventually resigned from the government in 1986 as a protest against official policies and performance.

Jatta, who had been briefly involved in radical politics in the early 1970s as a member of the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Foundation and was also well known as a community activist, now helped **Halifa Sallah** and others to found the **People’s Democratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism** (PDOIS) in 1986. Against the wishes of his elder brother, Foday Kebba Jatta, the chief of Wuli, who was a PPP loyalist, Jatta stood in Eastern Wuli for the PDOIS in the 1987 election, but finished at the bottom of the poll. Elected leader of the PDOIS in December 1987, he stood again in 1992 in Eastern Wuli, again finishing last in the poll, and also as the PDOIS presidential candidate, gaining 5.2 percent of the vote. In the 1996 presidential election, he obtained only 2.9 percent of the vote, but in the 1997 parliamentary election, he finally captured the Wuli seat, taking nearly half the total vote. The electorate might have been impressed by Jatta’s principled refusal to accept ministerial office from the **Yahya Jammeh** government after the **1994 coup**. After his election, Jatta became one of the most trenchant critics of the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** government.

Jatta contested the presidential election once more in 2001, winning 3.0 percent of the vote, but was replaced by Sallah as the PDOIS choice for the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD) candidate for the 2006 presidential election. He was also re-elected to the **National Assembly** (for Wuli West) in the 2002 parliamentary election for the PDOIS and, after being required to forfeit his seat on the formation of the NADD, retained the seat in a by-election in September 2005. In the 2007 general election, he won again, the only NADD candidate to do so.

**JATTA, SULING (?–1855).** As King of **Kombo**, Jatta was pressured in July 1840 by Lieutenant Governor **H. V. Huntley** to cede to Britain a part of his kingdom, which afterward became known as **Kombo St. Mary**. This area was enlarged by a later cession in 1853. Jatta renounced his right to collect customs duties and rents in the ceded territory in 1850, in return for a small annual payment.

As a **Soninke** ruler, Jatta's territory was attacked by **Marabout** forces in the 1850s and, although Governor **L. S. O'Connor** was authorized to seize Sabajy (a Marabout stronghold) in 1853, he was prevented from wider intervention on Jatta's behalf. Jatta was killed on 24 June 1855, while defending his principal town, **Busumbala**, against Marabout forces. *See also* OMAR OF SABAJY.

**JAWARA, SIR DAWDA KAIRABA (1924– ).** Jawara was born in Barajally, **MacCarthy Island Division**, on 16 May 1924. His father, a prosperous **Mandinka** farmer, chose him from among his six sons to be educated at **Bathurst**, first at the Mohammedan School, then at the Methodist Boys' High School. After graduation in 1945, he worked at the Royal Victoria Hospital and won a scholarship to Achimota College, Gold Coast (Ghana), in 1947. A year later, he traveled to Scotland to attend the University of Glasgow, graduating as a veterinary surgeon in 1954. He later returned to Scotland to gain a further diploma in tropical veterinary medicine at the University of Edinburgh in 1957.

After returning to the Gambia in January 1954, Jawara became chief veterinary officer in the **Protectorate**, being promoted to principal veterinary officer in 1958. In February 1955, he married Augusta, a daughter of **J. A. Mahoney**, at **Basse**, having previously converted to **Christianity (Wesleyan Methodism)** and taken the names David Kwesi. In 1965, Jawara reverted to **Islam**, changing his name back to Dawda; following a controversial change in the law, which permitted polygamous marriages, he married Chilel, the 16-year-old daughter of the wealthy **Wolof** businessman, **M. M. N'Jie**, in 1968. Jawara subsequently took a third wife, Lady Njaimah, a 23-year-old civil servant and the sister of **Lamin M'Boge**, according to Islamic practice, in 1970.

One of the founders of the **People's Progressive Party (PPP)**, whose constitution he helped draft, Jawara was elected as its leader in 1959. At the time, Jawara was one of only two Mandinka university

graduates in the country and, despite his humble social status as a member of the leatherworker caste, was widely respected throughout the Protectorate on account of his veterinary work. Elected to the **House of Representatives** for **Kombo** in 1960, he was appointed minister of education by Governor **Edward Windley**, but resigned when Windley passed him over for **P. S. N’Jie** of the **United Party** as the territory’s first chief minister in March 1961. In the 1962 election, the PPP won an overwhelming victory and Jawara (who had been elected in Eastern Kombo) became premier and appointed his first cabinet; he then became the first Gambian prime minister in October 1963. His government cooperated fully with Governor **John Paul** and the Colonial Office in negotiating the transfer of power in The Gambia. When The Gambia became independent on 18 February 1965, Jawara continued as the head of government and was subsequently knighted by the British.

Jawara suffered a major political setback when his plan to turn The Gambia into a republic was defeated in a referendum in November 1965, but the PPP recovered to win the 1966 election. Further election victories followed in 1972 and 1977. By then, Jawara was an executive president, The Gambia having voted to become a republic on 24 April 1970. On ceasing to be prime minister in 1970, Jawara also gave up his parliamentary seat in Eastern Kombo.

When the first direct national presidential election was held in 1982, Jawara defeated the **National Convention Party** (NCP) leader, **Sheriff Dibba**, soundly, winning 72 percent of the vote. In subsequent multi-candidate presidential elections in 1987 and 1992, Jawara’s share of the vote slipped to 59.2 percent (1987) and 58.5 percent (1992), but this was over 2 percent more than **Yahya Jammeh** obtained in the 1996 election. The PPP, likewise, obtained overwhelming majorities in the general elections of these years.

Both in his domestic and his **foreign policy**, Jawara was characterized as a political moderate. At home, he sought successfully to create a national political coalition to replace the old **Colony–Protectorate** hostility through the judicious use of state patronage and ministerial office. He headed off several internal challenges within the PPP during his period in office, as well as two splits in the party (the formation of the **People’s Progressive Alliance** in 1968 and of the NCP in 1975).

Within the constraints imposed on him, Jawara sought to pursue democratic leadership and rejected the more authoritarian style of leadership frequently found among Africa's new rulers. In his **economic** policy, he sought a middle-of-the-road approach, encouraging domestic and overseas private enterprise, as well as direct state involvement through parastatals. Priority was given to shifting government spending to the former Protectorate, in recognition of the decades of neglect of that part of the country, an area that generated whatever wealth The Gambia possessed. Although important results were obtained in terms of the redirection of public investment, Jawara came under increasing criticism by the late 1970s for failing to cope with growing economic difficulties, the solving of which, in several instances, lay beyond his capacity. The oil price crises and adverse climatic conditions in the course of the 1970s, the domestic hardships that resulted from these, and Jawara's inability (or unwillingness) to deal firmly with the frequent cases of corruption eroded his standing among the urban populace, although he continued to enjoy considerable support in the countryside. Surviving the abortive **coup of 1981**, he faced severe economic difficulties in the mid-1980s, which nearly bankrupted his country and forced him to accept the painful and unpopular Economic Recovery Programme. By the early 1990s, measurable recovery had been achieved, but Jawara and the PPP continued to be accused of tolerating corruption in senior governmental circles. Jawara himself would be found guilty of misappropriating public funds, by commissions of inquiry set up by the Jammeh government.

In foreign policy, Jawara was seen as a pragmatist and a moderate, emerging as an honest broker in African and inter-**Islamic** relations, becoming chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference's Peace Committee in 1984. He was rare among his African peers in denouncing despotic government and he was instrumental in getting the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** to accept the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (the "Banjul Charter") and to set up monitoring institutions in The Gambia. His environmental concerns were seen in the "Banjul Declaration" on the management of his country's environment. Jawara's pro-Western stance on most international issues, while earning him the condemnation of local radicals, did not stop him from speaking out on such issues as South



Africa and Israel. His frequent overseas visits, though winning The Gambia useful diplomatic and financial assistance, became another object of local criticism. Jawara was a strong supporter of inter-African cooperation and he played a full part in the affairs of the OAU and the **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)**, serving as ECOWAS chairman in 1989 and 1991. His pragmatic approach to pan-Africanism was seen in his handling of the delicate relations with **Senegal**, particularly after the 1981 coup attempt. From a position of weakness, he was able to maintain Senegalese support while not yielding his country's sovereignty.

Found guilty of corruption in 1997 by the Public Assets and Properties Recovery Commission, he was banned from holding office for 20 years by the **Yahya Jammeh** government in March 2001. However, after several years of self-imposed exile in England following the **1994 coup**, Jawara finally came to terms with Jammeh, who gave him a presidential "pardon" in December 2001, and restored his house and other property in The Gambia. In return, Jawara agreed to return home to The Gambia in June 2002 and to withdraw from political life, but to remain as an elder statesman, on whom his successor could call on for advice. He continued to play a role in wider African affairs; for example, he served as head of the ECOWAS Observer Mission that visited Nigeria in February 2007 to assess its preparations for its presidential and parliamentary elections.

**JENG, OUSMAN (1881–1960).** A **Wolof**, Jeng was almost certainly educated at one of the mission schools in **Bathurst**. He then worked as a trader, latterly in Salikene. By the early 1920s, he had become an influential member of Bathurst's **Muslim** community. He joined the Gambia Section of the **National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)** in 1920 and served as its branch treasurer. However, he broke his links with the NCBWA when Governor **C. H. Armitage** decided to appoint a Western-educated Muslim to the **Legislative Council** to succeed one of the two existing African unofficial members, Dr. Thomas Bishop. Jeng was supported by **S. J. Forster Jr.** and by some of the **Protectorate** chiefs consulted by Armitage in February 1922, while there was no apparent support outside Bathurst for Jeng's rival, **Sheikh Omar Fye**. Appointed to the council in March 1922 for a five-year term, Jeng immediately convened a pub-

lic meeting to declare the opposition of the Muslim community to the Congress.

In 1927, Jeng was reappointed by Armitage's successor, **John Middleton**, despite the covert opposition of **Momadu Jahumpa** and the *Juma* Society, who unsuccessfully sought to have him replaced by Fye. Unable to stop the reappointment, they accused Jeng of adultery, and therefore of being unworthy to represent the community. They also demanded that Omar Sowe, Jeng's father-in-law, be replaced as *almami* for condoning his actions. This internal division within the Muslim community spilled over into a drawn-out struggle for control of the Mohammedan School in Bathurst.

When Jeng's second term of office expired in March 1932, he was not reappointed, the position going to his rival, Fye. In a political about-face, Jeng joined **E. F. Small's Rate Payers' Association** and was elected to the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council (BATC)** in 1936 for the **New Town** ward as its candidate. Jeng served on the BATC and then the **Bathurst Town Council** until 1949. In the 1947 Legislative Council election, he helped persuade many Muslims not to vote for Fye or **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**, thus helping Small to win. He remained active in public life for another decade, serving as chairman of a Committee of Citizens in 1959, and died in February 1960.

**JIHAD.** According to **Islamic** theology, taking up the sword either to defend or to expand the true faith is the obligation of every believer, although violence should only be used after persuasion and argumentation have failed. The term, "jihad," originally Arabic, is found in all the Senegambian languages and the most notable of the 19th-century jihads in Senegambia were those led by **Al Hajj Umar Tall** and the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**.

**JIMARA.** One of the nine **Mandinka** kingdoms located along the south bank of the **Gambia River** in the early 19th century, Jimara was one of the larger and more prosperous of the upriver polities and had a long history of trade with Europeans because **MacCarthy Island** was adjacent to its middle areas. **Alfa Molloh** made his first conquest in Jimara, overthrowing the traditional Mandinka dynasty, and making it the nucleus of his new kingdom of **Fuladu**. In the 20th-century reorganization of the chiefdoms, Jimara became the districts

of Fuladu West and Fuladu Central and, from 1962, a parliamentary constituency.

**JOAR.** A village on the north bank of the mid-**Gambia River**, near Ballanghar, Joar was the site of a number of trade factories established by the Portuguese and later by English trading companies. In the 1730s, Joar was the principal out-factory on the river of the **Royal African Company**. The settlement is now known as *Jahawar*.

**JOBE, BABA KAJALLY (1959–).** Born in Karantaba, **Jarra**, Jobe received a scholarship to attend an educational institute in Libya, probably in the 1980s. He then worked for the Libyan security forces, possibly even as a bodyguard to President Muammar Qadhafi, and was also active in the **Movement for Justice in Africa-Gambia** before the **1994 coup**, which he supported. Subsequently, he became one of **Yahya Jammeh's** closest supporters, organizing the youth wing of the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (APRC) and becoming national coordinator of the **July 22nd Movement**, a post he held at the organization's dissolution in 1999. Following the return to full electoral politics in 1997, Jobe stood unsuccessfully in Jarra West, one of the few APRC candidates to lose to the **United Democratic Party** (UDP). Having headed the APRC campaign team in **Lower River Division** for the 2001 presidential election, he stood again for the **National Assembly** in 2002, winning the seat unopposed when the UDP boycotted the election. He was then appointed "majority leader" in the assembly. Known for his admiration of the authoritarian leadership style of President Qadhafi, he gained a reputation for disdaining parliamentary democracy and encouraging party militants to attack political opponents.

Seen as second only to Jammeh, the two men fell out in 2003, with Jobe losing his "majority leader" position in March and being arrested in November for fraud and customs' duty evasion as director of the Youth Development Enterprise, to which he had been appointed. He also forfeited his seat in the National Assembly. Jobe was given a nine-year jail sentence in March 2004. Previously (since 2001), Jobe had been subject to **United Nations** (UN) Security Council financial and travel sanctions for his part in arms trafficking to President Charles Taylor of Liberia (who supported the Revolutionary United

Front rebels in Sierra Leone), in violation of a UN embargo. This had used the aircraft belonging to the Gambia New Millennium Air Company, of which he was director, and which had been acquired for presidential use. Jobe remains in prison at the time of writing.

**JOBSON, RICHARD.** A supercargo (agent) for the **Company of Adventurers of London**, Jobson departed for the Gambia in October 1620 with two ships and much trade goods. His ships proceeded to Tendaba, from where he sailed to Mangegar and was allowed to establish a trading post (factory) there. He continued to explore the river, reaching **Barrakunda Falls** in January 1621, and Tenda the following month. He made friends with the local rulers, discovered the nature and type of trade to be had in the upper **Gambia River**, and found that the Portuguese were no longer a force on the river. Ill health among his crews forced him to leave the Gambia in May.

Convinced of the wealth that could be obtained by trading in the Gambia, Jobson sought to persuade the English royal family to subsidize further ventures. One of the propaganda weapons he used was his book on the expedition, entitled *The Golden Trade*. In 1624, he was entrusted with command of another expedition to the Gambia, but the venture was a failure. A later book, *The Discovery of the Country of King Solomon*, did not change the minds of English sponsors, but played an important role in spurring French interest in the Senegambia. The French formed a company in 1626 to exploit the river trade. Jobson, however, never returned to the Gambia.

**JOHNSON, BISHOP SOLOMON TILEWA (1954– ).** Born in **Bathurst** on 27 February 1954, Tilewa Johnson was educated at the Gambia High School. He then trained for the priesthood in the **Anglican Church** at Trinity College, Umuahia, Nigeria (Diploma in Theology, 1980), and later at the University of Durham, England (BA Theology, 1985), and at the Graduate Theological Foundation, Indiana (Doctor of Ministry, 2000). Ordained a deacon in 1979 and a priest in 1980, Johnson served at the Church of the African Martyrs in **Farafenni** and at St. Mary's Cathedral, before becoming the first Gambian to be appointed as Bishop of Gambia (including the Cape Verde Republic and Senegal) in 1990, a post he retains at the time of writing. Johnson has also held numerous secular as well as religious

positions in The Gambia and the wider **Christian** community. These have included chairman of The Association of Non-Governmental Organizations and a member of the Constitutional Review Commission (1995–96). He was also chairman of the **Independent Electoral Commission** between 1997 and December 2000 until dismissed by President **Yahya Jammeh**. Johnson had served impartially as chairman and his sacking was denounced as unconstitutional by the opposition parties, the **United Democratic Party** and the **National Reconciliation Party**, but their case was rejected by the Supreme Court in November 2001.

**JOINER, THOMAS (c. 1760s–1842)**. A **Mandinka**, Joiner was captured as a child and sold into slavery in America in the 18th century, where he learned carpentry. According to family sources, he took his surname from his slave owner. He was able to purchase his freedom, and after periods in Canada and England, finally returned to West Africa around 1808. Although based at Gorée until after its reoccupation by France in 1817, Joiner established a trade station in the upper **Gambia River** and, after moving to **Bathurst**, gradually built up a successful career as a shipowner and merchant. He traded upriver and as far as Madeira and Sierra Leone. At one time, he employed more than 100 persons. Regarded as a prominent member of the largely European trading community of Senegambia, he had become, by the time of his death, the most respected Gambian trader in Bathurst.

**JOKADU**. One of the five **Mandinka**-controlled kingdoms on the north bank of the **Gambia River** in the early 19th century, Jokadu was bounded on the west by Jurunku *Bolong* and on the east by Suwakurendu *Bolong*. In 1862, the area was captured by Amer Faal, one of **Ma Bah Diakhou**'s lieutenants, and the people were forced to accept **Islam**. Jokadu was then incorporated into Ma Bah's kingdom of **Baddibu**, and its history in the later years of the century was bound up in the struggle for control of this larger state. The chieftaincy was restored by the British reorganization of the **Protectorate** in the 20th century when it became a district in the **Lower River Division (North Bank Division** since 1968). It has also been a parliamentary constituency since 1962.

**JOLA.** This ethnic group comprised 11 percent of the population of The Gambia in 2003. As recently as 1963, more than half of all Jola in the country lived in the **Foni** areas south of **Bintang Bolong**, which remains the Jola heartland. Some Jola traditions suggest a common origin for themselves and the **Serere** in the upper Gambia region. It is probable that the Jola have been resident in the Gambia region for longer than any other ethnic group and that they were overcome by a series of **Mandinka** invasions. Some of the earliest European visitors mention the Jola, whom they called *Feloops*, living in the same places as they do now. Their political and social organization was village-oriented and not as sophisticated as that of the Mandinka or **Wolof**. **Francis Moore** and **Mungo Park** both reported in the 18th century that, although the Jola paid tribute to their Mandinka overlords, they had not been completely subjugated and continued to exercise great freedom. Many Jola served as mercenaries in the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, for both **Soninke** and **Marabout** leaders, but they strongly resisted the attempts by **Fodi Kabba** to convert them to **Islam** and, as late as the 1960s, many remained animist (a small minority of Jola are **Roman Catholics**). In 1887, the chiefs of 16 Jola towns signed a treaty with **Sir Samuel Rowe** at Kansala, whereby they placed themselves under British protection.

At independence, the Jola remained a socially excluded community, with many urban Jola working as unskilled laborers. They were also eclipsed by other ethnic communities politically until the emergence of the Jola, **Yahya Jammeh**, as junta leader in the **coup of 1994**. Jola are now thought to be strongly represented in the **Gambia National Army**. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**JOLOF.** The original **Wolof** state, it was formed before the 14th century, probably as a result of the breakup of the kingdom of Tekkur and the demise of Malian power in the Senegambia region. By the 16th century, five major states—Walo, Cayor, Baol, Sine, and Saloum—owed allegiance to the ruler (*burba*) of Jolof, but during the 17th century, all these revolted against Jolof domination, and the state became relatively isolated from the lucrative trade with Europeans. Because of its location, it was open to attacks from Mauritania and from the more prosperous coastal states of Cayor, Walo, and Baol. At an early date, much of the population was converted to **Islam**. In the

**Soninke–Marabout Wars**, Jolof was conquered by **Ma Bah Di-akhou**'s forces and briefly became a part of the kingdom of **Bad-dibu**. The use of Jolof territory for raids into French-protected areas led to a French expedition in 1890 and the subsequent absorption of this state into the French empire.

**JOLOFF TOWN**. A section of **Bathurst** between **Soldier Town** and **Half Die**, Joloff Town was also known as *Melville Town*. It is today the site of most of the major trading and business establishments. In the early 19th century, this section of the city was largely inhabited by **Wolof** artisans, while in the 20th century, it was a ward of the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** and later jointly with **Portuguese Town**, a **House of Representatives** constituency (1960–62).

**JONES, MELVIN BENONI (?–1992)**. An **Aku** Christian from **Bathurst**, Jones first came to prominence in July 1957 as general secretary of the **Gambia National Party** (GNP). He was appointed as the first editor of *The Vanguard* by its proprietor, another GNP leader, J. W. Bidwell-Bright, in March 1958, making his reputation as a journalist through his vehement attacks on unpopular expatriates, notably a dentist, W. M. Adam. Adam sued *The Vanguard* for libel, but lost the case. After falling out with Bidwell-Bright on political grounds, Jones was dismissed as editor in May 1959, but soon after he became owner and editor of *The Gambia Outlook*, **E. F. Small**'s old newspaper. He continued to edit and publish this newspaper until his death. Frequently critical of the government, he came out in support of the **National Convention Party** when it was founded in 1975.

Jones was elected for **Soldier Town**, first to the **Bathurst Town Council** in 1959 and then to the **House of Representatives** in the 1960 general election. On both occasions, although nominally an independent, Jones relied on the support of the **United Party** (UP) and he joined the UP immediately after the 1960 election.

Reelected for Soldier Town in 1962, Jones remained a member of the UP until 1964 when, having previously sought membership of the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP), he joined the **Democratic Congress Alliance** (DCA); he then became a member of the PPP when it merged with the DCA in 1965. In the 1966 election, he stood for the PPP in the new constituency of Bathurst Central, but was easily defeated by the

UP's J. R. Forster and did not stand for election again. Subsequently, he fell out with the PPP. In the later 1960s and early 1970s, he advocated closer ties between The Gambia and North Korea and the Soviet Union, serving as president of the (North) Korean–Gambian Friendship Association. Jones died on 21 July 1992. *See also* NEWS MEDIA.

**JOOF, GEORGE ST. CLAIR (c. 1907–1955).** The son of J. P. Joof, a clerk, who served as a member of the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** in the 1930s and 1940s, Joof joined the civil service in January 1924, entering the Legal Adviser's Office in June 1928. He later qualified as a barrister. The secretary of the Civil Service Union in the late 1930s, he was elected to the **Bathurst Town Council** in 1946 for the **New Town** East ward, but resigned from the council in January 1948. Joof contested the 1954 **Legislative Council** election as the candidate of the newly established Gambia People's Party, but gained only 252 votes (4 percent). He died aged only 47 in March 1955 and his party then ceased to exist.

**JOW, SATANG (1943– ).** Born in **Banjul** on 31 August 1943, the daughter of **H. O. Semega-Janneh**, Mrs. Jow was educated at St. Joseph's High School and the Gambia High School and then at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone (BA, 1966), and the Institute of Education, University of London (Postgraduate Certificate in Education, 1969). Jow taught at the Gambia High School (1966–94) and was principal between 1989 and 1994. She was appointed secretary of state (SoS) for education after the **1994 coup**; became SoS for youth, culture, and sports in 1995; and then returned to education in 1997. However, she resigned in December 1998 on the grounds of ill health. One of her achievements as minister was the establishment of a University Commission, which resulted in the setting up of the **University of The Gambia** in 1999.

A former member of the Gambian West African Examination Council Committee and other organizations, Jow served as a commissioner on the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Committee between May 2002 and April 2004. *See also* WOMEN.

**JUFFURE.** Juffure is a **Mandinka** village on the north bank of the **Gambia River** opposite **James Island**, where a large number of mixed-



blood Portuguese also resided in the 18th century. The site of the present-day village has moved and is now closer to **Albreda** than in the past. For a century after 1680, the English maintained factories there; these were maintained initially by the large chartered companies, but later by independent traders. In the early 18th century, Juffure provided the garrison at James Fort with a large part of their vegetable requirements. Juffure gained considerable prominence in the 1970s because Alex Haley, an African-American author, claimed in the very popular semi-fictional book, *Roots*, that this was the village of his ancestor, Kunta Kinte. Because of this work (the accuracy of which has been challenged by a number of authors), and the later TV series of the same name, Juffure has become a **tourist** attraction and hosts an annual “Roots Festival.”

**JULA (DIOLA).** The **Mandinka** word for a trader, it has also come to denote a number of related groups of Mandinka of merchant origin who settled along the major trading routes in the Western Sudan, Sierra Leone, Guinea, and the Gambia.

**JULY 22ND MOVEMENT.** This was ostensibly a mass youth organization launched by the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** in July 1995, as part of its national program of civic education and national development, with branches throughout The Gambia. It developed into a vehicle to advance the candidature of the junta leader, **Yahya Jammeh**, ahead of the presidential election in September 1996. Its first chairman was **Tamsir Jallow**, who subsequently became the “majority leader” for the government in the **National Assembly**. However, the national organizer, and leader of its youth wing, **Baba Jobe**, increasingly came to be seen as a threat to Jammeh and the administration, and although the organization was formally dissolved in October 1999, elements of it, popularly referred to as the “Green Boys,” continued to function in a similar manner.

**JUWARA, LAMIN WAA (1943– ).** A nephew of President **Dawda Jawara** and a **Mandinka**, Juwara was born in **Niamina** Dankunku and educated at **Armitage School** and **Yundum College** (1961–64). He then attended the University of Sofia in Bulgaria, obtaining a BA and MA in history. After joining the civil service in 1971 as under secretary to the Ministry of Education, Juwara was appointed as the

**divisional commissioner** (DC) for **Western Division** in 1972 and served as a DC in all divisions between 1972 and 1987. In 1977, he attempted to secure the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) nomination in several constituencies, but was rejected; he then stood as an independent candidate in Sabach Sanjal against **Saihou Sabally** and performed well, gaining 39 percent of the vote, but was still defeated in a four-way contest. He then joined the **National Convention Party**, but left it in 1978 in protest at its domination by **Sheriff Dibba** and rejoined the PPP. In 1987 and 1992, he again attempted to gain the PPP nomination, on the second occasion in his home area of Niamina; apparently accepted by the PPP's local constituency party, he was rejected by its Central Committee. He then stood as an independent and defeated the PPP's candidate, Malanding Ceesay.

After losing his seat in the **House of Representatives** following the **1994 coup**, Juwara became a leading member of the new opposition party, the **United Democratic Party** (UDP), serving as its national organizing secretary. Because of his prominent role, he suffered several periods of detention from November 1994 (including one of around 20 months from October 1996) and ill treatment at the hands of the security forces, but a lawsuit for damages for his detention was dismissed by the High Court in July 1998. He quarreled with the UDP leader, **Ousainou Darboe**, in 2002 and was expelled by the party that September; a month later, he set up his own political party, the **National Democratic Action Movement** (NDAM), which subsequently entered into coalition with several other opposition parties to form the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD) in January 2005. After making an unsuccessful bid to be the NADD "flag bearer" in March 2006, Juwara served as its coordinator and campaign manager in the elections of 2006–07, but apparently endorsed the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** candidate in Niamina, Essa Saidu Khan (who also hails from Niamina Dankunku), in the 2007 **National Assembly** election. In April 2007, contrary to the wishes of some NDAM leaders, Juwara resigned from the NADD amid rumors, fuelled by the support he had given to Saidu Khan, that he was reconciled with President **Yahya Jammeh**. His subsequent appointments first to the managing committee of the **Brikama** Area Council in November 2007, and then as one of its nominated councilors in February 2008, appeared to confirm this.

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**KABBA, FODI (c. 1832–1901).** The son of a **Mandinka** Koranic scholar, Kabba was born at Kosse in **Wuli**, but moved to **Jimara** with his father as a young man. His father established a settlement and wharf at **Kerewan** Dumbutu, but was killed in 1862 by **Musa Molloh** while Kabba was away. Other members of his family were kidnapped, but later released upon the personal intercession of Governor **G. A. K. D’Arcy**. Kabba’s response was to begin a career of marauding on the south bank of the **Gambia River** that lasted for more than twenty years; during this period, he carried out regular raids on **Soninke** settlements of Mandinka and **Fula**, sometimes at the behest of **Marabout** settlements. By the 1870s, he had established control over three separate districts on the south bank: one was south of **Bintang Bolong**, another was in western **Jarra** and eastern **Kiang**, and the third was in eastern Jarra. However, unlike **Ma Bah Diakhou**, he made no attempt to establish a centralized state.

In 1889, Kabba’s independence was threatened by the division of the Senegambia between France and Great Britain. In 1891 and 1893, he signed treaties with the French, who agreed to pay him an annual allowance of 5,000 francs in return for recognizing their sovereignty. But he was viewed by the British as one of the primary disturbers of the peace and one of the reasons why the **slave trade** continued along the southern banks of the Gambia River. In January 1892, they destroyed one of his main stockaded towns, Kiang, and forced him to retire to French territory. The French having refused to extradite him, as requested by Administrator **R. B. Llewelyn**, from his new base in the **Casamance**, he continued to support those Gambians who were discontented with the new British rule. His adherents would enter British territory, raid villages, take prisoners, and then recross the border into French territory before any effective pursuit could be organized.

Such raids continued for almost a decade until the murder in 1900 of **Travelling Commissioners C. F. Sitwell** and F. E. Silva at Sankandi. After Kabba had refused to hand over their murderers, the Gambian government received permission from the Colonial Office to join forces with the French to destroy his power once and for all. Shortages of troops as a result of the South African War postponed

the punitive expedition until 1901. In a two-pronged attack, Sankandi was taken, and Kabba's territory on the British side was pacified very quickly. The second phase of the campaign was carried out directly by the French against the main Marabout force. On 22 March 1901, Kabba's fortified town of Medina was taken and, aged nearly 70, he was killed.

Fodi Kabba should not be confused with another Marabout of the same name who was active in **Gunjur** in the early 1850s.

**KABILO-TIYO.** In **Mandinka** kingdoms, the *kabilo-tiyo* was in charge of a *kabilo* or a collection of yards (extended family households). He was normally the senior man of a particular lineage.

**KAH, KEBBA CHERNO AMAT (1923–?).** A Muslim **Tukolor** from the **Protectorate**, Kah was educated in Koranic schools, at a Catholic mission school, and at the Teachers' Training College at **Georgetown**. He taught at a number of Protectorate schools and then worked as a clerk in the Posts and Telegraphs Department, until he resigned to stand for election as an independent in **Niumi-Jokadu** in the 1960 election. He was unsuccessful and rejoined his old department, but was dismissed in March 1962. In the 1962 election, he won Jokadu for the **United Party** (UP). Almost immediately after the election, he joined the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) and was appointed as a parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Finance that September. He then became minister of health in succession to **E. D. N'Jie**, following the breakdown of the UP/PPP coalition in 1965.

After retaining Jokadu in the 1966 election, Kah continued as minister of health until he was forced to resign in April 1968, to make way for **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**. Kah then helped establish the **People's Progressive Alliance**. Though he returned to the PPP in July 1969, he was charged with fraud involving passport irregularities that October. He was convicted and sentenced to a two-year term of imprisonment and as a result forfeited his parliamentary seat. He was expelled from the PPP in February 1971 and subsequently disappeared from political life.

**KANIFING MUNICIPAL COUNCIL (KMC).** Known as *Kanifing Urban District Council* until 1990, the KMC is responsible for the

area that was once **Kombo St. Mary**. In 2003, it had a population of 322,735, its largest town being **Serrekunda**. Just over a third of its Gambian population was **Mandinka/Jahanka**, but Kanifing is an ethnically diverse location with substantial numbers of **Jola**, **Wolof**, and **Fula**; it also has a large non-Gambian population.

**KANTORA**. The most easterly of the **Mandinka**-controlled kingdoms on the south bank of the **Gambia River**, its rulers and traders were mentioned in 15th-century Portuguese accounts because of their alleged possession of great quantities of gold. Kantora was one of the Mandinka states, which **Alfa** and **Musa Molloh** attempted to absorb into **Fuladu** during the **Soninke-Marabout** conflicts in the 1870s. Although they were never completely successful, the older traditional rule in Kantora was broken. In the British reorganization of the **Protectorate** in the 20th century, the area of the ancient kingdom and its name were revived as a district in the **Upper River Division**. Since 1960, Kantora has also been a parliamentary constituency.

**KAUR**. A trading post on the middle **Gambia River**, Kaur later became an important **groundnut** exporting port accessible to smaller ocean-going vessels. The **Gambia Native Defensive Union** was established there by a group of traders in 1919.

**KELEPHA-SAMBA, IBRAHIMA B. A. (1915–1995)**. Born on 2 June 1915, Kelepha-Samba worked initially for the French firm, *Compagnie Française de l’Afrique Occidentale*, in **Jokadu**, before entering the civil service, first with the Gambia Post Office, then as a purser and senior accounting officer in the Marine Department before his retirement in 1972. Originally a member of the **Democratic Congress Alliance**, Kelepha-Samba joined the **People’s Progressive Party** (PPP) when the two parties merged in 1965 and later became its national president. In 1967, he was appointed mayor of **Bathurst**, a position he held until the sudden dissolution of the **Bathurst City Council** in June 1971. Chosen as the PPP candidate in Bathurst North for the 1972 general election, he lost to the **United Party** (UP) leader, **P. S. N’Jie**, and was then narrowly defeated by the UP’s M. A. Jobe, in a by-election in December 1972. However, in the 1977 general election, he defeated Jobe by 104 votes, and more easily won all sub-

sequent elections up to 1992. Kelepha-Samba was appointed as a parliamentary secretary after the 1977 election, before being promoted to minister of works and communications in 1979. But he lost his cabinet seat after the 1982 election, when President **Dawda Jawara** sought to promote younger members of Parliament, and did not regain ministerial office thereafter. He died on 18 July 1995.

**KEMINTANG (?–1841).** A **Soninke** chief, Kemintang contested the overlordship of **Niani** with Kolli, the chief of Kataba, in the 1820s. In 1834, following a dispute with a **Bathurst** merchant at Tendaba, he seized a vessel belonging to **W. H. Goddard**, and held it for ransom, asking the British to redress the wrongs he had suffered. Instead, Lieutenant Governor **George Rendall** declared an embargo on trade in the upper **Gambia River** and in August, dispatched a 120-man force against the chief. Kemintang retired to **Dungasseen**, a fortified town near the headwaters of **Sami Bolong**, which he successfully held against the British, who were forced to abandon their assault cannons. Kemintang mounted these guns on the walls of his town, and his victory gave him added prestige in **Niani**. Despite a number of British efforts, he refused to surrender the artillery and continued to make sporadic war against Kataba until his death in 1841.

**KENNEDY, SIR ARTHUR EDWARD (1810–1883).** Born at Cultra, County Down, Ireland, on 9 April 1810, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, Kennedy enlisted in the British Army as an ensign in the 27th Foot in 1827. He retired from the army as a captain in 1848 and after working for the Poor Law Commission in Ireland during the potato famine, joined the colonial service in 1851. He was briefly appointed governor of the Gambia in succession to **Richard MacDonnell**, but was transferred to Sierra Leone as governor before he could visit the Gambia. He left West Africa in 1854, to become successively governor of Western Australia (1854–62) and Vancouver Island (1863–66), before returning to Freetown as governor of the **British West African Settlements** in December 1867. He was also knighted in 1867.

As governor, Kennedy was one of the key figures in the negotiations over the proposed **cession** of the Gambia to France. Ordered by the Colonial Office to investigate and report on the situation in the

Gambia, Kennedy visited **Bathurst** for the first time in 1869, but spent only ten days there, and so his subsequent detailed despatches to the Colonial Office were based on second-hand reports from subordinates in Bathurst. Even before visiting the Gambia, Kennedy favored a territorial exchange with the French that would consolidate the West African territories claimed by both nations. He also argued that the Gambia cost Britain more than it was worth, claimed that French merchants controlled what little trade there was, and was dismissive of the local **Liberated African** population. These reports helped persuade the British government to accept the idea of cession.

After leaving Freetown, Kennedy served as governor of Hong Kong (1872–77) and Queensland (1877–83). He died at Aden on 3 June 1883, while returning home to England after resigning his post.

**KEREWAN.** Kerewan was the administrative center of North Bank Province between 1931 and 1947 and has fulfilled the same role in **North Bank Division** since 1968.

**KIANG.** One of the nine **Mandinka** kingdoms located along the south bank of the **Gambia River** in the early 19th century, Kiang stretched from the confluence of **Bintang Bolong** and the Gambia River eastward to a spot opposite Devil's Point and included the major port towns of Tankular and Tendaba. Because of its location and wealth, Kiang was a major prize in the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**. By the 1870s, Eastern Kiang was firmly controlled by **Fodi Kabba**, while the central and western parts of Kiang were still in the hands of the **Soninke** or owed allegiance to **Fodi Silla**. Kiang continued to be an area of disorder until after the killing of **Travelling Commissioners C. F. Sitwell** and F. E. Silva at Sankandi in 1900. After the British reorganization of the **Protectorate** in the 20th century, Kiang was placed in the Central Division (subsequently **Lower River Division**) and divided into three districts, each under the direction of a chief. A parliamentary constituency since 1960, Kiang has had three seats in the **National Assembly** since 1997.

**KILHAM, HANNAH (1774–1832).** Born in Sheffield on 12 August 1774, the former Hannah Spurr married Alexander Kilham, the founder of the Methodist New Connexion, shortly before his death in

1798. In 1803, she became a Quaker (a member of the Society of Friends) and in 1820, moved to Tottenham, North London. In the same year, she met two Gambian passengers, Mamadi and Sandani, on a ship that had arrived from the Gambia and persuaded them to remain in England to teach her **Wolof** and **Mandinka**. Following an earlier exploratory visit by William Singleton in January 1821, Kilham, three other Europeans, and the two Gambian men arrived in the Gambia on 8 December 1823 to set up one of the first industrial missionary schemes in Africa. The two European men and one of the Gambians started an agricultural school at Cape St. Mary, while Kilham and another woman, Anne Thompson, opened a school for girls in **Bathurst**. The other Gambian took charge of the school for **Liberated Africans**. Later, a **Wesleyan** missionary arrived in the Gambia, and Kilham turned her school over to him and took up residence in Bakau, where she opened another girls' school.

Within a few months, all the members of the Friends' mission were stricken with fever and were forced to return to England, thus ending the Quaker experiment in the Gambia. However, Kilham later returned to West Africa, this time to Sierra Leone, where she set up many schools. She died at sea on 31 March 1832 while en route to Freetown from Liberia. Hannah Kilham is remembered as well for her pioneering study and use of African languages in African education.

**KING'S BOYS.** Recaptive slaves who had served with the **Royal African Corps** and the West India Regiments and had been pensioned or discharged, "king's boys" were the first of the **Liberated Africans** to be sent to the Gambia. Beginning in the early 1820s, a number of these ex-soldiers settled along Oyster Creek with grants of land and free farming implements. Some king's boys became government ferrymen, others burned lime from the oyster shells for the **Bathurst** market, and still others found employment in the construction of its first public buildings.

**KOLLEY, ABDOU (1970–).** Born on 1 January 1970, and hailing from Kembuje, Kolley attended higher education at the University Jean Monnet at Saint-Etienne, France, graduating with a maîtrise ès sciences in 1997. On his return to **Banjul**, he was employed as an economist at the Department of State for Finance and Economic Affairs



(1997–2000) and at the Gambia Divestiture Agency (2000–2004), in the latter stages as its director. He then worked for the **United Nations** Development Programme in Banjul as an economic analyst prior to his appointment as secretary of state for trade, industry, and employment in March 2007 replacing **Susan Waffa-Ogoo**. He remains in this post at the time of writing.

**KOMBO.** In 1816, the King of Kombo, one of the nine south bank **Mandinka** kingdoms, who controlled the lands adjacent to the mouth of the **Gambia River**, sold **Banjul Island** to Captain **Alexander Grant**. Further land was sold to the British in July 1840, December 1850, and May 1853; this new area became British Kombo (later renamed *Kombo St. Mary*), and the final transaction helped to precipitate the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, which began in Kombo. By 1855, **Marabouts** controlled western Kombo; the last ruler of Kombo, **Tomani Bojang**, was forced to surrender to **Fodi Silla** in 1875. *See also* JATTA, SULING.

**KOMBO ST. MARY (KSM).** Also known as *British Kombo* in the 19th century, KSM was that part of the Kombo ceded to the Gambian government between 1840 and 1853. It thus formed part of the Crown **Colony**. Placed under the **Protectorate** system of government in 1902, it was transferred back to the Colony for administrative purposes in 1946. Around 1968, the local government in KSM was renamed the *Kanifing Urban District Council*, which subsequently became the **Kanifing Municipal Council**.

**KONKO.** A short-handled mattock-shaped tool that is used for planting **groundnuts**. The tool, together with the *iler*, is featured on the coat-of-arms of the Republic of The Gambia.

**KOORAA (KORA).** The *kooraa* is a **Mandinka** 21-string harp-lute played by a caste of professional musician–singers known as *jalis* (cf. **Wolof griot**).

**KORDA-TIYO.** The **Protectorate** Ordinance of 1902 and all subsequent ones until 1933 accepted the *korda* (yard) as the basic political institution throughout the Gambian Protectorate. A *yard* was defined

as a collection of several huts held by a kindred grouping. The head of a yard was normally referred to by the **Mandinka** term *korda-tiyo*. These household leaders were under the supervision of a village head, called the *satee-tiyo*.

**KORTRIGHT, SIR CORNELIUS HENDRICKSON (1817–1897).**

Born in London on 26 December 1817, Kortright served as president (administrator) of the British Virgin Islands (1854–57) and lieutenant governor of Grenada (1857–64) and of Tobago (1864–72), before becoming administrator of the Gambia in June 1873 (arriving in **Bathurst** that October). During his period of office, he was deeply involved in the second attempt by the British government to cede the Gambia to France and acted as the chief source of information for the Colonial Office. He reported that British merchants in Bathurst would not oppose **cession** if proper compensation was paid, but in fact their opposition (as well as that from Africans in the **Gambia Native Association**) became very organized and vocal. After leaving the Gambia in February 1875, Kortright served as governor of the **British West African Settlements** (1875; 1876–77) and governor of British Guiana (1877–81). Knighted in 1882, after he had retired, he died on 23 December 1897 in Ontario, Canada.

– L –

**LEBANESE.** An extremely successful minority business community, originating in Lebanon and Syria, the Lebanese are found in most West African countries from Senegal to Cameroon and even beyond. The first immigrants arrived in the Gambia and Senegal around 1900; there were 14 “Syrians” in **Bathurst** in 1901. Their numbers gradually increased until independence (there were 201 Lebanese and Syrians in Bathurst and **Kombo St. Mary** in 1951). Their ascendancy in middle-level business was originally because of the preference given to them, rather than to their African competitors, by the large European commercial firms. Moreover, in the 1950s, some Lebanese businessmen acquired a considerable amount of African-owned land in Bathurst through a series of transactions. Although their numbers and influence have decreased, they

are still the dominant mid-level merchants in The Gambia and are also active in the transport and service sectors.

Most Lebanese have avoided direct participation in politics, the main exception being **Henry Madi**.

**LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.** One of two councils found in British Crown Colonies to assist the governor in making decisions, the other being the **Executive Council**. The small nominated Gambian Legislative Council met for the first time in November 1843. Although it had an official majority, the council did have one unofficial member, a British merchant: **W. H. Goddard**. A third unofficial member was added in 1858, but the council was downgraded in 1866 on the establishment of the **British West African Settlements**, with only one unofficial (**Thomas Brown**) being retained. A second unofficial member was added in 1878. **J. D. Richards** became the first African to be appointed to the council in 1883, while **S. J. Forster Jr.** was the first African professional to be appointed in 1906. In 1922, the **Muslim** community in the Gambia was granted the right to nominate a member to the council, its first selection being **Ousman Jeng**, while a similar right was granted to the **Bathurst Urban District Council** in 1933, its first choice being **W. D. Carrol**.

Until the introduction of a new constitution in 1946, the Legislative Council had an official majority and no directly elected members. However, after the first direct election to the council in 1947, the number of unofficial members was increased to seven to ensure an unofficial majority. The **Protectorate** was also represented on the council for the first time by three chiefs and by the headmaster of an **Anglican** mission school (**J. C. Faye**). After the 1951 election, the number of elected members was increased to three, two for **Bathurst** and one for **Kombo St. Mary**. After the 1954 election, unofficial representation was increased to 16 (four were directly elected, 10 were indirectly elected, and two were nominated). In 1960, the council was abolished and replaced by the **House of Representatives**.

**LEMMAIN ISLAND.** *See* MacCARTHY ISLAND.

**LIBERATED AFRICANS.** These were Africans in transit as slaves to the New World who were liberated, normally by warships of the

British West African Patrol, when Britain abolished the **slave trade** in 1807. Because they were taken twice, the term “recaptive” came to be used to describe this group. Most of the captives were taken to Freetown, although they came from various parts of West Africa and represented many different ethnic and cultural groups. They presented a considerable problem to the British government in Freetown, which had only limited funds available for resettlement. A handful of Liberated Africans was transferred to **Bathurst** in 1818 and a few more were sent there in the 1820s at the request of the mercantile community in Bathurst. However, most immigration occurred between 1832 (after Lieutenant Governor **George Rendall** had urged the secretary of state for the colonies to allow the transfer of a large body of Liberated Africans) and 1838 (when Lieutenant Governor William Mackie prohibited the practice). Despite this prohibition, the transfer of Liberated Africans continued until 1843, when the Liberated African department was closed down, by which time between 3,000 and 5,000 Liberated Africans had been transferred to the Gambia, both to **MacCarthy Island** and to the Bathurst area.

Attempts to persuade Liberated Africans to accept free passages to the West Indies in 1841 and 1845 were largely unsuccessful, though a group did emigrate to St. Vincent. The **Aku** (Yoruba) became particularly important in trade and commerce, and their descendants were among the first Africans to occupy important posts in the civil service and government of the Gambia in the 20th century.

**LLEWELYN, SIR ROBERT BAXTER (1845–1919).** Llewelyn started his career as a clerk in the Colonial Office in London in 1868, before transferring to the West Indies. After working in junior posts in Jamaica, he served as commissioner of the Turks and Caicos Islands (1878–83), governor of Tobago (1885–86), administrator of St. Vincent (1888–89), and commissioner of St. Lucia (1889–91), before his appointment in February 1891 as administrator of the Gambia. As administrator, he was largely responsible for establishing the early forms of indirect rule in the **Protectorate**. British control over most of the **Gambia River** areas after the **Anglo–French Convention of 1889** had been exercised in an ad hoc, intermittent

manner, until 1893, when Llewelyn appointed the first **travelling commissioners**. After months of study of other British colonial dependencies, particularly India, the governor and his staff issued the Protectorate Ordinance of 1894. Later governors modified this legislation, but the basic form and mechanics of Protectorate government as stated in the 1894 Ordinance remained in effect until the eve of Gambian independence. Llewelyn was also primarily responsible for modifying the more extreme demands of the French representatives on the various boundary commissions of the 1890s. He and his advisors drew up and instituted the plans for the joint operation with the French in 1901 that finally destroyed the influence of **Fodi Kabba**.

Llewelyn also had a significant impact on Gambian politics. In August 1895, he organized the first “election” to the **Legislative Council** when he issued 91 confidential circulars to the special jurors, magistrates, and “professional men” of the colony inviting them to nominate three candidates for the council. However, when **H. C. Goddard** and **J. D. Richards** headed the poll, Llewelyn ignored the results by disregarding Richards (whom he distrusted) and instead reappointing **S. J. Forster Sr.**, along with Goddard, in November 1895. Llewelyn also ended the unusual experiment of a non-official serving as a member of the **Executive Council** when he forced James Topp (whom he also distrusted) to step down as the “unofficial member” in 1896.

On leaving the Gambia in March 1900, Llewelyn returned to the West Indies to serve as governor of the Windward Islands (1900–1906). He then retired and died on 19 February 1919.

**LOWER RIVER DIVISION (LRD)**. LRD, which is located on the south bank of the **Gambia River**, comprises six districts: **Jarra Central**, **Jarra East**, **Jarra West**, **Kiang Central**, **Kiang East**, and **Kiang West**. Its administrative capital is **Mansakonko**. In 2003, the total population of LRD was 72,167, while its largest city, Soma, had an estimated population of 18,000. Three-fifths of its Gambian population was **Mandinka/Jahanka**, while a quarter was **Fula/Tukulor/Lorobo**. Until 1968, when the separate **North Bank Division** was created, LRD was a much larger division and located on both sides of the river.

## – M –

**MacCARTHY, SIR CHARLES (1768–1824)** (also written as **M’CARTHY**). The son of a French father and an Irish mother, MacCarthy joined the British Army in 1794 as an officer in the 5th Regiment of the Irish Brigade. He served in the West Indies and New Brunswick before being appointed lieutenant colonel in the **Royal African Corps** in 1811. Sent in 1812 to Sierra Leone as governor, he recommended to the Colonial Office in 1815 that Britain should reoccupy **James Island**. He also supported Captain **Alexander Grant**’s decision not to attempt the rebuilding of the fort on the island, but rather to purchase **Banjul** Island from the King of **Kombo** and build the British base there. MacCarthy also subsequently encouraged British merchants to move from Gorée to the new settlement of **Bathurst** and established a courts system. MacCarthy, who also commanded Cape Coast on the Gold Coast, was knighted in 1820 and killed in action against the Ashanti on 21 January 1824 at Bonsaso, with his head being taken as a trophy by the Ashanti.

**MacCARTHY ISLAND.** Originally called *Janjanbureh*, and Lemain Island by Europeans in the 18th century, the island was ceded to the British by Kolli, the **Soninke** ruler of Kataba, in April 1823, and renamed *MacCarthy Island*, in honor of **Sir Charles MacCarthy**. It had a population of 841 in 1833, which rose to 1,263 in 1871, with most inhabitants living in the main settlement on the island, Georgetown. Many of these were **Liberated Africans** and their descendants, it having been British policy in the 1830s to place as many Liberated African immigrants as possible on the island. MacCarthy Island was an important trading site for trans-Gambian trade from areas in Senegal to the north, as well as from the upper **Casamance** during the 19th century. It was also the location for an important **Wesleyan** missionary settlement, which was established there in 1832. Following the establishment of the **British West African Settlements** in 1866, the military garrison on the island was abandoned. As a result, the Liberated African community on the island declined; by 1901, the island’s recorded population was only 797. Earlier, in 1897, MacCarthy Island had been placed under the **Protectorate** system of government.

**MacCARTHY ISLAND DIVISION.** *See* CENTRAL RIVER DIVISION.

**MacDONNELL, SIR RICHARD GRAVES (1814–1881).** Born in Dublin on 3 September 1814, the son of a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, MacDonnell was educated privately and then at Trinity College (BA, 1835). He was called to the Irish bar in 1838 and the English bar in 1841, practicing in London. First appointed to the Gambian government in April 1843 as chief justice, he was made governor in October 1847 in succession to **Charles FitzGerald**. Even before then, MacDonnell had traveled into the hinterland as far as Bondu, where he induced the local ruler to repudiate the exclusive trade treaty he had just made with three Frenchmen and extracted a promise that the route from Bondu to the **Gambia River** would be kept open. After being appointed governor, MacDonnell undertook yet more explorations in 1849 and 1850, narrowly escaping death when he visited Kunnong, whose inhabitants first drove off MacDonnell's party and then pillaged a trading post nearby. On his return to **Bathurst**, MacDonnell organized a punitive expedition, which eventually forced the chief of Kunnong to submit.

As governor, MacDonnell was popular with the British merchants who welcomed his efforts to foster trade in the interior and his willingness to impose a blockade on French traders at **Albreda** to prevent smuggling. He was much less popular with the **Liberated African** community, which resented his abandoning of a project to drain the swamp around Bathurst.

MacDonnell left the Gambia in August 1852. He later served as administrator of St. Vincent (1853–55), governor of South Australia (1855–62), governor of Nova Scotia (1864–65), and finally governor of Hong Kong (1865–72). Knighted in 1855 and created a KCMG in 1871, he died at Hyères, France, on 5 February 1881.

**MacNAMARA, MATTHIAS.** An ensign in **O'Hara's** Corps in the **Province of Senegambia**, MacNamara was selected over older and more senior officers to be lieutenant governor at **James Island** in 1774. He became the governor of Senegambia in November 1775 and almost immediately quarreled with Captain **Joseph Wall**, who had taken his place at James Island. MacNamara ordered Wall's ar-

rest in August 1776 and kept him in confinement for 10 months at the fort before bringing him to trial. Wall was cleared of the charges and subsequently won damages from MacNamara. Having returned to England, MacNamara was removed as governor of Senegambia by the Council of Trade in April 1777 and, after losing an appeal, finally dismissed in August 1778.

**MADI, HENRY ANTHONY (1913–1965).** A naturalized Gambian, Henry Madi was the son of Sarkis Madi (died July 1962), a **Lebanese**, who established a very successful family firm, S. Madi, in **Bathurst** in 1906. After being educated at Blackrock College in Dublin, Ireland, Madi returned to the Gambia in the late 1930s to work in the family business, which expanded from the 1950s to include **groundnut** purchasing and refining, property development, textiles, and hotel construction. He flourished and by the early 1950s was widely regarded as the richest man in the Gambia. He was a member of the **Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board** between 1948 and 1964 and, unusually for a Lebanese, also took an active part in the political life of the community. He was elected to the **Legislative Council** for **Kombo St. Mary** on a nonparty platform in 1951 (and reelected in 1954), subsequently being appointed to the **Executive Council**. Madi was also widely believed to have discreetly provided financial support to all the fledgling **political parties** in Bathurst in the 1950s, to help protect the economic interests of the Lebanese community. He did not stand for election to the **House of Representatives** in 1960, but as testimony to his public standing, was appointed as an independent delegate to constitutional conferences in Bathurst (1961) and London (1961 and 1964). His brothers, Joseph and Robert, were appointed as “nominated” members of Parliament in the House of Representatives, in succession, in the mid-1960s and early 1970s. Henry Madi died unexpectedly, at the age of 52, in London, in September 1965, while on a business trip.

**MAHONEY, SIR JOHN ANDREW (1883–1966).** The son of a leading merchant of Moco origin, James E. Mahoney (died 1913), Mahoney was born on 6 March 1883 and educated at the Wesleyan Boys’ High School in **Bathurst** and the Church Missionary Society Grammar School in Freetown. Returning to the Gambia, he worked



as a shopkeeper and clerk, before entering government employment as a clerk in 1921. He became purser in 1912, chief clerk of the General Post Office in 1913, and acting postmaster in 1915, but resigned from the civil service in January 1917. He then moved into the commercial sector, finding employment with the French trading company, Maurel et Prom; he worked there for the rest of his career, retiring as chief clerk in 1953. Mahoney married the former Hannah Small, the half-sister of **E. F. Small**, in 1916, and in the early 1920s, the two men worked together as leading members of the Gambia Section of the **National Congress of British West Africa**. Mahoney in fact served as its secretary between 1923 and 1926. However, he was not active in the **Rate Payers' Association** in the 1930s.

In January 1942, Mahoney was appointed to the **Legislative Council** as a “nominated” member by Governor **W. T. Southorn** at the same time as Small was selected as the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** member. Mahoney served on the council until 1947, often joining forces with Small to oppose government policies. After the 1951 election, he was made vice president of the Legislative Council; after the 1954 election, he was appointed the first (and only) speaker of the council. He then served as speaker of the new **House of Representatives** in 1960 until his retirement in 1962. Awarded an OBE, he was later knighted in 1959 and died on 23 January 1966.

One of Mahoney's daughters, Augusta, who was a midwife, married the then **David Jawara** in 1955, while another, **Louise N'Jie**, became a prominent educationalist and later the first Gambian **woman** minister.

**MANDINKA** (also written as **MANDINGO**, cf. **MENDE**; **MA-LINKE**). The largest ethnic group in the Gambia, the Mandinka made up 36 percent of the Gambian population in 2003, their share having fallen from 39 percent in 1993. The Mandinka are spread fairly evenly throughout the length of the country, with a third of their population living in **Brikama** Local Government Area in 2003. Relatively few Mandinka lived in Bathurst before the 1960s, but by 2003, a fifth of all Mandinka lived in **Banjul** or **Kanifing**.

The Gambian Mandinka are the most westerly extension of the Manding group of people who speak kindred languages belonging to the northern subgroup of the Niger–Congo family and have similar

political and social organizations. The Mandinka have long been resident in the Gambia, probably moving into the area in the late 13th or early 14th centuries. They were certainly fully established on both banks of the **Gambia River** by the 15th century.

Mandinka society was divided into three endogamous castes—the freeborn (*foro*), slaves (*jongo*), and artisans or praise singers (*nyamalo*). Age groups (*kaafoolu*) were important in Mandinka society, in contrast to the sociopolitical organizations of neighboring **Wolof** people. The basis of life for the Mandinka was, and is, **agriculture**, although they were also the dominant traders on the Gambia River. In the second half of the 19th century, cultivation of **groundnuts** became the major activity for most Mandinka male farmers (**women** have tended to cultivate rice).

By 1800, the Mandinka provided the ruling class (and most of the inhabitants) of all but one of the 15 kingdoms below the **Barrakunda** Falls. Rule in each of these states was based upon kinship, and each king (*mansa*) surrounded himself with a complex bureaucracy. The kingdoms were subdivided into the territorial units of the village, ward, and family compound. Village administration was carried out by the *satee-tiyo* (*alkaalo*) in council. Each village was further divided into *kabilos* (wards), which were administered by a *kabilo-tiyo*, chosen on the basis of his lineage as well as his abilities. The kings each maintained an armed force to defend the state and impose their will on their subjects. Because they were not themselves permitted to lead troops, the rulers chose a general (*jawara*) for this function.

The Mandinka systems of rule were challenged in the later 19th century by proselytizing teachers who wished to convert the Mandinka to **Islam**. The ensuing conflicts led to the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, which resulted in the breakdown of traditional Mandinka authority structures in the Gambia and the conversion of most Mandinka to Islam. With rare exceptions, most notably **D. K. Jawara**, few Mandinka converted to **Christianity**. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**MANE, KOLLIMANKE.** As King of **Barra**, Mane allowed the British in 1816 to quarry stone on Dog Island for the construction of the first buildings in **Bathurst** free of charge. Instead, the king was paid a proportion of the duty levied on merchant ships entering the **Gambia River**. This was greatly reduced in 1820, and, after Mane's

death in 1823, this incident was remembered by the new king and his advisors and was one of the reasons for the **Barra War** of 1831–32.

**MANJAGO (MANJACK).** The Manjago, who account for about one-tenth of the population of modern Guinea-Bissau, apparently arrived in the Gambia from Portuguese territory to the south in the late 19th century; in 1911, 128 Manjago were living in **Bathurst**. By 1963, 1,700 Manjago were in the Gambia, a total that exceeded 24,000 in 2003, when they comprised 2 percent of the population. The majority then lived in **Brikama** Local Government Area. Although no longer Portuguese-speaking, they often retain Portuguese names, such as “Mendy” and “Gomez”; they are mainly **Christians**. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**MANNEH, DR. MOMODOU S. K. (1947– ).** Born at Salikene in Central **Baddibu** (like his political ally in the early 1970s, Dr. **Lamin K. Saho**), Manneh was educated at Bakau School before entering **Yundum College** in 1963. He attended higher education in the United States, first at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (BA) and then at Rutgers University, New Jersey (MA in International Relations and Foreign Policy). He later returned to Rutgers in a teaching capacity and also obtained a Ph.D. there in 1975.

Manneh had returned to The Gambia shortly before the 1972 election, but was prevented from standing for election because he did not meet the residency qualification. Instead, like Saho, he provided leadership to the independent candidates who challenged the **People’s Progressive Party** (PPP). Having made his peace with the PPP in 1975, he was selected as its candidate for **Jokadu** in the 1977 election and after winning the seat was appointed parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Education; in January 1981, he was promoted to minister of economic planning and industrial development. However, he was sacked in January 1985, having been accused of harassing **National Convention Party** supporters in his constituency, amassing illicit wealth, bullying and showing disrespect to elders, and speaking against President **Dawda Jawara**. Deselected as a PPP candidate before the 1987 election, he stood once again for the **House of Representatives** in 1992 as an independent against the PPP’s Amadou Lowe, having previously been turned down as a PPP candidate; he

comfortably defeated Lowe, but the Supreme Court ruled that the election was invalid and ordered a re-run. The by-election was held in June 1993 and Manneh was again successful, retaining the seat until the 1994 coup.

When the ban on the PPP was lifted, Manneh rejoined his old party, campaigned for the **United Democratic Party** candidate, **Ousainou Darboe**, in the 2001 election, and was briefly detained after the election. However, in June 2006, he announced that he was joining the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**.

**MANSA (pl. MANSOLU).** *Mansa* is a **Mandinka** title for the ruler of one of their traditional states. The comparable titles among the **Wolof** are *lam* and *bur*.

**MANSAKONKO.** Mansakonko was the administrative center of Central Division between 1947 and 1968 and has been of **Lower River Division** since 1968.

**MARABOUTS.** Initially, these **Muslim** religious teachers later came to exercise considerable political and economic influence. At the court of every Senegambian ruler who had accepted Islam would be at least one Marabout, whose responsibilities in normal times were to pray for the ruler, give advice, and handle correspondence. In the disturbed conditions after 1850, some of the Marabouts came to wield great political influence, and some, such as **Ma Bah Diakhou**, themselves became the rulers of large kingdoms. This was the case in many areas adjacent to the **Gambia River** where traditional rulers and their entourages refused to accept Islam. The series of civil wars called the **Soninke–Marabout Wars** were initially based on the wish of reforming Marabouts to overthrow the “pagan” **Soninke** rulers and convert the people to Islam.

Whereas Marabouts came to play a vital role in the administrative and economic life of the French colony of **Senegal**, a role continued after independence, the British tended to question their integrity and ignored them in favor of local chiefs in the administration of the territory. Gambian Marabouts are to be found throughout the country, but enjoy a more local following than in Senegal. Although many have sought to avoid open association with **political parties**, some

gave support to the **United Party** or the **People's Progressive Party**. A number of prominent Gambian politicians have consulted Marabouts, usually the more prestigious ones living in Mauritania and Senegal, before elections, to seek spiritual guidance and intercession or to obtain the support of their followers in The Gambia.

**M'BAI, FAFA EDRISSA (1942– )**. A **Wolof** from Sambang Tuba in **Niamina** Dankunku, M'Bai was born on 18 September 1942 and educated locally and then at **Armitage School**. He began his career in the civil service in 1960, ending it as accounting officer in the Ministry of Finance in 1970. He later obtained degrees in law at two English universities: Keele (Law and Political Science) and the London School of Economics. Returning to The Gambia in the mid-1970s, he was appointed chief magistrate in 1976 and held a number of other legal positions before qualifying as a barrister by 1979. A staunch supporter of the **People's Progressive Party (PPP)**, he worked in private practice in **Banjul** until his appointment as attorney general and minister of justice in succession to **M. L. Saho** after the 1982 election.

M'Bai was given the task of eradicating corruption in public life by President **Dawda Jawara** and, to that end, he established an Assets Evaluation Commission in March 1983 to investigate the origins of apparently unearned wealth. But somewhat bizarrely, M'Bai was himself its first victim and was forced to resign from the cabinet in June 1984 over his involvement in a foreign exchange scandal. He was subsequently arrested and put on trial, but was acquitted and returned to private practice in Banjul. In August 1994, he briefly resumed a political career when he was surprisingly reappointed attorney general and minister of justice by President **Yahya Jammeh**. But he remained in office only until March 1995 when he was once again accused of corruption and dismissed. In a subsequent trial, he was convicted in December 1995 of abuse of office and the illegal transfer of funds. Despite this conviction, he subsequently resumed his private practice in Banjul.

**M'BAKI, OMAR MOMODOU (c. 1923–1994)**. A **Tukulor** from Koli-kunda, Sami, M'Baki was educated at the Methodist Boys' High School, **Bathurst**, and at the Njala Teacher Training College in Sierra Leone. In 1947, he became a teacher at **Armitage School**, leaving in 1949, when he succeeded his late father as *seefoo* of Sami district,

**MacCarthy Island Division**; he was later a director of the **Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board**. In 1951, he was appointed to the **Legislative Council** as one of the **Protectorate** members. The best educated of the Protectorate chiefs, he entered the **House of Representatives** in 1960 as one of their five indirectly elected representatives and was appointed to the **Executive Council** by Governor **Edward Windley** as minister of works and services (subsequently, works and communications). Following the 1962 election (when he topped the poll in the separate election of chiefs), M'Baki was appointed minister of communications in the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) government, but lost his specific portfolio in October 1963 and was forced to resign from the cabinet altogether in September 1964. No chief thereafter served as a minister under **Dawda Jawara**. M'Baki briefly regained his former position as *seefoo* of Sami district, but in March 1965, he lost this position as well when he and six other chiefs were dismissed or forced to resign by the central government for antigovernment attitudes. After this, M'Baki withdrew from political life to take up a business career, although he briefly resurfaced in the 1977 election, when he failed to take Sami from the PPP, and thereafter ceased to be politically active. He died on 27 August 1994 aged 71.

**M'BOGE, LAMIN BORA (1932–2008)**. A **Mandinka**, born in **Niamina** Dankunku in 1932, M'Boge was a close relative of Lamin Bakoto M'Boge, *seefoo* of Niamina Dankunku in the 1950s. His sister, Njaimah, married Sir **Dawda Jawara** in 1970. Educated at **Armitage School** (to primary level), he entered the Department of Agriculture in 1953 as an agricultural learner. He joined the Public Works Department in 1956 and was appointed customs officer in 1962. Politically active from the late 1950s as a member of first the Protectorate People's Society and then the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP), he resigned from the civil service successfully to contest **Iliassa** for the PPP in the 1962 election. He was then appointed deputy speaker of the **House of Representatives**, as well as the director of the PPP's National Bureau. M'Boge soon acquired a reputation as one of the most outspoken PPP members of Parliament (MPs), criticizing both the government's domestic policies and its pro-Western foreign policy. M'Boge was also on close terms with the leader of the **Gambia Workers' Union** (GWU), **M. E. Jallow**. Following an

inflammatory speech at a GWU May Day rally in **Bathurst**, in 1965, he was expelled from the PPP and sacked as deputy speaker.

M'Boge, who now sat in Parliament as an independent, opposed the November 1965 republic referendum. He also contested the 1966 general election in Niamina as an independent, but only won 4 per cent of the vote. In 1967, he helped establish a short-lived party, the National Convention Party (which was not connected with the later party of **Sheriff Dibba**), but left it after a few months. He did not, however, join the **People's Progressive Alliance** founded in 1968 by another Niamina politician, **Sheriff Sisay**, and others; instead, he took full advantage of Sisay's defection by rejoining the PPP that October. His reward was to replace Sisay as PPP candidate for Niamina in the 1972 general election. He was made parliamentary secretary to Dibba in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development, subsequently replacing Dibba as minister in July 1975. He was then briefly appointed minister of finance and trade in 1977, but was sacked by **Dawda Jawara** within a few days and returned to the backbenches. In August 1978, in another cabinet reshuffle, he was made parliamentary secretary to the minister for local government and lands and finally rejoined the cabinet after the 1982 election as minister of works and communications.

After the 1987 election, M'Boge was replaced as minister by **M. C. Cham** and did not regain ministerial office thereafter. He remained the MP for Niamina until the 1992 election, when he was replaced as a PPP candidate by a newcomer, Malanding Ceesay. M'Boge had resought the nomination and his disaffection may have contributed to the loss of the seat to the independent, **Lamin Waa Juwara**. M'Boge died on 6 January 2008.

**MIDDLETON, SIR JOHN (1870–1954)**. Born in Stow, Scotland, in July 1870 and educated at Sedburgh and the University of Edinburgh, Middleton joined the colonial service in Nigeria in 1901 and by 1907 was senior assistant colonial secretary. He then served as assistant colonial secretary and colonial secretary in Mauritius (1908–20) and as governor of the Falkland Islands (1920–27). Appointed governor of the Gambia in March 1927, one of his first actions was to reappoint **S. J. Forster Jr.** and **Ousman Jeng** to the **Legislative Council**. He left the Gambia in November 1928 to become governor of

Newfoundland (1928–32). He then retired to Wiltshire, England, where he died on 5 November 1954.

**MOLLOH, ALFA (ALFA MOLO) (c. 1820s–1881).** A **Fula** Firdu, Molloh was born Molloh Egue in the old **Mandinka** kingdom of **Jimara**, later changing his name to Alfa Molloh. Of slave origin, he was an elephant hunter who led a revolt of Fula migrants against the Mandinka chief of Jimara in the mid-19th century. It was rumored that Molloh had met with **Al Hajj Umar Tall** and had taken the **Ti-janiyya** oath before 1867, a sufficient indication of devotion to **Islam** to gain him support from the Islamic states of **Futa Jallon** and **Futa Toro**. During the 1870s, Molloh's forces (led by his son, **Musa Molloh**) conquered Jimara, **Tomani**, and a number of smaller chieftaincies southward to the **Casamance** and then laid the foundations for the centralized state of **Fuladu**.

**MOLLOH, MUSA (MUSA MOLO) (?–1931).** The son of **Alfa Molloh**, founder of the **Fula** kingdom of **Fuladu**, Molloh had begun his career as a warrior by the early 1860s and was responsible for killing the family of **Fodi Kabba** in 1862. He acted as the commander of his father's military forces in the 1870s and expanded the areas under his control at the expense of the traditional **Mandinka** rulers as well as those of such other **Marabouts** as Kabba and **Simotto Moro**. The death of Alfa Molloh in 1881 fractured the recently created state of Fuladu. Bakari Dembel (Alfa Molloh's brother) inherited the throne, but in 1892, he was ousted by Musa Molloh who proclaimed himself king.

Molloh's state reflected his need for a stable kingdom that would respond quickly to his requirements. He exercised complete military authority and controlled the political life of Fuladu by a close watch over the 40 district leaders he appointed to act in his name throughout the territory. Molloh also used a central bureaucracy to check on the activities of the district heads. However, the partition of the Senegambia after 1889 brought fundamental changes to Fuladu. Realizing that in order to maintain the unity of his kingdom, he would have to choose peace rather than war with the Europeans, he therefore promised to live quietly in the newly established French territory. In 1901, he participated in the joint expedition with the British and the French against his old enemy, Kabba. Two years later, however, the French built a



military post at his town of Hamdallai. Molloh responded by burning the town in March 1903, cutting the telegraph lines, and retreating to British territory in May 1903. There he established himself at Kesselikunda, north of the **Gambia River**.

The British recognized his control over western Fuladu, a small part of his former kingdom. Under an agreement of June 1901, the Gambian government paid him an annual stipend of £500 and, in general, left him alone to rule. Without an army and cut off from the bulk of his previous territory in the south, he was, in effect, a British prisoner. The British could depose him whenever they wished, but it was to their advantage to have a strong ruler acting as a unifying force in the upriver areas. In 1919, finally reacting to reports of atrocities, the British deposed Molloh, destroyed his royal compound, and exiled him to Sierra Leone. He was allowed to return in 1923, shorn almost entirely of his power (his son, Cherno Baldeh, remained regent), and died on 29 March 1931 at Kaserikunda.

**MOLONEY, SIR CORNELIUS ALFRED (1848–1913)**. Educated at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, where he was commissioned in 1867, Alfred Moloney began his career in the colonial service in the Bahamas in 1871. He then served in the Gold Coast (1873–78) and Lagos Colony (1878–83), before being appointed administrator of the Gambia in January 1884 (he arrived in the colony in March). His major contribution during his brief tenure in the Gambia was the completion of the 300-yard-long bridge over Oyster Creek.

Moloney left the Gambia in December 1885 to return to Lagos as governor. Leaving West Africa in 1890, he was subsequently governor of British Honduras (1891–97), the Windward Islands (1897–1900), and Trinidad and Tobago (1901–04). He retired in 1904 and died on 13 August 1913.

**MOORE, FRANCIS (c. 1708–c. 1756)**. Moore was sent to **James Island** as the representative of the **Royal African Company** in 1730, remaining there until 1735. During this period, he traveled throughout much of the Gambia. He was a **factor** in many places, most notably at **Joar** and Yamyamakunda. Much of our knowledge of Gambian social, economic, and political institutions in the 18th century is because of Moore's keen interest in the Africans along the **Gambia**

**River** and their customs. His observations were published in 1738 in what became one of the classic books detailing West African life, *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa*.

**MORO, SIMOTTO (?–1885).** A **Fula** Torodbe Muslim teacher originally from Bondu, who was resident in **Fuladu** in the 1860s, Moro gathered around him a group of disciples. **Alfa** and **Musa Molloh** saw him as a threat to their complete control of Fuladu, but he moved with his followers across the **Gambia River** to **Wuli**, establishing the heavily fortified town of Toubacouta, which in a short time became a center for trade and learning in the upper river area. Disaffected Fula from Fuladu reinforced Moro's power and protected Toubacouta from attack from Fuladu until his death.

**MOURIDE.** A syncretic sufi **Islamic** brotherhood established in **Senegal** by Amadou Bamba M'Backé (1851–1927) in the late 19th century, the Mourides were initially treated with suspicion and hostility by the French authorities, but later came to terms with colonial rule and became its economic mainstay through their dominance in **groundnut** cultivation. The Mourides, a highly disciplined religious organization owing political, as well as spiritual, allegiance to Bamba and his lineal descendants, also proved an invaluable ally to African rulers of the postcolonial state. Although the center of the Mouride brotherhood is Touba in Senegal, and most of its devotees are Senegalese, the brotherhood also enjoys a following among Gambians, mainly in the **Baddibus** and **Jarra**.

**MOVEMENT FOR JUSTICE IN AFRICA-GAMBIA (MOJA-G).**

A radical political movement formed in 1979 by “**Koro**” **Sallah**, Ousman Manjang, and other former members of the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Foundation, the MOJA-G operated in the Greater **Banjul** area. It did not appear to have a clear political hierarchy, although Sallah and Manjang later served as prominent spokespersons. The MOJA was influenced by Marxist and pan-Africanist ideology and was inspired by a Liberian movement of the same name, to challenge the **Dawda Jawara** government. Principally engaged in consciousness-raising activities in the Greater Banjul area, the MOJA was also accused of acts of political vandalism.

On 30 October 1980, in the wake of disturbances affecting the **Gambia Field Force**, the MOJA was declared an unlawful society under the Societies Act of 1971 and banned; the next day, six of its members, including Sallah, were arrested and subsequently charged with managing an unlawful society and possessing firearms and ammunition. Two of the six, including Sallah, were later convicted on the first charge only, fined, and released. The defense lawyer in their trial was **Pap Cheyassin Secka**.

Some MOJA leaders, including Sallah, apparently supported the attempted **coup of 1981** (although Sallah later claimed that he only became involved to resist the subsequent **Senegalese** invasion). Sallah, Manjang, and other leaders fled to Europe, principally Sweden, after the coup. No longer seen as a political threat, some MOJA members began to return home by the early 1990s and the ban on the movement was lifted in November 1992. Some MOJA supporters, notably **Baba Jobe**, supported the **1994 coup** and helped form the **July 22nd Movement** and the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**, although the MOJA itself became moribund. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**MUSLIMS.** *See* JIHAD; MARABOUTS; MOURIDE; QADIRIYYA; RELIGION; SONINKE–MARABOUT WARS; TIJANIYYA.

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**NATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT (NADD).** Formed in January 2005, although not formally launched until 29 May, the NADD sought to create an anti-government coalition of opposition **political parties** ahead of the presidential and parliamentary elections of 2006–07. Its original members were the **United Democratic Party** (UDP), the **National Reconciliation Party** (NRP), the **People’s Democratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism** (PDOIS), the **People’s Progressive Party** (PPP), and the **National Democratic Action Movement** (NDAM). All subscribed to a pro-democracy agenda. In June 2005, its four **National Assembly** members were informed that their parliamentary seats had been declared vacant because they had changed party; they

were obliged to seek reelection, with three of the four being successful in September by-elections.

Difficulties arose over the selection of a “flag bearer” from January 2006 to challenge President **Yahya Jammeh** in the September 2006 presidential election. The UDP leader, **Ousainou Darboe**, objected to the initial selection of **O. A. Jallow** of the PPP as the coalition candidate and, backed by **Hamat Bah** and the NRP, withdrew from the NADD. One faction of the PPP, led by **Yaya Ceesay** and other ex-PPP ministers, later also withdrew from the NADD, as did the leader of the Gambia People’s Party, **Assan Musa Camara**, who had been the NADD chairman. **Halifa Sallah** of PDOIS was eventually chosen as “flag bearer” in March 2006, but won only 6 percent of the vote in the presidential election, as Darboe stood as well.

A much-reduced NADD (essentially PDOIS, together with NDAM’s **Lamin Waa Juwara** and a rival faction of the PPP led by O. A. Jallow, its “interim leader”) contested only five seats in the January 2007 **National Assembly** election, winning only one of them (**Sidia Jatta** in **Wuli West**) and some 14,000 votes only (5 percent of those cast). Following the NADD’s poor performance, Sallah, who had been easily defeated by the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** candidate in **Serrekunda Central**, stepped down as the NADD’s “flag bearer” in February 2007. The NADD contested only four seats in the local government election in January 2008, and won just one of these.

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.** On the recommendation of the 1995 Constitutional Review Commission, the National Assembly was established under the 1996 constitution to replace the **House of Representatives**, which had been abolished after the **1994 coup**. The first election to the new body took place in January 1997. The National Assembly was larger than the House of Representatives with 45 elected seats (compared with 36 elected seats). President **Yahya Jammeh**, like his predecessor, does not sit in the Assembly, where he is represented by his party’s “majority leader.” The president is also entitled to nominate five members, to represent special-interest groups. The National Assembly is presided over by a speaker and deputy speaker. The number of constituencies in **Banjul**, the **Kanifing Municipal Council (KMC)**, and the **North Bank Division**

(NBD) was unchanged; the **Upper River Division** (URD) had lost one seat; the **Lower River Division** (LRD) had gained two more; the **Western Division** (WD) had gained three more; and the **Central River Division** (CRD) had gained five more. In other respects, the two parliamentary bodies were very similar; elections were by the first-past-the-post method, while candidates had to be over 21 and able to speak English with sufficient proficiency.

Prior to the 2002 election, the number of seats in the Assembly was increased to 48 through the granting of an additional seat to the URD and two to the KMC; this remains the total at the time of writing. Currently, therefore, the CRD has 11 Assembly members; the WD has 9; the NBD and URD each have 7; the LRD has 6; the KMC has 5; and Banjul has 3. A report by the **Independent Electoral Commission** in 2000 that would have resulted in a major redistribution of seats having been rejected by the Jammeh government, the KMC and the WD remain seriously under-represented in terms of seats, while the CRD is strongly over-represented, compared with their shares of the national population in 2003.

**NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, GAMBIA SECTION (NCBWA).** The first modern political organization in the Gambia, the NCBWA developed out of the **Gambia Native Defensive Union** (GNDU) established by **E. F. Small** in 1919. Hearing of plans to organize a conference of educated British West Africans, Small converted the GNDU into the Gambian committee to select a delegate at the conference, which was held in Accra in March 1920. The conference resolved itself into a permanent NCBWA to be composed of the committees that had already been established in the four colonies. The conference also put forward 83 resolutions, covering a wide spectrum of issues of concern to the Westernized elite, the most important being a call for half the seats in colonial legislatures to be filled, through direct election, by Africans.

On his return from Accra in May, Small converted the committee into the Gambia Section of the NCBWA. Most members were **Christian Aku** from **Bathurst**, with some urban **Muslim Wolof** involvement, but it had few links with the **Protectorate** populace. The Gambia Section, from its inception, was divided into a radical group led by Small and a conservative faction headed by **S. J. Forster Jr.** The

latter and other wealthier conservative members soon left the organization and thereafter opposed it. Governor **C. H. Armitage**, like his counterparts in the other British West African dependencies, denounced the Gambia Section as an unrepresentative clique of educated coastal Africans, with no mandate to speak for the vast majority of rural Africans, though by 1926, he had come to adopt a more favorable view of the Congress.

Support had begun to slip by 1922 when Small moved to Rufisque in Senegal and later to London, leaving his brother-in-law, **J. A. Mahoney**, in charge. By the time Small returned in 1926, the Gambia Section was in serious difficulties, though, after some difficulty, it managed to host the Third Session of the Congress in Bathurst in December 1925. It apparently ceased to exist after 1928, by which time a rival **Gambia Representative Committee** had been formed. However, a number of those who had been active in the Congress in the 1920s were later involved in the **Rate Payers' Association** in the 1930s. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**NATIONAL CONVENTION PARTY (NCP).** The NCP was launched on 7 September 1975, at **Busumbala**, Northern **Kombo**, by the former vice president of The Gambia, **Sheriff Dibba**, a few weeks after his expulsion from the **People's Progressive Party (PPP)**. The party had no connection with an earlier, but short-lived, **political party** of the same name founded by an earlier group of PPP dissidents in 1967. Although claiming a national following and an alternative political program, called the "**Farafenni Declaration**" (published in 1976), the NCP differed little in substance from the PPP and its manifesto was little more than a rewriting of the original PPP one. Consequently, it failed to make more than limited inroads into the governing party's popular support. Apart from Dibba, only one other PPP member of Parliament (MP), **Kebba A. Bayo**, the MP for **Saloum**, defected to the NCP; the **United Party (UP)** MP for **Serrekunda**, **Gibou M. Jagne**, later joined the new party. Some financial backing, between 1977 and 1991, came from **Solo Darbo**, a wealthy businessman.

The first real test for the NCP came in the 1977 general election. It contested 31 out of 35 seats (its electoral ally, the UP, stood in the other four), but won only five, gaining 23 percent of the vote. It fared best in Dibba's home region of the **Baddibus**, with Dibba retaining

his Central Baddibu seat and in **Kombo St. Mary**. Dibba was denounced, to some effect, by the PPP as a disaffected and ambitious renegade and his party as a **Mandinka** tribalist movement. The NCP also lacked the financial resources to present an effective challenge to the PPP, given the latter party's control of the government apparatus, and had to rely too heavily on Dibba's own limited resources.

Its next electoral test was in 1982; it was at a serious disadvantage, for a large number of its leaders and activists, including Dibba and **Kemeseng Jammeh**, had been arrested after the abortive **1981 coup** and either remained in jail awaiting possible trial or had only recently been released. The NCP was also associated in some quarters with the revolutionary leadership of the coup. In the circumstances, it was not surprising that the NCP was able to contest just 19 constituencies and won three seats only, with Dibba himself being narrowly defeated in Central Baddibu. This time, the party gained 20 percent of the vote. In the separate presidential election, Dibba won 28 percent of the vote.

The NCP fought the 1987 election in a partial alliance with the UP (for **Banjul** seats only). However, its share of the vote dropped, largely as a result of the emergence of a new, rival opposition party, the **Gambia People's Party** (GPP), which was as hostile to the NCP as it was to the PPP. The NCP/UP coalition won five seats in the parliamentary election, but Dibba failed to retake Central Baddibu and again won only 28 percent of the vote in the presidential election.

Prior to the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections, the NCP faced a number of setbacks, with important leaders rejoining the PPP. It once again failed to reach an electoral pact with the GPP, except in the seats of each party leader (although there was a token GPP candidate in Central Baddibu). The NCP's overall performance was better as it won six seats (including Dibba's). There were signs that support for the NCP was extending to new areas of the country; equally, however, its strength was diminishing in its core areas. For example, it lost Illiassa, which it had won at all elections since 1977, to the PPP and its victories in Bakau and Lower Baddibu were by narrow margins only.

Although Dibba had welcomed the **1994 coup**, the NCP was banned under Decree no. 4 in August 1994 and was prevented from contesting the 1996–97 elections under Decree no. 89 of August

1996. Dibba was also barred from contesting further elections. At least seven NCP parliamentary candidates from the 1992 election stood as **United Democratic Party** (UDP) candidates in the 1997 **National Assembly** election, although one former prominent NCP MP, Foday A. K. Makalo, had previously publicly endorsed the presidential campaign of **Yahya Jammeh**. But, after the ban on the NCP had been lifted in July 2001, Dibba refused to endorse the UDP presidential candidate, **Ousainou Darboe**, in the 2001 presidential election, preferring to stand himself. However, he won only 4 percent of the vote. After the election, Dibba announced that the NCP was forming an alliance with the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (APRC) and two candidates in the 2002 parliamentary election stood under a joint APRC/NCP banner. Dibba's reward was to be appointed to the National Assembly as a "nominated" MP and subsequently to be elected speaker. After his dismissal from both posts in April 2006, another former NCP MP, Majanko Samusa, replaced him as a "nominated" MP, but the party was by now effectively moribund.

#### **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ACTION MOVEMENT (NDAM).**

The NDAM was formed by **Lamin Waa Juwara**, one of the leaders of the main opposition party, the **United Democratic Party** (UDP), in October 2002. Juwara did so in protest at the alleged complacency of UDP leader, **Ousainou Darboe**, who had lost the 2001 presidential election to President **Yahya Jammeh**. Earlier, Juwara had attacked Darboe over failing to submit his income tax details on time, a requirement to stand for political office. It shared the general pro-democracy position of other opposition parties and joined the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD) when the latter was formed in January 2005; consequently, it has never contested a parliamentary seat in its own name. In April 2007, internal divisions within the NDAM became public when Juwara withdrew from the NADD, having unilaterally expelled the NDAM's national president, Pa Manneh, who remained loyal to the alliance. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (NIA).** The NIA, which replaced the earlier National Security Service, was set up by the



**Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** under Decree no. 45 of 1995; initially, this was to combat threats from dissidents within the armed forces themselves, but its role was quickly extended to deal with real and perceived challenges to the **Yahya Jammeh** government from civilian critics and opponents. Acting largely outside of the formal legal framework, under the same military decree, which was retained after the changeover to elected civilian rule and the adoption of a civilian constitution in 1996, the NIA has come to acquire a feared reputation for harassment of the political opposition and **news media** critics of the government. It is also held responsible for several killings, tortures, detentions, arsons, and various forms of intimidation. Since 1996, President Jammeh has replaced approximately six heads of the NIA, with one former director, Daba Mareh, allegedly being summarily executed after the **2006 coup**.

**NATIONAL LIBERATION PARTY (NLP)**. The NLP was launched on 4 October 1975, following earlier meetings in **Banjul** and **Basse**. The NLP adopted a collective leadership and a radical socialist viewpoint, but the driving force behind it was a Banjul lawyer, **Pap Cheyassin Secka**. The NLP contested only one election, in 1977, when it put forward joint candidates in six constituencies with the ailing **United Party** (UP); however, only two of these were NLP supporters. Secka contested Sabach Sanjal, while the party organizer, Alasan N'Dure, stood in **Jokadu**, but was killed in a road accident while campaigning. Secka gained only 4 percent of the vote in Sabach Sanjal to finish at the bottom of the poll in the constituency; he then fought a by-election in Banjul Central, following the death of its UP member of Parliament, J. R. Forster, but again fared badly. The party then became defunct and Secka and another NLP leader, Alieu Kah, became increasingly radicalized, playing prominent roles in the abortive **1981 coup**, for which they both received death sentences, subsequently commuted. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**NATIONAL RECONCILIATION PARTY (NRP)**. The NRP was launched by **Hamat Bah** in September 1996 at a rally in **Gunjur**. It differed little in its policies from the **United Democratic Party** (UDP), but attempts to unite the parties failed. Bah therefore con-

tested the presidential election for the NRP, winning 6 percent of the vote, faring best in **Central River Division** (CRD). The NRP also put forward five candidates in the 1997 parliamentary election, who, between them, gained 2 percent of the vote and won two seats (Upper Saloum and **Kiang** Central). Bah also contested the 2001 presidential election for the NRP, this time winning 8 percent of the vote and again performing best in CRD. Unlike the UDP, the NRP contested the 2002 **National Assembly** election; its 10 candidates (eight of whom stood in CRD) gained 22 percent of the vote overall, but only one seat, Upper Saloum, through Bah.

In January 2005, the NRP joined the newly formed anti-government **National Alliance for Democracy and Development**, but withdrew from it in early 2006. Instead, in the 2006 presidential election, it supported the bid of the UDP leader, **Ousainou Darboe**, for the presidency. In the 2007 parliamentary election, it contested eight seats, gaining 6 percent of the vote, but won none of them, with Hamat Bah, who had lost his seat in a by-election in 2005, narrowly failing to regain Upper Saloum. The NRP contested 11 seats in the local government election in January 2008, in alliance with the UDP, but won only one of them. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**NEW TOWN.** A district of **Bathurst** situated inland from **Portuguese Town**, it was subdivided into two wards (New Town East and West) for municipal elections from 1944 and for the same two parliamentary constituencies for the 1960 and 1962 general elections. Since 1966, it has formed part of the Bathurst/**Banjul** North parliamentary constituency.

**NEWS MEDIA.** *Newspapers:* The first Gambian newspaper was *The Bathurst Times*, which was established by **Thomas Brown** in May 1871, but appeared only fleetingly. The first substantive newspaper was therefore *The Bathurst Observer and West African Gazette*, which was launched by **W. C. Walcott** in January 1883; this ran for five years until Walcott's death in 1888. Between the mid-1860s and the mid-1880s, Gambian events were also covered regularly in the London monthly newspaper, *The African Times*, which had a number of correspondents in **Bathurst**. The next Bathurst newspaper was *The Gambia Intelligencer*, which was set up by a syndicate, including

**S. J. Forster Sr.** in July 1893; this lasted until 1896. After these newspapers, there was a considerable gap before the appearance of **E. F. Small's** *The Gambia Outlook and Senegambian Reporter*, which was published for the first time in Dakar in May 1922. However, after Small moved to London in July 1923, only one or two editions appeared until the late 1920s. A further break occurred in 1933–34, but the newspaper was then published regularly until Small's death in 1958. Another long-running newspaper, *The Gambia Echo*, was launched in April 1934 by a syndicate including **W. D. Carrol**. Edited between 1947 and 1968 by **Lenrie Peters Sr.**, it was supportive of the **United Party (UP)** from the early 1950s, its last editor before its demise in December 1972 being the UP member of Parliament for Bathurst Central, J. R. Forster.

After World War II, a number of other newspapers appeared. These played an important part in criticizing the colonial government and in advancing the cause of the new political movements that appeared in the 1950s. *The Vanguard*, which was launched in March 1958 by prominent members of the **Gambia National Party**, including **K. W. Foon** and **M. B. Jones**, was an outspoken critic of colonial administration. However, it folded in December 1960, owing to technical problems in production. The radical tradition was maintained by *The Nation*, edited by William Dixon-Colley (c. 1914–2001). This appeared, with growing irregularity, from 1964 to the 1990s. The colonial government also published an official newsheet, *The Gambia News Bulletin*, which first appeared in 1943; this became *The Gambia Weekly* in 1989 and *The Gambia Daily* in 1994.

Many of the newspapers that appeared from the 1960s to the early 1990s were little more than a few pages of duplicated text. Several were notable for their sustained attacks on government ministers and other prominent politicians. Criticisms by *The Gambia Onward*, edited by Rudolph Allen, helped to bring about the downfall of **Fafa M'Bai**, while Sanna Manneh, the editor of another newspaper, *The Torch*, accused four ministers of corruption in an article in October 1988, a charge that eventually led to the dismissal of **M. C. Cham** and **L. K. Saho**. Other newspapers adopted a political affiliation. *The Gambia Outlook* came out in support of the **National Convention Party** in 1975; and the **People's Progressive Party (PPP)** formed its own newspaper, *The Gambia Times*, in 1981. The **People's Demo-**

**cratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism** (PDOIS) established, and continues to publish, its own cyclostyled newspaper, *Foroyaa*, in July 1987. Future PDOIS leaders were also believed to be behind the earlier clandestine and freely distributed occasional publication, *The Voice of the Future*, which attacked the PPP government in the strongest terms in 1978–79.

In the early 1990s, there was a return to properly printed newspapers. The most important of these were *The Daily Observer*, which was launched by a political exile from Liberia, Kenneth Y. Best, in May 1992 as the first daily newspaper in The Gambia, and *The Point*, which was set up by **Deyda Hydara** and others in December 1991 and went daily in early 2006.

Both the colonial administration and the PPP government sought to restrain the more defamatory and inflammatory publications by means of libel and sedition laws. But under the rule of the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** and the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (APRC), newspaper and electronic media have come under strong attacks and suffered persistent harassment, both legal and unlawful. Newspaper offices have been attacked, production disrupted, and editors and journalists have frequently been arrested. In the worst incident, the editor of the *The Point*, Deyda Hydara, was murdered in December 2004 by unknown assailants, popularly believed to be linked to the government. President **Yahya Jammeh**'s frequently expressed hostility to a critical opposition press took legislative form with the formation of a National Media Commission and a Criminal Code Amendment Act (both in 2002), which provide for closer government scrutiny of the press and the imposition of more severe penalties for "seditious and libelous" publications. In December 2004, the **National Assembly** repealed the 2002 legislation, but approved alternative measures aimed at controlling the press. *The Daily Observer* was sold by Best to a pro-APRC businessman, Amadou Samba, in May 1999, and is now pro-government, and several newspapers critical of the government have been forced to close, notably *The New Citizen* in 1998 and *The Independent* in March 2006. *The Point* continues to operate and expose government shortcomings at the time of writing, while a number of much more critical Gambian newspapers have been established more recently in the United States. These publish exclusively on the Internet, but are thought to attract a large readership in The Gambia.

*Radio and Television:* Radio developed in the 1950s with government “rediffusion” of material over a public loudspeaker system in Bathurst. A small radio station, Radio Gambia, was established in May 1962, with only limited broadcasting hours. This has since been extended to include community radio stations in three provincial centers. Several private radio stations have also been established, including Radio Syd, by a Swedish expatriate, Britt Wadner, in May 1970 (it operated until 2001); Radio 1 FM in 1991; Citizen FM, by a journalist, Baboucar Gaye (c. 1951–2007), in 1995; and Sud FM, a branch of the **Senegalese** Dakar Sud FM, in 1997. These principally broadcasted popular music and advertisements. For a time during the early days of the **Senegambia Confederation**, limited airtime was provided on Senegalese television for Gambian programs. President Jammeh launched a free national television service as part of his electoral campaign in 1996. While principally limiting itself to general information and entertainment, state-run radio and television in The Gambia has always been accused of giving unfair coverage to the government of the day during elections. Certainly a significant amount of airtime is given to the activities of the head of state and the government.

Under the APRC government, independent radio broadcasters have also been victims of government hostility and suffered legal and extra-legal attacks. Citizen FM was forced off the air in February 1998 and only allowed to reopen in July 2000 following a court ruling. Baboucar Gaye was then arrested in October 2001 and the station’s premises subjected to an arson attack in 2004. The station never reopened. Radio 1 FM also experienced an arson attack in August 2000 when its owner, George Christensen, and others were injured, while Sud FM was raided by the police in October 2005 and forced to close.

**NIAMINA.** Niamina was one of the nine **Mandinka** kingdoms on the south bank of the **Gambia River** in the early 19th century, located directly east and south of the river as it makes its great bend to the east. By the late 1870s, most **Soninke** rulers had been driven out or had assumed a subordinate position to **Fodi Kabba**. Niamina was the most westerly extension of the kingdom of **Fuladu**; therefore, its eastern section was a battleground between the **Marabout** forces and those

of **Alfa** and **Musa Molloh**. During the 20th-century British reorganization of the **Protectorate**, Niamina was joined with the territory of the old Mandinka kingdom of **Eropina**. This composite was placed in the **MacCarthy Island Division**, then subdivided into three districts, each under the direction of a chief. Niamina has formed a parliamentary constituency since 1960; in 1997, two further Niamina seats were added.

**NIANI**. Located on the north bank of the **Gambia River**, Niani extended from Nianija *Bolong* on the west to Sandugu *Bolong* on the east. In the early 19th century, this large territory was divided into two **Mandinka**-dominated kingdoms, Upper and Lower Niani. In the 1830s, **Kemintang** caused considerable disturbance in the area and, for a time, dominated Upper Niani, notwithstanding British attempts to defeat him. Despite the practice of allowing **Marabouts** a premier place in the kingdoms, Niani became a major battleground in the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**. Niani was divided into two districts in the 20th-century British reorganization of the **Protectorate**. Upper Niani was renamed *Sami*, with each district being placed under the direction of a chief. Niani and Sami have been separate parliamentary constituencies since 1962, while Nianija was added as a third constituency in the area in 1997.

**NIGERIA, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH**. As former British dependencies, Nigeria and The Gambia shared many services during the colonial period, but these became territorialized with independence. The Gambia's decision not to recognize Biafra during the Nigerian civil war (1967–70) and its subsequent support for the creation of the **Economic Community of West African States**, co-sponsored by the Nigerian president, Yakubu Gowon, strengthened relations between the two countries. A Treaty of Friendship was signed between them in 1971. The emergence of Nigeria as a regional hegemon was valued by The Gambia as a diplomatic counterweight to its francophone neighbor, **Senegal**. Despite the frequent military coups in Nigeria, the Gambian government maintained good relations with successive civilian and military regimes there and, in 1991, a Nigerian military training mission replaced a smaller British one. Although it did not intervene on President **Dawda Jawara's** behalf

during the **1994 coup**, criticism of its role by the **Gambia National Army** junta led to its recall. Relations were subsequently normalized to the extent that The Gambia was supplied with oil at preferential prices during the government of President Sani Abacha (1993–98). In early 2006, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria acted as a mediator to promote inter-party accord ahead of presidential and parliamentary elections in The Gambia. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**NIUMI.** One of the five major north bank kingdoms controlled in the early 19th century by **Mandinka** rulers, Niumi was strategically located, fronting on the Atlantic Ocean and dominating the entrance to the **Gambia River**. Because of its geographical location, Niumi was in contact with the Europeans at an early date. In June 1826, the British negotiated a treaty whereby the entire river frontage of Niumi passed to the British as the **Ceded Mile**. They immediately proceeded to build Fort Bullen in order to command the entrance to the Gambia River. Difficulties over this cession caused the **Barra** (or Anglo–Niumi) **War** of 1830–31. During the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, Niumi was a major battleground, as first **Ma Bah Diakhou** and then his lieutenant, Amer Faal, sought to add the territory to the kingdom of **Baddibu**. Faal continued to raid through the area until a combined British and **Soninke** force took his fortified town of Tubab Kolon in 1866. Thereafter, there was relative peace in Niumi, largely because the British considered the security of Niumi vital for the maintenance of their authority in the Ceded Mile. In the 20th-century reorganization of the **Protectorate**, the area became a district in the **Lower River Division** (from 1968, the **North Bank Division**). Since 1960, Niumi has been a parliamentary constituency, with Upper and Lower Niumi comprising separate seats since 1977. *See also* BARRA; BULLEN, CHARLES.

**N’JIE, ALIEU BADARA (1904–1982).** A Muslim, born into a **Wolof** family in **Bathurst**, N’Jie attended the Methodist Boys’ High School (1922–25) before entering the civil service in 1925. He remained in the civil service until his retirement in 1958 as the registrar of the Supreme Court. He was first elected to the **Bathurst Town Council** in 1949 as an independent for the **Joloff/Portuguese Town** ward and, in 1960, was selected to contest the same seat for the **Democratic**

**Congress Alliance** (DCA) in the first parliamentary election—even though he had not previously been active in the party. He won the same seat in the 1962 election, before transferring to Northern **Kombo** for the 1966 election and all subsequent ones up to 1977. Following the merger of the DCA and the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) in 1965, he contested these later elections for the PPP.

After the 1960 election, N'Jie was appointed minister of communications by Governor **Edward Windley**, but resigned (somewhat reluctantly) in March 1961 when **P. S. N'Jie** was selected as chief minister. Following the 1962 election, he was appointed minister of works in **D. K. Jawara's** first cabinet; communications was added to this portfolio in 1963. At independence in 1965, he was appointed minister of state for external affairs and resident minister in Dakar (Jawara initially retained the **foreign policy** portfolio for himself). In April 1967, he became minister for external affairs, but was replaced by **Andrew Camara** in January 1968. Following a period out of the cabinet, he was appointed minister of information in 1970 and, in 1971, became minister of state in the President's Office. In 1972, he became minister of agriculture and national resources, before returning to External Affairs in July 1974, a post he held until the 1977 election. After the election, he was instead made vice president (a largely ceremonial post in this period). He finally resigned as a minister in August 1978 and before the 1982 election, was forced to retire as the member of Parliament for Northern Kombo to make way for **Nyimasata Sanneh-Bojang**. Nevertheless, he was persuaded to lead the PPP election campaign, but was killed in a helicopter crash on 21 April 1982. N'Jie was awarded an MBE in 1955.

**N'JIE, EBRIMA DAOUR (1911–1970)**. Of part **Wolof** and part **Jola** origin, E. D. N'Jie was the half-brother of **P. S. N'Jie** but, unlike the latter, remained a Muslim all his life. Born in the **Casamance**, he was educated at the Methodist Boys' High School, **Bathurst**, before entering the civil service as a clerk in the Customs Department in January 1928. He served in various government departments over the next 15 years, before winning a government scholarship to study social science at the London School of Economics in 1944. He returned home in October 1946 and was appointed social welfare officer. In May 1950, he became acting labor officer. After retiring in October 1955 as



labor officer, he trained as a barrister at Lincoln's Inn in London and, after being called to the bar in 1958, returned to Bathurst and joined his brother's legal practice. A founder member of the **United Party** (UP), N'Jie was elected to the **House of Representatives** in January 1961 in a by-election in **Niani**-Saloum following the unseating on technical grounds of Alasan Touray. N'Jie successfully transferred to Saloum, the safest of the UP's rural constituencies, for the 1962 election, retaining the seat in 1966.

By 1962, N'Jie had become deputy leader of the UP and led the party during the frequent absences abroad of his brother. In late 1964, he negotiated a coalition pact with the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) that resulted in his appointment as minister of health shortly after independence in February 1965, but he was sacked in June 1965 after the UP had opposed the decision to introduce a republic referendum. However, with the approval of the PPP, he was appointed deputy speaker of the House of Representatives in 1968. In May 1970, a group of UP leaders headed by **M. C. Cham**, who were dissatisfied with P. S. N'Jie, deposed the latter as leader and elected E. D. to succeed him. However, before his leadership could really be tested, he was killed in an automobile accident on 19 October 1970.

**N'JIE, LOUISE ANGELA (1922–)**. One of the daughters of **J. A. Mahoney**, Mrs. N'Jie was born on 23 January 1922. She was educated at the Methodist Girls' High School and in 1942 won a scholarship to Achimota Teacher Training College, returning to the Gambia in 1945. She then began a teaching career, which culminated in her appointment as headmistress of Bakau Primary School in 1955, before entering the civil service; she served as the first female Gambian education officer between 1964 and 1976. Retiring from the civil service in January 1977, N'Jie was appointed as a "nominated" member of Parliament and then became the first **woman** to serve as a parliamentary secretary (for health, labor, and social welfare) in April 1977.

N'Jie then became the first female minister in January 1985 when she was appointed minister of youth, sports, and culture. However, her tenure of office was blighted by student protests against their conditions in February 1987. She was criticized for her tough stance on the protests and, following the 1987 election, she was transferred to the Ministry of Health, the Environment, Labour and Social Welfare,

replacing **M. C. Jallow**, but lost this post in 1992. N’Jie was awarded an MBE in June 1963.

**NJIE, DR. MALICK.** Prior to the **1994 coup**, Njie was a major in the **Gambia National Army** (GNA), having been trained at Sandhurst in England. Previously the GNA’s medical doctor, he had more recently served in a combatant role. After the coup, he was detained for over a year by the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** government, before being released and retired from the army. After entering civilian life, Njie returned to medicine and served as chief medical officer of the Royal Victoria Hospital, **Banjul**, and briefly as director of health services, before his appointment as secretary of state for health and social welfare in November 2007 following the sacking of Tamsir Mbowe. He continues to hold this post at time of writing.

**N’JIE, MOMODOU MUSA (c. 1914–1990).** Born in **Basse**, N’Jie initially worked for a **Lebanese** trader in the town, before moving to **Bathurst** in 1948. Despite lacking any formal education, he had become a wealthy importer of sugar, rice, and flour by the early 1950s, before becoming heavily involved in the reexport trade with **Senegal** and other West African countries. N’Jie was extremely successful and, in the mid-1960s, was described as the richest man in The Gambia. N’Jie first took on a political role in the 1951 **Legislative Council** election, when he was one of the nominators of **J. C. Faye**, but by the late 1950s, he was a supporter of **P. S. N’Jie**, and providing substantial financial backing to the **United Party**. He continued to do so until 1968 when his 16-year old daughter, Chilel, became President **Dawda Jawara’s** second wife. Consequently, N’Jie shifted his substantial financial resources to the **People’s Progressive Party**, further strengthening its position against the opposition parties. He continued to run his many business interests until his death in London on 4 July 1990 when he was officially aged 76 (but probably nearer to 82).

**NJIE, NANCY (c. 1966– ).** Njie was educated at the Gambia High School, before working for Gambia Airways between 1984 and 1991. She then set up her own business as the proprietress of the Gambia Ports Authority Canteen. Njie was appointed to the management

committee of the temporarily dissolved **Banjul City Council** (BCC) in November 2007. She was elected deputy mayor of the BCC in February 2008 and a month later, she was appointed secretary of state for tourism and culture. She replaced another **woman** minister, Angela B. Colley (1964– ), who had held the post since October 2006, and who was then appointed as Gambian ambassador to **Nigeria**.

**N'JIE, PIERRE SARR (1909–1993)**. N'Jie was born on 17 July 1909 into a **Wolof** Muslim trading family and claimed descent from Semu Joof, the last King of Saloum. He converted to **Roman Catholicism** in 1939. He was educated at St. Augustine's School, **Bathurst**, where he subsequently worked as a teacher, before entering government employment in January 1929. In February 1932, he entered the Judicial Department as an assistant clerk of the courts, remaining there until July 1943 when he retired on a pension on medical grounds. Prior to this, in February 1943, he had been arrested and prosecuted on a charge of forging the signature of a plaintiff in a civil case. After a five-day trial, N'Jie was acquitted by the local magistrates because of a lack of evidence, but was not reinstated in his old job. The government later refused to pay him any compensation for the damage done to his health and reputation, which N'Jie greatly resented.

Having failed to secure alternative employment in the Gambia, N'Jie left for England in September 1943 to begin legal training at Lincoln's Inn in London and, in 1948, he became the first Wolof to be called to the bar. He returned to the Gambia in 1949 and set up his own firm in Bathurst. He prospered, particularly in the early 1950s, from conveyancing land between Africans and **Lebanese**. However, in 1958, he was disbarred from the legal profession by the Gambian Supreme Court over one of these deals. The West African Court of Appeal overturned the decision, but the Privy Council subsequently upheld the original verdict.

A newcomer to politics, N'Jie stood for election to the **Legislative Council** in 1951. Although not elected, he fared respectably, and so stood again in 1954. Now supported by the recently established **United Party** (UP), N'Jie this time also had greater financial resources at his disposal than his opponents and was untainted by association with the increasingly unpopular Governor **Percy**

**Wyn-Harris.** He also enjoyed particularly strong support from **women** voters, who were organized in *Yayi Kompins* (women's neighborhood societies) by his sister, Yadicone. N'Jie headed the poll and was duly also appointed to the **Executive Council** as minister for education and social welfare. However, in October 1955, following a clash between UP and **Gambia Muslim Congress** supporters in Bathurst, N'Jie accused the chief superintendent of police of suppressing crimes of violence. A commission of inquiry failed to support his allegations and strongly criticized his conduct. Wyn-Harris then instructed him to resign from the Executive Council and as a minister; when N'Jie refused, Wyn-Harris dismissed him in January 1956. Unlike **J. C. Faye** in 1952, he was not subsequently reinstated.

In the first election to the **House of Representatives** in 1960, N'Jie was elected for **New Town East**, but the newly formed **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) gained the largest number of seats. After the election, N'Jie was offered a post on the Executive Council by Governor **Edward Windley**, but not a specific portfolio; the offer was immediately rejected by N'Jie, with the UP effectively going into opposition. Thus, there was considerable surprise when Windley appointed N'Jie as the Gambia's first chief minister in March 1961. The governor now had a more favorable personal opinion of N'Jie than before, believed (erroneously) that the UP was gaining in popular support at the expense of the PPP, and also thought that N'Jie was more likely to have influence over **M. E. Jallow**, the leader of the **Gambia Workers' Union**.

N'Jie remained as chief minister until the 1962 election. During this period, he was involved in early negotiations with the **Senegalese** government about the Gambia's long-term future. The PPP won a clear victory in the 1962 election (although N'Jie retained New Town East); its leader, **Dawda Jawara**, became premier, while N'Jie became the leader of the opposition. The UP challenged the results in the courts, alleging that the register of voters had been invalid. This claim was upheld by the West African Court of Appeal in April 1963, and N'Jie spent much time up to independence trying vainly to persuade the British government to call a fresh election. In his absence, the UP went into decline with a number of its members joining the PPP.

Returning to the Gambia in January 1965, N'Jie successfully organized the “no” vote in the November 1965 republic referendum, but failed to build on this success in the 1966 election. Although winning his own seat of Bathurst North, he could not prevent an easy PPP victory. In the late 1960s, N'Jie's popularity waned and shortly after the 1970 republic referendum (a result that he refused to accept), he was dismissed as UP leader on 8 May by the party's executive committee and replaced by his brother, **E. D. N'Jie**. But when the latter died on 19 October, the UP was obliged to reinstate him. N'Jie failed, however, to provide a more dynamic leadership; although he managed to win Bathurst North once again in the 1972 election, the UP won only three seats in total. This was reduced to two in July 1972 when he was expelled from the House of Representatives for nonattendance for two consecutive meetings.

After 1972, while still remaining UP leader, N'Jie took little active part in political life. By the time of the 1977 election, he seldom ventured out of his home on Buckle Street, save to go to daily mass at the nearby Roman Catholic cathedral, and he failed to give any direction to UP members. He played no further part in politics before his death at the age of 84 on 8 December 1993.

**N'JIE-SAIDY, ISATOU (1952– )**. Born at Kuntaya (now in **North Bank Division**) on 15 March 1952, and educated at **Armitage School** (1969–70) and **Yundum College** (1971–74), Mrs. N'Jie-Saidy later studied at the Delft Research Institute for Management Science, the Netherlands (Diploma in Industrial Management, 1979); the University of the Philippines (Certificate in Small-Scale Industrial Information Management, 1981); and the University of Wales, Swansea (M.Sc. Economics, 1989). Her varied career included periods as a schoolteacher (1970–76), senior business adviser with the Indigenous Business Advisory Bureau (1976–83), and departmental executive secretary of the Women's Bureau of the National Women's Council (1983–89). In July 1996, she was appointed minister of health, social welfare, and **women's** affairs, a post she held until March 1997. She was then made vice president and secretary of state for health, social welfare, and women's affairs, posts she retains at the time of writing.

**NORCOTT, EDMUND NASH (c. 1794–1874)**. Born in Cork, Ireland, Norcott entered the Royal Navy in 1805 while still a child. He remained

in the navy for more than 30 years, being commissioned as a lieutenant in 1815 and assuming the command of the *Curlew* on the West African coast in 1835. Promoted to commander in 1838, he was probably involved in the suppression of the **slave trade**. In October 1843, he was appointed governor of the Gambia in succession to **Henry Seagram** by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Stanley. However, before his departure to **Bathurst**, he became embroiled in a bitter personal dispute with his former private secretary. Since this seemed likely to result in a public scandal, and having decided that Norcott was no longer a suitable person to serve as governor, Stanley revoked his appointment in March 1844 after Norcott had refused to give it up voluntarily. Remaining in the navy, Norcott was promoted captain in 1858, before later retiring to London, where he died in 1874 aged 79.

**NORTH BANK DIVISION (NBD)**. NBD, which is located on the north side of the **Gambia River**, was established in 1968 with the sub-division of **Lower River Division**. It comprises six districts: Central **Baddibu**, **Jokadu**, Lower Baddibu, Lower **Niumi**, Upper Baddibu, and Upper Niumi. Its administrative capital is **Kerewan**. In 2003, the total population of NBD was 172,835, while its largest town and commercial center, **Farafenni**, had an estimated population of 25,000. Just over a third of its Gambian population was **Mandinka/Jahanka**, while 30 percent was **Wolof**.

– O –

**O'CONNOR, LUKE SMYTHE (1806–1873)**. Born in Dublin on 15 April 1806, O'Connor joined the 1st West India Regiment as an ensign in 1827 and worked his way up to major general by 1866. His regiment was sent to West Africa in 1843 and, after a posting to British Honduras, he returned to Africa as governor of the Gambia in October 1852 (he was then a lieutenant colonel). O'Connor recommended a forward policy to the British government in order to secure **Bathurst** and the **Colony** area from the threat both of the **Marabouts** and the **Soninke** in adjacent areas. His suggestions were not accepted, and he was forced to follow a defensive posture in regard to those leaders who threatened British hegemony. O'Connor negotiated the cession of more territory from **Suling Jatta** of **Kombo** in

1853, and this helped precipitate open conflict with **Omar of Sabajy**. He sent a punitive expedition to Sabajy in 1853, but this did not end the problem, and two years later, Omar directed a major thrust at the Soninke in Kombo and their British protectors. In July 1855, O'Connor's forces were defeated and he was wounded. Only by the most strenuous efforts, and with the support of the King of **Barra** and with French reinforcements from Senegal, was he able to resume the offensive and capture Sabajy. In April 1856, O'Connor arranged a truce between the Marabouts and Soninke in Kombo.

O'Connor was responsible for major additions to the town of Bathurst; he supervised the construction of a barracks and a civil hospital, and the Albert Market dates from his tenure. After peace returned to Kombo, O'Connor resumed his practice of touring the upriver areas, attempting to secure a rapprochement with the riverine rulers in this brief lull in the fighting between traditionalists and Muslims. After leaving the Gambia in April 1859, O'Connor returned to the Caribbean and was responsible for putting down the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica in 1865. He died in Dresden on 24 March 1873.

**O'HARA, CHARLES (1740–1802)**. The illegitimate son of an Irish peer, James O'Hara, the second Baron Tyrawley, O'Hara was born in Lisbon, Portugal. Educated at Westminster School, he joined the British Army at the age of 12 and was made a lieutenant of the Coldstream Guards in January 1756. After a distinguished military record in Germany and Portugal, he was appointed the first governor of the **Province of Senegambia** in December 1765, arriving in West Africa in April 1766. He was also lieutenant colonel of the O'Hara Corps (later the African Corps), a force of three infantry companies largely made up of military delinquents, which he raised in July 1766, specifically for the defense of the territory. One company was posted to the Gambia and was stationed at **James Fort**. O'Hara devoted most of his energies to the problems of Senegal, leaving the lieutenant governors in the Gambia to deal with the problems of trade, diplomacy with Gambian chiefs, and the threat of a revived France. Unfortunately, the lieutenant governors tended to disobey orders, carry on private trade, and, in general, act without restraint. In 1775, the problem of governing the Senegambia

was compounded by the cruel and arbitrary actions of Lieutenant Governor **Matthias MacNamara**. Thus, when O'Hara ended his tour that November, the province was in turmoil. Afterward, O'Hara served in the American colonies, in the West Indies, India, and the Mediterranean. He ended his career as a general and governor of Gibraltar (1795–1802). O'Hara died of the effects of earlier war wounds, in Gibraltar, on 21 February 1802.

**OMAR OF SABAJY.** A Mauritanian, Omar took part in Abd-el-Kader's uprising against the French in Algeria in 1847, where he acquired a modicum of military training, before moving to Sabajy (modern Sukuta) in the Gambia. There, in conjunction with other **Marabouts**, he began to organize the population disaffected by the forced cession of their town to the British in 1853. He was also responsible for spreading the belief that he had the power to turn British bullets into water. In July 1855, the people of Sabajy, led by Omar, defeated a detachment of British troops under the personal command of Governor **L. S. O'Connor**, who was worried by developments in the town; the British had to retreat, with a quarter of their number killed or wounded. Omar failed, however, to press home his advantage and on 4 August, Sabajy was taken by a combined force of British and French troops. Omar escaped and fled the Gambia, presumably for Senegal, and thereafter was never a factor in the **Soninke–Marabout** conflicts. *See also* JATTA, SULING.

**ORFEUR, CHARLES (?–1745).** Orfeur became chief agent of the **Royal African Company** in the Gambia (based at **James Fort**) in October 1717 on the death of his predecessor, having only recently joined the company as a writer. In 1719, pirates sacked the fort, took a number of ships as prizes, and scattered the small garrison. In 1721, Orfeur was replaced as chief agent by Colonel Thomas Whitney, but remained in the company's service, being in charge of its trading activities from 1723. In January 1737, he was made the permanent company chief agent and endeavored to increase its profits, despite increasing French competition and the resumption of the Anglo–French wars in 1743. However, he was killed by some of the subjects of the King of **Barra** in 1745 while on a trade mission.



**ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GAMBIA RIVER BASIN/ ORGANISATION POUR LA MISE EN VALEUR DU FLEUVE GAMBIE (OMVG).** The OMVG was established in 1978 by the Gambian and **Senegalese** governments to coordinate the development of the **Gambia River** basin; its headquarters is at Kaolack in Senegal. Its membership was subsequently extended to include Guinea (1980) and Guinea-Bissau (1983). Long-range plans for a bridge-barrage at Yelitenda in The Gambia and a hydroelectric plant at Kekriti in Senegal, together with schemes for the upper Gambia River in Guinea, have failed to materialize, owing to the difficulties in raising external funding and concerns about the environmental impact of some of the proposals. However, in January 2007, new proposals were announced to construct dams for power generation at Sambangalou in southern Senegal and Kaléta in central Guinea, and to integrate the national electricity grids of the four member states.

**ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.** *See* AFRICAN UNION.

**OZANNE, JOHN HENRY (?–1902).** Originally from Guernsey, Ozanne spent some time in Australia before his appointment as the first **travelling commissioner** for the north bank of the **Gambia River** in January 1893; his district began at Suara Creek and extended past Niambantang approximately 120 miles upriver. Like his counterpart, **C. F. Sitwell**, on the south bank, he traveled the entire area on foot, stopping at each major village to explain its new position in the scheme of **Protectorate** government. Subsequently, he passed on the newest regulations from **Bathurst**, and adjudicated disagreements between villages, sitting with the African rulers when they heard civil or criminal cases. Considering the long history of disorders in his territory, Ozanne surprisingly found little hostility or resentment. This was caused, perhaps, by the proximity of the French who were greatly disliked both by the people and by their rulers. Before he died in Bathurst on 28 February 1902, of blackwater fever, Ozanne had firmly established the basis of British rule in the northern parts of the Protectorate.

– P –

**PALMER, SIR HERBERT RICHMOND (1877–1958).** Born on 20 April 1877, Richmond Palmer was educated at Oundle and Trinity College, Cambridge, before joining the Nigerian colonial service in 1904 as an assistant resident. After serving as resident, Bornu, Palmer rose to become lieutenant governor, Northern Nigeria (1925–30), before being appointed governor of the Gambia in March 1930, arriving the following September. Palmer's Northern Nigerian background was evident in his approach to the administration of the Gambia **Protectorate**. In 1933, he issued his Political Memoranda for the Guidance of (**Travelling**) **Commissioners**, which reflected many of the concepts of indirect rule as enunciated by Lord Lugard and Sir Donald Cameron. He also issued a series of ordinances in 1933, the Native Authority, Native Tribunal, and Subordinate Courts Ordinances, which were designed to regularize and standardize government and court activities in the Protectorate. Palmer was also determined to reform the legal system in the **Colony** by codifying its laws through compiling the Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code; the codes provoked considerable opposition in **Bathurst** and led to the formation of the **Rate Payers' Association**, but were finally introduced in October 1934 after Palmer had left the Gambia.

Palmer also had a significant impact on government and politics in Bathurst. In November 1930, he established the advisory **Bathurst Urban District Council** (BUDC) as the first municipal organ of local government in the Gambia. In March 1932, impressed by the support given by the BUDC members over the codes, he granted it the right to nominate a member to the **Legislative Council**, its first choice being **W. D. Carrol**. Both actions were designed to combat the activities of **E. F. Small**, whom Palmer distrusted.

After leaving the Gambia in 1933, Palmer became governor of Cyprus (1933–39), before retiring from the colonial service. He later qualified as a barrister. Palmer was also an accomplished Arabic scholar and historian and, in 1931, published *The Carthaginian Voyage to West Africa in 500 B.C.* together with Sultan Mohammed Bello's *Account of the Origin of the Fulbe*. He died on 22 May 1958.

**PARK, MUNGO (1771–1805).** A Scottish physician and explorer born near Selkirk on 10 September 1771, Park was sponsored by the **Association for the Discovery of the Interior Regions of Africa**, in 1795, to investigate the many rumors connected with the Niger River. He spent six months studying **Mandinka** before leaving the Gambia on his first expedition. After many hardships, he reached Segou and the Niger before being forced to turn back. In May 1805, Park, this time sponsored by the British government, set out from the Gambia on his ill-fated second expedition. By the time Bamako was reached, only Park and four companions were healthy enough to continue. They constructed a raft and floated down the Niger as far as Bussa (in present-day Nigeria), where they are believed to have drowned in the rapids in November 1805. Park's journal of his second expedition was later brought to the coast by one of his followers, Issaco. Park's two expeditions were the tangible beginnings of the drive by Europeans to open the interior of West Africa.

**PATEY, CHARLES GEORGE EDWARD (1811–1881).** Born in Devon, England, on 27 February 1811, Patey joined the Royal Navy in 1824. After a long naval career in which he rose to the rank of rear admiral, he was appointed administrator of Lagos in 1866, before arriving in **Bathurst** to succeed **G. A. K. D'Arcy** as administrator of the Gambia in December 1866. Patey was one of the key informants for the Colonial and Foreign Offices over the proposed **cession** of the Gambia to France. He agreed with Sir **Arthur Kennedy**, his immediate supervisor, that there were few good reasons for Britain to retain the Gambia, reporting that the cost of maintaining the garrison was high and that the **groundnut** trade was already dominated by the French. The endemic warfare between **Fodi Kabba** and the **Soninke** rulers of **Kombo** fostered his belief that little could be done to improve the condition of Africans adjacent to the **Colony**. Patey's attitude was, without doubt, colored by the disastrous cholera epidemic, which struck the Gambia in late April 1869. Before the disease had run its course, over 1,100 citizens of Bathurst, out of a population of 4,000, had died. The conduct of both Patey and the first writer, Henry Fowler, during the crisis was very strongly criticized by British merchants, particularly **Thomas Brown**, and by a section of the **Liberated African** community. Patey was also the administrator during the

height of the upriver violence attendant on the rise of **Alfa Molloh** and the collapse of **Ma Bah Diakhou's** empire.

After leaving the Gambia in April 1869, Patey served as governor of St. Helena, a post he held until his retirement in 1873. He died at Newton St. Loe, near Bath, England, in 1881.

**PAUL, SIR JOHN WARBURTON (1916–2004).** Paul was born on 29 March 1916, and educated at Weymouth College and Selwyn College, Cambridge. He was commissioned in the Royal Tank Regiment in 1937 and captured by the Germans in 1940. Released from a prisoner-of-war camp in 1945, he was appointed as aide-de-camp and private secretary to the governor of Sierra Leone. After being called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1947, he returned to Sierra Leone, working his way up from district commissioner to provincial commissioner (1959) and secretary to the cabinet (1960). In March 1962, he was appointed governor of the Gambia, a post he held until independence in 1965. From the first, Paul recognized that his position was transitional, and he contributed much to the framing of Gambian proposals for independence. He also established very good relations with **D. K. Jawara**. After independence, Jawara invited him to stay on as governor general and he was largely responsible for drafting the republican constitution.

After leaving The Gambia in February 1966, Paul served as governor of British Honduras (1966–72) and of the Bahamas (1972–73). On retiring from the colonial service, he served as lieutenant governor of the Isle of Man (1974–80). He died on 31 March 2004.

**PEANUTS.** *See* GROUNDNUTS.

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATION FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM (PDOIS).** Familiarly known as "DOI," the PDOIS was founded in August 1986. It emerged from an earlier Marxist, pan-African socialist, clandestine group, the People's Movement for Independence against Neo-Colonialism and Capitalism in The Gambia (known as "Red Star"), whose members included **Halifa Sallah**, Sam Sarr (a teacher at the Gambia High School), Amie Sillah (a health inspector), Adama Bah, and Momodou Sarho. The group was widely believed to be the publishers of the banned political periodical,

*The Voice of the Future*; six of them were put on trial in 1984 accused of distributing *The Voice*, but all were acquitted.

The PDOIS initially had no official leader and did not in fact choose one until its December 1997 congress when **Sidia Jatta** was elected party leader and Sallah, its secretary general. In its public pronouncements and in the pages of its newspaper, *Foroyaa* (launched in July 1987), the PDOIS was highly critical of the moderate pro-Western **foreign policy** of the **Dawda Jawara** government, as well as of its domestic record, and also strongly opposed the **Senegambia Confederation**. In 1987, it put forward five candidates in the parliamentary election, including Sallah and Jatta, but all were defeated. It did not contest the presidential election. In 1992, it put forward 14 candidates in the parliamentary election, but again all were defeated; Jatta stood in the presidential election, but won only 5 percent of the vote.

Technically a political movement rather than a **political party**, the PDOIS was not banned following the military takeover in 1994. The PDOIS did not publicly denounce the **coup** by **Yahya Jammeh**, but Sallah and Jatta refused the two cabinet posts that they were offered. In both the 1996 and 2001 presidential elections, Jatta secured 3 percent of the vote; in the 1997 and 2002 parliamentary elections, its candidates won 8 percent and 14 percent of the vote respectively, its share rising in 2002 because the main opposition party, the **United Democratic Party**, boycotted the election. In 1997, it won its first seat in the **National Assembly** through Jatta in **Wuli West**; Jatta retained the seat in 2002 with Sallah also winning in **Serrekunda Central**. Both men won again in by-elections in September 2005, having been required to give up their seats when the PDOIS joined the anti-government coalition, the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD).

Sallah was eventually selected as the NADD “flag bearer” for the 2006 presidential election in March 2006. But he won only 6 percent of the vote in a three-way contest with Jammeh and **Ousainou Darboe** and gained more than 10 percent of the vote only in the **Upper River Division**. In the 2007 parliamentary election, candidates of the NADD (most, if not all, of whom were PDOIS members) won only 5 percent of the vote and only one seat (through Jatta). Thus, notwithstanding its reputation for political integrity, and its attempt to relocate itself ideologically toward the center, the PDOIS remains a

fringe political organization. Nevertheless, it continues to provide trenchant criticism of the Jammeh government, despite the latter's self-designated radical political program, both in the National Assembly and in *Foroyaa*.

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP).** The PDP was founded by a medical doctor from **Kombo, Dr. Lamin Bojang**, in September 1991. Apart from Bojang, its leading figures were former **National Convention Party (NCP)** members, including Jabel Sallah, the member of Parliament (MP) for **Banjul** South and A. K. Touray, the MP for Sandu. Financial support came from a maverick **Serahuli** businessman, Solo Darbo, who had previously backed the NCP. The PDP put forward 16 candidates in the 1992 parliamentary election, but none was successful, although the party obtained some 5 percent of the total vote. Bojang won 6 percent of the vote in the presidential election. The PDP became moribund after the 1992 elections, and although not banned after the 1994 coup, financial and organizational problems prevented Bojang from standing in the 1996 presidential election. Instead, he supported the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**. See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

**PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE (PPA).** The PPA was founded in October 1968 by four discontented former **People's Progressive Party (PPP)** ministers, **Sheriff Sisay, Paul Baldeh, K. C. A. Kah**, and Yusupha Samba. Sisay had resigned from the cabinet in January 1968 after being demoted to the third-ranking minister; Baldeh had been sacked as minister of education for the second time after the 1966 election; Kah had been sacked as minister of health in April 1968 to make way for **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**; and Samba had been dismissed as parliamentary secretary to the minister of local government at the same time. In August 1968, the four members of Parliament joined forces with the **United Party** to vote against the government on key issues; this incensed the PPP leadership and on 1 September, all four were expelled from the party.

B. M. ("Ba") Tarawale, the editor of the *New Gambia* newspaper, who had attacked **Dawda Jawara's** leadership style in recent years, and a few other prominent politicians, joined the PPA, but the party acquired little popular support. It suffered further setbacks when

Baldehy died in December 1968 and Kah rejoined the PPP in July 1969; it also failed to pose an effective challenge to the PPP and did not contest any of the seven by-elections that occurred between 1968 and 1971. The PPA did oppose the second republic referendum in April 1970 and **Niamina** (Sisay's constituency) was one of the eight that voted against the bill. But soon after the referendum, in July 1970, Sisay and Samba initiated discussions with Jawara and the PPP Executive Committee. However, it was not until December 1971 that the two men were finally readmitted to the party. In February 1972, just before the next general election, the PPA was finally dissolved. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY (PPP).** The PPP was launched at the annual **Conference of Protectorate Chiefs** at **Basse** in February 1959. It evolved from the Protectorate People's Society, an organization aiming to promote the interests of provincials, particularly **Mandinka** young men living in the **Bathurst** area. It was founded on 30 December 1956 at a meeting in Grant Street, Bathurst. The PPP was known until December 1959 as the *Protectorate People's Party*, reflecting its original constituency; the word "People" was then adopted to combat accusations of tribalism. The party was initially headed by **Sanjally Bojang**, but by the end of 1959, it had chosen a new "party leader," **D. K. Jawara**.

The PPP fielded candidates in 11 out of 12 **Protectorate** constituencies in the 1960 election, its chosen candidate in Basse, **Michael Baldeh**, having defected to the **United Party** (UP), but only two candidates in the **Colony**. Most of its candidates were Mandinka. It won nine seats, more than any other party, but failed to secure an overall majority of the elected seats. Two PPP members of Parliament, Jawara and **Sheriff Sisay**, were appointed to the **Executive Council** as ministers, but resigned in March 1961 when Governor **Edward Windley** selected **P. S. N'Jie**, the UP leader, instead of Jawara, to be chief minister. At the next election in 1962, which the PPP fought in alliance with the **Democratic Congress Alliance** (DCA), it won 18 out of 32 directly elected seats. Jawara became premier and formed his first cabinet; in September 1963, he became prime minister.

By independence in February 1965, the PPP held 25 seats and the opposition UP only 5 (the other two were held by the PPP's ally, the

DCA). Despite a major political setback when it failed to achieve the necessary two-thirds majority in the republic referendum of November 1965, the PPP consolidated its power after independence. It won 24 seats out of 32 in the 1966 election; 28 out of 32 in 1972; 28 out of 35 in 1977; 27 out of 35 in 1982; 31 out of 36 in 1987; and 25 out of 36 in 1992. The PPP also achieved a comfortable victory in the 1970 republic referendum, while Jawara easily won the three contested presidential elections of 1982, 1987, and 1992, taking over half the vote on each occasion.

PPP policy was characterized by moderation both in its domestic and **foreign policies**. Relations with the British always remained good, independence was achieved with a minimum of friction, and the PPP cultivated good relations with **Great Britain** and the West in subsequent years. It also pursued good relations with the Soviet Bloc and most African and third-world states as well, consistent with its policy of diversifying its aid partners. The PPP came to be dominated by its leader, particularly after the move to an executive presidency in 1970, and, during its long period in office, several presumed challengers were either expelled from the party or demoted, some being later rehabilitated. The party tended to ossify with power and incurred increasing criticism from disaffected elements from inside and outside its ranks. The **People's Progressive Alliance**, the **National Convention Party**, and the **Gambia People's Party** were examples of the former; other attacks came from youth elements, both from inside the party and from radical elements in the wider society.

The PPP's inability to respond to mounting accusations of corruption and cronyism, together with its unshakable grip on the electoral process, led a growing number of its critics to contemplate extra-constitutional action against it. It survived the abortive **coup of 1981**, but succumbed to the **1994 coup**. The new military regime abolished the PPP as one of its first political measures under Decree no. 4 and it was banned from contesting the 1996–97 elections under Decree no. 89 of August 1996; all PPP members who had held ministerial office since 1965 were also banned from standing for the **National Assembly**. In addition, a number of its leading figures were later convicted of corruption by commissions established by President **Yahya Jammeh**.

The ban on the PPP and its political leadership was lifted in July 2001, with **O. A. Jallow** becoming "interim leader." However, the



party proved unable to reestablish itself effectively as its supporters drifted to the new ruling party, the **Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction**, or joined the new opposition party, the **United Democratic Party**. Jallow remained leader of the rump PPP, which initially formed part of the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD) opposition front in 2005. Jallow and another former PPP minister, Landing Jallow Sonko, remained loyal to the NADD in the 2006 presidential election, but other former PPP ministers and senior politicians, led by **Yaya Ceesay**, voted to withdraw from the NADD in March 2006. The divided party played no significant role in the 2007 National Assembly election. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

**PETERS, INGRAM ERNEST LENRIE (1894–1968)**. Born in Sierra Leone, of West Indian descent, Lenrie Peters attended Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone before moving to the Gambia. He was an accountant, who worked first for the shipping firm, Elder Dempster, and later for the **Lebanese** firm, S. Madi, ending as a director. A member of the **Rate Payers' Association** in the 1930s, he was first elected to the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** (BATC) in 1937 and (except in 1940) served on the BATC until 1944. On 1 December 1947, he took over as editor of *The Gambia Echo* (having previously written for other newspapers); under his direction, *The Echo* became a strongly pro-**United Party** newspaper in the 1950s and 1960s. Peters remained as editor until his death in **Bathurst** on 14 February 1968. Among his children were Dr. Florence Mahoney, a distinguished Gambian educationalist and historian, and **Dr. Lenrie Peters**.

**PETERS, DR. LENRIE LEOPOLD WILFRED (1932– )**. Born in **Bathurst** on 1 September 1932, Peters was educated at the Methodist Boys' High School and the Prince of Wales School, Freetown, before attending higher education in England; he graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1956. After completing medical school at University College Hospital, London, in 1959, he undertook further training in England to become a surgeon, working as a surgical registrar at Northampton General Hospital (1966–69) and becoming a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1967. He also worked for

the BBC on African programs between 1955 and 1968. Returning to The Gambia in 1969, he became the chief surgeon and director of the Bansang Hospital, **MacCarthy Island Division**. Leaving the civil service, he established the Westfield Clinic at **Serrekunda** (the first Gambian private clinic) with Dr. S. J. Palmer in 1972. He was also chair and chief executive of Farato Farms Export Ltd. (1981–99).

While he was still in England, *Poems*, his first collection of poetry, was published in 1964 by Mbari Press in Ibadan, Nigeria. The following year, he published a semiautobiographical novel entitled *The Second Round*. These two works brought him to literary attention and he appeared on a number of radio programs on the BBC. His reputation as one of Africa's finest poets was enhanced by the publication of three other works: *Satellites* (1967), *Katchikali* (1971), and *Selected Poems* (1981).

In December 1994, Peters was appointed chair of the National Consultative Committee (NCC), set up by the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** (AFPRC) to gauge public opinion. The NCC held meetings throughout The Gambia and proved an effective body, despite some opposition to it from the AFPRC, notably in the **Upper River Division**. Its principal recommendation—that the proposed four-year transition to civilian rule be reduced to two—was accepted by the **Yahya Jammeh** government in January 1995.

**POLITICAL PARTIES.** Political pressure groups in The Gambia date back to the mid-19th century and proto-political organizations, such as the Gambia Section of the **National Congress of British West Africa**, existed in the interwar years. However, fully fledged political parties only emerged following constitutional reforms after World War II, which provided opportunities for limited direct election to the colonial **Legislative Council**. The first of these was the **Gambia Democratic Party**, followed soon after by the **Gambia Muslim Congress** and **United Party**. All three parties were constitutionally restricted to the **Colony** proper (**Bathurst** and its environs) and were very much personalist organizations led by prominent local politicians. The extension of the franchise in 1960 enabled new rural-based political parties to emerge and successfully challenge earlier urban-based rivals. The **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) was a mass party that succeeded in mobilizing the hitherto disenfranchised rural

society to achieve power in 1962 and retain it in successive elections, until its overthrow in the **coup of 1994**. The PPP was dominant politically, though its weak ideological and organizational structure, together with the unwillingness of its leader, President **Dawda Jawara**, to assume such power, prevented it from becoming a full-blown one-party state, so prevalent in postcolonial Africa.

Challenges to the PPP after independence in 1965 came principally from factions within its own ranks, with subordinate leaders seeking to challenge the leadership of Jawara. The **People's Progressive Alliance**, the **National Convention Party** (NCP), and the **Gambia People's Party** (GPP), all led by senior PPP dissidents, failed to displace the PPP. Also, small, politically ineffective radical political parties, such as the **National Liberation Party** and the **People's Democratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism** (PDOIS), were active principally in urban areas. Following the 1994 coup, all political parties were banned; in 1996, the PDOIS was reinstated, but the PPP, GPP, and NCP remained prohibited organizations until 2001. Meanwhile, shortly before the 1996 presidential election, which it won, the military junta created its own party, the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (APRC), led by former junta leader, **Yahya Jammeh**. The APRC has retained power since then, achieving a degree of political dominance greater than that enjoyed by the PPP. Several new opposition parties, most notably the **United Democratic Party**, led by **Ousainou Darboe**, have sought unsuccessfully to challenge the APRC in elections between 1996 and 2007. In the most recent contest, the 2008 local government election, the APRC won 101 out of 114 seats; independents, most of whom had been rejected as APRC candidates, won a further eight; while the various opposition parties won only five between them. *See also* DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS ALLIANCE; GAMBIA NATIONAL PARTY; GAMBIA NATIONAL UNION; GAMBIA PARTY FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS; GAMBIA SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY; MOVEMENT FOR JUSTICE IN AFRICA-THE GAMBIA; NATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT; NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ACTION MOVEMENT; PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

**POPULATION.** *See* DEMOGRAPHY.

**PORTUGUESE TOWN.** One of the original small villages that made up **Bathurst**, located along the shore, Portuguese Town was its business center and the most prosperous area. Its name probably derived from its mulatto population—known as “Portuguese”—who migrated there from St. Louis and Gorée after 1817. It was a ward of the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** and later jointly with **Joloff Town**, a **House of Representatives** constituency between 1960 and 1962.

**PROTECTORATE.** The Protectorate of the Gambia came into being in 1889, through a policy of gradual British encroachment on riverine territory to the interior of the earlier-established British **Colony** of the Gambia, centered on **Bathurst**. The need to intervene in the political affairs of the interior in the closing decades of the 19th century was brought about by the **Soninke–Marabout Wars** and by growing French interest in the region. The Anglo–French demarcation of the boundaries of the Gambia enabled the British, by 1901, to consolidate their administration of the Protectorate.

The first Protectorate Ordinance was passed by Administrator **R. B. Llewelyn** in 1894. In keeping with British policy elsewhere, the government sought from the outset to place local administration in the hands of district chiefs (eventually there were to be 35 of these) and a larger number of village headmen. **Travelling commissioners**, later renamed *divisional commissioners*, were responsible for the general supervision of African rulers and, with the introduction of legal, fiscal, and administrative measures, they aimed at a gradual modernization of rural administration. The system had the merit of maintaining the British presence with the minimum of disruption and cost; its downside was that very little development took place, and power was largely in the hands of a handful of European officials and the chiefs.

Protectorate Africans were “British protected persons” rather than “British subjects,” and consequently did not enjoy the legal or constitutional rights enjoyed in the Colony proper until 1960, when the majority of elected seats in the new **House of Representatives** were given to the Protectorate. This not only marked the end of Colony dominance of political life, but also saw the demise of the power of chiefs. Following independence, the name “Protectorate” was changed to “Provinces,” as a symbolic end to historical divisions in

Gambian society. Rural administration also changed; while divisional commissioners were retained as agents of central government in the Provinces, six elected Area Councils were set up in 1961–62 to take on some of the administrative and developmental responsibilities of the chiefs. Since independence in 1965, successive Gambian governments have put the Provinces at the center of their national development programs, but though all Gambians now enjoy the same legal rights, living conditions and opportunities for personal advancement remain significantly worse in rural areas, accounting for the steady migration to the **Banjul** area. *See also* OZANNE, JOSEPH H.; PALMER, SIR H. RICHMOND; SITWELL, CECIL F.

**PROTECTORATE PEOPLE'S PARTY.** *See* PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

**PROTECTORATE PEOPLE'S SOCIETY.** *See* PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

**PROVINCE OF SENEGAMBIA.** *See* SENEGAMBIA, PROVINCE OF.

**PROVINCES.** *See* PROTECTORATE.

– Q –

**QADIRIYYA.** A Muslim *tariq*, or mystical brotherhood, founded in Baghdad by Muhammad Abd Al Djilani (1079–1166), it was introduced into the sahelian region of West Africa in the 15th century by Muhammad Abd Al Karim Al-Maghribi. The Qadiriyya had lost ground to the **Tijaniyya** and **Mouride** brotherhoods in Senegambia by the end of the 19th century.

**QUADRANGLE.** The name given to a group of government departments arranged in a hollow square, adjacent to State House (formerly **Government House**) in Central **Banjul**, the oldest part dating back to the early 19th century, when it was used as an army barracks. The name continued after independence in 1965.

**QUIN, THOMAS FRANCIS (c. 1818–1883).** Born in Dublin and apparently the son of one of the original founders of **Bathurst**, Quin's career in the Gambia began in June 1839 when he was appointed acting first writer. He held a number of government posts in the 1840s. By the 1850s, he had turned to commerce and had established his own firm, although still holding a number of official positions; for example, in 1854, he was superintendent of police and clerk to both the **Executive** and **Legislative Councils**.

Described as the most substantial trader in the Gambia in the early 1860s, Quin was a member of the Legislative Council from February 1860 until it was downgraded in February 1866. Having retired to England in 1869, Quin was one of the most vocal opponents of the proposed **cession** of the Gambia to France and was a member of the **Gambia Committee** in 1875–76. Meanwhile, his mulatto son, Thomas Francis J. Quin (c. 1848–92), managed his business interests in the Gambia, until they were wound up in the mid-1880s. He then retired to England.

– R –

**RATE PAYERS' ASSOCIATION (RPA).** The RPA was founded in July 1932 to organize resistance to the unpopular legal reforms of Governor **H. R. Palmer**, notably to the introduction of the Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code. Its other aim was to find candidates to oppose the **Gambia Representative Committee** (GRC) in elections to the **Bathurst Urban District Council** (BUDC). The first secretary of the RPA was Richard Shokelu Rendall, a retired **Aku** civil servant, who later founded the People's Party and unsuccessfully contested the 1947 **Legislative Council** election. However, the driving force behind the RPA was certainly **E. F. Small**—even though he was not himself a ratepayer. Other members included former activists of the Gambia Section of the **National Congress of British West Africa** and leaders of the pro-Small faction within the **Bathurst Trade Union**.

The RPA organized a series of protest meetings and petitions against the Codes and other government legislation, but ultimately these were largely unsuccessful. Its candidates contested the BUDC

election for the first time in 1933, but all were defeated; however, four of them were elected in the 1934 election, defeating GRC members. In the first election to the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** in May 1936, the RPA won all the seats. Thereafter, it held a monopoly of all the elected seats, until the first election to the **Bathurst Town Council** in July 1946, when it won six out of 15 seats. Soon after, however, it apparently ceased to function.

**RECAPTIVES.** *See* LIBERATED AFRICANS.

**REFFLES, JOSEPH WILLIAM FOX (?–1886).** Also known as *Joseph Reffell*, Reffles was the son of **Thomas Reffles**. Probably born in **Bathurst** in the 1830s, he was named in honor of the **Wesleyan** missionary, William Fox. Educated in Freetown, he worked as a sergeant and clerk in the military store in Bathurst for six years, until being dismissed. Reffles later claimed that this was because he had directed the attention of Africans to the lack of a printing press in the Gambia. He then worked for two different European merchants (including **Thomas Brown**) as a trader up the **Gambia River**, but was dismissed on both occasions for incurring losses. Notwithstanding all this, in 1865, Reffles was provided with financial assistance from the **Liberated African** community to pursue legal studies in Britain, with a view to defending their interests against perceived colonial injustice. He returned to Bathurst in 1867, but was denied the right to practice as an attorney by the colonial authorities; according to Reffles, this was at the instigation of Brown. Reffles went back to London in 1868, presumably to acquire more legal training. Having apparently been refused admission to the Sierra Leone bar, he probably returned to the Gambia for the final time in late 1870.

Reffles was a regular correspondent to *The African Times* in the 1860s and 1870s, articulating the grievances of educated Africans against British rule and the influence wielded by British merchants (especially Brown) in the **Colony**. In 1870, he was one of the leaders in the struggle against the proposed **cession** of the Gambia to France, writing regularly to *The African Times* from his London residence. However, he was not involved in the 1875–76 campaign because his wife had recently died and he had become a lay preacher in the **Wesleyan Church**. In 1877–78, he became embroiled in a bitter public

quarrel with one of the European missionaries, Rev. George Adcock, who prosecuted him in the courts; Reffles was imprisoned for several months as he was unable to secure bail. In his later years, he also turned to **agriculture** and attempted to begin a cooperative farming system. This utilized modern Western methods to produce tropical products for export, but failed to get off the ground.

**REFFLES, THOMAS (1794–1849).** Also known as *Thomas Reffell*, Reffles was an Ibo **recaptive** and a Methodist, who was sent in 1821 to **Bathurst** from Sierra Leone to help with the construction of the government clock. He served with distinction in the volunteer militia during the **Barra War** of 1831–32, was wounded and received a pension of £10 per year from 1838 as compensation. He became a trader and was affluent enough to afford to educate his son, **Joseph Reffles**, in Sierra Leone. In 1842, he founded the Ibo Society, a voluntary association open to both men and women of Ibo descent. This was the first of the friendly societies, which became major vehicles for expressing to government the opinion of important segments of Bathurst society. He died on 29 December 1849.

**RELIGION.** The Gambia is an overwhelmingly **Muslim** society, with over 95 percent of the population professing Islam in the 1993 census. There is a small, but influential, **Christian** minority, totaling 4 percent of the population in 1993, three-quarters of whom live in the Greater **Banjul** area and **Brikama**. It is hard to determine how many Gambians still adhere to traditional religions; only 836 admitted to this in the 1993 census, but this tiny number conceals the persistence of older forms of religious belief among those belonging to the two world faiths. Belief in magic is still evident, and Muslim **Marabouts** are frequently consulted about occult matters and provide charms and amulets to invoke supernatural intervention or ward off malign forces. The presence of Islam in the Senegambia region, in limited forms—principally in the form of proselytizing individual Muslim traders—dates back centuries, but it was only in the 18th and 19th centuries, and particularly as the result of the **Soninke–Marabout Wars** in the second half of the latter century, that Islam overwhelmed, though never quite wiped out, traditional African religious beliefs.



Christianity is a more recent presence. Portuguese attempts to convert Africans in the lower riverine areas in the 16th century did not survive, and it was only in the first half of the 19th century that Christianity was reintroduced by Protestant and **Roman Catholic** missionaries. Among the former, the **Wesleyan Methodists** played the most important part, though **Anglicans** and, in the early 1820s, Quakers, were active, too. Despite attempts to establish mission stations upriver, most Christian converts and their descendants are to be found in the area around Banjul, and the Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals, as well as the principal Wesleyan chapel, are located in the Gambian capital.

Notwithstanding their limited success in the religious sphere, the Christian missions in the Gambia, as elsewhere in British colonial Africa, were the principal providers of Western **education**, and many Muslims, later prominent in public life, were educated in Christian schools. A widely observed characteristic of interfaith relations in The Gambia has always been the high degree of tolerance and cooperation between Muslims and Christians; it is not unusual to have members of both faiths in the same family. *See also* KILHAM, HANNAH.

**RENDALL, GEORGE (c. 1791–1837)**. Previously the acting chief justice of Sierra Leone, Rendall was appointed lieutenant governor of the Gambia in February 1830, arriving in **Bathurst** on 3 April. He inherited the pent-up resentment of **Burungai Sonko**, the King of **Barra**, and his advisers, which eventually resulted in the 1831–32 **Barra War**. Rendall faced another threat to British supremacy in the upper river, the actions of Chief **Kemintang**, in 1834, but a military expedition against the chief's town of Dungasseen was a fiasco, and the British had to abandon three cannons in their retreat.

Rendall's most important action was to persuade the secretary of state for the colonies in 1832 to allow the transfer of a large body of **Liberated Africans** from Freetown to Bathurst. Several thousand were sent from Sierra Leone to Bathurst, **MacCarthy Island**, and the **Ceded Mile** while Rendall headed the government, but there was no proper advance planning, no coordination of administrative effort and too little expenditure. As a result, the initial settlers tended either to succumb to the hostile climate or remain illiterate, unemployed, and destitute. Some perished during a major outbreak of yellow fever

in Bathurst in 1837 to which Rendall himself succumbed on 20 September at the age of 46.

**RICHARDS, SIR ARTHUR FREDERICK, First Baron Milverton of Lagos and Clifton (1885–1978).** Born in Bristol on 21 February 1885, the son of a timber merchant, Richards was educated at Clifton College and Christ Church, Oxford. After university, he entered the British colonial service as a cadet in Malaya, in 1908, and rose by March 1930 to the rank of governor of North Borneo. Singled out as a “high flyer,” Richards was appointed governor of the Gambia in October 1933, but did not take up the post until April 1934. While heading the Gambian administration, Richards operated under the handicap of continued reduced revenues as a result of the world depression. The major developments during his tenure were the two **Protectorate Ordinances**, which clarified Governor **H. R. Palmer’s** major ordinance of 1933 and established a new yard tax rate.

After leaving the Gambia in June 1936, Richards served as governor of Fiji and high commissioner, Western Pacific (1936–38), governor-in-chief of Jamaica (1938–43), and finally governor of Nigeria (1943–47). He retired to England in 1947 with a peerage and died on 27 October 1978.

**RICHARDS, JOSEPH D. (1843–1917).** An **Aku** Methodist, Richards was born in Freetown on 26 December 1843, but moved with his mother (a prosperous **Liberated African** kola nut trader originally from Abeokuta in Western Nigeria) to **Bathurst** as a very young child. After attending the Wesleyan Day School in Bathurst, he became involved in the riverine trade, initially as a trade in **groundnuts** for William Goddard, the agent of **Forster and Smith**. By the 1870s, he had branched out on his own and was later prominent in the kola nut trade with Freetown. A successful businessman, he helped lead local African opposition to the proposed **cession** of the Gambia to France, both in 1870 and again in 1875–76, when he served as secretary of the **Gambia Native Association** (GNAssocn).

In November 1882, Administrator **V. S. Gouldsbury** recommended that Richards be appointed as the first African member of the **Legislative Council**; Richards took his seat in May 1883. His appointment met with a mixed reaction in Bathurst; it was welcomed by

the GNAssocn, but strongly criticized by the editor of *The Bathurst Observer*, **W. C. Walcott**. Richards soon proved willing to speak his mind on the council and often joined forces with the other unofficial member of the council, James Topp, to attack government policy. In the mid-1880s, he also coordinated the opposition of merchants in Bathurst and Liverpool to the proposed withdrawal of the subsidy to the company running the mail service.

In December 1888, Administrator **G. T. Carter**, who disapproved of Richards's conduct and his close links with Jeremiah D. Jones, his successor as GNAssocn leader, reconstituted the Legislative Council and Richards was dropped. He never served on it again—even though in the indirect “elections” of both 1895 and 1900, he secured more votes than his main rival, **S. J. Forster Jr.**, who was both times appointed to the council. Nevertheless, his claims were ignored both by Administrator **R. B. Llewelyn** and his successor, Acting Administrator H. M. Brandford Griffith.

Richards retired from business in 1900, but continued to be a leading member of the Aku community in Bathurst until his death in Bathurst, on several occasions writing to the *Liverpool Mail* to express his opposition to any cession of the Gambia to France. After his death on 3 November 1917, the large family fortune was dissipated in a long-running legal dispute between his sons.

**RIP.** *See* BADDIBU.

**ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.** The first **Christian** presence in the Gambia dates back to the middle of the 15th century, with the arrival of the Portuguese in the **Gambia River**. In 1549, Prince Henry the Navigator sent the Abbot of Sotto de Casa and a companion to establish a mission to the ruler of **Niumi**. The mission was not a success, although Portuguese traders subsequently established themselves in a number of riverine villages as far inland as **Barrakunda Falls**. These intermarried with local women to create an ostensibly Catholic community, known as “Portingales.” Churches as well as trading posts were constructed, although priests had to come from the Cape Verde Islands. By the end of the 18th century, the “Portingales” had died out as a distinct community, and with it Catholicism on the river.

The Catholic presence was renewed in 1823 by members of the French Sisters of Charity from Gorée. These worked among the poor in **Bathurst**, but, as with other early Christian missions, poor health forced them to leave. Catholic fathers from Paris established another mission in Bathurst in 1849, and French nuns returned to Bathurst in 1883, with the arrival of three Sisters of Cluny, who were engaged principally in **educational** and charitable activities. Irish priests further strengthened the small Catholic presence among the urban **Wolof** and were also engaged in educational activities. By the 1890s, an estimated 1,500 Catholics were in the Gambia. St. Augustine's School and the Catholic Cathedral on Hagan Street in **Banjul** were the visible results of their endeavors.

During the 20th century, the Catholic community in the Gambia grew much faster than the **Anglican** or **Methodist** ones; by 1951, two-fifths of all Christians in Bathurst were Catholic. In 2006, an estimated 42,400 Catholics lived in The Gambia (compared with only 12,630 in 1980), most of who resided in Banjul and eastern **Kombo**. A Diocese of Bathurst in Gambia was established in June 1957 and renamed the *Diocese of Banjul* in May 1974. The bishop, at the time of writing, is Irish, Robert Ellison (1942– ), who was ordained in May 2006. *See also* RELIGION.

**ROWE, SIR SAMUEL (1835–1888)**. The son of a Wesleyan minister, Rowe was born in Macclesfield, Cheshire, on 23 March 1835, and qualified as a physician in 1856. He joined the British Army medical staff in 1862 and was posted to Lagos. After completing his medical studies in Britain (1864–66). He was posted to the Gold Coast, thereafter serving in Lagos and the Gold Coast, before retiring from the army as a brigadier surgeon in 1876. He was appointed administrator of the Gambia by the Colonial Office in 1875, but immediately departed for Sierra Leone as acting governor, where he remained before his promotion to governor of the **British West African Settlements** in 1877. He held this post until 1881, combining this with the post of governor of Sierra Leone; he then served as governor of the Gold Coast and Lagos (1881–84) and again as governor of the British West African Settlements (1885–88). As governor, Rowe opposed the proposed **cession** of the Gambia and was an implacable foe of the Colonial Office policy of

surrendering to French demands, including in the Gambian interior. He rarely visited **Bathurst** except in 1887, when he served as acting administrator for seven months from April, having been sent there by the Colonial Office to develop the **Colony**. He had also planned the expedition of Administrator **V. S. Gouldsbury** into the upper **Gambia River** in 1881. He died at Madeira on 28 August 1888, while returning home on leave.

**ROYAL ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO AFRICA, COMPANY OF.** The company was chartered by King Charles II of England in December 1660 to trade in West Africa following glowing reports by **Prince Rupert** about its potential profitability. Despite royal support, particularly from James, Duke of York, the younger brother of Charles II, the trade was unsuccessful and having sublet its monopoly to another trading company, the **Gambia Adventurers** in 1669, the Royal Adventurers relinquished it completely to the **Royal African Company** in 1672.

**ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.** An English chartered company that assumed a monopoly of trade in West Africa in 1672, its main area of concern was the Gold Coast, but it did have a considerable investment in the Gambia. Its main base there was **James Island**, but it also maintained other stations along the **Gambia River**. The company's chief **factor** was in command of a small number of soldiers and an even smaller civilian staff. At best, the profit levels were low because few natural products were in the area and the Gambia was never an important **slave trading** entrepôt. Health conditions for servants of the company were so poor that the trading posts were always understaffed and there was a high turnover of personnel, while the long series of wars between England and France resulted in the periodic abandonment of James Island or the destruction of its fort between the 1690s and 1720s.

After a period of prosperity in the 1730s, the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) disturbed trade, and sickness and death forced the closing of the outstations and the near-abandonment of James Fort. In 1747, Parliament canceled the company's subsidy and, after exercising dual control with the **Company of Merchants** from 1750, it was finally dissolved in April 1752.

**ROYAL AFRICAN CORPS (RAC).** Formed in 1804 and composed largely of men drawn from the convict hulks in England and military offenders from other regiments, the RAC nevertheless played an important role in the suppression of the **slave trade** because its men served not only on land, but also on ships of the West African Patrol. Men of the RAC, under the command of Captain **Alexander Grant**, were responsible for occupying **James Island** and then **Banjul** Island in 1816, and they later constructed the barracks and other public buildings in Bathurst. Between May 1825 and July 1827, 276 out of a total of 399 European soldiers landed at Bathurst died. Although white officers remained, European soldiers ceased to be recruited after 1827 and the RAC was merged into the 3rd West India Regiment in 1840.

**ROYAL WEST AFRICAN FRONTIER FORCE.** *See* GAMBIA REGIMENT.

**RUPERT, PRINCE, COUNT OF THE PALATINATE AND DUKE OF BAVARIA (1619–1682).** Born on 18 December 1619, the third son of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia and Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and a nephew of King Charles I of England, Prince Rupert was one of the most important Royalist generals during the English Civil War. He accompanied the future Charles II into exile and took every opportunity of striking at the English Commonwealth government. One such venture concerned the Gambia, when Rupert captured three Commonwealth ships in 1652. While in the Gambia, Rupert came to believe the reports of huge gold deposits in the hinterland. After the restoration of Charles II in 1660, this story played an important role in the formation of the **Royal Adventurers**, with Prince Rupert being one of its main sponsors and investors. Prince Rupert died on 29 November 1682.

– S –

**SABALLY, SAIHOU S. (1947– ).** A **Mandinka** from Kataba in Upper **Baddibu**, who was the son of a prosperous village trader, Sabally was born on 27 December 1947. He was educated at Latrikunda Junior Secondary School and the Gambia High School. Beginning his

career in the Posts and Telecommunications Department, he was working as a technician for Radio Gambia when he was selected in 1972 to replace Yusupha Samba (a former leader of the **People's Progressive Alliance**) as the **People's Progressive Party** candidate in Sabach Sanjal. Sabally was elected and went on to win four further elections in the same constituency before the **1994 coup**. He first obtained office as a parliamentary secretary in the President's Office in a cabinet reshuffle in July 1974. After serving in a similar position in two other ministries, he became minister of economic planning and industrial development in August 1978 and minister of finance and trade in January 1981, both in succession to **M. C. Cham**.

Sabally failed to halt the country's economic decline. After the 1982 election, he was replaced by **Sheriff Sisay** and instead appointed as minister of agriculture. He held this post until February 1989 when he returned to the Ministry of Finance after Sisay's retirement. This was despite the fact that Sabally was one of four ministers accused of corruption by the editor of *The Torch*, Sanna Manneh, only a few months before; Sabally was minister of agriculture when widespread embezzlement took place in the Gambia Cooperatives Union (although it was not detected until later) and Sabally was thought by Manneh (and others) to have been personally implicated.

Having played a key role in December 1991 in persuading President **Dawda Jawara** not to retire, Sabally received further promotion after the 1992 election to minister of defence and was also appointed vice president in succession to **Bakary Dabo**. He continued to hold both posts until the 1994 coup. After the coup, Sabally fled to **Senegal**, where he was granted political asylum in July 1994. Found guilty of corruption in 1997 by the Public Assets and Properties Recovery Commission, he was banned from holding office for ten years by the **Yahya Jammeh** government in 2001.

**SABALLY, SANA BAIRO (1965– )**. A **Fula** from Kassakunda, near **Brikama**, Sabally's father was the *alkaalo* of the village. After primary and part of his secondary education in Brikama, he was awarded a scholarship to **Armitage School**, where he completed his education. After working in a local supermarket, he followed an elder brother into the **Gambia National Army** (GNA), rising to second lieutenant and a platoon commander (he was promoted to cap-

tain in November 1994). A leader of the **1994 coup**, he was subsequently appointed vice chairman of the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** by **Yahya Jammeh** and was instrumental in suppressing an attempted coup of November 1994. However, on 27 January 1995, he was arrested and accused of threatening to kill Jammeh; Jammeh also accused him of trying to delay the transition to civilian rule. He was subsequently dismissed from the army, court-martialed in September 1995, and given a nine-year prison sentence. Released in January 2004, he moved to Dakar, though retaining links with The Gambia and, in 2006, he claimed in correspondence with *The Gambia Echo* that Jammeh's government had attempted to assassinate him.

**SAHO, DR. LAMIN KEBBA (1944–2007).** A **Mandinka**, Saho was born at Salikene, Central **Baddibu** on 9 August 1944 and educated at **Armitage School**, before going on to **Yundum College** where he obtained a teaching certificate in 1964. After working in a variety of jobs in Europe, mainly in West Germany, he attended the Ruhr University, Bochum, where he obtained an MA in sociology and, in 1975, a Ph.D. in political science.

Saho returned home just before the 1972 election. Having arrived too late to stand himself, he sponsored his elder brother, Baboucarr K. Saho, as an independent candidate in Central Baddibu against **Sheriff Dibba**. Along with **Momodou Manneh**, another Mandinka from Salikene, he also provided broader leadership for the independents in Baddibu. However, after the election, Saho attempted to make his peace with the **People's Progressive Party (PPP)**. Only a month after Dibba established the **National Convention Party** in September 1975, Saho was selected as the PPP candidate for Central Baddibu. Having lost to Dibba in the 1977 election, Saho was employed as an executive director of the government-owned Seagull Fisheries Ltd. (1977–79) and later as Gambian high commissioner to Sierra Leone (1979–81). In 1982, Saho defeated Dibba (who was in prison at the time of the election) by just 120 votes and was subsequently appointed parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1987, Saho won again, this time defeating Dibba by just 95 votes, although the small majority inevitably raised questions about the veracity of the result.



Promoted to the cabinet as minister of information and tourism after the election, Saho was dismissed in May 1990, when he was unable to refute accusations of corruption made against him by Sanna Manneh, editor of *The Torch* newspaper. Nevertheless, he was retained as the PPP candidate for Central Baddibu for the 1992 election, but was comfortably defeated by Dibba.

Saho returned to business activities, becoming chairman and chief executive of Atlantic Airlines on its establishment in December 1994. However, in July 1996, he was arrested for his involvement in a case of serious financial fraud and extortion mainly targeted at German visitors to The Gambia. He served five months in detention before being released in December 1996; thereafter, he returned to his former post with Atlantic Airlines, which subsequently collapsed. By early 2000, he had also joined the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** (APRC); after the freeze on his assets was lifted in early 2001, he served on the APRC Campaign Committee in the **North Bank Division** for the 2001 presidential election. Saho later moved to Great Britain, where he died on 6 May 2007.

**SAHO, MOMADU LAMIN (1932–1993).** A **Wolof**, who was the son of a Koranic teacher, Lamin Saho was born in **Bathurst** on 12 December 1932. He was educated at the Methodist Boys' High School (1946–51), before beginning his career in the Department of Agriculture in 1949. After enrolling at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, he graduated with a B.Comm. (Durham), and was promoted to administrative officer in January 1955 on his return to the Gambia. He served as a **divisional commissioner** in 1957–58, before being promoted to assistant permanent secretary in the Department of Agriculture in 1959. However, following his involvement in the 1961 general strike, his appointment as an administrative officer was terminated in May 1961.

During the 1950s, Saho had also gained a law degree from the University of London and, after leaving the civil service, he traveled to London to complete his legal training, being called to the bar (Middle Temple) in 1963. Returning home, he ran a private legal practice in Bathurst between 1963 and 1968, when he was appointed attorney general in the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) government in succession to **Phillip Bridges**, having first been selected as a “nominated” member of Parliament. In the 1977 general election, he suc-

cessfully contested **Banjul** Central for the PPP and afterward was appointed, additionally, to the newly created post of minister of justice.

Saho quarreled with **Dawda Jawara** when he was refused the post of vice president, following the demotion of **A. M. Camara** after the 1982 election. He had expected the vice presidency because of his key role in organizing the treason trials following the abortive **coup of 1981**. Saho refused the Ministry of Local Government, which was offered as compensation. Never popular with Banjul voters, despite his electoral success in 1977, he was also correctly viewed as a **Senegalese** sympathizer.

In February 1986, Saho joined the **Gambia People's Party (GPP)**—even though he had not been on good terms with its leader, Camara, when they were both in the PPP government. But in October 1986, he was arrested in London on fraud charges. While in prison awaiting trial, his health deteriorated and he had to have a leg amputated, with the government providing the funds for his family to visit him. He was eventually convicted, but soon released on compassionate grounds. He subsequently abandoned the GPP and sought to be readmitted to the PPP in January 1987, but his application was rejected. Thereafter, he retired from politics and died on 14 September 1993.

**SALLAH, ABDOULIE MOMADOU (1944– )**. Born in Sambang, **Niamina** Dankunku, on 24 August 1944, Sallah was educated locally and then at the Methodist Boys' and Gambia High Schools, **Banjul** (1958–65), and at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria (1965–69). After graduating with BA in French, he was employed as an assistant and then **divisional commissioner** (1969–71), before working in a series of civil service positions in Banjul (1971–79) and completing management training courses in Great Britain and Australia. From 1982, he served three times as secretary to the cabinet and as permanent secretary at the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports (1984–87), and Ministry of Defence (1991–92).

After the **1994 coup**, Sallah retained his position as secretary to the cabinet until February 1995 when he was appointed Gambian high commissioner to Sierra Leone. In September 1997, he became The Gambia's permanent representative to the **United Nations**, before resuming as Gambian high commissioner to Sierra Leone in 1998. He was then appointed to the cabinet as secretary of state (SoS) for

health and social welfare in December 1999. He was dismissed in April 2001, but in a cabinet reshuffle in September 2007, he was appointed SoS for higher education, research, science, and technology. In March 2008, he returned to his former position of secretary to the cabinet.

**SALLAH, HALIFA BABOUCARR (1953– )**. Born and raised in **Serrekunda**, Sallah completed his education in the United States, where he graduated with a degree in sociology. On returning to The Gambia in 1977, he worked as a social worker in the Social Welfare Department. He also became active in the People’s Movement for Independence Against Neo-Colonialism and Capitalism in The Gambia (PMINCC) (known as “Red Star”), a shadowy, neo-Marxist organization that was set up in 1975 to pursue a radical socialist and pan-Africanist critique of the **Dawda Jawara** administration. Sallah was also popularly believed to be one of the co-editors of an underground radical newssheet, deemed seditious and libelous by the Gambian government, *The Voice of the Future*, which probably first appeared in late 1978. Along with five other PMINCC leaders, including Sam Sarr, a schoolteacher, he went on trial in 1984 accused of distributing *The Voice*, but all were acquitted. However, Sarr and Sallah both lost their jobs as a result of the trial.

In 1986, Sallah, **Sidia Jatta**, Sarr, and others founded the **People’s Democratic Organisation for Independence and Socialism** (PDOIS). Although the PDOIS had a collective leadership, Sallah became its spokesman and a major contributor to its newspaper, *Foroyaa*, which he co-edited with Jatta. His patent integrity and trenchant denunciation of the government earned him considerable popularity, mainly among urban youth, who shared his disenchantment. When the PDOIS moved from consciousness-raising to active participation in electoral politics in 1987, Sallah stood as a candidate in Serrekunda East, as well as continuing as the movement’s propagandist and ideologist, but won only 10 percent of the vote. He stood again in 1992, only to be beaten a second time, winning only 11 percent of the vote.

Sallah and other PDOIS leaders adopted a principled position with regard to the **1994 coup**. Along with Jatta, he refused the offer of a post in the **Yahya Jammeh** government; both men were then

briefly detained in August 1994 for bringing out an edition of *Foroyaa*, in defiance of the government ban on political activities. They were put on trial and after being found guilty on two charges, fined and released. They resumed publication of *Foroyaa* in November 1994, ostensibly as a non-party newspaper. In the 1997 election, Sallah stood once more in Serrekunda East, but narrowly failed to secure election in a close three-way contest, despite winning 33 percent of the vote. However, he succeeded in his fourth attempt in 2002, in the new constituency of Serrekunda Central, defeating the government candidate. Because the **United Democratic Party** (UDP) had boycotted the 2002 parliamentary election, the PDOIS, with two seats, emerged as the largest opposition group in the **National Assembly** and Sallah became opposition “minority leader.” He remained so until the general election of January 2007, though he was forced to defend his seat in a by-election in September 2005 (where he obtained an enormous increase in his majority), when all opposition members of Parliament were forced to resign on joining the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development** (NADD) that he had helped set up. Together with **Hamat Bah** and **O. A. Jallow**, Sallah was briefly detained in November 2005 on specious subversion charges. These were dropped the following February.

After the defection of the UDP and the **National Reconciliation Party** from the NADD, Sallah was selected in March 2006 as its “flag bearer” (presidential candidate) for the presidential election of September 2006, but came last in the poll, with only 6 percent of the vote. In the January 2007 National Assembly poll, he also lost his parliamentary seat to Ousainou Jaiteh of the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** and stepped down as NADD “flag bearer” the following month.

Both as a parliamentarian and a journalist, Sallah has vigorously attacked the record of the Jammeh government and, despite his parliamentary eclipse, he remains politically and intellectually active through the PDOIS’s People’s Centre and the Centre for Social Science Research, Civic Awareness and Community Initiative, which he established in 2007. Sallah is also active politically internationally, having served as one of the five Gambian members of the Pan-African Parliament and working with the Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa.

**SALLAH, "KORO" (SHEIKH AMAT TIJAN) (c. 1947– )**. After initial education in The Gambia, Tijan "Koro" Sallah attended higher education in the United States (reportedly at Harvard University) and in the USSR at Patrice Lumumba University, where he studied engineering. On his return to The Gambia, he worked for a time in the 1970s as a teacher at Crab Island School in **Banjul**. First involved in radical politics as a member of the Black Brotherhood Movement, he then joined another radical organization, the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Foundation, which was set up in 1972, before helping establish the **Movement for Justice in Africa-Gambia** (MOJA-G) in 1979. A day after the MOJA had been declared an unlawful society on 30 October 1980, Sallah and five others were arrested and charged with managing an illegal society and possessing arms and ammunition; Sallah was put on trial in December 1980 and eventually convicted on April 1981 on the first charge only. He received a fine and was briefly imprisoned in July 1981 when he refused to pay it (it was then paid on his behalf by another person).

Although the MOJA was probably not implicated in the planning of the abortive **1981 coup**, Sallah certainly participated in it (although he later claimed that he did so only to oppose the **Senegalese** invasion to restore President **Dawda Jawara**). Whatever the truth of this, Sallah was wounded by security forces loyal to Jawara, but escaped arrest thanks to the assistance of his family and fled the country. He later successfully sought asylum in Sweden, from where he continued to criticize the Jawara government. The ban on the MOJA having been lifted in 1992, Sallah returned briefly to The Gambia in May 1995, before going back to Sweden.

**SAMBOU, ISMAILA K. (1948– )**. Born on 16 November 1948, in Darsilamin, Central **Kombo**, after completing his formal education, Sambou was trained in cooperative studies at **Yundum College** and later in Loughborough (England), in the United States, and Delft (The Netherlands). He worked for the Gambian Cooperative Union between 1970 and his retirement in 1988; he then acted as a freelance consultant. In March 2005, he was appointed secretary of state for local government and lands, a post he retains at the time of writing.

**SANNEH-BOJANG, NYIMASATA (1941– )**. Born in Brufut, Northern **Kombo**, Nyimasata Sanneh was educated at the Methodist Girls' High School (1954–60) and at **Yundum College** (1966–69), where she qualified as a teacher. She worked in various schools, before joining the National Women's Bureau as its executive secretary in 1981. In April 1982, she was selected as the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) candidate in Northern Kombo, replacing the now retired **A. B. N'Jie**. She won the seat for the PPP, thus becoming the first **woman** to be elected to the **House of Representatives**, and was then appointed parliamentary secretary for education. She held Northern Kombo again in the 1987 election, but was deselected by the PPP in 1992; according to Sanneh-Bojang, this was because she had openly championed the cause of **Bakary Dabo** as President **Dawda Jawara's** successor.

Despite her former role as a PPP politician, Sanneh-Bojang was appointed minister of health, social welfare, and women's affairs by President **Yahya Jammeh** in November 1995, having apparently previously helped to establish the **July 22nd Movement**. But she did not remain in office long; in July 1996, along with three senior officials in the Ministry of Health, she was accused of misappropriation of funds and illegally helping relatives and friends to obtain jobs and was sacked. Eventually, she was rehabilitated by Jammeh and appointed as a "nominated" member of Parliament in 2001; in September 2007, she became the administrative secretary of the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**.

**SANYANG, KUKOI SAMBA (1953– )**. Born in December 1953 into a Roman Catholic **Jola** family from the **Casamance** then living in Somita, Eastern **Foni**, he was originally called *Dominique Samba Sanyang*. Sanyang is reported to have attended a Catholic seminary at Ngasobil, near Ziguinchor, Casamance, for two or three years and then transferred to St. Augustine's School, **Bathurst**. He worked for a time in an electrician's workshop and gained his first taste of radical politics in the Black Scorpions, a militant youth organization frequently in conflict with the authorities in the capital.

Although ineligible on residential grounds to stand himself, he sponsored his brother, Momodou L. Sanyang, as an independent candidate against the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP) in Eastern

Foni in the 1972 election. His brother was defeated and lost his deposit. Following the election, Kukoi Sanyang is believed to have traveled overseas to Libya and the Soviet Union, returning in time to meet the six-month residential requirement for the 1977 election. This time, he was adopted as a candidate for the **National Convention Party** in Eastern Foni, but won only 14 percent of the vote.

Following this second political reverse, Sanyang disappeared from view and is believed to have traveled abroad again (including possibly to Libya once more) and become further radicalized in his political views. Returning to The Gambia in June 1980, he joined the then-outlawed **Gambia Underground Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party** and, together with **Pap Cheyassin Secka** and disaffected elements within the **Gambia Field Force**, organized the unsuccessful **coup of 1981**. When the **Senegalese** army intervened to put down the insurrection, Sanyang fled to Guinea-Bissau, and, from there, the government deported him to Cuba in April 1982. He later returned to Africa to continue his opposition to the Gambian government. In the early 1990s, he resided for a time in Libya, where he recruited supporters from among Gambians working there. From Libya, he moved to Burkina Faso and was involved with the Charles Taylor armed faction in the Liberian civil war. The overthrow of the PPP in 1994 did not end Sanyang's opposition to the Gambian government. His supporters were involved in an attack on the army barracks at **Farafenni** in November 1996, when six soldiers were killed. It is thought that, at the time of writing, he remains in exile in Burkina Faso.

**SARDU, BAKARI (BOKAR SAADA SY) (?–1885)**. A **Fula**, who was educated by the French, Sardu was ruler of Bondu from the mid-1850s until his death in December 1885. In 1866, he led a major invasion through **Wuli** that briefly threatened **MacCarthy Island** and forced the British to abandon their policy of retreat and to send troops to the island. In the 1870s, he formed a Fula coalition with Alfa Ibrahima of **Futa Jallon** and **Alfa Molloh**. In that period, his forces made almost annual raids into the Gambia. Depending on the circumstances, he would ally himself either with **Soninke** or **Marabout** factions in the Gambia.

**SATEE-TIYO.** Figuratively, this title means the owner of the land and thus the senior member of the founding lineage of a village.

**SEAGRAM, HENRY FROWD (1802–1843).** Seagram was born in Wylde, Wiltshire, England, around July 1802. The son of an Anglican clergyman, he joined the Royal Navy around 1821 and was commissioned as a lieutenant in 1833. In July 1838, he was appointed lieutenant commander of HMS *Termagant*, one of the ships engaged in suppressing the **slave trade** in West Africa. Retiring from the navy as a commander in 1842, he was appointed lieutenant governor of the Gambia in January 1843 and then upgraded to governor in June when the Gambia was separated from Sierra Leone. He arrived in **Bathurst** at the beginning of April, but died of fever on 26 August, having set up the **Executive** and **Legislative Councils**, but before he could make any other significant changes in the **Colony**. There is a memorial to Seagram in St. Michael's Church, Aldbourne, Wiltshire, where his father was the vicar in the 1840s.

**SECKA, PAP CHEYASSIN OUSMAN (1942– ).** A **Wolof**, Secka was born in June 1942 and educated at the Methodist Boys' High School, **Bathurst**. Appointed as a qualified teacher in January 1962, he taught in the **Protectorate** for several years before traveling to the United States in October 1964 to attend Craydon Hall Academy, New Jersey. He later attended American University in Washington, D.C., where he obtained a BA (1968) and MA (1969) and also became very active in radical student politics. After obtaining a fellowship at Columbia University in 1970–71, he was called to the English bar in 1973 and returned to **Banjul** in the same year to practice law.

Secka first became involved actively involved in Gambian politics in 1975, when he helped establish the **National Liberation Party (NLP)**. He was one of the NLP's two candidates in the 1977 election, but was badly defeated first in Sabach Sanjal and later in a by-election in Banjul Central. He probably then lived abroad for a couple of years, before returning to The Gambia in 1980. By then, the NLP was defunct, but Secka quickly reestablished himself in the public eye as a trenchant critic of the corruption of the **Dawda Jawara** government; he also acted as the principal defense lawyer in October 1980 for "**Koro**" **Sallah** and five other members of the **Movement for Justice in Africa-Gambia**.



Soon after the trial, in December 1980, the Gambia Court of Appeal ruled that Secka would be imprisoned unless he repaid a substantial sum owed to a client; Secka then absconded to Dakar to avoid arrest. While he was in **Senegal**, he became centrally involved in the plot to overthrow Jawara, which eventually came to fruition in the attempted **coup of 1981**. After its failure, Secka fled to Senegal, but was extradited and put on trial. He was sentenced to death in 1982, but this was later commuted to life imprisonment and he was released in February 1991. He immediately resumed his legal practice and reentered politics after the **1994 coup** as a supporter of **Yahya Jammeh** and as a member of the **July 22nd Movement**; after initially serving as the lawyer to the Jammeh government, he was appointed attorney general and secretary of state for justice in March 2000. But after his dismissal from these posts in January 2001, he returned to private practice in Banjul. In March 2005, the Paul Commission, which investigated corruption among public officials between 1994 and 2004, found him guilty of abuse of office, but its ruling was quashed by the High Court of The Gambia in June 2006.

**SEEFOO (SEYFU)** (pl.: **SEEFOOLU/SEYFOLU**). The **Mandinka** word meaning chief or ruler used by the British for the 35 district chiefs of the modern **Protectorate**, it continues in use today.

**SELECT COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT (1842)**. Formed primarily in response to the activities of George MacLean, president of the Council of Merchants at Cape Coast and governor of the Gold Coast Colony, the Committee called into question the approach of the British government throughout West Africa. As a result of its recommendations, the Crown assumed direct control over the Gold Coast, and the decision was taken to allow each British territory to have its own administration without reference to a governor-in-chief. This led to the appointment of Commander **Henry Seagram** as the first governor of the Gambia.

**SELECT COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT (1865)**. Established because of parliamentary pressure to reduce the cost of administering the empire, the Committee based its recommendations largely upon the report of the governor of Bermuda, Colonel (later Major-General)

H. St. George Ord (1819–85). It enunciated the doctrine of no territorial expansion in Africa, which remained the dominant official philosophy for more than 20 years. The Colonial Office, following the report of the Committee, ordered the abandonment of **MacCarthy Island**. The British presence in the vicinity of MacCarthy Island was left to a **factor**, who was also a trader in the upper **Gambia River** areas. He had no official authority and had to operate without the benefit of British troops. More important for the Gambia, the Select Committee recommended that all British West African possessions be placed once again under the direct control of a governor-in-chief, resident in Freetown, with the post of governor of the Gambia being downgraded to that of an administrator. This was effected in February 1866. In 1874, Lagos and the Gold Coast were removed from such control, but it was not until 1888 that the Gambia regained its administrative autonomy. *See also* BRITISH WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS.

**SEMEGA-JANNEH, HOWSOON OUSMAN (1914–1988)**. Semega-Janneh was a **Serahuli**, whose family originated from Mauritania, but, despite long residence in **Bathurst**, he remained true to his Serahuli culture and values. By the early 1950s, he had become a wealthy businessman through working as a transport contractor; he had also become politically active as a member of the **Gambia Muslim Congress** (GMC). In 1951, he stood for election to the **Legislative Council** in **Kombo St. Mary**, but was defeated by **Henry Madi**; however, in 1954, he was indirectly elected to the council by an electoral college. He remained on the Legislative Council until 1960 when he was elected to the **House of Representatives** as an independent in **Kombo West**. Having joined the **United Party** (UP) soon after the election, he was then appointed to the **Executive Council** by Governor **Edward Windley**, before winning the new seat of **Serrekunda** in the 1962 election for the UP. In 1964, he joined the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP), but lost his seat to the UP in the 1966 election.

Semega-Janneh reentered Parliament in October 1968, when he was elected unopposed for the PPP in Western **Kiang** following the death of the incumbent, Amang Kanyi. He retained this seat until 1982, when he was deselected in acrimonious circumstances in

favor of **Bakary Dabo**. Appointed minister of agriculture in 1969, he was sacked after the 1972 election. He returned to favor after the 1977 election, when he was appointed minister of state for information and tourism, but was dismissed in October 1981, having been detained without charge for a time after the failed **coup of 1981**.

Resenting his treatment, including deselection as a member of Parliament, Semega-Janneh was further embittered when he was arrested and charged with theft a few months after the election (a move attributed to his rivals in the PPP) only to have the case withdrawn by the attorney general. He decided to stand as an independent in the December 1982 **Banjul City Council** election and thereafter ceased to be a member of the PPP. Subsequently, he returned to the political fray as one of the founder members of the **Gambia People's Party** in 1986. He stood in **Banjul South** in the 1987 election, but finished a badly beaten third.

Semega-Janneh's daughter, **Satang Jow**, was a minister in the **Yahya Jammeh** government in the 1990s, while his elder brother, Baboucar O. Semega-Janneh (1910–2002), was a prominent surveyor in the 1950s and 1960s. Active in the GMC in the 1950s, he, too, joined the PPP in the 1960s and in February 1965, he was elected mayor of Bathurst. He also served as Gambian high commissioner in London.

**SENEGAL, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** Even before the constitutional advances of the 1960s, the British government gave serious consideration to the political, social, and economic unification of the Senegambia. Neither the British nor the Senegalese government wanted to appear to force the Gambia into an unwanted association, but joining the two areas seemed an obvious solution to the perceived economic nonviability of the Gambia, and it would rectify the arbitrary division established by the **Anglo–French Convention (1889)**. For the Senegalese, a union would put an end to large-scale smuggling (principally by Senegalese nationals) of cheaper goods from the Gambia into Senegal. In 1961, President **Léopold Senghor** of Senegal and **P. S. N'Jie**, chief minister of the Gambia, established an interministerial committee to examine ways toward a practical union of the two territories.

A 1964 report by a **United Nations** team of experts led by H. J. van Mook, while favoring some form of ultimate political union in order to promote the economic development of both countries, proposed three options—total integration of The Gambia into an enlarged Senegal, favored by Dakar; a loose federation, not unlike the eventual **Senegambia Confederation**, proposed by the Gambian government; and a compromise “association,” which would allow for a more leisurely progression toward closer union. Senegal, still recovering from the abrupt collapse of the Mali Federation, formed between itself and the former French Soudan (1959–60), was not inclined to force the pace; while Gambians, on the threshold of national independence, were in no mood to be absorbed by their larger neighbor. The third option was the one adopted. The Gambia became independent but immediately signed a defense agreement with Senegal, and a formal Treaty of Association was agreed to in April 1967. This led to the setting up in 1968 of an Inter-State Ministerial Committee, served by a Senegalo–Gambian Secretariat, charged with promoting further functional cooperation between the two states. Although relations between the two countries were sometimes frosty, notably in 1969, 1971, and 1974, nevertheless, between 1965 and 1982, some 30 collaborative agreements were signed. In addition, the **Organization for the Development of the Gambia River Basin** was created in 1978.

Closer relations were precipitated by the attempted **coup of 1981**, which subsequently led to the establishment of the Senegambia Confederation. A number of protocols, aimed at promoting closer integration between the two countries, were signed between 1982 and 1989, but the Confederation ultimately failed and was formally wound up in October 1989. Following this, relations between the former partners became strained, despite their signing a new Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in January 1991, which emphasized the “special relationship” between them. This agreement was very similar to the Treaty of Association of 1967, the position most acceptable to The Gambia, and it allowed for annual meetings of the two heads of state and the creation of a new joint commission to handle matters of common concern. Periodic Senegalese border closures and harassment of Gambian travelers were explained away as anti-smuggling measures by the Dakar authorities. However, most Gambians believed the Senegalese were motivated by pique and a desire to make

things economically difficult for the Gambian government, since cross-border trade with Senegal and other neighboring countries was vital to the Gambian **economy**.

After the **coup of 1994**, the government of **Yahya Jammeh** made great efforts to establish good relations with Dakar (which, unlike in 1981, had not intervened to defend **Dawda Jawara**), but cross-border restrictions remained to hinder its plans to turn The Gambia into a regional entrepôt. The worsening military situation in Senegal's southern region, the **Casamance**, where **Jola** separatists in the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance continued to defy the Dakar government, caused the Senegalese authorities to suspect Jammeh's intentions, given his Jola background. At the same time, it made it necessary for them to develop a working relationship with Banjul in order to try and contain the situation. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**SENEGAL COMPANY.** *See* COMPAGNIE DU SÉNÉGAL.

**SENEGAMBIA CONFEDERATION.** The establishment of the Confederation was precipitated by the attempted **coup of 1981**, which made the Gambian government dependent on Senegalese security forces to restore it to power and ensure its immediate survival. The Treaty of Confederation was a surprisingly brief and simple document. Approved by the two national Parliaments in December 1981, the Confederation came into being on 1 February 1982. While stressing the sovereignty of the two member states, the Treaty provided for closer union between The Gambia and **Senegal**, by means of an open-ended series of protocols. The fundamental contradiction in the Treaty would eventually cause the collapse of the Confederation.

Four basic objectives were set out in the original agreement:

1. the setting up of common political and administrative institutions; namely, a president and a vice president (the heads of state of Senegal and The Gambia, respectively), a council of ministers (five Senegalese and four Gambians), a confederal assembly elected indirectly by the two national Parliaments (40 Senegalese and 20 Gambians), and a confederal secretariat, all

- funded by an annual budget paid for by the member states (two-thirds by Senegal and one-third by The Gambia);
2. the partial integration of the security forces of the two countries to create a confederal army and gendarmerie (two-thirds Senegalese, one-third Gambian) to be stationed anywhere within the Confederation;
  3. the creation of an **economic** and monetary union between the two states;
  4. the coordination of policy in external affairs and technical fields.

Between 1982 and 1989, a number of protocols were signed on common defense policies, external relations, communications, and information, but the key issues of monetary and economic union were never resolved, owing to diametrically opposed views on the appropriate extent of integration. Senegal wished for a complete economic union, but this was unacceptable to Gambians, who feared the costs to them of such a merger. Political union was even more remote; Gambians and Senegalese again differed fundamentally over the degree of political integration. It was clear that the Senegalese saw total union of the two states as the end goal of the Confederation, whereas the Gambians envisaged it as a more limited agreement, designed to prop up Gambian autonomy rather than to destroy it.

As a result of this fundamental disagreement over the long-term direction of the Confederation, relations between the two countries gradually soured. In August 1989, matters came to a head when President **Abdou Diouf**, angered by the failure of the Gambian government to support it in a dispute with Mauritania, which had resulted in conflict, announced the suspension of the Confederation. President Jawara responded by initiating the necessary legal measures to dissolve the Confederation and it was formally wound up in October 1989. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**SENEGAMBIA, PROVINCE OF.** During the Seven Years' War with France (1756–63), the **Company of Merchants** continued to administer the Senegambia. However, revived French activity and the weakness of the company caused a reversion of the territory to the Crown in May 1765 under the name *Province of Senegambia*. The

government system was based on that of an American colony with a governor, council, and chief justice. The first governor was Lieutenant Colonel **Charles O'Hara**, whose 11-year tenure of office was marked by continued difficulties with French traders on the **Gambia River** and the even more vexing problems of controlling the actions of the lieutenant governors and their troops at **James Island**.

**Matthias MacNamara**, who had exercised almost independent command in the Gambia, succeeded O'Hara as governor and almost immediately became embroiled with Captain **Joseph Wall**, his lieutenant in the Gambia. This struggle, which culminated in MacNamara's removal, weakened the entire government of the Province at a time when the French had decided to aid the American Revolution. MacNamara's successor, John Clarke, died in August 1778, and only an ensign was in command at St. Louis in January 1779 when a French fleet appeared and seized the station. The following month, the French forced the surrender of James Island and razed the fort there. Later in the year, a British squadron occupied Gorée, but found James Fort to be in no condition to be regarrisoned, and no further attempts were made to occupy any territory in the Gambia during the war. The Treaty of Versailles in 1783 returned all of the Province of Senegambia to France with the exception of the Gambia River and James Island, which were retained by the British.

**SENGHOR, LÉOPOLD SÉDAR (1906–2001)**. Born on 9 October 1906 in Joal, into a Roman Catholic **Serere** family, Senghor was the first president of the Republic of **Senegal** from 1960 until voluntarily giving up office at the end of 1980. He was a strong advocate of pan-African unity and after the collapse of the Mali Federation, Senegal's short-lived union with the former colony of French Soudan (1959–60), Senghor sought closer union between his country and The Gambia. Although favoring a complete merger of the two countries, he reluctantly recognized that Gambian public opinion was not prepared to accept complete integration in 1965 and agreed instead to a Treaty of Association in 1967, hoping this would be the beginning of a process of closer cooperation with The Gambia leading to eventual union. Relations between Senghor and **Dawda Jawara** were not always good; in particular, Senghor had to face the anger of Gambian crowds during a periodic heads-of-state visit to **Bathurst** in February 1969.

Senghor's policy was continued under his successor, **Abdou Diouf**. In his retirement years, Senghor divided his time between Senegal and his home in Normandy in France, where he died on 20 December 2001.

**SENHORAS.** As conditions on the Senegambian coast ruled out permanent European settlement, European traders came unaccompanied to St. Louis and Gorée in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and formed attachments to local African women. These women were known as *senhoras*. Following the reoccupation of Gorée by the French in 1817, a number of merchants and traders and their families moved to **Bathurst**. When the merchants retired to Europe, they left their businesses to their partners and the children of their relationships (who were known as *mulattos*). A number of *senhoras* became important traders upriver as a consequence.

**SERAHULI.** The Serahuli, who may be of mixed **Mandinka**, Tuareg, and **Fula** origins, are popularly believed to have been the main inhabitants of the ancient empire of Ghana. After its decline, some Serahuli moved to the Gambia, while a further migration of Serahuli into the Gambia occurred in the mid-19th century. As early as the 1840s, Serahuli were growing **groundnuts** as **strange farmers** for Mandinka overlords in the upper **River Gambia**; some also served as mercenaries during the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, while others were long-distance traders. By 1911, they made up 3 percent of the total population of the Gambia, being resident mainly in Upper River Province.

Over the next 50 years, the Serahuli population gradually increased so that, in 1963, they accounted for 7 percent of the total population. Four-fifths of these were in the **Upper River Division** (URD). Although population patterns have changed since the 1960s, 68 percent of all Serahuli lived in the URD in 2003. Although most Serahuli have historically been farmers, some **urbanized** Serahuli have been prominent in commerce, including more recently in international trade in diamonds and clothing. Almost all Serahuli since the 19th century have been **Muslims**. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**SERERE (SERER).** According to their traditions, the Serere were an **agricultural** people who resided in **Futa Toro** when a series of



invasions by the **Fula** drove them southward. In the early 19th century, most Serere lived in the kingdom of Saloum, with many of them cultivating **groundnuts**. However, in 1863, an estimated 2,000 fled to the Crown **Colony** to escape from the fighting in the interior and eventually settled in **Bathurst** and **Kombo St. Mary**. In 1911, one third of all Serere in the Gambia lived in Bathurst; in contrast, by 1963, the majority of Serere resided in what became the **North Bank Division** (NBD). In 2003, just over a third lived in **Kanifing Municipal Council** and a slightly smaller proportion lived in NBD.

In the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, the majority of Gambian Serere were animist, but in recent decades, most have been **Muslims**; few Serere have ever converted to **Christianity**. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**SERREKUNDA (SARE JOBE KUNDA [SEREKUNDA]**. Serrekunda is the most populous and fastest-growing **urban** concentration in The Gambia. Part of **Kanifing Municipal Council** (KMC), it is located eight miles from **Banjul** on the adjacent mainland. It was originally a small village, but by 2003, KMC's population had reached 322,410, with Serrekunda perhaps accounting for as much as two-thirds of this figure. Principally a residential area, it is also a major market center and there is some light industry. Serrekunda's growth in population has not been adequately reflected in an increase in its number of parliamentary constituencies; although Kanifing accounted for 24 percent of the national population in 2003, it only elected five members of the **National Assembly** in 2007 (three of these represented constituencies in Serrekunda).

**SILLA, FODI (FODE SILLAH) (c. 1830–1894)**. Silla's family originated from **Futa Toro**, although he was himself from **Gunjur**. From 1864, he was the leader of the **Marabout** forces in **Kombo**. By 1874, the Marabouts had taken **Brikama** and most of the major towns in eastern Kombo. Many **Soninke** fled to safety in **British Kombo** and some, using this as a place of sanctuary, raided into Marabout territory. Because of the inherent danger in this to British Kombo, Administrator **C. H. Kortright** concluded a treaty with Silla in 1874, creating a neutral zone between **Yundum** and British territory. The arrangements were violated by both Soninke and Marabouts, and in

1875, Silla's forces overwhelmed those of the King of Kombo, **Tomani Bojang**, who capitulated. Silla thus became the dominant force in all of Kombo, having established good relations with his neighbor and fellow Marabout leader, **Fodi Kabba**.

Except for his slave-raiding activities, Silla caused the British administrators little trouble, apart from attempting to interfere with the work of the Anglo–French Boundary Commission in 1891. Nevertheless, in 1892, the British recognized him as chief of Western Kombo and paid him a stipend. Minor problems related to **Bathurst**-based traders in his territory, and his attitude toward the **slave trade** caused the British to mount a two-pronged offensive against him in February 1894. After initial failures, Gunjur was captured and Silla was forced to flee to **Foni**. Refused sanctuary by the local **Jola** leaders, he retreated with his followers to the **Casamance**; on 10 March, he was forced to surrender to French forces. Silla was transferred to Cayor, with a handful of followers, and died there on 6 April 1894. After his death, **Muslim** Kombo was incorporated into the **Protectorate**.

**SINGHATEH (SINGHATEY), EDWARD DAVID (1968– )**. Born in **Banjul** on 8 August 1968, Singhateh was the son of a **Mandinka** father and an English mother. A Roman Catholic, he was educated at St. Augustine's School, Banjul (1982–87). He then worked for the Civil Aviation Department as an electronic technician (1989–90), before entering the **Gambia National Army** (GNA) as an officer cadet in January 1991, along with a younger brother, Peter. He received further military training in the United States in 1991 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant (platoon commander) in January 1992.

One of the leaders of the **1994 coup**, Singhateh was appointed minister of defence in the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** (AFPRC) government. Having allegedly played a prominent role, along with his brother, in crushing the attempted **coup of November 1994**, Singhateh was promoted vice chairman of the AFPRC after the downfall of **Sana Sabally** and **Sadibou Hydara** in January 1995. He left the army in September 1996 with the rank of captain (awarded in November 1994), serving as vice president in 1996–97. He held various ministerial portfolios between 1997 and 2007: Presidential Affairs (1997–2000); Works, Communication, and Information (2000–03);

Trade, Industry and Employment (2003–05); and Forestry and the Environment. Appointed to this post in March 2005, he was dismissed on 13 September 2007, having previously tried to resign in order to enroll on a law degree program at the **University of The Gambia**, and was replaced by his permanent secretary, **Momodou Kotu Cham**. At the same time, Singhateh lost the position he had held since 1996 as the secretary general of the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**. Previously regarded as President **Yahya Jammeh**'s right-hand man, and the only individual to have held ministerial office continuously since the 1994 coup, his political future looks uncertain at the time of writing. His brother, Lieutenant Colonel Peter Singhateh, lost his position as deputy commander of the defence staff a few days later and was also dismissed from the GNA.

**SINGHATEH, SIR FARIMANG MAMADI (1912–1977)**. Born in **Georgetown**, Singhateh was descended from a long line of **Mandinka** traders from **Wuli**, while his grandmother was one of the wives of **Musa Molloh**. Singhateh was educated locally in Georgetown after his “adoption” by a British **divisional commissioner**'s wife. In 1935, he volunteered to become a medical overseer at **Kerewan**; later, he became a medical probationer attached to the Royal Army Medical Corps in various parts of the Gambia during World War II. In 1950, Singhateh qualified as a government pharmacist. He retired in 1963 as acting senior dispenser and established a famous pharmacy at **Farafenni**. Originally chairman of a **Protectorate** welfare society, Singhateh was later chairman of the Protectorate People's Society, and he and his wife, Fatou Fanta Basse Sagnia, were early supporters of the **People's Progressive Party**. Singhateh dropped his political connections in 1964 on his appointment to the Public Service Commission. He was appointed governor general, initially on an acting basis, in December 1965, before assuming the substantive post following Sir **John Paul**'s departure in February 1966. When an executive presidency was created in April 1970, Singhateh retired. He was also president of the local Ahmadiyya movement. Singhateh died on 19 May 1977.

**SISAY, SHERIFF S. (1935–1989)**. Born at Kudang, **MacCarthy Island Division**, Sisay was the son of Sekuba Sisay, **Mandinka** chief

of **Niamina** district between 1927 and 1952. He was educated in Koranic schools, before spending eight years at **Armitage School** (1948–56). In 1957, he was appointed as a clerk in the Department of Education in **Bathurst**, and by October 1958, had become the secretary of the Protectorate People's Society, the forerunner of the **People's Progressive Party** (PPP). He resigned from the civil service in 1959 to become the first secretary general of the PPP, a post he held until June 1968.

Sisay easily won his home constituency of Niamina in the 1960 election to the **House of Representatives** and was afterward appointed to the **Executive Council** by Governor **Edward Windley** as a minister without portfolio. In March 1961, along with the PPP party leader, **D. K. Jawara**, and **A. B. N'Jie** of the **Democratic Congress Alliance**, he resigned over Windley's appointment of **P. S. N'Jie** as chief minister. However, after retaining Niamina in the 1962 election, he was appointed minister of finance by Jawara and was normally thereafter recognized as the second-ranked member of the government. As minister of finance, Sisay framed a series of budgets that reflected Gambia's modest **economic** position, but did allow for necessary development and growth.

In December 1967, Jawara reshuffled his cabinet, with Sisay being replaced as minister of finance by **Sheriff Dibba**. He resigned the alternative post of minister of external affairs, in January 1968, on finding that he now ranked below Dibba in the cabinet. During the summer of 1968, Sisay, together with three other discontented former PPP ministers—**K. C. A. Kah**, **Paul Baldeh**, and Yusupha Samba—voted with the **United Party** opposition on several important motions. This was unacceptable to Jawara, who had all four men expelled from the PPP on 1 September 1968. A month later, they formed the **People's Progressive Alliance** (PPA). The PPA failed to make any significant impact and it gradually broke up. In July 1970, Sisay initiated discussions with the PPP to try to return to the fold, but it was only in December 1971, that he was readmitted to the party.

Although the PPA was dissolved in February 1972, Sisay was denied the PPP nomination in Niamina (or elsewhere) in the general election. He declined to stand as an independent, and was subsequently rewarded by the government by being appointed governor of

the Gambia Central Bank in December 1972. Sisay's brother was less fortunate, being dismissed as *seefoo* of Niamina in June 1971. Sisay remained at the Central Bank until 1977, before going to the United States to gain a postgraduate degree and to work for the **International Monetary Fund** (IMF). Returning to The Gambia, he was first appointed as a "nominated" member of Parliament and then selected as minister of finance and trade after the 1982 election. As minister, Sisay was largely responsible for first persuading Jawara of the need to call in the IMF and then for steering the Economic Recovery Programme. He also made a determined effort to reform government practices and stamp out corruption.

Sisay remained minister of finance and trade until February 1989, when he suddenly resigned on grounds of ill health. He died less than a month later on 4 March 1989. *See also* ECONOMY.

**SISE, BIRAM (BIRAM CISSE).** Born into an important **Marabout** family at **Kaur**, he came under the influence of **Ma Bah Diakhou** early in his life. After Ma Bah's death, he rebelled against **Mamur Nderi Ba** by refusing to dismantle his fortifications at Kaur, receiving support in his struggle from **Musa Molloh**. By the early 1880s, Sise had managed to drive Mamur Nderi Ba from most of the extensive territory he had once controlled. However, in the mid-1880s, he clashed with **Saer Maty Ba**, the son of Ma Bah, who claimed control of **Baddibu**; unable to defeat Saer Maty Ba, Sise accepted a British proposal in 1886 that Saer Maty Ba would be his suzerain, with Sise keeping his territory and receiving a stipend. When the stipend was not forthcoming, Sise rejected the agreement. In 1887, Saer Maty Ba was defeated by the French; at first, Sise received guarantees of a part of the kingdom of Baddibu, but rumors of an impending renewal of violence led the French to arrest him in June 1888 and he was exiled to Gabon.

**SITWELL, CECIL FREDERICK (1860–1900).** Born on 26 May 1860, the son of a British Army officer, Sitwell was appointed the first **travelling commissioner** for the South Bank areas of the **Protectorate** in January 1893. He was thus the first permanent British official in all the troubled areas from **Kombo** to **Niamina**. With his partner, **J. H. Ozanne**, the North Bank commissioner, he represented

the Crown over approximately 150 miles of riverine territory. Because he had no military or police escort, he required considerable tact in informing the chiefs and the people of their new status and of the laws and ordinances of the **Colony**, which now applied to them. He also tried to act as a neutral judge in any dispute that arose between villages or chiefdoms. Although more travelling commissioners were appointed in the late 1890s, their tasks were made even more difficult by the enactment of the Protectorate Ordinance of 1894, the Yard Tax Ordinance of 1895, and the Public Lands Ordinance of 1897.

In 1899, a long-standing dispute over rice land between the **Soninke** of Jataba and the **Marabouts** of Sankandi, led by Dari Bana Dabo (a follower of **Fodi Kabba**), flared up. By now the travelling commissioner for **Kombo** and **Foni**, Sitwell decided in favor of Jataba, but the Marabouts refused to abide by the decision. Sitwell, accompanied by his replacement, Frederic Edgar Silva (1872–1900), 11 African constables, and Mansa Koto, the chief of Battelling, proceeded to Sankandi in June 1900 to enforce the land decision. On 14 June, after a brief discussion, violence broke out and Dabo's forces killed Sitwell, Silva, Mansa Koto, and six constables. In response, British troops, allied with **Musa Molloh**, captured Sankandi in January 1901. Dabo was later captured in French territory, handed over to the British, tried by the Supreme Court in **Bathurst** for murder, and executed.

**SLAVE TRADE.** Slavery was an indigenous institution among all the peoples of the Gambia. It was converted by the Atlantic slave trade into a mutually profitable business for both Africans and Europeans. The Portuguese in their earliest voyages captured slaves, but slave trading did not become important until the 16th century and the development of plantation economies in the Western hemisphere. The earliest English and French traders to the Gambia were more concerned with gum, gold, and ivory, and **Richard Jobson** in the 17th century indignantly refused to trade in slaves. However, by the 18th century, traffic in slaves was the most important business of the **Royal African Company**. Even then, the Gambia was not considered a good region in which to purchase slaves, most of the trading taking place on the coasts of the Gold Coast, Dahomey, and western

Nigeria. There are no reliable figures for the numbers transported from the Gambia. In peak years perhaps as many as 2,000 were sold, but, according to **Francis Moore**, the average during the first quarter of the 18th century was 1,000 per year. In March 1807, the slave trade was abolished in the British Empire from May 1807, but slave ships continued to operate in the Gambia region for decades afterward, and individual rulers, such as **Fodi Silla**, were still trading slaves at the end of the 19th century. One of the major reasons for the occupation of **Bathurst** was the British desire to block the trade in slaves from the **Gambia River**.

**SMALL, EDWARD FRANCIS (1890–1958)**. Born in **Bathurst** on 29 January 1890, Small was the illegitimate son of a well-regarded **Aku** Methodist tailor, John W. Small. He was an unusually able pupil and won a government scholarship to study at the Methodist Boys' High School in Freetown, Sierra Leone. He returned home in 1912, worked briefly as a cost clerk in the Public Works Department and then joined the French commercial firm, Maurel et Prom. In 1915, he took up a teaching post at the Methodist Boys' High School, Bathurst. In January 1916, the local **Wesleyan Methodist Church**, including **S. J. Forster Jr.**, sponsored him to train for holy orders. Sent upriver to Ballanghar as a probationary mission agent in 1917, he clashed with a local European trader on New Year's Eve, 1918. The incident, trivial in itself, escalated when Small denounced the local British administrator and then the Methodist Church for siding with the trader and recalling him. He was dismissed for insubordination in 1918, and this series of events appears to have radicalized him politically.

Small now rejoined Maurel et Prom, working upriver at **Kaur**, as a trader. In 1919, he was instrumental in founding the **Gambia Native Defensive Union** (GNDU) with other young, educated **Aku** from Bathurst. Having heard about the proposed inaugural conference of the inter-territorial **National Congress of British West Africa** (NCBWA), Small converted the GNDU into its Gambian conference committee in October 1919 and was selected to represent the Gambia at the founding of the NCBWA in Accra in March 1920. Returning to Bathurst in May 1920, he converted the conference committee into the Congress' Gambia Section, but soon after quarreled with Forster

and other members of the Aku elite who left the Congress; Small and Forster remained political opponents thereafter. Nevertheless, Small and his former GNDU associate, Henry M. Jones (1891–?), an Aku trader, were selected to represent the Gambia on a deputation to London in 1920, with Small not returning to Bathurst until early 1922. By then, the Gambia Section's progress was faltering; soon after, Small resigned as its secretary and moved to Rufisque, near Dakar. In May 1922, Small published the first edition of his newspaper, *The Gambia Outlook and Senegambian Reporter*, in Dakar; this was the first Gambian newspaper to be published since the 1890s.

From July 1923, Small lived in London, trying with little success to relaunch his newspaper and secure financial support for various development schemes in the Gambia. On his return to Bathurst in 1926, he did revive his newspaper (which he continued to manage and edit until his death), but failed to revive the Gambia Section. However, in 1929, he founded the Gambia Planters' Syndicate, which was later renamed the Gambia Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Association (GFCMA), initially in partnership with **Sheikh Omar Fye**, to fight for improved **groundnut** prices. With the assistance of some former members of the NCBWA, he also established the first Gambian **trade union**, the **Bathurst Trade Union** (BTU) and, in October–November 1929, organized one of the most successful strikes in colonial Africa before World War II. His trade union and anticolonial activities brought him to the attention of socialist and communist organizations in Britain and Europe, and he even attended a communist-organized anticolonial conference in Hamburg, Germany, in July 1930 and was elected to the executive committee of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. It is unlikely, however, that his links with international communism were other than tactical, although the government was convinced that he was a Bolshevik agitator.

After returning to Bathurst in November 1930, Small resumed his political activities. The GFCMA eventually failed and he lost control of the BTU to a rival faction (which was helped by Forster and **W. D. Carrol**) in 1933, although Small later established the rival **Gambia Labour Union** in 1935. The **Rate Payers' Association**, which Small founded in 1932 and became its chairman, was more successful and by 1935, it had supplanted the **Gambia Representative Committee**



as Bathurst's leading political organization. However, it failed to prevent the unpopular reforms of Governors **H. R. Palmer** and **A. F. Richards**.

Governor **W. T. Southorn**, still suspicious of Small's political views, effectively blocked his election to the **Legislative Council** in May 1938, when Carrol's five-year term of office expired, but was impressed by Small's strong pro-Allied stance at the start of World War II. Following Carrol's death, he therefore allowed the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** to elect Small as their representative on the Legislative Council in November 1941 by ordering official members to abstain. Small took his seat in January 1942 and proved effective in challenging government policies and pushing for the concession of the franchise. This was finally granted in 1946. Small contested the first direct election to the Legislative Council in November 1947, defeating Sheikh Omar Fye and **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**. He was subsequently appointed to the **Executive Council**, as one of the first four Gambian members.

Small remained a member of both councils until 1951, but was less active in local politics than previously, although he frequently traveled abroad, particularly to trade union meetings (since 1949, he had been on the general executive council of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions). Persuaded somewhat reluctantly to stand for election to the Legislative Council again in 1951, this time as the candidate of a new, but outdated, body, the Gambia National League, he fared badly, winning only 45 votes (2 percent). His political career was not quite over, however. Governor **Percy Wyn-Harris**, who had been instrumental in securing Small the award of an OBE in 1953, reappointed him to the Legislative Council as the "nominated unofficial" member after the 1954 election and he remained on it until his death on 3 January 1958. "Pa" Small is properly regarded as the "father" of both modern politics and trade unionism in The Gambia. *See also* NEWS MEDIA.

**SOLDIER TOWN.** That part of **Bathurst** located at the center of the settlement, inland from **Government House** and MacCarthy Square, Soldier Town was the area where most of the discharged soldiers resided in the early 19th century. It was a ward of the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** and later a **House of Representatives** constituency between 1960 and 1962 and is now part of the **Banjul** Central constituency.

**SONINKE.** A term which literally means “giver of libations,” it was used to describe the defenders of traditional political and religious interests in the religious conflicts of the 19th century in the Gambia because of their consumption of alcohol. To the **Marabouts**, the term had pejorative connotations, meaning pagans or unbelievers. The term has also been applied to the ancient rulers of the West African empire of Ghana and to other peoples.

**SONINKE–MARABOUT WARS.** A series of conflicts that began in the early 1850s between **Islamic** usurpers and their converts, known as **Marabouts**, and the **Soninke**. At one time or another, they affected all the areas along the **Gambia River** and did not end until 1901, with the European occupation of the Senegambian hinterland.

The wars were triggered by the religious upheavals to the east in the middle Niger area, which created expansionist Muslim states led by such religious reformers as **Al Hajj Umar Tall**, who founded the **Tukulor** empire, and Usman dan Fodio, founder of the Sokoto Caliphate, in what is today northern Nigeria, and neighboring territory. Inspired by these examples, individuals, moved by a combination of religious zeal and personal ambition, launched a series of local wars in Senegambia aimed at replacing the traditional states with personal theocratic empires. The first outbreak of fighting took place in **Kombo**; in 1853–55, **Omar of Sabajy** overran much of western Kombo and even inflicted an initial defeat on the British at Sabajy. Although the British prevented the Marabouts taking **Bathurst**, they were unable or unwilling to save their Soninke allies, and in 1875, the last king of Kombo, **Tomani Bojang**, was forced to become a Muslim.

In the 1860s, **Fodi Kabba** and his allies extended their activities to the **Foni** and **Jarra** districts, where they again defeated the Soninke, except for the **Jola**, who stubbornly defended their independence. However, in eastern Jarra, Kabba’s advance to the east was checked by the forces of **Alfa** and **Musa Molloh**; the Mollohs also claimed to be waging a **jihad** on the middle Gambia, but it became evident by the 1870s that the pursuit of power and booty was their principal driving force. Only one key Marabout leader, **Ma Bah Diakhou**, displayed unambiguous religious motivation. Ma Bah, who seized power in **Baddibu** in 1861, was bent on converting his Soninke neighbors by conquest. He had some success in **Niumi**, but was decisively defeated

by local Soninke in **Kiang** and was defeated and killed in 1867 by the army of the **Serere** kingdom of Sine. His death led to the fragmentation of his state and eventually allowed the French and British to take over the region.

Fighting continued between the warring forces until the British and French decided to occupy the Senegambian interior in the closing decades of the 19th century. Despite trying to play the European powers against each other, in the end all the Marabout leaders were forced to yield or die fighting. **Fodi Silla**, after gaining British recognition as ruler of Western Kombo, was forcefully deposed in 1894 and exiled, while Kabba was killed during the taking of his stronghold at Medina in March 1901. Musa Molloh made his peace with the British, which left him a client ruler in **Fuladu**, but was eventually deported to Sierra Leone in 1919. Although European military intervention and political expansion put an end to the fighting and the depredations of the Marabouts, the wars destroyed the power of the Soninke rulers and led to most of their former subjects being converted to Islam. *See also* D'ARCY, GEORGE A. K.; JATTA, SULING; O'CONNOR, LUKE S.

**SONKO, BURUNGAI.** Having become ruler of **Barra (Niumi)** in 1823, Sonko signed a convention with Captain **Alexander Grant** in 1826 that gave the British control of the **Ceded Mile**, following which they began constructing Fort Bullen at Barra Point. During the next five years, the king came to regret the loss of his customs revenues and, pressured by under-chiefs, adopted an anti-British attitude. Because of actions against **Bathurst** traders in Niumi, the British suspended their annual payments to the king. His attitude, and the foolishness of European and African traders in Bathurst, led to the **Barra War** in 1831. Despite a number of military successes against combined British and French forces, which were unable to capture the village of Essau, his seat of power, his subjects suffered heavily from the war, and Sonko made peace in January 1832, reconfirming the transfer of the Ceded Mile. *See also* BULLEN, SIR CHARLES.

**SONKO, OUSMAN (1969–).** Born in **Serrekunda** on 9 January 1969, Sonko completed secondary education, before enlisting in the **Gambia National Army** (GNA) in January 1988. Commissioned in No-

vember 1994 as a second lieutenant, and promoted to captain in March 2000 and major in September 2004, by 2005, he was the commanding officer of the First Infantry Battalion. During this period, he attended courses overseas in Pakistan, Nigeria, and Taiwan and served with the **United Nations** military mission in Sierra Leone. A close ally of President **Yahya Jammeh**, Sonko served for a time as commander of the **State House** Guards. He transferred to the Gambian police force as inspector general of police in February 2005 following the dismissal and arrest of the previous postholder, Landing Badjie. He was then appointed secretary of state for the interior in November 2006, replacing another former GNA officer, Colonel Baboucarr Jatta, a post he retains at the time of writing.

**SOUTHORN, SIR WILFRID THOMAS (1879–1957).** Born on 4 August 1879, Thomas Southorn was educated at Warwick School and Corpus Christi, Oxford. He served in the colonial service in Ceylon (1903–26) and Hong Kong (1926–36), where he was colonial secretary, before his appointment as governor of the Gambia in October 1936. Any plans Southorn had for major improvements either for the **Colony** or for the **Protectorate** had to be framed within a context of severely limited revenues because of the Gambia's poverty and the effects of the world depression. After 1939, the **economy** of the Gambia improved substantially, as it became an important staging area during World War II. However, between 1940 and 1942, the situation was particularly tense because the Gambia was surrounded on three sides by **Senegal**, whose government was controlled by Vichy France.

Southorn's most important political action was to allow **E. F. Small** to be appointed to the **Legislative Council** in 1941, having previously ensured that he failed to become a councilor in 1938 by instructing the official members of the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** (BATC) to vote for his rival, **W. D. Carrol**. Southorn also promoted the career of **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa**, whom he appointed as a "nominated" member of the BATC in 1942. He favored granting the franchise to the Gambia, but pressure of work caused by the war prevented him from doing so.

After leaving the Gambia in March 1942, Southorn served as a colonial civil service liaison officer until 1946, when he retired. He died on 15 March 1957. Southorn's wife, Bella (the sister-in-law of

the novelist, Virginia Woolf), wrote many articles on the Gambia, including a book covering Gambian history, society, and politics.

**STATE HOUSE.** *See* GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

**STIBBS, BARTHOLOMEW.** Captain Stibbs was sent to the Gambia by the **Royal African Company** in 1723, his specific purpose being to search for the legendary upriver gold mines mentioned by **Prince Rupert** and Colonel **John Vermuyden**. He reached **Barrakunda Falls** in February 1724, and proceeded approximately 60 miles beyond before turning back. His report, that he found no minerals and considered Vermuyden's report a myth, discouraged the company from further exploration. Stibbs later returned to the Gambia as a merchant of the company and played a role in the affairs of 1729–30, when some disaffected Europeans on **James Island** threatened to revolt and blow up the fort.

**STIEL, OTTO.** As chief agent of the **Duchy of Courland** (1654–59; 1660–March 1661), Captain Stiel tried to improve trade and diplomatic relations with the mid-river Gambians, but his efforts were compromised by European disturbances. Courlander ships were seized both by the Dutch and the English in their commercial war. The Dutch at Gorée did not want trade competition in the Senegambia from interlopers, and they twice captured the fort on St. Andrew's Island. Imprisoned each time, Stiel was released the first time through the actions of a French privateer in Swedish employ and the second time by forces loyal to the King of **Barra**. Stiel returned once more to the Gambia in 1669, but was later shipwrecked and returned home to Danzig penniless. *See also* JAMES ISLAND.

**STONE CIRCLES.** Megaliths found in western Africa from the southern Sahara in the north to Guinea-Bissau in the south, mostly in Senegal, they are still of unknown origin. All except two of the circles in The Gambia are on the north bank of the **Gambia River**. They are composed of 10 to 20 standing laterite stones, which vary in height from two to eight feet. These stones are arranged in circles between 10 and 20 feet in diameter. Some locations have a complex of circles. Wassu has 11 circles and Ker-Batch has nine. The stones were cut

from neighboring hillsides, and some of the larger stones weigh as much as 10 tons. Their transportation to the circle sites involved a considerable labor force and complex organization. Professional and amateur excavations indicate that, in some cases, the area within the circle was used as a burial place. Some skeletons and many artifacts have been uncovered, while radiocarbon dating dates the circles to A.D. 640–860, though who constructed them remains unknown. Academic speculation is that the ancestors of either the **Jola** or the **Wolof** were responsible.

**STRANGE FARMERS.** These were landless men who migrated seasonally to the Gambia from neighboring countries to help with planting and harvesting crops. During the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, they served an additional function as mercenaries, while in the 20th century, they would make their own contracts with village headmen and be assigned to work for specific farmers in a village. Strange farmers were assigned portions of land to work for themselves in their free time and would also normally be required to grow a part of the additional food supply needed for their sustenance. The pressure upon available food supplies in the Gambia after 1945 caused the colonial government and the chiefs to take steps to limit the immigration of strange farmers from French and Portuguese territory into the Gambia; their number fell from 16,000 in 1945 to 7,000 in 1948. Thereafter, their numbers fluctuated considerably from an estimated 25,000 in the mid-1970s to less than 2,000 in 1990. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

– T –

**TALL, AL HAJJ UMAR (c. 1794–1864).** A **Tukolor Tijani**, who was born and educated in the **Futa Toro**, Tall later traveled widely in North and West Africa and made a five-year pilgrimage to Mecca in 1827 before returning to West Africa. Declared *khalifa* (leader of a community of believers) of the western Sudan, he then launched a **ji-had** against the **Bambara** in 1852 and conquered Kaarta. Over the next decade, his followers gained control of the upper Senegal River area, establishing a large empire. On 7 February 1864, he was killed

suppressing a revolt in Macina. Tall's teaching and example of conquering the territories of unbelievers had a great influence upon both **Ma Bah Diakhou** and **Alfa Molloh**.

**TANCROWALL.** A Portuguese settlement sited in the vicinity of the modern village of Tankular in **Lower River Division**, it had a church with a priest in residence as late as 1730. The **Royal African Company** briefly had a factory there in the 1730s.

**TARIQ** (*pl.* **TURUKH**). A *tariq* is an **Islamic** religious confraternity comprising individuals who subscribe to a common spiritual "path" under the guidance of a sheikh. The two most celebrated *tariq* brotherhoods in West Africa were the **Qadiriyya** and the **Tijaniyya**. A more recent brotherhood is the **Mouridiyya** (Mourides) founded in the late 19th century.

**TIJANIYYA.** A **Muslim** *tariq*, founded in Morocco in 1781 by Ibn Muhammad al Tijani (1735–1815), its doctrine and practices were noted for being relatively uncomplicated, and so were taken up by ordinary people. The brotherhood spread to West Africa even during its founder's lifetime, but received considerable impetus from **Al Hajj Umar Tall's** conquests in West Africa. Many Gambians today owe allegiance to one of the two principal branches of the Tijaniyya located in **Senegal**—the Niass family of Kaolack and the Sy family of Tivouane. Both enjoy a following in **Banjul**, but Niass followers are also found in **North Bank Division**, the district nearest Kaolack. A number of subordinate Gambian **Marabouts** belong to the Tijaniyya sect, but none has a national standing, nor are they as publicly involved in political life as in Senegal.

**TOMANI (TUMANA).** One of the nine **Mandinka** kingdoms located along the south bank of the **Gambia River** in the early 19th century, Tomani stretched from a point opposite Sami Creek to Toubacouta. The Mandinka ruling dynasty was overthrown by **Alfa Molloh** in the late 1860s and was incorporated into the new state of **Fuladu**. In the 20th-century reorganization of Gambian chiefdoms, the area that had been Tomani became the district of Fuladu East. Since 1962, Tumana has been a parliamentary constituency.

**TOURAY, DR. OMAR ALIEU (c. 1965– )**. Born in **Farafenni**, Touray was educated at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, University of Geneva, where he obtained a Ph.D. in international relations in 1994. The author of the main account of Gambian **foreign policy** under **Sir Dawda Jawara**, Touray joined the civil service in 1995 as senior assistant secretary at the Ministry of External Affairs. Soon after, he moved to Brussels to serve at the Gambian embassy to Belgium and the European Union, remaining there (as counselor) until 2002. Appointed as the first Gambian ambassador to the **African Union** and to Ethiopia in August 2002, he left Addis Ababa in February 2008 (he had previously been nominated as ambassador to the **United Nations** in September 2007, but did not take up the post). He succeeded **Crispin Grey-Johnson** as secretary of state for foreign affairs in March 2008.

**TOURAY, YANKUBA (1966– )**. A **Mandinka**, born at Nawleru, **North Bank Division**, on 9 June 1966, Touray was educated at the Muslim High School, **Banjul** (1979–84), before enlisting in the **Gambia National Army** in 1986. Commissioned from the ranks as second lieutenant in 1991, Touray became an administrative officer at the Army Training School at **Farafenni** in 1993. Three days after the **1994 coup**, he was appointed to the **Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council** and then made minister for local government and lands. Promoted to the rank of captain in November 1994, he retired in September 1996, and was appointed secretary of state (SoS) for youth and sports in March 1997. By now, the national mobilizer of the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**, he became SoS of tourism and culture in August 2000 and then SoS of communication, information, and technology in October 2003. However, he was sacked two months later and subsequently charged with corruption by a commission established by President **Yahya Jammeh**. He was restored to the cabinet as SoS for agriculture and fisheries in June 2005, before transferring to fisheries and resources in October 2006, a post he retains at the time of writing. In November 2007, he also became responsible for **National Assembly** matters.

**TOURE, FODI SILLA**. *See* SILLA, FODI.



**TOURISM.** Tourism is a relatively recent phenomenon in The Gambia, but one identified by successive governments as making a major contribution to the **economy** and employment. Apart from occasional visits by cruise ships, tourism began in December 1965 when Harding Travels, a Swedish tour operator, brought 112 visitors to The Gambia. Since then, numbers have grown substantially, despite periodic downturns, to 90,000 in 2004. Gambian tourism consists almost entirely of air package holidays and is concentrated in the period October–April, to take advantage of colder weather in Europe. Attempts have been made to arouse interest among Americans with the annual “Roots” festival (first held in May 1996); this is based on African American writer Alex Haley’s account of his family history in a popular book and television series of the same name. Nevertheless, virtually all tourists are from Western Europe, half being British. More than 80 hotels and guesthouses operate in The Gambia, and the first five-star hotel, a Sheraton, opened in 2007. Most hotels are located along the coast southwest of **Banjul**, though there has been some success in extending facilities elsewhere in the **Western Division** and as far as **Central River Division**. Tourism in 2005 was estimated to provide 19 percent of private-sector formal jobs and 13 percent of national income. *See also* JUFFURE.

**TRADE UNIONS.** Gambian trade unions have generally been weak and ineffective, in part because of the relatively small size of the labor force and because unions have largely been confined to Bathurst/**Banjul**, where wage employment has been concentrated. The seasonal nature of much wage employment also weakened efforts to develop more effective unions in the past, while internal factional conflict has often had damaging consequences. Nevertheless, on occasion, trade unions have wielded much greater influence than the size of the rank-and-file membership would suggest, notably in 1929–30 and in the early 1960s.

The origins of trade unionism in the Gambia date back to the mid-19th century, when a number of craft societies were established in Bathurst, primarily as friendly or burial societies. But it was not until 1921 that the Carpenters’ and Shipwrights’ Society organized the first recorded strike. It lapsed into obscurity thereafter, but was revived in

1929 to combat large-scale wage cuts that had been unilaterally imposed by the European private-sector firms. The society, whose leaders included **Momadu Jahumpa**, sought the assistance of better-educated **Aku** and **Wolof**, including **E. F. Small**, and in May 1929, became the nucleus of the **Bathurst Trade Union (BTU)**. Under Small's leadership, the BTU organized a two-week strike in October and November 1929; this resulted in significant wage increases for Bathurst's workers, thus completely reversing the earlier wage cuts.

The BTU was now at the height of its powers, but in the early 1930s, it went into rapid decline, in part because of internal factional conflict. In May 1933, it became the first trade union in Africa to be officially registered (under the Trade Union Ordinance of 1932), but this marked a defeat for Small and his associates because his opponents now formed the official leadership of the union. In May 1935, Small established a second, rival, trade union, the **Gambia Labour Union (GLU)**, but neither it nor the BTU managed to achieve the same level of support as the latter had enjoyed in early 1930. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, two new "political" unions were formed; **I. M. Garba-Jahumpa** founded the Gambia Amalgamated Trade Union (GATU) in March 1947 as a rival to Small's GLU and to help his efforts to gain election to the **Legislative Council**. The GATU soon attracted a higher membership than the GLU, but Garba-Jahumpa was defeated and in 1949, the union was dissolved. Similarly, prior to the 1951 election, **J. C. Faye** established a union of taxi drivers, the Motor Drivers' and Mechanics' Union, to improve his electoral prospects. The union helped Faye head the poll, but faded into obscurity thereafter.

In late 1956, a new general workers' union, the **Gambia Workers' Union (GWU)**, was established by **M. E. Jallow** and others. Initially, it made little progress; indeed, in June 1959, it temporarily merged with the GLU. But after Jallow had returned from training at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' College at Kampala, the momentum picked up. In February 1960, the GWU called the first general strike since 1929, shortly before the first election to the **House of Representatives**; its success boosted the union's membership. In January 1961, the GWU called another general strike; while the union's demands were not met in full, the strike was once again successful. But by 1970, the union had lost its way, partly because of

internal problems and partly because Jallow unwisely became involved in domestic politics, helping organize the opposition to the 1965 republic referendum and then standing as an Independent in the 1966 general election. General strikes called by the GWU in February 1967 (with the **Gambia National Union**) and January 1970 were also unsuccessful.

In the mid-1970s, the trade union movement moved into a new, more militant, phase. The GWU called a further successful strike to demand wage increases at a time of increasing inflation in July 1975 and another, in support of a group of workers at the Gambia Utilities Corporation, in November 1976. But many workers refused to support the second strike, which infringed recent government anti-strike legislation, and it was a failure. In response, the government enforced the legislation requiring unions to submit their accounts for inspection to deregister the union in January 1977.

Over the next few years, the **People's Progressive Party** government made some attempt to foster rival trade unions, notably the Gambia Dock Workers' Union. But the abortive **1981 coup** made it rethink its strategy toward organized labor. The GWU was provisionally re-registered in March 1983, but, almost immediately, more militant GWU leaders became embroiled in a dispute at the sensitive Jahally-Pacharr rice project. The government reacted by canceling the reregistration on somewhat dubious technical grounds.

Having abandoned his attempt to reform the GWU, Jallow established the **Gambia Workers' Confederation** (GWC) in 1985 as the first effective trade union center in The Gambia. He became its secretary general, but died in 1987. Under the leadership of his successor, Pa Modou Faal, the GWC adopted a cautious approach to industrial issues. By 2006, there were more than 20 unions in The Gambia, but almost all were inactive and the trade union movement was ineffective.

**TRANSPORTATION.** The Gambia has only one airport—**Yundum** International, near **Banjul**. There are 2,325 miles of roads, of which 449 miles are paved, but there are no bridges across the **Gambia River**; instead, several ferries provide cross-river communication. Larger, powered vessels operate between Banjul and **Barra** on the north bank, and on the middle Gambia at Yelitenda. The latter is used

principally by **Senegalese** traffic, traveling from northern Senegal to the **Casamance** region. Smaller ferries operate at Kuntaur, **Janjanbureh**, Bansang, and **Basse**. Before the development of a road network, the Gambia River was a major transportation artery, shipping most of the country's **groundnut** crop. The river is navigable for its entire length and in the rainy season, small oceangoing vessels can travel as far upstream as Janjanbureh (c. 170 miles). Banjul is the country's only port; up-river, wharves provide more limited facilities for smaller vessels.

**TRAVELLING COMMISSIONERS.** In January 1893, two officials, known as *travelling commissioners*, were appointed to represent the Gambian administration on either side of the **Gambia River** to a distance of approximately 150 miles inland from Bathurst. The two men, **J. H. Ozanne** (North Bank) and **C. F. Sitwell** (South Bank), were charged to explain British policy to local rulers and later to adjudicate in local disputes and gradually to persuade local chiefs to accept British administrative and judicial practices. Initially, they had no force at their disposal and relied very much on their tact and understanding of local societies. After the establishment of the **Protectorate**, the number of travelling commissioners was increased to five, each covering a more restricted district—North Bank, **MacCarthy Island**, Upper River, South Bank, and **Kombo-Foni**. Travelling commissioners were renamed **divisional commissioners** in 1944.

**TUKULOR.** The Tukulor are closely related to the **Fula** and, since 1973, have been classified in the census as Fula. In 1963, more than four-fifths of all Tukulor lived in the Kuntaur Local Government Area in **MacCarthy Island Division**. A strongly **Islamized** people, the Tukulor have produced a number of important political figures, including **M. C. Cham** and **K. C. A. Kah**. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

**TUMANA.** *See* TOMANI.

**TYEDDO.** Warriors in service to a **Wolof** or **Serere** king or chief, selected from the *jam* or slave caste, the *tyeddo* were also known as slaves of the crown.

## – U –

**UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY (UDP).** The UDP was founded in August 1996, following the banning of the three major existing **political parties**, the **People's Progressive Party**, the **National Convention Party (NCP)** and the **Gambia People's Party**, after the **1994 coup**. It was led from the outset by a lawyer and civil rights campaigner, **A. N. M. Ousainou Darboe**, and is a middle-of-the-road party championing human rights and economic liberalism. Many of its initial supporters were from the banned parties, particularly the NCP. Darboe came in second to the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction (APRC)** candidate, **Yahya Jammeh**, in the September 1996 presidential election, obtaining a creditable 36 percent of the vote. The UDP also came second in the general election of January 1997, winning 34 percent of the vote (the highest percentage gained by an opposition party since 1962), but gaining only seven of the 45 seats in the **National Assembly**. The UDP strength was concentrated in areas where the NCP had been strong, such as Bakau and the **Baddibus** and the **Kiang** and **Jarra** districts of **Lower River Division**. However, it also won **Niani** in **Central River Division** and more than 40 percent of the vote in a total of 17 constituencies. The UDP claimed, like other opposition parties, that the election was not fair and that it should have won the majority of seats.

This was the high point in the party's political fortunes. After renewing its accusations of voting irregularities by the APRC in the 2001 presidential election, when its share of the vote fell to 33 percent, the UDP boycotted the general election in January 2002. This left it with no representation in the National Assembly. It joined the anti-government opposition coalition, the **National Alliance for Democracy and Development (NADD)** on its formation in January 2005, but Darboe pulled the UDP out of the NADD in January 2006. In the September 2006 presidential election when the UDP formed an alliance with the **National Reconciliation Party (NRP)**, Darboe won 27 percent of the vote. The UDP also contested 29 out of 48 seats in the January 2007 National Assembly election, but won only four of these, despite gaining 22 percent of the votes cast. The UDP contested 29 seats out of a possible 114 in the January

2008 local government election, in alliance with the NRP, but won only three of these.

**UNITED NATIONS (UN), GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** The Gambia joined the UN soon after its independence in February 1965 and, within its limited resources, fulfilled its obligations to it. Reflecting its moderate **foreign policy** under President **Dawda Jawara**, The Gambia adopted a broadly pro-Western interpretation of non-alignment. Under President **Yahya Jammeh**, The Gambia served a two-year rotating term on the UN Security Council, in 2000–2001 and Jammeh has addressed its General Assembly in New York. Jammeh has tended to be more assertive than Jawara in his contribution, particularly with regard to a greater African voice in the organization.

**UNITED PARTY (UP).** The UP was founded around April 1954 to support the second attempt by **P. S. N’Jie** to be elected to the **Legislative Council**; N’Jie had previously contested the 1951 election on a non-party platform. From the outset, the UP’s greatest strength was in the **Colony** area, particularly among the **Wolof**. It was strongly backed by N’Jie’s fellow **Roman Catholics**, but was also supported by many **Muslims**, who were reassured that other UP leaders, including N’Jie’s half-brother, **E. D. N’Jie**, were Muslims. The UP also attracted much support from Wolof **women**, organized in women’s societies presided over by *Yayi Kompins*.

P. S. N’Jie headed the poll in the 1954 Legislative Council election, but in the aftermath of an affray between supporters of the UP and the **Gambia Muslim Congress** in October 1955, he was dismissed from the government in January 1956 having refused to resign as demanded by Governor **Percy Wyn-Harris**. The UP thus escaped the stigma attached to the older parties of being tools of the British administration. Indeed, by 1960, it had become the most important party in Bathurst. However, in the **Protectorate**, it had less support than the newly established **People’s Progressive Party** (PPP). Although the overall results are disputed, it probably won only five seats in the 1960 election to the nine won by the PPP.

P. S. N’Jie rejected Governor **Edward Windley**’s offer of a non-portfolio ministerial position on the **Executive Council** in June 1960, but, surprisingly, was invited by Windley to become the country’s

first chief minister in March 1961. Because the PPP and **Democratic Congress Alliance** ministers had resigned, N’Jie headed a wholly UP administration until the next election in May 1962. In this election, although the UP increased its parliamentary strength from six to 13 and gained 38 percent of the vote in alliance with the **Gambia National Union**, the PPP did even better, winning 18 seats. N’Jie was therefore replaced by **Dawda Jawara** and a PPP government.

Even though it had lost the crucial last election before Gambian independence, the UP anticipated returning to power. It had retained its hold on **Bathurst**, winning four out of five seats, as well as one of two seats in **Kombo St. Mary** and, at the same time, won seats in three of the four Protectorate divisions. P. S. N’Jie sought to present his party as the champion of other non-**Mandinka** peoples, against what the UP claimed was imminent Mandinka domination. However, by October 1964, the number of UP members of Parliament (MPs) had fallen to five as eight of its MPs defected to the PPP or its ally, the **Democratic Congress Alliance**. Some were persuaded to join the PPP by the inducement of office; others were disillusioned by the inactivity of P. S. N’Jie, who spent much of his time in London vainly trying to overturn the result of the 1962 election. In desperation, some UP leaders, particularly E. D. N’Jie, accepted an offer by the PPP to form a coalition government. E. D. N’Jie was appointed minister of health in February 1965, but the pact (which had been opposed by P. S. N’Jie) collapsed in the following June.

Soon after independence, Jawara announced his intention of replacing the monarchy with a republic by means of a referendum. The UP led the opposition to the republic and gained much credit when the government narrowly failed to achieve the necessary two-thirds majority in November 1965. But it failed to capitalize on its success in the 1966 election; together with its ally, the **Gambia Congress Party**, it won only 33 percent of the vote and gained seven seats. Over the next four years, the UP made little progress, although it was not until 1970 that there were further defections of MPs to the PPP; this followed the UP’s failure to defeat the republic referendum a second time in April 1970. Following this, P. S. N’Jie was replaced briefly as party leader in May 1970 by E. D. N’Jie, but he resumed the position after the latter’s death in a car accident that October.

Further defections and by-election defeats followed, so that by the 1972 election, the UP had only three MPs, two in Bathurst and one in **Serrekunda**. Although all three were reelected, the UP experienced the lowest point in its fortunes in July 1972, when the **House of Representatives** barred P. S. N’Jie for repeated non-attendance. He increasingly withdrew from active political life, and those of his lieutenants still politically active entered into a tactical alliance, first with the ephemeral **National Liberation Party** in 1977 and then with the **National Convention Party** (NCP) in 1982 and subsequent elections. In 1977, the UP won two seats, but almost immediately lost one of these in a by-election caused by the death of J. R. Forster, while its last remaining member of Parliament, Momodou M. Taal, defected to the PPP in September 1978. Jabel Sallah regained the latter’s seat on a UP/NCP ticket in 1987, but subsequently defected to the **People’s Democratic Party**. The death of P. S. N’Jie in December 1993 marked the end of the UP, which had always been his personal political instrument. As if to underscore the UP’s demise, the military junta did not bother to include it among those **political parties** banned after the 1994 coup.

**UNITED STATES, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** At independence, the United States was represented by a resident consul in **Bathurst** and relations thereafter between the **Dawda Jawara** government and the United States. were cordial. The U.S. government emerged as a major aid donor to The Gambia, though this did not lead it to intervene, when it could have, on Jawara’s behalf during the **1994 coup**. An American warship, the *La Moure County*, with a complement of marines on board, was visiting The Gambia at the time, but appeals for intervention by Jawara were rejected; instead, safe passage to neighboring **Senegal** was all that was provided. Subsequently, though, Washington joined others in condemning the coup and imposing a range of **economic** sanctions, which were not fully lifted until after the 2001–02 Gambian elections. Since then, relations have greatly improved between the two countries and American aid programs are now fully restored. Although the U.S. State Department remains critical of continuing human rights violations in The Gambia, President **Yahya Jammeh**’s denunciation of Islamic terrorism



and his practical support for American counter-terrorist measures has won him American backing. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**UNIVERSITY OF THE GAMBIA.** The University of The Gambia was formally established in March 1999, with major support from a Canadian university, St. Mary's, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the Cuban government. The first students were enrolled in September 1999. It brings together several existing tertiary educational and vocational institutions and new academic faculties. There are 72 full-time academic staff, based in four faculties: medicine and allied health sciences; science and agriculture; humanities and social sciences; and economic and management sciences. A fifth faculty, law, was approved in 2007. The first cohort of students graduated in 2002 and there are currently (2006–07) approximately 2,000 students enrolled. The emphasis is on vocational learning with relevance to the developmental needs of the country. President **Yahya Jammeh** was installed as its chancellor in February 2000. *See also* EDUCATION.

**UPPER RIVER DIVISION (URD).** URD, which is located on both sides of the **Gambia River**, comprises four large, but relatively sparsely populated, districts: Fulladu East, **Kantora**, Sandu, and **Wuli**. Its administrative capital and largest city is **Basse Santa Su**, which had an estimated population in 2003 of 18,000. In 2003, the total population of URD was 182,586. Just under two-fifths of its Gambian population was **Serahuli**, while nearly a third was **Mandinka/Jahanka** and a quarter was **Fula/Tukulor/Lorobo**.

**URBANIZATION.** In recent decades, The Gambia has become increasingly urbanized, as a result of large-scale migration by Gambians and immigration by non-Gambians. Rural poverty and limited **economic** opportunities in the Gambian countryside and political unrest and economic problems in neighboring states explain this rapid move to urban areas. The **World Bank** has estimated that in 2001, 31 percent of the population was urbanized; this represents a significant change since 1990, when only 25 percent of the population was urbanized, and reflects extensive internal migration and immigration from other West African countries in the 1990s. If smaller, but also rapidly growing provincial urban settlements are included, the cur-

rent estimate by the Gambia Bureau of Statistics is that 50 percent of the population was urbanized in 2003. The major towns in The Gambia are **Kanifing** (which includes **Serrekunda**), **Brikama** and the capital, **Banjul**. Migrants are estimated to comprise a third of the population of Kanifing and nearly a quarter of that of Brikama. Unusually, the population of the capital has declined as the population has left the congested capital for the nearby mainland area of Kanifing. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.

– V –

**VERMUYDEN, JOHN (c. 1627–?)**. The son of a Dutch engineer, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden (1590–1677), who made the first important attempts to drain the Fens in East Anglia, England, Colonel Vermuyden’s first voyage to the Gambia in January–March 1660 was on behalf of **Prince Rupert**, for whom he was chief engineer. He then undertook an extended exploration of the upper **Gambia River** areas in December 1661 for the **Royal Adventurers**. His later report claimed that he had discovered a great amount of gold. In 1724, Captain **Bartholomew Stibbs** retraced Vermuyden’s journey without discovering the slightest indication of the fabled gold deposits.

**VISION 2020 (The Gambia Incorporated)**. Launched in May 1996, Vision 2020 set out the long-term policy objectives of the **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction** government in respect to development strategies and sectoral contributions. It aimed “To transform The Gambia into a financial center, a **tourist** paradise, a trading, export-oriented **agricultural** and manufacturing nation, thriving on free market policies and a vibrant private sector, sustained by a well-educated, trained, skilled, healthy, self-reliant and enterprising population, and guaranteeing a well-balanced ecosystem and a decent standard of living for one and all, under a system of government based on the consent of the citizenry.” The adoption of the word “incorporated” stresses the primacy of private enterprise in the transformation process. In October 2006, President **Yahya Jammeh** admitted that most of the policy’s objectives had not been realized.

**VOUS.** Vous were neighborhood social and political youth clubs in Bathurst/**Banjul** and neighboring urban centers. The best known of these, the Kent Street Vous, founded around 1967, which was highly critical of the **People's Progressive Party** government, produced its own journal and nurtured a number of leading Gambian radicals, including a future member of Parliament, Momodou M. Taal. It has been suggested that the word derives from *rendezvous*.

– W –

**WADE, ABDOULAYE (1926– ).** Born on 29 September 1926, in Kebemer, **Senegal**, Wade has been leader of the Senegalese Democratic Party since its foundation in 1974 and president of Senegal since March 2000, when he defeated former President **Abdou Diouf** in an election. His relations with the **Yahya Jammeh** government have not always been good, particularly over the issues of **Casamance** and bilateral economic relations.

**WAFFA-OGOO, SUSAN (1960– ).** Born on 4 October 1960, Mrs. Waffa-Ogoo was raised in the same household as **Yahya Jammeh**. She was educated at St. Joseph's High School (1973–78), before beginning employment as a library assistant at **Yundum** (later Gambia) **College**. She graduated with a BA in Library Studies and English Literature from Loughborough University of Technology, England, in 1987, before being appointed as deputy librarian and a part-time lecturer at Gambia College. Shortly after the **1994 coup**, she was appointed minister of information and tourism; this became the Ministry for Tourism and Culture in 1996. She transferred to the Ministry for Fisheries, Natural Resources, and the Environment in August 2000, before returning to Tourism and Culture in September 2004 and then, after a very brief absence from the cabinet, to Trade, Industry and Employment in October 2006. She was thus one of Jammeh's longest-serving ministers until her sudden, and quite unexpected, dismissal from the cabinet in February 2007. However, in March 2008, she was restored to favor and appointed as Gambian ambassador to India.

**WALCOTT, WILLIAM CHASE (1837–1888).** Born in Barbados around October 1837, Walcott moved to Freetown, Sierra Leone, in the early 1860s, initially to work as a schoolmaster. He soon turned to journalism, editing several newspapers and becoming the first secretary of the Sierra Leonean Chamber of Commerce in 1864. In the mid-1860s, he traveled to London to train as a barrister. Returning to Freetown, he began to practice law, but in November 1868, he was accused of perjury. When the case came to court in January 1869, the queen's advocate argued that he had presented a false affidavit and he was briefly suspended, but then reinstated on the solicitor's roll.

Walcott had been closely associated in Sierra Leone with Major Alexander Bravo, a former police magistrate, and when Bravo was appointed acting administrator of the Gambia in 1869, Walcott moved to **Bathurst**, where he set up a legal practice (and briefly served as acting chief magistrate). Walcott supported the first petition against **cession**, which was drawn up by the **Liberated African** community in Bathurst in April 1870; Governor **A. E. Kennedy** believed that he had in fact drawn it up and also a petition of 1871, which criticized the influx of Sierra Leoneans to the Gambia.

Walcott probably moved to London in the mid-1870s and was not active in the opposition to cession in 1875–76. However, he had returned to the Gambia by the early 1880s (although still periodically traveling to England). He continued to practice as an attorney, appearing in a number of high-profile local cases in the 1880s, and also resumed his previous career in journalism, establishing (and editing) the Gambia's first substantive newspaper, *The Bathurst Observer and West African Gazette*, on 23 January 1883. The newspaper was sometimes critical of government policy, notably the appointment by Administrator **V. S. Gouldsbury** of **J. D. Richards** as the first African member of the **Legislative Council** in 1883.

By the late 1880s, Walcott, who had become the first president of the Bathurst Chamber of Commerce in May 1886, was well respected by the Gambian government, with Administrator **G. T. Carter** considering him an appropriate choice as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council. But before he could take up the position, he died in London on 29 November 1888. On his demise, *The Bathurst Observer* also became defunct.

**WALL, JOSEPH (1737–1802).** An Irishman who had served in the Royal Marines and in the East India Company forces, Captain Wall joined O'Hara's Corps in the **Province of Senegambia** in 1773. After Lieutenant Colonel **Charles O'Hara's** departure in late 1775, Wall was posted to **James Island** as lieutenant governor of the Gambia in December 1775; here his independent actions and harsh rule caused difficulty with the garrison. He was arrested by Governor **Matthias MacNamara** in August 1776 and spent 10 months in confinement in James Fort before being brought to trial. Wall was acquitted in a trial in 1777 and MacNamara later dismissed. Wall returned to the Senegambia and later, while governor at Gorée, ordered the flogging in July 1782 of Benjamin Armstrong, who subsequently died from his wounds. Wall fled to Europe, living mostly in France, before returning to England in 1797. In January 1802, he was tried for the murder of Armstrong, convicted, and executed on 28 January.

**WALLIKUNDA RICE SCHEME.** In the early 1950s, the **Colonial Development Corporation (CDC)** attempted to utilize modern technology to develop profitably, through irrigation, 3,400 acres of rice fields. It sent 60 construction workers, complete with draglines and bulldozers, to construct irrigation channels, sluices, and a pumping station at Wallikunda, **MacCarthy Island Division**. Only 200 acres were ever planted, and the yield was very low, no more than could be obtained by using traditional methods. The CDC abandoned the scheme in May 1953, except for a small portion of the land that was retained as an experimental station. This ill-conceived venture was even more expensive than the fiasco of the **Yundum Egg Scheme** and cost the CDC more than £1.1 million. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

**WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH.** At the request of Governor **Charles MacCarthy**, Wesleyan Mission House in London despatched John Morgan and his wife, together with John Baker (from Sierra Leone), to establish a Wesleyan presence in the Gambia, the two men arriving in February 1821. The first attempt at establishing a station at Mandinari in **Kombo** was a failure; the local ruler refused to grant the mission a plot of land, and the station was abandoned in 1822. Then the declining health of Morgan and Baker forced them to return to **Bathurst** in 1824. They were also refused

land to establish a base at Kataba in **Niumi**, and Tendaba, farther up the river, was regarded as too politically unsettled. The Wesleyan mission in Bathurst proved to be a success, however, and numbers of staff and African converts gradually increased; recorded church membership rose from about 40 in 1830, to 559 in 1837 and in 1871, two-thirds of the **Colony's Christians** were Methodists. A high proportion of these were **Liberated Africans** and their descendants, although in the 1830s and 1840s, the local Church leaders were often **Wolof**. A mission house and school were started in 1825 and, in 1834, the present Methodist Church was built for the 250-member congregation. In 1838, the Methodists acquired 600 acres of land on **MacCarthy Island**, where a mission station had been established in 1832, and created a model farm and agricultural school.

The Methodist Church was largely responsible for **education** in the Colony and **Protectorate** in the 19th and early 20th century. In addition to primary schools in Bathurst, they operated a Boys' High School (founded in 1875) and a Girls' High School (founded in 1921) with many prominent Gambians being educated in these schools. The two schools continued to operate until 1959 when they formed the nucleus of the government-run Gambia High School.

In 2006, the Gambia District had 2,200 members. The last remaining overseas District of the British Conference, moves were under way in 2007 for it to become fully autonomous. *See also* RELIGION.

**WESTERN DIVISION (WD).** WD, which is located on the south bank of the **Gambia River**, comprises nine districts: **Foni** Bintang Karanai, Foni Bondali, Foni Brefet, Foni Jarrol, Foni Kansala, **Kombo** Central, Kombo East, Kombo North, and Kombo South. Its administrative capital and largest city is **Brikama**, which had an estimated population in 2003 of 63,000. In 2003, the total population of WD was 389,594. Two-fifths of its Gambian population was **Mandinka/Jahanka**, while just under a quarter was **Jola/Karoninka**. Since the 1960s, there has been rapid **urbanization** in WD, which has also developed a strong **tourism** industry more recently. The division also contains Gambia College (now located at Brikama) and Banjul International Airport, located at **Yundum**.

**WEST INDIA COMPANY, DUTCH.** Created by the States-General in 1621 to promote Dutch overseas trade, the company obtained the Island of Gorée as its base in the same year to challenge French supremacy in Senegambian trade. Almost annually, it sent small ships from Gorée to trade along the **Gambia River**, but its profits were quite low. In the 1650s, the company at first cooperated with the **Duke of Courland** in his Gambian trading venture, but by 1660, it had seized St. Andrew's Island from him. However, the island was given back to the Duke's representatives and then captured by **Robert Holmes** of the English **Royal Adventurers** in March 1661 and renamed *James Island*. The Dutch did hold Gorée until 1677, when it was captured by the French Admiral Jean d'Estrées. Afterward, the Dutch company never attempted to challenge France or Britain in the Senegambia.

**WEST INDIANS.** During the 19th century, there was a small, but influential, West Indian community in the Gambia. Some West Indians were former members of the various West India Regiments that had served in the Gambia; these included Thomas King, one of the leading traders in **Bathurst** in the 1860s and 1870s, who played a prominent role in the campaign against **cession** in 1870. Others, including **W. C. Walcott**, had migrated to the Gambia from the West Indies or other West African colonies. 59 West Indians lived in Bathurst in 1881, but by 1901, most had died or left the Gambia.

**WINDLEY, SIR EDWARD HENRY (1909–1972).** Windley was born on 10 March 1909, the son of a white Rhodesian father and a French aristocrat mother. Educated at Repton and at the University of Cambridge, he entered the colonial service as a district officer in Kenya in 1931, rising to become chief native commissioner and minister for African affairs in 1953. In June 1958, he arrived in **Bathurst** to be governor of the Gambia. Windley was responsible for introducing a new constitution in September 1959 that established a **House of Representatives** with 34 members (19 of whom were directly elected) and granted the **Protectorate** the right to elect its representatives directly for the first time. Following the election, Windley appointed MPs from all parties to the **Executive Council**. In March 1961, despite having strong prior reservations about his character and abili-

ties, he appointed **P. S. N’Jie**, the leader of the **United Party** (UP), as chief minister, even though the UP had secured fewer seats than its rival, the **People’s Progressive Party** (PPP) in the 1960 election. Windley’s controversial decision resulted in the PPP and **Democratic Congress Alliance** ministers leaving the Executive Council and forced the Gambian government to make further constitutional concessions. As governor, and perhaps influenced by his own French background, Windley also strongly favored the proposed union of the Gambia with **Senegal** and encouraged closer links between the two countries.

After retiring from the colonial service on leaving the Gambia in March 1962, Windley became a businessman. He died in an air crash in Brisbane, Australia, on 5 January 1972.

**WOLOF.** The Wolof form the majority of the population of **Senegal** (with heaviest concentrations in Walo, Cayor, **Jolof**, and parts of Baol, Sine, and Saloum), whereas in The Gambia, they constituted 14 percent of the Gambian population in 2003. They are found mainly in upper and lower Saloum districts and in the northern sections of **Niani**, Sami, **Niumi**, **Jokadu**, and in restricted areas of Upper **Bad-dibu**. In 2003, the Wolof were still the largest ethnic group in **Banjul**, but the Wolof of Banjul have historically had a different origin from those of the rural areas because the ancestors of the Banjul group came from St. Louis and Gorée in Senegal, immediately after the founding of Bathurst in 1816.

Wolof social organization is extremely complex, based upon a tripartite division of the society into freeborn (*jambur*), low-caste members (*nenyo*), such as artisans and praise singers, and slaves (*jam*). Although many present-day urban Wolof are involved in trading or are employed in higher-level positions in the professions or the civil service, most are farmers and live in villages. The land is divided into small plots assigned to individuals who practice subsistence **agriculture**, but also grow **groundnuts** as a cash crop.

Most Wolof are **Muslims**, although a substantial minority are **Roman Catholics**. In the 19th century, there was also a small, but significant, **Wesleyan Methodist** community. *See also* DEMOGRAPHY.



**WOMEN.** Although women now constitute the majority of the Gambian population, traditional Gambian **Muslim** society has always been male dominated and access to resources, historically, has favored men. Yet, in rural society, women have always played a significant part in **agriculture**, with farming activities divided between men and women, while women have had the added responsibility for child-rearing. As a result, women were denied equal access to **education**, professional training, and economic opportunities in the modern sector. President **Yahya Jammeh**, together with aid agencies operating in The Gambia, has focused on improving access to education and **health** facilities for women as part of his government's anti-poverty strategy. At the same time, urban migration has opened up new economic and social opportunities for women, but men still remain dominant in all walks of life and the practice of female genital mutilation remains widespread.

Male dominance has been particularly evident in the political sphere, both during pre-colonial times and under British rule. Historically, rulers and village heads were invariably male and the introduction of parliamentary democracy and the universal franchise during the colonial period still left men dominant in political life. No women were ever elected to, or appointed to, the **Legislative** and **Executive Councils**. However, Hannah Mahoney, the wife of **J. A. Mahoney**, was appointed as a "nominated" member of the **Bathurst Advisory Town Council** in 1943, while two **Aku** women, Hannah Forster and Cecilia Davies, were elected to the **Bathurst Town Council** in 1946 for the **Soldier Town** ward (defeating eight other male candidates in the process).

One woman, Augusta Jawara, the wife of the **People's Progressive Party (PPP)** leader, **D. K. Jawara** (and daughter of J. A. Mahoney), contested Soldier Town for the PPP in the first election to the **House of Representatives** in 1960, but was defeated. The second female parliamentary candidate, Ya Fatou Sonko, stood as an independent in Eastern **Kombo** in the 1972 election, but also lost; however, in 1982, the third female candidate, **Nyimasata Sanneh-Bojang**, won Northern Kombo for the PPP. She retained the seat in 1987, but was deselected by her party prior to the 1992 election. In this election, women candidates fared poorly; three stood, but all were badly defeated. Despite their lack of success at the polls, two women did sit in the

**House of Representatives** in the Jawara period as “nominated” MPs. The first to be selected was Lucretia St. Clair Joof, who was appointed in December 1968. Another “nominated” member of Parliament, **Louise N’Jie** (the sister of Augusta Jawara), was the first woman to be appointed as a parliamentary secretary (in 1977) and the first to be a minister (in 1985). The PPP also set up a Women’s Bureau in the Office of the Vice President in 1980. While denied equal political representation, women have always played a key role in political campaigning and all parties have had women’s wings. In **Banjul**, local women’s associations, *kompins*, were mobilized by all leading parties.

Under President **Yahya Jammeh**, the political and wider needs of women have featured prominently in government policy pronouncements and more women have entered Parliament, the cabinet, and senior civil service positions, albeit, some for short periods only before their dismissal. Three women, all from the ruling **Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction**, were elected to the **National Assembly** in 2002 (none of the 107 candidates in the 1997 election was female), and two in 2007. Jammeh’s cabinets have always contained at least some women and, at the time of writing, there were five women in a cabinet of 18 persons, including the vice president, **Isatou N’Jie-Saidy**. Belinda Bidwell (1936–2007) replaced **Sheriff Dibba** as speaker of the National Assembly in April 2006, becoming the first woman to hold this post, and was in turn succeeded by Fatoumatta Jahumpa-Ceesay (1957– ) in February 2007, who remains as speaker at the time of writing. In addition, Julia Dolly Joiner (1956–) served as the first female secretary general and head of the civil service between 2000 and 2002, before becoming Commissioner of Political Affairs for the **African Union** in 2003, and Elizabeth Harding held the same positions in 2006–07. Like Jawara, Jammeh has also continued to appoint women as “nominated” MPs. *See also* AGRICULTURE; BADJIE, FATIM M.; BENSOU DA, FATOU; EDUCATION; FAYE, FATOU L.; FIRDAUS, MARIE S.; FOWLIS, ROSAMOND, A.; JOW, SATANG; NJIE, NANCY; WAFFA-OGOO, SUSAN.

**WORLD BANK, GAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH.** Like the **International Monetary Fund** (IMF), the World Bank Group has

emerged as a major aid donor to The Gambia since the 1980s, although most aid was withdrawn in protest at the **Gambia National Army's** seizure of power in July 1994, and not restored until the return to elected government in 1997. Since then, World Bank assistance, through its affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA), has focused on helping to fight poverty and improve living standards for the people of The Gambia. As of March 2007, the IDA had approved 31 projects in The Gambia, to the value of US\$296 million, and is active in seven areas: **agriculture**, fishing and forestry; **education**; **health** and other social services; industry and trade; law and justice and public administration; **transportation**; and water, sanitation, and flood protection. With the IMF, the World Bank is involved in supporting the Gambian government's Strategy for Poverty Alleviation. The World Bank also monitors and reports on the success of the Gambian government in meeting its developmental targets and so helps establish the latter's international credibility among donor agencies. *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN POLICY.

**WRIGHT, SIR ANDREW BARKWORTH (1895–1971).** Born in Knowle, Dorset, on 30 November 1895, Wright was the son of an Anglican clergyman. He was educated at Haileybury and at Jesus College, Cambridge, before serving in the Suffolk Regiment during World War I, being awarded the Military Cross. He joined the civil administration of Cyprus in 1922, rising to be its colonial secretary in 1937. Wright reenlisted in World War II, leaving with the rank of lieutenant colonel to become colonial secretary of Trinidad in 1943. In January 1947, he was appointed governor of the Gambia. Although Wright was not involved in the planning, it was during his tenure of office that the **Colonial Development Corporation** made and implemented its decision to invest in the disastrous **Yundum Egg Scheme** and the marginal experimental rice farm at **Wallikunda**. Wright had to frame his budgets with the knowledge that much of the financing for continued improvements in the economic and social sphere envisaged by the British government in the period immediately after World War II would not be forthcoming. Wright was also responsible for organizing the first direct election to the **Legislative Council** in November 1947 and for reforming the membership of the **Executive Council**; as a result, he was a very popular governor and

there were protests in **Bathurst** when he left the Gambia in December 1949 to become governor of Cyprus. He retired from this position in 1954 and died on 24 March 1971.

**WULI.** Located in the extreme upper river area, in the 19th century, Wuli was one of the five north bank kingdoms controlled by the **Mandinka**. Founded in the 14th century by migrants from the Mali Empire, it had become independent by the mid-15th century. Throughout the **Soninke–Marabout Wars**, the rulers of Wuli maintained a loose client relationship with **Bakari Sardu**, who used the territory as a corridor and staging ground for his raids into the Gambia, and prevented **Musa Molloh** from seizing control of their territory. When the border between the Gambia and **Senegal** was fixed in the 1890s, Wuli was divided, with all save its northern portion ending up in the Gambia. The construction of the railway in Senegal further undermined its economic position, and most of what had become a poor, sparsely populated area became a chiefly district in the 20th-century reorganization of the **Protectorate**. In 1962, Wuli became a parliamentary constituency, being subdivided into two constituencies in 1987.

**WYN-HARRIS, SIR PERCY (1903–1979).** Born in London on 24 August 1903 as Percy Harris (he formally changed his name in 1953 to Wyn-Harris), he was son of a company director. He was educated at Gresham’s College and Caius College, Cambridge, before joining the colonial service in Kenya in 1929, where he rose to the rank of chief native commissioner. He was appointed governor of the Gambia in December 1949 and, unusually, served for two terms of office.

Wyn-Harris’s period in office coincided with the growth in nationalist sentiment in West Africa. He believed that the Gambia should not be permitted to progress toward self-government like larger territories and should instead maintain a permanent link with the United Kingdom and be administered locally by a state council, what he termed the “Channel Islands option.” He was also opposed to the development of **political parties** in the Gambia. His first constitution, which came into force in 1951, increased the number of elected members from two to three; after the 1951 election, Wyn-Harris also increased the number of unofficial members of the **Executive Council** and appointed two of these as “members of the government.” His

second constitution, which was based on the recommendations of a Consultative Committee which met in 1953, increased the number of unofficial members of the Executive Council; two of these were granted specific portfolios and termed “ministers,” but were not granted full ministerial responsibility. Despite these reforms, Wyn-Harris became increasingly unpopular with the **Bathurst** populace, particularly after he had dismissed **P. S. N’Jie** from the Executive Council in January 1956. He remained more popular in the **Protectorate**, having taken a particular interest in trying to improve conditions there.

Wyn-Harris left the Gambia in April 1958. By then, he had so alienated the Bathurst element that rather than depart the country in the usual blaze of public ceremony, he quietly slipped across the border to Senegal and made his way to Britain from there. Having been a keen mountaineer in his younger days—he was the second person known to have climbed Mount Kenya and took part in the British Everest expeditions of 1933 and 1936—he took up yachting in retirement, sailing solo to The Gambia as part of a circumnavigation of the world. He also continued to undertake official duties; he was a member of the Devlin Commission of Enquiry into the Nyasaland disturbances in 1959 and British administrator of the Northern Cameroons during the **United Nations** plebiscite of 1960–61. He died in Petersfield, England, on 25 February 1979.

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**YARBUTENDA.** A town in the upper river district of **Kantora**, which under the **Anglo–French Convention (1889)**, Yarbutenda formed the eastern boundary between **Senegal** and the Gambia. Despite further agreements between the French and British in 1898 and 1901, the eastern boundary was never satisfactorily determined on the ground and was only resolved in the 1970s.

**YUNDUM.** Yundum is a small town in **Kombo**, which during the **Soninke–Marabout Wars** was allied with the British. Because of this and because the chiefs of the town were **Soninke**, it was an objective

for **Fodi Kabba, Fodi Silla**, and their followers. The wartime airfield at Yundum was later upgraded to become the country's sole airport. *See also* YUNDUM COLLEGE; YUNDUM EGG SCHEME.

**YUNDUM COLLEGE.** Prior to 1949, all Gambian teachers received their training in Sierra Leone or the Gold Coast. In that year, a training center was opened at **Georgetown**, which offered a one-year course. Most of the buildings of the defunct **Yundum Egg Scheme** were acquired from the **Colonial Development Corporation**, and the Teachers' Training College was moved to Yundum in 1952. In the following year, the course was opened to **women**, and in 1954, the program was lengthened to two years. Beginning in 1955, major improvements were made to the buildings, and the administration of the college was separated from the Board of Education and placed under a board of governors. Yundum students and ex-students were to play a significant part in radical protest against the **People's Progressive Party** government. In 1988, Yundum College was absorbed into Gambia College as its School of Education and moved to new premises in **Brikama**. Its former buildings were converted into the **Gambia National Army** barracks.

**YUNDUM EGG SCHEME.** In late 1948, the **Colonial Development Corporation** (CDC) established a scheme that was designed to make the Gambia a major exporter of eggs and dressed chickens to Britain. The plan was to produce 20 million eggs and one million pounds of poultry meat per year, with all chicken feed grown locally. The project was plagued from the start by overoptimistic estimates by CDC officials and the field staff who ignored the advice of Governor **Andrew Wright** and his staff. Timber from the cleared site, intended for export, could barely be sold for firewood. By October 1950, crop reports showed an average grain yield of only 207 pounds per acre as compared with estimates of 900 pounds. The poultry, expensive Rhode Island Reds, proved highly susceptible to fowl pest and died by the thousands. The project was abandoned in February 1951, after having cost £910,000 in direct appropriations. Some of its assets were acquired by the Gambian government and put to better use. *See also* AGRICULTURE.



## Appendix A

### Chief Executives, 1829–2008

#### LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS, GOVERNORS, ADMINISTRATORS, AND GOVERNORS-GENERAL<sup>1</sup>

1829–30	Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Findlay	Lieutenant Governor
1830–37	George Rendall	Lieutenant Governor
1838–39	Major William Mackie	Lieutenant Governor
1840–41	Commander Henry V. Huntley	Lieutenant Governor
1843	Commander Henry F. Seagram	Lieutenant Governor
1843	Commander Henry F. Seagram	Governor
1843–44	Commander Edmund N. Norcott	Governor <sup>2</sup>
1844–47	Captain Charles FitzGerald	Governor
1847–52	Richard G. MacDonnell	Governor
1852	Arthur E. Kennedy	Governor <sup>2</sup>
1852–59	Lieutenant Colonel Luke S. O'Connor	Governor
1859–66	Colonel George A. K. D'Arcy	Governor
1866	Colonel George A. K. D'Arcy	Administrator
1866–69	Rear-Admiral Charles G. E. Patey	Administrator
1871–72	Jeremiah T. F. Callaghan	Administrator
1873–75	Cornelius H. Kortright	Administrator
1875–77	Surgeon Major Samuel Rowe	Administrator <sup>2</sup>
1877–84	Surgeon Major Valesius S. Gouldsbury	Administrator
1884–85	Captain Cornelius A. Moloney	Administrator
1886–88	Captain James S. Hay	Administrator
1888–90	Gilbert T. Carter	Administrator
1891–1900	Robert B. Llewelyn	Administrator
1901	Captain Sir George C. Denton	Administrator



1901–11	Captain Sir George C. Denton	Governor
1911–14	Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry L. Galway	Governor
1914–20	Sir Edward J. Cameron	Governor
1921–27	Captain Cecil H. Armitage	Governor
1927–28	Sir John Middleton	Governor
1928–30	Sir Edward B. Denham	Governor
1930–33	Sir H. Richmond Palmer	Governor
1934–36	Sir Arthur F. Richards	Governor
1936–42	Sir W. Thomas Southorn	Governor
1942–47	Sir Hilary R. R. Blood	Governor
1947–49	Sir Andrew B. Wright	Governor
1949–58	Sir Percy Wyn-Harris	Governor
1958–62	Sir Edward H. Windley	Governor
1962–65	Sir John W. Paul	Governor
1965–66	Sir John W. Paul	Governor General
1966–70	Sir Farimang M. Singhateh	Governor General

*Notes:*

1. Excludes acting appointments. Dates given are when individual assumed office, not date of appointment.

2. Neither Kennedy nor Rowe took up their posts in the Gambia before being promoted to Sierra Leone. In Rowe's absence, Captain Henry T. M. Cooper served as acting administrator in 1875–76, but died in January 1877. Norcott's appointment (made in October 1843) was revoked in March 1844, without him ever assuming the post, with Thomas L. Ingram serving as acting administrator for most of the period between Seagram's death and FitzGerald's arrival.

### GAMBIAN CHIEF EXECUTIVES

1961	Pierre S. N'Jie (UP)	Chief Minister
1962	Sir David K. Jawara (PPP)	Premier
1963	Sir David/Dawda K. Jawara (PPP)	Prime Minister
1970	Sir Dawda K. Jawara (PPP)	President
1994	Lieutenant Yahya A. J. J. Jammeh	Chairman, AFPRC
1996	Colonel (Retired) Dr. Yahya A. J. J. Jammeh	President

## Appendix B

### Gambian Parliamentary Election Results, 1960–2007<sup>1</sup>

<b>1960</b>	<b>1962</b>	<b>1966</b>	<b>1972</b>
PPP 9	PPP 18 <sup>2</sup>	PPP 24	PPP 28
UP 5	UP 13	UP 7 <sup>3</sup>	UP 3
DCA 1	DCA 1 <sup>2</sup>	GCP 1 <sup>3</sup>	IND 1
IND 4			
<b>1977</b>	<b>1982</b>	<b>1987</b>	<b>1992</b>
PPP 28 <sup>4</sup>	PPP 27	PPP 31	PPP 25
NCP 5	NCP 3	NCP 4 <sup>5</sup>	NCP 6 <sup>5</sup>
UP 2	IND 5	UP 1 <sup>5</sup>	GPP 2
			IND 3
<b>1997</b>	<b>2002<sup>6</sup></b>	<b>2007</b>	
APRC 33	APRC 45 <sup>7</sup>	APRC 42	
UDP 7	PDOIS 2	UDP 4	
NRP 2	NRP 1	NADD 1 <sup>8</sup>	
PDOIS 1		IND 1	
IND 2			

*Notes:*

1. The number of seats increased from 19 to 48 during this period. In addition, there are a number of “nominated” members, currently five (as well as the speaker), and five chiefs, elected separately from among the district chiefs.

2. PPP and DCA formed an electoral alliance.

3. UP and GCP formed a partial electoral alliance.

4. Jokadu constituency election postponed because of the death of a candidate; PPP won by-election.

5. NCP and UP formed a partial electoral alliance.

6. UDP boycotted election.

7. In alliance with NCP.

8. Coalition of parties: PDOIS, NDAM, and one part of PPP.



## **Appendix C**

### **Gambian Presidential Election Results, 1972–2006**

#### **1972**

Sir D. K. Jawara (PPP)<sup>1</sup>  
P. H. Coker (UP)

#### **1977**

Sir D. K. Jawara (PPP)<sup>1</sup>  
S. M. Dibba (NCP)

#### **1982**

Sir D. K. Jawara (PPP)	72.45%
S. M. Dibba (NCP)	27.55%

#### **1987**

Sir D. K. Jawara (PPP)	59.18%
S. M. Dibba (NCP)	27.51%
A. M. Camara (GPP)	13.31%

#### **1992**

Sir D. K. Jawara (PPP)	58.48%
S. M. Dibba (NCP)	22.21%
A. M. Camara (GPP)	8.10%
Dr. L. Bojang (PDP)	5.97%
S. S. Jatta (PDOIS)	5.24%

**1996**

Y. A. J. J. Jammeh (APRC)	55.77%
A. N. M. Ousainou Darboe (UDP)	35.84%
H. N. K. Bah (NRP)	5.52%
S. Jatta (PDOIS)	2.87%

**2001**

Y. A. J. J. Jammeh (APRC)	52.84%
A. N. M. Ousainou Darboe (UDP)	32.59%
H. N. K. Bah (NRP)	7.78%
S. M. Dibba (NCP)	3.77%
S. S. Jatta (PDOIS)	3.02%

**2006**

Y. A. J. J. Jammeh (APRC)	67.33%
A. N. M. Ousainou Darboe (UDP)	26.69%
H. Sallah (NADD)	5.98%

1. President elected indirectly by elected MPs.

## **Appendix D Results of Referenda**

### **Referenda for a Republic November 1965**

Yes	61,568
No	31,921

Fell short of two-thirds majority by 758 votes.

### **April 1970**

Yes	84,968
No	35,638

Met voting requirements.

### **Constitutional Referendum August 1996**

Yes	270,193
No	113,744

Met voting requirements



## **Appendix E**

### **Gambian Population Statistics<sup>1</sup>**

1963	315,486
1973	493,499
1983	687,817
1993	1,038,145
2003	1,360,681

1. Official census returns.





## Appendix F

### Gambian Population: Ethnic Distribution<sup>1</sup>

	1963	1983	2003
Mandinka/Jahanka	128,807	251,997	446,937
Fula <sup>2</sup> /Tukulor	47,354	117,092	272,354
Wolof	40,805	84,404	179,890
Jola/Karoninka	22,046	64,494	141,360
Serahuli	21,318	51,137	101,347
Serere	4,258	15,551	37,979
Aku	2,974	5,032	6,556
Manjago	1,735	10,741	24,492
Bambara	1,576	3,035	13,043
Others/Not Stated	9,058	20,376	17,418
Total Gambian	279,931	623,859	1,241,376

1. Official census returns.

2. "Fula," not "Fulbe," is the form normally used in The Gambia and is the variant used in the censuses.



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## INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of the third edition of this work in 1999, there has been a considerable number of new publications on The Gambia, mainly in the form of articles in scholarly journals, newspapers, and news magazines, and in government publications and other official reports and studies. Most of these new publications have focused on the 1990s and 2000s, the main exception being our own *A Political History of The Gambia, 1816–1994*, which covers the colonial and postcolonial periods fairly evenly. In addition, a great deal of information can now be accessed on the Internet. More monographs on The Gambia are now available, and the number of unpublished theses has increased. Some can be obtained in microfiche format from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Given this embarrassment of riches, the bibliography has had to be selective—identifying only the most relevant publications on the most important subjects. One major topic, medical research, has been deliberately excluded from the bibliography, partly because it is so vast and partly because of its highly specialized nature.

Those seeking further bibliographical information should undoubtedly begin by consulting Professor David Gamble's seven major volumes of Gambian bibliography, which span every conceivable subject and cover several languages, African and European, from the earliest historical references to 1999. All scholars of The Gambia are indebted to Professor Gamble for his lifelong dedication to Gambian bibliography. No other country has been so well served in this respect by a single scholar. Some of these volumes are published in Gamble's Gambian Studies series; running to more than 50 items and covering a wide range of topics, this is the largest single series of Gambian material.

The two major repositories of Gambian documentation are The National Archives of the United Kingdom (formerly known as the Public Record Office) in Kew, London, and the Gambia National Archives in the Quadrangle, Banjul. The National Archives holds the surviving correspondence between the Gambian government and the Colonial Office and its successor bodies (currently the Foreign and Commonwealth Office), as well as a large number of documents originating from other British government departments. Some of the more important files are cited below, while a more detailed list of 19th- and 20th-century documents is published in *A History of The Gambia*. Florence Mahoney's Ph.D., "Government and Opinion in the Gambia 1816–1901" (now published in part) is another important source of 19th-century documents. The Gambia National Archives holds a variety of published sources, including newspapers, as well as original official correspondence and reports. Both operate the 30-year rule on accessing confidential documents.

Additional archival and other documentary material on The Gambia may be found at other locations in Britain, as well. The Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, is the primary repository for Gambian documents in Britain, holding many published and unpublished documents. The School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London, has a smaller Gambian collection, but also holds the archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, which contains the correspondence between European missionaries in Gambia in the early 19th and 20th centuries and the society's headquarters in London. Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford, holds a number of personal records of former colonial officials in the Gambian colonial service. Some early Gambian newspapers are held at the British Library Newspaper Depository in Colindale, north London. Smaller collections of documents can be found in other university libraries and elsewhere.

Another useful source of published material on The Gambia is the Gambia National Library. In addition, official documents relating to censuses, economic and social matters, and planning, which have not been placed in the National Archives, may be consulted at the appropriate government ministries in Banjul.

An important recent development has been the great increase in the amount of material on The Gambia to be found in electronic form; the range of sources is vast and encompasses a wide range of subjects, historical as well as contemporary, and particularly relating to political and

developmental issues. Most international organizations with interests in The Gambia have websites, as does the Gambian government itself. Gambians themselves, particularly those living outside the country, are making a significant contribution to the current debates on Gambian issues. However, some of these sources tend to be ephemeral because websites change or cease to function. Rather than try to list these voluminous sources, we have listed Gambia “portal” sites, which contain a great many key sites of value to the researcher. Please note that all links were accurate as of June 2008. In addition, a great deal of biographical information on prominent figures in Gambian history can be found through careful searching on the Internet. Particularly valuable resources, in this respect, have been the censuses for England held by the National Archives (covering 1841–1901) and the FamilySearch website of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (<http://www.familysearch.org>).

Finally, two non-documentary resources are of great value to scholars. The Gambia National Museum in Banjul, which is part of the National Centre for Arts and Culture (<http://www.ncac.gm/banjul.html>) has a collection of over 5,000 audio tapes and reels on Gambian history and culture available to researchers to consult. Professor Donald Wright has also made his Niimi fieldwork interview tapes, “Senegal and Gambia Mandinka, Serer and Fula,” available to other scholars; these are deposited with the Michigan State University Libraries (<http://www.lib.msu.edu/coll/main/africana/spc.htm>).

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Columbia University Libraries African Studies:  
<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/Gambia.html>

Stanford University SULAIR Africa South of the Sahara:  
<http://library.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/gambia.html>

University of Pennsylvania African Studies Center:  
[http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Country\\_Specific/Gambia.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Country_Specific/Gambia.html)

Yale University Library:  
<http://www.library.yale.edu/african/gambia.html>

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<http://www.loc.gov/rr/international/amed/gambia/resources/gambia-general.html>

DMOZ Open Directory Project:

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- No. 7. 1895. Protectorate Yard Tax Ordinance.* First defined a yard as the basic unit of taxation for the Protectorate and established scales of taxation.
- No. 6. 1896. Protectorate Land Ordinance.* The basic ordinance that governed all Protectorate lands, except public lands, until 1945. All lands were to be held by the Native Authorities and administered by them for the good of the people of a district.
- No. 4. 1897. Protectorate Land (Amendment) Ordinance.* Vested the administration of public lands in the chiefs and headmen of the Protectorate.
- No. 7. 1902. Protectorate Ordinance.* Brought Fuladu, previously controlled by Musa Molloh, under the Protectorate system. Also extended the system to Kombo St. Mary. Otherwise, this ordinance was a repeat of *No. 11, 1894*.
- No. 11. 1909. Protectorate (Amendment) Ordinance.* The most important amendment to *No. 7, 1902*, gave the native tribunals jurisdiction over all natives of West Africa resident in a given district.
- No. 13. 1909. Protectorate (Amendment) Ordinance.* Concerned the appointment and regulation of badge messengers for the chiefs.

- No. 30. 1913. Protectorate Ordinance.* Repealed all previous Protectorate ordinances and consolidated them, along with rules and regulations made by the governor in council, into one all-inclusive ordinance.
- No. 10. 1915. Protectorate (Amendment) Ordinance.* Redefined and clarified the executive powers of the chiefs, which had been defined in *Ordinance No. 30, 1913.*
- No. 7. 1919. Protectorate (Amendment) Ordinance.* Introduced a new office of deputy head chief and a refined method of appointing and removing Protectorate officials. Also introduced a new scale of yard taxes.
- No. 13. 1944. Protectorate Courts Ordinance.* Repealed *Ordinance No. 5, 1935,* and instituted a High Court for the Protectorate with the same power as the Supreme Court of the Colony. Continued a Protectorate Court in each Division. Established two classes of magistrates.
- No. 15. 1944. Protectorate (Amendment) Ordinance.* Changed the title of certain territorial divisions and administrative areas. Added the position of senior commissioner.
- No. 10. 1945. Native Authority (Amendment) Ordinance.* Gave native authorities the power to expel non-Gambians from the area of their jurisdiction.
- No. 11. 1945. Protectorate (Amendment) Ordinance.* Amended *Protectorate Ordinance No. 2, 1935,* to allow fines imposed on native officials to be paid to the general revenue of the native authority.
- No. 13. 1945. Protectorate Treasuries Ordinance.* Established authority of group treasuries. Established a Finance Committee to manage the treasuries with a paid treasury scribe. Established sources of revenue for such treasuries, provided for budget estimates and better bookkeeping. Gave the authorities the right to impose, under certain conditions, local rates.
- No. 16. 1945. Protectorate Land Ordinance.* Vested all Protectorate lands in the native authorities for each district. Established a land register and provided for leases to non-indigenes.
- No. 13. 1946. Protectorate (Amendment) Ordinance.* Amended *Ordinance No. 2, 1935,* by removing Kombo St. Mary from the Protectorate system.
- No. 16. 1946. Education Ordinance.* Section No. 13 gave the native authorities the right to open new schools under the general supervision of the Protectorate education officer.
- No. 7. 1947. Protectorate (Amendment) Ordinance.* This brought *Ordinance No. 3, 1933,* and *Ordinance No. 2, 1935,* closer together by defining “native authority” in terms of the definition of 1933 and by substituting “native authority” for “chiefs” in Section 13 of *Ordinance No. 2, 1935.*
- No. 10. 1947. Protectorate Treasuries (Validation) Ordinance.* No proclamation had been issued putting *Ordinance No. 13, 1945,* into effect. Since treasuries

had been established, it was necessary to enact this ordinance, making such establishments legal.

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