A HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN TEMNE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

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THE MARAMPA COUNTRY

The Marampa Country seems to have been one of the oldest Southern Temne Kingdoms, in that according to Marampa traditions, several kings had reigned there even before the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. As in the case of Koya, the first kings were not Temne but Mani, and have been identified as Mandinka.

Marampa Country obviously must have had boundaries earlier, although as in the case of other Southern Temne Countries, such boundaries were vague for the major part of the nineteenth century. By the 1880s however, the boundaries of this Kingdom seem to have been made permanent, as recorded by T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs. According to these officials, the Marampa Country was bounded on the West by Maforki, on the east by Malal, on the north by Romende, and on the south by the

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Say Bana Kabia, Bunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Santigie Folla Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
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Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Alhaji Mustapha Kargbo, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom, 20.2.76

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
MARAMPA AND HER NEIGHBOURS—ALSO SHOWING IMPORTANT PLACES (up to the 1890's)

Source J.I.Clarke (Ed) Sierra Leone in Maps P 33
Rokel River which separates it from the Masimra Country. Its principal town and residence of the king was Marampa Town, which was about 30 miles from Magbele its chief port.¹

The ancestor of the Marampa rulers, Pa Kekele, was an elephant hunter from Kabba in Mali Country. He came to Marampa country with his younger brother Pa Kelboi I. He was a Kabia by clan which was a corruption of 'Kabba.' When he first settled in the present Marampa area, he found the Loko people who had already inhabited there, were living only in scattered villages.² Hirst, recording Loko and Temne traditions, has noted that the land around Port Loko including the Marampa Chiefdom was originally inhabited by a tribe of people known as the Lokos.³ Pa Kekele became the father of Pa Thami (conqueror – in Temne, because he proved to be a great warrior). Pa Thami had two sons, Pa Kekele II and Pa Kelboi II whom he had just after a few years of his arrival with his father in the Marampa Country. In later years, social integration had made these Mandinka Kabias to be indistinguishable from the Temne – and became to be classed as Temne as well.

When Farma Thami brought the sacred things of Chieftaincy in the Temne Country, continue the traditions,⁴ he sent to the Marampa people to collect theirs but the Loko made fun of him. But Pa Kekele, who had already known the value of chieftaincy among the Fula and Mandinka

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2. Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, Document, Received 23.2.76.
4. Oral Traditions – See Note 1, p.469.
in Mali, went. In this journey, he was accompanied by his younger brother, Pa Kelboi and his eldest son, Pa Thami. Farma Thami then gave him the sacred things of the chieftaincy and brought him back to Marampa country where he crowned him at the town of Marampa. This first King assumed the title of Bai Rampa Kekele.

Bai Rampa's first move was to divide the country into two halves - Lower Marampa, and Upper Marampa. The former with its headquarters at Magbele should be ruled by his younger brother, Pa Kelboi. He, the Bai Rampa Kekele, should rule Upper Marampa, with his capital at Marampa Town, which eventually became the traditional residence of all future Kings, to look after the 'Cotton Trees' and the sacred groves, their traditional places of worship.¹

When Bai Rampa Kekele died, his eldest son Pa Thami succeeded him as Bai Rampa Kepath. From the time of Bai Rampa Kekele, seven Bai Rampas reigned before the title of the crown was changed to 'Bai Koblo'; and altogether, over forty Bai Rampas and Bai Koblos have since been crowned.² By the reign of Bai Rampa Kepath, the Loko who had at first refused the Kingship, began to realise that they would in future, be totally subdued by the Temne. They had, through the reigns of Bai Rampas Kekele and Kepath, realised the benefits of political power. They therefore, decided to resort to armed resistance against any form of political domination by the Temne. The wars which ensued were known as the Loko/Temne wars of settlement.³ These wars were fought

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1. See Note 1, p.469, AND also Appendix III for List of Kings.
2. Ibid.
3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.469.
for a very long time, and constituted the main events which largely contributed to the history of Marampa Country even up to the mid-nineteenth century.

When Bai Rampa Kepath died, he was succeeded by his son, during which time the Loko launched a fierce attack on the Temne. The new King was still in the 'KANThA' when the war broke out, in which he died and his corpse brought to Marampa Town for ceremonial burial. He was thus called Bai Rampa An Bamp-A-Pain-Tupa (The bird without feathers-in-Temne). He was a bird without feathers and so, could not fly. That is, he was only crowned and put in the sacred place of confinement when the war broke out and so, had no opportunity to rule. This war continued to ravage the reigns of three Kings - Bai Rampa Kekele II, Bai Rampa Sankolo, and Bai Rampa Pathbana. During this period, the attacks were mainly sporadic and could always be repelled by the Marampa security forces.

During the reign of Bai Rampa Pathbana, a very important event took place in the Marampa Kingdom. The war took a dramatic turn against the Temne. The King's wife, Na Kuth Bono Forna, saw a devil whom she requested to help her husband win the war, promising to give it a white sheep as a reward. The devil agreed and Bai Rampa Pathbana finally defeated the Loko. But as Na Kuth Bono could not procure the white sheep neither from her husband nor from her parents, "she and her maid servant dressed up neatly and followed the devil to 'RO BOLA' (a cave with an open lake in front, or rather a grotto), where they

1. E.A. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom. Document - "Geneological History of the Kabia Koblos", Received 23.3.76.
2. Ibid. - Oral Traditions as in Note 1, p.14b9
3. Ibid.
plunged alive and disappeared up to the present day." In this way she is said to have delivered herself up to the devil in the grotto to appease its anger. This grotto has since remained a sacred pool where the Kings or Paramount Chiefs would offer annual sacrifice to Na Kuth Bono and her devil. But Na Kuth Bono's relatives, the Fornas or Polis, still had to be rewarded for her heroic deeds, which had to await for some later years.

Another important event which occurred in the Marampa Country during this period of peace was the change of the Bai Rampa title to that of Bai Koblo. Marampa Traditions say\(^1\) that when Bai Rampa Pathbana died, there was a contest for the succession. Pa Kekele II, the younger brother of the late King was opposed by several Kabias. In the struggle, he was helped by a devil which he had seen at Machat, on the Rokel River. The name of the devil was 'KOBO'. He asked the devil to help him win the crown; and as his reward, the devil told him to change the title of the Kingship from Bai Rampa to Bai Koblo, and that all future Kings should assume that title. Kekele II agreed and when he was crowned, he assumed the title of Bai Koblo Kekele, an act which was very pleasing to the devil. The injunction continued that any future King who would not abide by it would commit 'KOTHO'.

The Bai Koblo Kings seem to have been known to the Colony Administration since the beginning of the nineteenth century. This

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1. Oral Traditions. See Note 1, p.1469
was in connection with their wars with their Masimra neighbours.

For instance, Bright\(^1\) informs us of a group of "Mandingoes who had assisted Smart \(^2\) of Rokon in Masimra\(^7\) in the war which he is carrying on against King Koubelou."\(^2\) During the same era, the Governor of the Freetown Settlement wrote to thank King Tom for mediating in the war between "Ba Copla" and "Ba Simera."\(^3\) Zachary Macaulay in 1808 also mentioned in commenting on Ludlam's letter, a long standing war between "Ba Simra" and "Ba Copla.\(^4\)

By the beginning of the third decade however, the reigning King, Bai Koblo Ke Wende, became very friendly with the Government and helped in the suppression of the slave trade.\(^4\) Laing describes this King as old and very much beloved by his people whose authority "is principally exercised under the direction of two clever Mandingoes, named Tikada Moodo and Fatima Brima."\(^5\) Probably, this was the Bai Koblo who, on the request of Governor Neil Campbell, expelled Tikla Modu from Magbele "for abetting the slave trade,\(^6\) in the late 1820s. This expulsion did not however, please Kenneth Macaulay who was always anxious to retain his hold on the Rokel River trade, because Tikla Modu was his agent at Magbele.

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2. Governor's Letter Book 1808 - 1811. (Sierra Leone Government Archives) - Letter dated 4.1.1808 - to King Tom.
4. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.1469
The only important area in the Marampa Country during this period seems to have been Magbele, a prosperous port on the shores of the Rokel River, with its trade relationship to the northern territories, Rokel Town on the opposite shore in the Masimra Country, and Port Loko, on the Port Loko Creek in the Maforki Country. There were however, other ports but of very minor importance, in the Marampa Country. These were, Ma Kiabin, Ro Gbaichain, Masorie Thong, Ro Mayakie, Ro-Mabeareh, Madina, Rochain Dekom, and Rogbere.¹ The Colonial Government would hold meetings with local and neighbouring Chiefs at Magbele to pacify explosive situations which might threaten the peace and disrupt the Colony’s trade.

From the fourth decade to the close of the eighth decade of the nineteenth century, the Marampa Country witnessed the leadership of a man who became the actual creator of their political system which remained completely permanent up to the modern times. This was Bai Koblo Sankolo or An Gbalan.² He was crowned at about the 1830s and died in 1880.³ The longevity of his reign which covered about fifty years made it possible for him to initiate many policies and changes in all spheres of life of his people. To understand these policies and changes, a study of the events is in place. These include his personal character; the institution of the various sub-chiefships; such as Pa Roke, Bai Polon, the Bai Suba, and the Alimamyships; the rise and decline of Magbele; and the House Tax Issue.

3. Lawson and Parkes, p.28.
Bai Koblo Sankolo’s personal character is very interesting indeed. During the Loko/Temne wars of settlement, he was one of the leading professional warriors who finally defeated the Loko and brought peace in the Marampa country. In the Loko/Temne war in the Masimra Country between 1820 to 1830 which ended in the defeat of the Loko, Sankolo fought on the side of Bai Simra Thonkla. He had fought on the side of the Temne forces in the long struggle between the Temne and Loko in the Mafonda Country. These wars did not end when he became King in the 1830s, and dragged on until the 1840s with the Bunduka Fulas throwing their weight for the Temne, for which they were rewarded with the chiefship of Mafonda country itself. He was always in very strong league with the Alikalis of Port Loko in their endeavours to restore Temne dominance in the Port Loko/Rokel region. When in 1831, the Colony Government held a peace meeting at Magbele to end the war and prevent the Yoni from getting involved, Sankolo was himself present. In short, he had already become generalissimo of the Rokel region before he became King of his country. He was thus the man best suited for the post for the leadership of his country in those times of local warfare, and as such, his people loved and feared him.

1. E.A. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom. Document received 23.2.76
2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa A. E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Maligie Kanu, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Bai Suba An Pessor, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76

3. Ibid.
4. PRO.00267/110, Findlay to Secretary of State, 10.11.1831, enclosing Treaty dated 23.9.1831. C. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, pp.185-6.
The Marampa Temne built an aura around him as a soothsayer and a wonder-worker.¹ He would foretell the future with the utmost precision; he would call certain of his sub-chiefs from towns as far as four to ten miles distant and they would hear his voice and go to him at Marampa Town. By this means, his voice was said to be transmitted by devils who attended to his daily needs. He would invite the baboons and white chimpanzees from the nearby forested hills and they would come to his compound at Marampa Town. He would send or order them to pick Paw Paw fruits and they would obey him; he would give them wine to drink and finally he would order them to return to the bush. T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs, record that Marampa Town which was the residence of the King "is situated amidst hills in which the very rare white chimpanzees are to be found."² He would shout at the palm birds to stop chattering when he would be deciding cases in his court yard, and after he had finished, he would then order them to resume their chattering and they would obey him. He would crush pebbles with his feet when walking. To the Marampa people therefore, Bai Koblo Sankolo was a superman, who was always in communication with the supernatural world, and must thus be dreaded and obeyed without any question.

When he ascended the throne, Bai Koblo Sankolo first embarked upon a period of restoration of the ancient ingredients of the Marampa Royalty. He re-examined the whole Kingship organization and

1. Oral Traditions – See Note 2, p.476
resurrected the Pa Roke Crown. Since the time of the Loko/Temne wars of settlement, this office had been laid in abeyance. The Pa Roke would be the custodian of all the sacred things of the Crown; would act as regent on the death of the King until a new one was elected and installed. The Pa Roke would also work in collaboration with the Poro and the Ramena Society Officials; and his permanent residence would be Marampa Town where the King would be, as the ceremonial centre of the Marampa Kings.

His second move was to create the Bai Polon Crown among the Fornas (or Polis) of Romange in his country. These Fornas were the relatives of Na Kuth Bono, the lady who sank into the grotto to appease the devil that helped her husband, Bai Rampa Pathbana, to defeat the Loko in the Loko/Temne wars of settlement. Bai Koblo Sankolo felt it was not enough to offer annual sacrifices to the devils at the grotto but also to bring the relatives of this woman into the royal fold as a reward for her heroic deeds. Since its institution, the Bai Polon Crown had developed four Ruling Houses, to which every candidate should put forward his claims.

Originally, the Bai Polon was a Ragbenle Crown, because the first Bai Polon was ceremonially crowned and installed by Bai Simra Kamal of Masimra Country, who was a leading Ragbenle King. Bai Koblo Sankolo invited Bai Simra Kamal to perform the crowning ceremony on political grounds. Bai Simra Kamal, being the official 'father' of the Southern Temne, Bai Koblo Sankolo needed his patronage on political

1. See Note 2, p. 476
2, 3, 4, 5, & 6. See Note 2, p. 476
matters outside Marampa country. The first Bai Polon however, did not live long. When he died, Bai Koblo Sankolo changed the crown to Ramena so that there would be uniformity of ceremony, and as King, he had the right to do whatever he liked in his country. From this time onwards, all the Bai Polons must be members of the Poro Society; must be crowned and installed at Marampa Town after the ceremonies of the Ramena Society, by the Bai Koblo himself in order to register his overlordship over them. The Bai Polons however, had their own separate regalia, and their sub-chiefs or Kapprrs.

Bai Koblo Sankolo now turned his attention to increasing the number of his powerful sub-chiefs. In this regard he emulated the examples of his contemporaries in Koya and Maforki, Alimamy Sinneh Bundu and the Alikalis, by creating three Alimamys. These were, ¹ Alimamy Balla, Alimamy Pinkarr, and Alimamy Kanu. These were Muslim crowns and were thus not among the ceremonia Chiefs of the Bai Koblos. The Alimamys however, had their own assistants. These were the Santigies who would take care of the day-to-day problems of the administration of the smaller towns or villages of their sections.

The most important innovation of Bai Koblo Sankolo was the creation of the Bai Suba Crown.² The Bai Suba Crown or the Bai sub-chiefs of that town. Before the founding of this crown,³ the interior natives who brought their produce for barter had to pass through a village or the settlement of these Contehs. Here they would pay their duties in kind to the head of the Conteh clan who was the revenue collector, the Bai Koblo.

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.481.
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.469.
3. Ibid.
In receiving these duties, he would open the sack which in Temne is to 'SU.' The natives wanting to put the grain into the sack would say 'PA, SU BA' (meaning, big man, please open the sack for me to put the grain). This was how this Conteh elder got the name of 'PA SUBA', and his small settlement which later became a town, 'MASUBA', meaning, the town where the revenue was collected. The name 'PA SUBA' became the chiefly title for the revenue collector of the Bai Koblo. When the name became converted into a chiefly title, in pronouncing the 'PA' the 'A' was dragged to have the sound of two 'AA' separated by a hyphen (-) such as 'PA-A SUBA.' This makes the name more unique and adds grace to it. It is the pronunciation still used today.

But Bai Koblo Sankolo discovering that these Contehs were becoming powerful, created the Bai Suba Post for their family in order to increase his team of powerful supporters. The first to be crowned was Bai Suba An Chanchan. This move however helped to boost the influence of the Contehs more than ever before, and to such an extent that they began to be independent of their overlord. The King thus became suspicious of his position being threatened. Bai Suba An Chanchan soon fell into his king's trap, when he decided a very important case of cannibalism of an alligator among his subjects.

This case arose from an accusation of a certain family said to have organized a Human Alligator Society to catch and eat people, on the shores of the Rokel River. The suspects were arrested and brought to Bai Suba An Chanchan who went through the case all alone, fined the suspects heavily without reference to his King, nor did he even give him part of the proceeds of the fine. The King thus became offended, and deposed Bai Suba An Chanchan despite his many apologies which were accompanied with large sums of money and presents.

1. Ibid.
2. My personal observations.
3. See Note 2, p.476.
4. Ibid.
After he had deposed Bai Suba An Chanchan, Bai Koblo Sankolo now realised Magbele had become too important to be controlled by a mere headman. At this time, there seems to have already been a Pa Suba at Magbele, recalled by Marampa traditions,¹ as a powerful warrior; a son of Pa Kelboi; the headman of Magbele; the man who had dominated the affairs of that port and the surrounding district. Probably, this was the Pa Suba whom Rankin refers to as being a mere instrument of the guiding of one 'Dabu' a prosperous Mandinka trader at Magbele.²

When Bai Koblo Sankolo transferred the Bai Suba Crown to Magbele, it was this Pa Suba he formally crowned as 'Bai Suba,'³ thus promoting him from mere headmanship to sub-chiefship, giving him the aura of a ceremonially crowned and installed chief, and authority over the port. The new sub-chief assumed the title of Bai Suba Ke Wende after his mother Na Wende.⁴ He was the younger brother of Bai Koblo Ke Wende, the first Marampa King to befriend the Administration,⁵ and who ended the 1820s. This was the 'Pa Suba whom Fyfe quoting Rankin, has mentioned to have been Chief of Magbele by 1834.⁶ It thus appears that the 'Pa Suba' was regarded as part of the chiefly title for after all, among the Temne, ordinary proper names could be converted and

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.469.


3. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alhaji Mustapha Kargbo, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom, 20.2.76
   Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Bai Suba An Pessor, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. C. Fyfe. Sierra Leone Inheritance, p.113 (Plate 4a).
consecrated into Chiefly titles. In this regard, T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs Department, believe that the 'Pa Suba' was the chiefly title of the rulers of Magbele as when they described this sub-chief in the 1880's as the principal assistant of the King in his government; was resident at Magbele where he was the governor of the town; that "He is styled Pa Suba"¹... that "The present Pa Suba is Mormoh Racca;² and "Since his death [The Bai Koblo], the reigns of power have been held by Santiggy Mormoh Racca, the Pa Suba of Magbele."³

Bai Koblo Sankolo now decided to concentrate power at Magbele. He introduced a new arrangement whereby the elder son should become King and reside at Marampa Town, while the younger, at Magbele. Consequently, the Bai Suba Crown was permanently given to the children of Pa Kelboi, the younger brother of Pa Kekele, the first Bai Rampa whose children should now become the permanent owners of the Bai Koblo Crown. To strengthen this arrangement, he gave the Bai Suba Crown the full regalia such as 'KABONKOLMA, KA SAGBAN, KA SAWURR, AN YIRMA, AN GBOGBORO, and PAA SONKAY',⁴ the Mask Devil of the Marampa Crown. This was not the case with the former Bai Suba, An Chanchan, who was only a mere sub-chief. By this act, Bai Koblo Sankolo was trying to show that the Bai Suba was only a sub-chief to him in theory, but in

². Lawson & Parkes, p.28.
³. Ibid.
⁴. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.481.
practice, both of them owned the country equally, and should rule it as brothers and as equals.\(^1\) The new Bai Suba was crowned and installed at Marampa Town by Bai Koblo Sankolo himself under the direction of the Ramena Society, and in the same way the Bai Koblo was crowned and installed. Since then, the Ramena has always been the traditional society of both the Bai Koblo and the Bai Suba Crowns, and not the Ragbenle as stated by Dorjahn.\(^2\) After the installation, he brought the new chief to Magbele which was his station, with the full authority to collect the wharf dues and look after the strangers, organise the Lower Marampa Kabias, and defend the port from invasion by foreign troops.\(^3\) Bai Koblo Sankolo finally gave him full authority to select his own sub-chiefs or Kaprrrs, and to crown them. These should however, be crowned and installed at Marampa Town and later, sent to their various stations all over the country. In this way, Bai Koblo Sankolo had consolidated the two crowns among his Kabia family.

Further, since the Kabias were two many for the one Bai Koblo Crown, by bringing the Bai Suba Crown into their family and upgrading it to such a height with such immense powers, he had reduced the number of aspirants to the Bai Koblo Crown, and strengthened the general Kabia power in the Marampa Country.

When Bai Suba Ke Wende died, the Kabias of Magbele led by their eldest brother, a wealthy trader called Pa Runia, formed a delegation to Bai Koblo Sankolo and requested him to allow them to select a

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.481.
3. See Note 1 above.
successor from among themselves. The King rejected their request asserting that he was the King of the country and could crown whom he thought fit.\(^1\) He went ahead and chose one of his younger brothers from Robonka, crowned him, and imposed him on the Magbele Kabias. The new chief assumed the title of Bai Suba An Kochie.\(^2\) In Temne, 'KOCHIE' means, to let loose. By choosing this title, he meant to say that although he was not elected by the Magbele people, he should only be 'let loose' and he would wield authority and rule effectively. When he was taken to Magbele, Pa Runia and his Kabia brothers did not care for him, and he was thus powerless to control situations.

To enforce obedience therefore, Bai Suba An Kochie went to Masimra and hired the services of a professional warrior called Pa Nenneh to go to Magbele and cut off Pa Runia's head, the man he thought was the ringleader in the campaign against his administration.\(^3\) He took the regalia of the Bai Suba Crown to William Lawson in Freetown who advised him to take them to Bai Polon at Romange, in the Marampa Country, which he did.\(^4\) Pa Nenneh was just getting ready with his war-men to attack Magbele when Bai Simra Kamal was informed of the impending crisis. Both Bai Simra Kamal and Bai Koblo Sankolo convened a meeting of Chiefs at Rokel which was presided by Pa Kombo Bundu of Poredugu in Koya Country, in order to resolve the matter.\(^5\) There was however, an

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.481.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
undercurrent which Bai Suba An Kochie had no idea of whatever. Pa Kombo Bundu had one of Pa Runia's daughters as his favourite wife. Later, when Pa Kombo Bundu arrived at Rokel with his full power and accompanied by his retinue, Bai Suba An Kochie was secretly informed. At the meeting therefore, he was too weak and helpless to defend himself effectively, and was thus found to be the aggressor; and at night, he fled and died in an unknown place. The warriors who had assembled at Rokel on his behalf had to be maintained by contributions from Pa Runia and his Kabia brothers at Magbele. 

Bai Koblo Sankolo having learnt his lesson, now requested the Kabias of Magbele to choose the successor. They assembled and chose Pa Tapagun Kabia, who was another professional warrior, and who had all along been the live-wire in the struggle to revert the Bai Suba Crown to the Kabias of Magbele. Pa Tapagun was in fact, the man who paid the money to Bai Polon to redeem the sacred things of the Bai Suba Crown. The new sub-chief assumed the title of Bai Suba Tapagun, which is from two Temne words - 'TAP', 'to cut'; and 'GUN', 'a gun.' This literally meant, 'to cut a gun.' That is, he was said to be bullet-proof. His assumption of power took place at about 1870, but he did not live long and died at about 1874.

When Bai Suba Tapagun died, Pa Santigie Momoh Racca was invited from Rokel, by the Kabias of Magbele to be crowned. He was himself, one of the Magbele Kabias, but had been a Santigie, sub-chief of

1. Oral Traditions, See Note 3, p.481.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Bai Simra Kamal and serving directly under Pa Alimamy Kabba of Rokel.\textsuperscript{1} He had earlier, been a leading Poro man and Racca was his Poro name. He was also a professional warrior.\textsuperscript{2} Later, when he was converted into Islam, he adopted the name of 'Momoh' which was an abbreviation of Momodu or Mohammed. When he was crowned sub-chief at Rokel, he adopted the three names - Santigie, Momoh, and Racca, to please the Chiefs, the Muslims and the Poro men. At Magbele, he was called Santigie Momoh Racca who was described by T.G. Lawson and J.C.E. Parkes, as "Santiggy Mormoh Racca, the Pa Suba of Magbele."\textsuperscript{3} Marampa traditions say\textsuperscript{4} that this Pa Suba was a very polite and wise man; had acted as King of the whole of Marampa Country on the death of Bai Koblo Sankolo and that he was in such good terms with the Colony Government that he was given cannons to protect himself and the port of Magbele. For this reason, his people nicknamed him Bai Suba An Pessor, (a cannon - in Temne), by which name he was later to be known. T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs, record\textsuperscript{5} that when Bai Koblo Sankolo died in 1880, "the reins of power have been held by Santiggy Mormoh Racca, the Pa Suba of Magbele." He was a stipendiary of the Government receiving £5.00 annually.\textsuperscript{6}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.481.
\item Ibid.
\item Lawson & Parkes, p.28.
\item Oral Traditions. See Note 5, p.481.
\item Lawson & Parkes, p.28.
\end{enumerate}
All Marampa traditions¹ say that throughout his reign, Bai Koblo Sankolo was never faced with conflicts arising within his own country because he was greatly loved and feared by his people; that he had no quarrel with any of his neighbours; and that the only troubles which his country was involved were those which spread from neighbouring states notable, Maforki, Masimra, Koya, and Yoni. Three of such were the Momodu Bundu/Maligie Bundu war in Koya, and the Alikali/Sasey Betty was and the Yoni/Masimra wars fought in Masimra and cases in point. Marampa Country had to be involved in such wars because, her people were bound together with their neighbours by reason of friendship, relationship, economic or trade ties. Marampa people would be allowed to farm on the other side of the Rokel River belonging to Masimra Country, and vice versa, in time of peace; and in time of war, the Masimra people would cross their wives and children to Marampa Country for refuge on which account Marampa had always been a prey to the enemies of Masimra Country.² Bai Koblo Sankolo was himself an ally of the rulers of Masimra especially Bai Simra Kamal both of whom had been contemporary warriors having fought on the same front line during the long-drawn war of the Ground-pig between the Marampa and Romende Countries, in which Masimra was drawn in. In their foreign policies, both Kings were hard-liners in initiating defence operations. In the case of the Koya Country, Bai Koblo Sankolo would be bound to side with her rulers since both countries would share the commerce of the Rokel River, and this was

¹ Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.469.
² Ibid.
also the case with Masimra Country. In consequence of these alignments, Bai Koblo Sankilo would have to lend his support to these countries in times of wars to prevent such wars from spreading into his own territory.

Bai Koblo Sankolo's relationship with the Colony Administration can now be considered. Up to the mid-nineteenth century, he was always in good terms with the Administration. He was one of the Southern Temne Chiefs who cooperated with the British Government in the suppression of the slave trade. By this move, he had proved that he was quite prepared to enhance the legitimate trade introduced by the British Government to replace the illegitimate trade in slaves. He signed several treaties with the British Government, for peace, protection, trade, and freedom of movement of British Subjects within his country. ¹ When he died in 1880, ² no successor was crowned for four years. ³ During this short interregnum, Bai Suba An Pessor acted as regent. ⁴

   p.337. Treaty No.33, April 18, 1836.
   p.415. Treaty No.61, May 4, 1853.

2. Lawson & Parkes, p.28.

3. Oral Traditions
Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Gbana Bia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Maligie Kanu, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Suba An Pessor, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76

4. Ibid. AND Lawson & Parkes, p.28.
In 1885 a new King was crowned and was just confined in the 'KANThA' when the Yoni began to wage war on British Koya,\(^1\) which events led to the Yoni Expedition of 1887. In this war, the new King supported the Yoni, and its worries prevented his ceremonial installation for five years, for which his people called him Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III (You have had it, or you are in real trouble.\(^2\)

For his conduct in this Yoni Expedition, he with his Marampa people, with the exception of Bai Suba An Pessor who was found to be "unblameworthy," were fined £100. £50 of this sum would be remitted if he and his people would help to apprehend the Yoni warriors, which they did. At the meeting held at Mamaligie on December 16, 1887, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III and his sub-chiefs including Bai Suba An Pessor, were themselves present to elect a new Chief for the Yoni.

At this meeting, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III had to join the rest of the Chiefs to support the Government, for there was no use to support a vanquished people like the Yoni. Moreover, the Chiefs had to renew their relations with the Colony Administration.

To continue this policy of establishing good relations with the Colony Administration, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III in 1893, applied for his country to be placed under the control of the British Government. In a letter dated September 16, 1893, addressed to J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III wrote,

"Considering the many kind actions of the British Government and your attention and good advice to us in our affairs, I beg to offer to place my

\(^1\) Ibid. See Note 3, p.488.

\(^2\) Ibid. See Note 3, p.488.
country under the protection of Her Majesty's Government on condition that our rules and customs are not interfered with and that the Government may be good enough to raise the stipend at present paid to the Chiefs of Magbele."¹

This application was strongly recommended by Parkes on the grounds that Marampa Country was rich in the native products needed to boost the Colony's economy and the legitimate trade in produce. The produce in question were rice, Palm Oil, Palm Kernels, and beniseed. Parkes' second point in supporting this application was that the caravan from the interior would resort to Magbele for the river to join the mercantile factories along the Rokel River, and in Freetown. Thirdly, by treaty No.67 of 1857, Marampa Chiefs received stipends, and annual presents to keep the roads.² Parkes also pointed out that the Bai Koblo's offer was important to Her Majesty's Government as it had been suggested that the railway which was being proposed to construct would pass through Magbele.³ Parkes went to some details on the increase involved in connection with the stipends:⁴

"BET KOBOLO who receives £15 to £25
BEY SUBA who receives £5 to £15
ALIMAMY KREEKAN who receives £5 to £15
PA MARATAHA who receives nothing... £10"

These amounts make a total of £60 instead of £25, an increase of £35

¹. CO.267/405. Enclosure 1, in Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon 298, 17.9.93.

². Ibid.

³. CO.267/405. Enclosure 1, in Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon 298, 17.9.93.

⁴. Ibid.
on the previous expenditure.\textsuperscript{1} The Executive Council also approved of the application on the grounds of Parkes' arguments.

At the Colonial Office, Mr. Hemming commented\textsuperscript{2} that it was doubtless that the principal object of the Marampa Chiefs in applying to come within the 'Protectorate' was to have their stipends increased; that practically, the whole country was undoubtedly within and under the British Protection, but that it was no doubt better to have the matter put on a definite footing by concluding treaties with those who desired it.\textsuperscript{3} After much discussion at the Colonial Office, the Application was approved on condition that Governor Fleming, on his return from leave, should satisfy himself that it was "desirable to enter into a treaty with Bey Kobolo and the Marampa Chiefs."\textsuperscript{4} But this treaty was never made; and this left Marampa unceded.

Having enjoyed a respite of seven years (1889-1896) of friendly relations once with the Government, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III found himself caught up in the event of the 1896 Protectorate Ordinance. When Sharpe, District Commissioner of Karene District went on leave, the Acting District Commissioner, Mr. Cave-Brown-Cave, invited all the Paramount Chiefs in his district to Karene to receive the gold-headed

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. See Note 3, p.490.
  \item 2. Ibid.
  \item 3. Ibid. Hemming to Bramston, 298, 17.9.93.
  \item 4. CO.267/403. Meade for The Marquis of Ripon to Fleming; 242, 28. 10.93.
\end{itemize}
staff of office which was to be their official insignia to replace the traditional 'KABUNKOLMA.' Bai Koblo An Gbamachi III was one of the Chiefs who refused to go. Cave then sent the Frontier Police to arrest him, which they did with much violence, putting a bunch of bananas on his head and compelling him to walk to Karene. Although there was no evidence that Bai Koblo An Gbamachi III actually joined the Hut Tax War against the Government, his name which appeared on the petition of the Chiefs to the Governor against the Protectorate Ordinance, made the Government suspect him because, in addition to this, Marampa Chiefs were among those who attended the meeting convened by Bai Simra Kamal to plan the resistance to the House Tax. During the conflict however, there was no actual fighting in Marampa Country. According to Marampa traditions, Bai Koblo An Gbamachi III was warned by friends and relations working for the Government in Freetown that it would be dangerous to refuse payment of the House Tax. In response to this advice, throughout Marampa Country, white flags were raised in every town to prove to the marching soldiers that the natives were not ready to fight or refuse paying the House Tax.

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alhaji Mustapha Kargbo, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76
   Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76
   Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76
   Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76
   Pa Ghana Bia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76


3. PRO.C0267/439. Cardew to Chamberlain; 47, 16.6.98.

4. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, above.
Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III had lived long enough to survive many crucial moments in the history of the Southern Temne people. For besides his 32 years of reign (1880-1912) he had seen all the tumults of nineteenth century Temneland - tumults which mainly arose from succession questions, boundary disputes, local wars and trade. He had also witnessed the period of commercial prosperity of the Rokel River area from the late 1830s when the trade began to shift from the Port Loko area to Magbele, and also the commercial decline of his country owing to the construction of the railway in the Yoni Country at the beginning of the twentieth century. When he died in 1912, he had left Marampa, as a Chiefdom whose power had rested upon five pillars, namely, the Bai Kobloship, the Bai Subaship, the Bai Polonship, the Pa Rokeship and the Alimamyships, and the Government was to understand it this way in their administration of the new Protectorate. This oligarchy has however, since been dominated by the Kabia family who have never allowed any other person to occupy these positions, but themselves and their henchmen alone. The Marampa Chiefs' policy of keeping the peace was to continue with the successor of Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III - Bai Koblo Kewende - during the next two decades of the twentieth century.

By contrast, between the two rulers, while the Bai Koblo's influence appeared to have been limited only in Marampa Country, the activities of the Bai Suba (his most powerful sub-chief) extended

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1. Pa A.E. Kabia; "Genealogical History of the Koblo Kabias" (Note Dated) - Typescript received 23.3.76 (Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom).
into Koya, Maforki and Masimra Countries. His influence in Marampa Country was based mainly on the fact that he was the Chief of Magbele, the most populous, prosperous, and therefore, the most important port in the Country, on the Rokel River. Magbele, "a very neat and clean town situated on a slope on the right bank of the river /Rokel/\(^1\) was a terminus of the caravan route from the interior. During the time of the slave trade, Magbele was one of the centres at which slaves could be sold or bartered for European merchandise. When the slave trade was made illegal in the Colony and the Sierra Leone estuary closed to the slave traffic, the slaves collected around the neighbourhood of Magbele would be brought to that town, whence they would be transported to the Northern Rivers through Kasseh (Bai Bureh's country), to be sold to the Fula, Mandinka, and Susu slave dealers.\(^2\) With the introduction of the legitimate trade in produce, the further interior people would bring their produce to sell to merchants and traders, who included the Krios from Freetown, at Magbele. The Bai Suba, as Chief of Magbele, would enrich himself through the taxes, customs duties and rents collected from resident as well as transient traders. The Bai Suba was also the head of the middlemen and landlord/stranger relationship from which venture he would also collect huge revenue. As in the case of the Alikali of Port Loko, the wealth which the Bai Suba accumulated helped him to enhance his social prestige and to acquire political power. But quite a good deal of this wealth would go to the revenue of the Bai

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Koblo, who in fact, was his brother as well as overlord. The town of Magbele was of such significant importance that the Colony Administration did not hesitate to give it and its ruler, special protection as far back as 1836, the special recognition and protection which continued to exist throughout the nineteenth century. By article 12 of treaty No.32 of April 16, 1832,

"And whereas the town of Magbele, is a great market for trade with the subjects of the said Kings, Chiefs, and Headmen and the inhabitants of the said Colony of Sierra Leone; and it being highly necessary that the Headman of the said town should be one of known respectability and character, it is therefore mutually agreed that Pa Suba, the present Headman of the said town shall be considered under special protection of the said contracting Kings, Chiefs and Headmen, the Lieutenant-Governor, and his successor, and that in the event of his removal by death of the present Chief or any future Chief before another is appointed to fill the said office the name of his intended successor shall be made known to the Lieutenant-Governor or the officer administering the Government of the said Colony, and his consent obtained which is hereby understood he will always grant unless it shall appear that the proposed successor had shown himself hostile to the interest of the said Colony in which case another shall be named and appointed." 1

Although this treaty had been annulled by subsequent treaties 2 the practice of submitting the name of the proposed Bai Suba remained a permanent feature of Marampa politics throughout the nineteenth century, for the Government found it necessary to continue such a policy in the interest of peace and commerce.

Bai Suba An Pessor was also particularly very active in other neighbouring countries to Marampa. This was because, he was the


principal envoy of his overlords, Bai Koblo Sakolo and Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III, to many important negotiations. During these missions, he proved trustworthy and the Administration, very much impressed, would always use him in making negotiations. He was a stipendiary of the Government and a recipient of an annual stipend of £5 for keeping the roads clean and open to trade.\(^1\) To highlight his importance, the instances in which the Administration used his services can be briefly mentioned here.

In 1890, Bai Suba An Pessor accompanied Governor Hay to Port Loko to study the condition of the country.\(^2\) There he gave the Governor an account of the state of affairs of the country, for which the latter was very pleased. At Port Loko, Pa Bai M'Salmansa was not pardoned for his activities against the Government during the Yoni Expedition of 1887, until Bai Suba An Pessor had stood surety for his future conduct.\(^3\) Before Hay could proceed to Magbele to settle the 'Bush Palaver' between the Temne and the Ro-Mende people, he had sent Bai Suba An Pessor ahead to bring Sembu Kamara, the Temne leader to Magbele, to have him interviewed; and Captain Lendy, Momoh Sesay, the leader of the Ro-Mende people.\(^4\) It should be clarified that this 'Mende' is not the Mende Country inhabited by the Mende of southern Sierra Leone, but a section of the Temne Country known as 'RO-MENDE', with its capital town of Foredugu Mende near Lunsar, and whose

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2. C.O.267/391. Hay to Knutsford; 100, 13.3.90.
3. C.O.267/381. Hay to Knutsford; 101, 13.3.90.
4. Ibid.
Paramount Chief is called 'Bai Komp.' The pacification of these warring Chiefs was successful through the tact of Bai Suba An Pessor. At the conclusion of the meeting, Bai Suba An Pessor entertained the Governor with traditional dancing which he himself led. He also accompanied the Governor to Maconteh in the Masimra Country, the following year for the same purpose of ascertaining the state of affairs with regard to the trade.

In 1892 the Administrator, Quayle-Jones took him to Rothumba in conducting the election of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, the candidate "whom it was desired by the Government should be elected and crowned." It was at this meeting that peace was also made between Bai Kompa Bomboli of Koya and Ngombu Tham Bendu I of Rokon in Masimra Country. Ngombu Tham Bendu I had come to witness the coronation of Alimamy Sinneh Bundu, and had been at variance with the Koya authorities over the ownership of Mahera. Bai Suba An Pessor was instrumental in bringing about this peace. At the conclusion of the meeting, all the Chiefs danced in honour of Quayle-Jones, with Bai Suba An Pessor leading. Quayle-Jones felt this dance was "a very great compliment to him."

Having thus proved a loyal Chief and a very good friend of the

1. My personal knowledge of the Temne Country.
2. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford; 119, 7.3.91.
3. C.0.267/394. Hay to Knutsford; 100, 3.3.92.
4. C.0.267/394. Quayle-Jones to Knutsford; 100, 3.3.92.
5. Ibid.
Administration, Government proposed to give him an award of a silver chain and medal. The proposal was backed by a strong recommendation from J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs.\textsuperscript{1} The secretary of State having approved, the award was made at Government House in Freetown on December 14, 1892.\textsuperscript{2} His overlord, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III, was very pleased with this honour to his sub-chief and brother, whom he described as "a very good Chief among us."\textsuperscript{3}

Bai Suba An Pessor's activities were terminated by his death in September 1893. To the Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III and his Marampa people, it was a grievous incident, and to the Administration it was a matter of great loss and disappointment. Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III therefore, after the customary consultation with the Magbele people particularly the Kabias, wrote to the Governor seeking permission to crown another Bai Suba, in his place.\textsuperscript{4} The Governor approved of this request without delay. Both the request for permission to crown the Bai Suba and the Governor's approval were part of the treaty obligations imposed by treaty No.32 of April 16, 1836,\textsuperscript{5} which were never altered throughout the nineteenth century. According to these obligations, since Magbele was of such economic importance, its ruler, the Bai Suba, should be given special recognition and protection by

\begin{enumerate}
\item C.O.267/396. Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 331, 14.12.92.
\item C.O.267/397. Fleming to The Marquis of Ripon; 437, 14.12.92.
\item C.O.267/403. Enclosure No.2, in Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon; 298, 17.9.93.
\item See Note 5, p.497.
\end{enumerate}
both the Government and the neighbouring Chiefs, and that whenever
his office became vacant, the person intended to fill it should
first be approved of by the Governor.

Having received this approval, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III proceeded
to crown and install Bai Suba Ke Nanday or An Bolt. 'AN BOLT' in
Temne means, 'RIM LOCK', which looks very well. He was so called
because he was so wise and powerful that his decisions were firm and
final, and could not be reversed by anyone without at the same time,
distorting the truth. From the inauguration of this crown, ten Bai
Subas have been crowned from five Ruling Houses,\(^1\) the Bai Suba An
Kochie House having been abolished. The new Bai Suba was
recommended to Government by his overlord, Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III
"that it may please her Majesty to confer the same friendship that
have been existing between the late BEY SUBA, on the present one."\(^2\)
Bai Suba An Bolt was thus lucky to start his chiefly career with a
good recommendation from his overlord, to the Government. But such
a recommendation was just the one that could be expected, for in the
governance of the Marampa Country and by family ties, both the Bai
Koblo and the Bai Suba were one and the same person, and the fortune
of one was the fortune of the other as well.

The events of 1896 - 1898, brought Bai Suba An Bolt into taking
sides with the other Temne Chiefs against the new Protectorate
administration. He attended all the meetings of the Temne Chiefs

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.481 AND also Appendix
for list of the Bai Subas and their Ruling Houses.

2. C.0.267/403. Enclosure No.1, in Crooks to The Marquis of Ripon;
298, 17.9.93.
and signed all the petitions against the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896.\textsuperscript{1} He was the spokesman of the Karene District Chiefs in giving evidence at the Chalmers Commission of Enquiry into the Hut Tax rebellion.\textsuperscript{2} But in spite of all these, Bai Suba An Bolt did not seem genuine in opposing the Government, since he was their good and loyal friend. To free himself from the dilemma, he quickly submitted when he was officially warned against boycotting the trade, paid his tax and took no part in the war. After this escape, Bai Suba An Bolt remained quiet and paid for the property of the Soudan Mission which was plundered during the Hut Tax War. The Government therefore, did not consider him an enemy, and he personally, was not disturbed.

The social and economic life of Marampa seems to be slightly revived during the second decade of the twentieth century. This was because of the presence of the Oje Society (fully discussed in Chapter I) and the Syrians (fully discussed in Chapter II).\textsuperscript{3} The Oje which was a non-Sierra Leonean society in origin was introduced in the up-country regions by the Aku traders and by the 1920s, it

\begin{enumerate}
\item P.P. Vol.LX, Nos. 572-73. Chalmers Report on the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. Pt. II. C.0.267/433 & C.0.267/434. PETITIONS OF TEMNE CHIEFS.
\item Oral Traditions
  Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20.2.76
  Pa Kang Kanzu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20.2.76
  Pa Gbana Bia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20.2.76
  Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 20.2.76
  Pa Alhaji Mustapha Kargbo, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76
  Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76
  Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76
  Pa Suba An Pessor, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.2.76
\end{enumerate}
had gained a firm hold on the Temne in the trading centres of the Rokel River where it became a society of the local traders as well.\textsuperscript{1}

In the case of the Syrians they were accepted everywhere in these trading centres and Magbele in particular, was quite fortunate to have them because their trade was the only commercial activity in the region between the 1900s and the 1930s. Both the Chiefs and their subjects lived in social intercourse with the Syrians to the great advantage of both parties. Marampa traditions say\textsuperscript{2} that the Chiefs were very sorry when the Syrians in Magbele were attacked and their properties looted during the 'Great Bonus' — referring to the anti-Syrian riots of 1919.

\textsuperscript{1} **Oral Traditions** — See Note 1, p.469.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid.
CHAPTER VI
THE MASIMRA COUNTRY

Marampa, Masimra and Yoni traditions assert that Masimra was the largest Temne country before the English began to penetrate their influence inland. To the north, it covered the present chiefdoms of Malal and Kolofa Mabang; to the south, it included the whole section of Mamaka in Yoni Mambella, and the towns of Mano, Makeni, Mabora, Mathombo, Sumbuya, and Makuntor, in Yoni Mabanta; and to the west, it extended as far as the Mabiri River near Foredugu in Koya Chiefdom, with the Rosolo Creek falling into its territories. Writing in 1825, Laing described Masimra as "This division of the Timanee Country is the largest, being about eighty miles long, by perhaps twenty in breadth; it is extremely populous and contains larger towns than any other of the districts."  

After the Yoni Expedition of 1887, Masimra was considerably reduced by shifting its boundary with Koya from the Mabiri River to the Rosolo Creek, as punishment for Bai Simra's support of the Yoni during the war. T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes,

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbela, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Chasimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Pa Roke Dawa M'Nes, Macontah, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
Pa Bockarib Pullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Kapprr Kapprr Buntu Gbongban, Rogbangban, Yino Ma.Ch. 7.4.76.


3. Correspondence respecting the Recent Expedition Against the Yonnie Tribe. P.P. LXXV (1888), Memo for Mamaligie Meeting, 16.12.1887.
MASIMRA AND HER NEIGHBOURS - ALSO SHOWING IMPORTANT PLACES

Chiefdom Boundaries
Colonial Highway

0 20 miles

Ghomp Hill 1344 ft
Lokei
Magbele
Roke
Roke Stream
Rosolo Creek

MARA
KOLIFA
MAFORKI
MALAL
MASIMRA
MABAN
MAMAKA
MAMELLA
MAKONIA

To Yoni & Kwelu
Gonguy Stream
Yoni Pet Stree

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Superintendent of the Native Affairs Department, were in the 1880s, thus able to speak of Masimra as being "bounded on the west by Quiah, south by Yonnie, east by Mabang, and north by Roquelle River. It is divided from the Quiah Country by the Rosolloh Creek."\(^1\) After the 1898 Hut Tax War, Yoni boundary was extended into Masimra beyond the towns of Mano, Makeni, Mabora, Malanchor, Sumbuya, and Makuntor.\(^2\)

This was also a punishment for Bai Simra's opposition to the House Tax, and a reward for Fula Mansa of Yoni for supporting the course of House Tax.

Masimra traditions recall\(^3\) that the ancestor of the Masimra aristocracy was Kelle Gbetle. He hailed from Kuranko Country in the present Simiria Chiefdom. He was both a hunter and a warrior. When he arrived in the present Masimra Country, he found the Mabanta Temne had already settled there in large numbers, but they had no centralized political organization or kingship, and their political system was only segmentary. They were thus often exposed to the dangers and domination of outside forces. To obtain their much needed security, they surrendered themselves and their entire territory to Kelle Gbetle.

'KELLE' in Temne means, 'tough master' or 'tough defender, and hence his name 'KEKKE HBETHLE' - that is 'Gbetle the tough master or defender. All matters of social, cultural, and political importance would be directed to him.

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1. T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes. Information Respecting the various Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its vicinity. C.0.806/270 p.28.
2. Oral Traditions - As in Note 1, p.502.
3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.502.
When Farma Thami came from 'RO-THORON', to Masimra and carried
the sacred things of Chieftaincy into that country, the traditions
continue, it was Kelle Gbethle he met, crowned him the first King
of Masimra and handed to him, all the regalia of Kingship together with
the secret society, the Ragenle, connected with it. The New King
assumed the Bai Simra Kelle Gbethle, and 'Simra' which was a mere
corruption of 'Simiria' became the title of all the Masimra Kings,
and the country 'Masimra'. The exact date of the inauguration of
the Bai Simra Crown is difficult to establish. The Kingdom seems to
have been well established even before the arrival of the English
traders, for the Royal African Company Records of Bunce Island Accounts
(1678–81) mention a "King By Simbra", being given two gallons of
brandy. 

Bai Simra Kelle Gbethle named his eldest son, 'KOIN DARU', now
corrupted as 'KOINJORO'. In Temne, 'KOIN' is 'to open', and 'DARU',
means, the 'world'; so that 'KOIN DARU' means, 'to open the world.'
It was Koin Daru that Kelle Gbethle nominated as his successor, before
his death. Kelleh Gbethle was thus succeeded by his eldest son, as
Bai Simra Koinjoro. Bai Simra Koinjoro, in turn nominated his eldest
son as successor and called him 'KOLNA'. Literally, 'KOLNA' is a

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.2.76
Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Pa Roke Dawa M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

2. PRO.9267/360. Royal African Company Records. Bunce Island Accounts,
1678–1681.

3. Oral Traditions - As in Note 1, above.
bell-like instrument used by the supreme Ragbenle Official in performing official ceremonies. Whenever this instrument was rung no one else should speak - only its sound that should now be heard. Bai Simra Koinjoro applied this psychological connotation to the term in describing his son. That is, he should be his successor and the 'Kolna' of the country whose voice should be the only one to be heard in the whole country, and his authority should be supreme. When he was crowned, he took the title of Bai Simra Kolna. All these Bai Simras were Banguras or Thallays, and were powerful warriors whose authority the people would readily accept. These three Kings thus succeeded in establishing the Bangura (Thallay) aristocracy in the Masimra country. Bai Simra Kolna ruled for about fifteen years and when he died, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Bai Simra Gben Keloll (small bangle-in Temne). 'GBEN' is 'a bangle' and 'LOLL', is 'small'; hence Gben Keloll. He was so called because he was small in stature, but very precious to his Masimra people, as a small gold or silver bangle was to its owner; also very powerful in defending his Masimra people in war. He was also kindhearted and helpful to them, and for this, he was highly beloved. The ancientness of the Masimra country can be estimated from the number of Kings and Paramount Chiefs before it was amalgamated with the Marampa country in 1953. It is said that forty-two of such rulers had been crowned and

1. See Note 1 p.504.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
all were Banguras or Thallays, and the crown has established five ruling Houses.¹

Bai Simra Gben Keloll was succeeded by his eldest son as Bai Simra Noi Serra who had a very short reign.² His death brought in a succession which caused a very unfortunate incident vividly recalled by Masimra traditions.³ During the campaign, a fierce contest ensued between his brother and his eldest son which ended in favour of the former. According to Masimra chiefly custom, every King elect should offer human sacrifice in the sacred lake or pool. The person to be sacrificed should be a daughter (who should be chaste) of one of the sisters of the King elect. Both the King elect and the young girl should be well dressed up, enter into a special canoe and rowed across the lake. When the canoe would reach the middle of the lake, the King elect should take the girl with his two arms and throw her into the water. If she sank, that would mean that the gods had approved of his election and he should return to the town to be ceremonially crowned, confined into the Kantha and installed. In this special incident however, when the canoe reached the middle of the lake, the King elect took the girl in both his arms and was about to throw her

1. Ibid. The five Ruling Houses are:
   Bai Simra Koin Daru,
   Bai Simra Kolna,
   Bai Simra Thonkla or Yessie,
   Bai Simra Pa Nes or Kamal or An Plane,
   Bai Simra Kambe Sekie.
   For list of Masimra Kings/Paramount Chiefs, see Appendix II D(i).

2. & 3. Oral Traditions
   PaRoke Dawo M’Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
into the water when she held his gown and both of them fell into the water. Both got drowned and their corpses were never seen. This incident caused much alarm in the whole Masimra country. This was serious 'KOTHO' for such a thing had never happened before. For about a period of five years, Masimra was without a king and this interregnum caused insecurity in the country.

In order to remove this 'KOTHO', the Masimra Thallays invited one Pa Momoh Thallay from Kuranko country the homeland of Kelle Gbethle, to perform the ceremony. After he had completed, he demanded as a reward, one hundred of each of the following articles, male slaves, female slaves, cows, sheep, goats, ducks, chickens, pieces of white cloth (a piece being 12 yards), and binkeys of clean rice (a binkey being 12 bushels). The Masimra Thallays said that they were not in a position to provide these articles and so offered him the crown - to him alone and not to his descendants. But there was a deep underlying motive for offering the crown to this man. They wanted to test whether the 'KOTHO' had been properly and finally removed. The test was that if his reign was successful and that he lived reasonably long, it would be a proof that the 'KOTHO' had been properly removed. If the contrary was the case, then the 'KOTHO' was still lingering about and no one would be crowned at Masimra. The King elect was given the title of Bai Simra Thoth Reyera - that is, the Bai Simra who went into the sacred lake to drink and never returned to rule. The new Bai Simra who removed the KOTHO was called Bai Simra Thoth Ralankay - that is, the Bai Simra who drank water from Ro-Lank, the sacred place of the Kings in order to rule. He was also called Bai Simra Yonanneh (do it
You yourself — that is, the Bai Simra who acquired the Crown for himself through his good works. This King ruled for about fifteen years before he died whereby proving that the 'KOTHO' had been properly removed. From that date, the canoe became a taboo to all the Masimra Kings or Paramount Chiefs up to the present day. They must never cross a river or sea, to avoid sitting in a canoe. When this King died, the crown was returned to the Thallays of Masimra, and Bai Simra Thonkasemgblu was crowned.

Bai Simra Thonkasemgblu was another professional warrior, but was called 'Thonkasemgblu' because he would feign to be effeminate as the male Palm bird (the THONKASEMGBLU), having changed its feathers to attract the females. By so doing, his neighbours would mistake him to be non-serious and attack Masimra. Then he would use all his power and skill to crush his country's opponents.

During the reign of Bai Simra Thonkasemgblu, a very important event took place which involved Masimra, Marampa and Romende countries into war. This was the war of the ground-pig. According to Marampa and Masimra traditions,¹ there had been constant boundary disputes between the Marampa and Romende countries. Such disputes had been submitted to various mediators for arbitration, but since neither

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1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa King Kanu, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.2.76
   Pa Roke Dawo M’Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Foday Kamara, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Santigie Turay, Royema, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
party was prepared to accept any verdict, the mediating Chiefs had to 'put their hands on the disputed lands' — that is, the land in dispute had to be declared 'a no man's zone,' an act meant to prevent any of the contending parties from farming on it. In consequence, such a land would be bound to lie fallow until the dispute would be finally settled. As a fallow area it was rich in game and thus became a favourite hunting spot. Both parties were however, allowed to hunt on the disputed land.

On one of their hunting exercises, two trappers — one from Marampa, and the other from Romende — constructed hunting fences from quite opposite directions, but eventually met at an ant-hill. They declared an area of the fence, a few feet from either side of the ant-hill, to be common between them. This meant that any animal caught by the traps on this common area should be divided equally between them. The first animal to be caught was a Gazelle locally called 'Freetambo',\(^1\) higher, but smaller than a full grown goat. It was on the side of the Marampa trapper, who honoured the agreement and allowed the animal to be divided equally between them. The second animal was a Ground-pig, a small animal, a little bigger than the biggest rat, with a white tail, and lives in burrows. It was caught on the side of the Romende trapper, who refused to honour the agreement but took the animal all to himself. This brought an argument between the two trappers and a fight ensued which drew in their relatives. Later, this fight escalated into open warfare drawing in both Marampa and Romende countries with their old grievances caused by the bush disputes, once

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\(^1\) See Note 1, p.508.
more inflamed. The Marampa people were supported by their relatives from Masimra and Kuranko countries, while the Romende people got their support from relatives from Gbambali Sebora and Maforki.

The war raged for many years, although fought only intermittently, with no side winning. At length, the neighbouring chiefs got together and decided to effect a peaceful settlement. They submitted the matter to Bai Simra Thonkasemgblu, then the oldest and most senior King among the southern Temne who had himself, been a veteran and cunning professional warrior, for a decision. The matter was held in the bush where the two fences were constructed, and at their meeting point by the ant-hill. As was the custom in those days, any King presiding over an important occasion or meeting must be dressed in his full regalia. And Bai Simra Thonkasemgblu did so at this particular occasion. After a long and complicated argument which lasted for several days, the Bai Simra finally gave the verdict in favour of the Marampa People. This decision was rejected by the Romende people who accused the Bai Simra of partiality and a rumpus followed during which he was immediately shot dead by the Romende people. The Masimra people who accompanied their King to the meeting and who were neither prepared for war, nor did they expect an attack on any of them, let alone their king, retreated. The Romende warriors, seizing this opportunity, then rushed forward, seized the dead King, took off his regalia, cut off his head and left hand and carried them in triumph. The Bullets used by the Romende warriors were the type called 'MA GBARA', made locally from pieces of iron, by the local blacksmiths. Because he was killed by these 'MA GBARA' bullets, the dead King was
posthumously called 'Bai Simra M'Gbara.'

The sacred things of the King or his regalia having been taken away, the Masimra people could not install a new King, and this caused an interregnum for many years. For the security of the country however, a care-taker government had to be appointed to be headed by a warrior among the Thallays themselves, a man whom the Romende warriors would fear. Since there was none to be found among the Thallays in Masimra, one Pa Ferra Thalay, a relative of the deceased King had to be invited from Kuranko Country, to act as regent. Pa Ferra is recalled as a clever and wise man, and was nicknamed 'PA NES' (the Spider). In Temne folklore, Pa Nes (Spider) is depicted as a wise and cunning creature who would catch animals with its trap of cobwebs. In the folklore therefore, Pa Nes represents a very clever man who is full of tricks to entrap people, usually opponents. Pa Fera had also helped the Marampa people during the Ground-pig war, with warriors from Kuranko Country. This regent soon became influential among the neighbouring peoples, and he won the friendship of the Marampa people. It was during his regency that a very important "stranger, Ngokor Kanu", known to history as Ngombu Smart arrived in Masimra Country. He was a war chief, a slaver, and had numerous followers. The Thallays asked him to help them to regain the sacred regalia of their crown and he agreed.

1. Oral Traditions - As in Note 1, page 508.

2. Oral Traditions
Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.2.76
Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom. 23.3.76.

3. Ibid.
According to Masimra traditions, Smart embarked upon elaborate preparations for the expedition to rescue the sacred regalia. He first went to Malakure country and hired a powerful 'Mori Man' recalled as very light in complexion to make some 'Sebes' (Charms) for him. He then went to Loko country and acquainted his father with the whole situation, who then gave him some war-men to join the expedition. Some Kuranko Warriors who were friendly with the Loko of Kalamgba his original home also joined Smart's expedition. He then collected his Loko followers at Mahera as well as those at Masimra. The Masimra Temne, especially the Thallays, who were the owners of the crown and their Marampa allies also provided large contingents of warriors, and all these totalled thousands. They were all assembled at a small island on the Rokel River just close by Rokon. During the preparation, the Mori Man predicted that the expedition would be successful and that there would be no fighting at all. He however, advised that these preparations were necessary and that they should be given the widest publicity in order to strike awe and terror into the hearts of the Romende Warriors, citizens and all their adherents. This was effectively done through messages to the neighbouring countries that all the Loko, Kuranko, the Masimra and Marampa Temne were going to destroy Romende country. The Mori Man also predicted that on arrival at Romende, the expedition would first meet a young woman, very fair in complexion, carrying a pot of water; they should neither touch nor show tamper with her, for it would be she who would/t them where the sacred things were kept.

1. See Note 1, p.508.
All the predictions of the Mori Man came to pass. On arrival, the warriors first met the expected young woman just on the outskirts of Romende Town. The Romende warriors, who had also all the time been preparing for the war, hearing the arrival of the Masimra army at once fell into complete disarray and fled in panic. The Masimra Warriors however, did not pursue them, but only followed the young woman who eventually showed them where the sacred things were kept. They took them to Masimra, to the great jubilation of the Masimra Temne especially the Thallays, the owners of the crown. They also carried with them the young woman who helped them to procure these sacred things, and Ngombu Smart himself later married her. Most of the Loko warriors who came from Loko country to help in the Romende Expedition remained with Ngombu Smart at Rokon and increased his already large following.

According to Koya and Masimra Loko traditions\(^1\) Ngombu Smart was offered the crown as a reward, but he declined, saying that "I and my people are Lokos; we have our different customs and ceremonies. It is therefore, not proper for me to be crowned as chief in Temne country seeing that I do not understand its ceremonies. I only want one thing, and one thing only - that you give me my own place where my people and myself will settle permanently and remain undisturbed."

The Regent, Pa Ferra, immediately consulted his leading Thallay brothers on Ngombu Smart's request. They unanimously granted him his request

\(^{1}\) Oral Traditions
Pa Samuel Ngombu Smart, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
Pa Alimamy Sesay, Mahera, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.2.76
Pa Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
Pa Alie Pofana, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
by giving him Lower Masimra to rule and making him sub-chief of the Bai Simra. The land granted him stretched from the River Ropet about 20 miles south-west of Masimra Town to the Koya boundary, at the Mabiri River.

This claim of the reward has been flatly denied by the Masimra Temne traditions which state\(^1\) that Smart was never offered the crown and that Lower Masimra was never given him to rule; but that he and his followers were only allowed to settle at Rokon and to farm on the land. He was however, to continue the traditions, told to look over that portion of the country for the Bai Simra as his overlord. For this responsibility, he was crowned a sub-chief of the Bai Simra. This was his reward. As his chiefly title, he adopted the name of 'Ngombu Smart', and his crown, the Ngombuya.\(^2\) His second in command was styled Pa Balla, and was the eldest son of Pa Oldgbiri Forna, his former host when he first landed at Rokon. A second crown was thus instituted at Rokon which became known as the Ballaya.\(^3\) Both Pa Ngombu and Pa Balla would be crowned and installed the same day and would operate under the Bai Simra's as their overlords. But whatever might be the argument, the former "Landlord/Stranger relationship between Ngombu Smart and the Masimra people had come to an end.

1. **Oral Traditions**
   - Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   - Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   - Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
   - Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   - Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

2. **Oral Traditions** - See Note 1, p.513.

3. Ibid.
Smart and his Loko people had now evidently become part of the owners of Masimra country with Smart himself as a very important sub-chief of the Bai Simra.

From the institution of these two crowns, the name 'Ngoko' variously pronounced as Ngoko, Ngeko, Keko or Ceko, Kokowa or Cocowa had disappeared. The reason for these variants in pronouncing this name is that the Temne who formed the largest part of the population in Koya and Masimra where Ngoko had lived, find it difficult to pronounce the letter 'g'; instead, they use 'c' or 'k' in its place. Even with the 'Ngombu' name they find it easier to pronounce it with the letter 'k' or 'c' as in 'Nkombu' or 'Kombu' or 'Combu.' Hirst has noticed\(^1\) this fact in her study of the Loko people, that their original name was 'Logo'; but the Temne have corrupted it to its present form of 'Loko' because of their difficulty in pronouncing the letter 'g'; rather, they employ the letter 'k'. Because of this, the Colonial Administrators often called Pa Ngombu as Pa 'Kombo' or Pa 'Combo'. As a matter of fact, there is a name 'Kombo' which is quite popular among the Temne.\(^2\)

In the Loko and Mende Languages (which are very similar languages), the word 'ngombu' means 'fire.'\(^3\) Applied to human beings, it is the name of the head official of the Ngombuwas of the Wonde Society which uses fire as its mystical emblem in performing official ceremonies.

The Ngombuwas are themselves reputed for their fierceness and

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1. E.A. Hirst. An Attempt at reconstructing the History of the Loko People from about 1790 to the present day. In Sierra Leone, N.S. IX, No.9 (1957) p.29.

2. My own personal knowledge of Temne culture and traditions.

3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.513.
fearlessness in warfare, and the Wonde itself was essentially a war society.

There are conflicting traditional accounts as to the origin of this Wonde Society which Ngombu Smart adopted in his chieftaincy. Masimra Temne traditions say\(^1\) that it was not a Mende but a Kuranko Wonde. They point out that Smart joined this Wonde while he was on his slave buying expedition to Kurankoland during the late eighteenth century. To support their story, they argue that it would be impossible in those days of local warfare for anyone like Ngoko Smart who was in fact, a warrior himself, to have gone to the Mende country through Masimra and Yoni to join the Wonde and to return unscathed; neither for any Mende man or official to have come to Masimra country and institute this society and return safely. When this Wonde was instituted in Masimra during the coronation and installation the first and second Ngombu Smarts and Balla Bana, continue the traditional accounts, the forest was created at Masimra town and Kuranko Wonde officials were invited to initiate its ceremonies. After this, the Wonde Forest was created at Rokon and Temne and Loko officials were trained for the office. Both the Ngombuya and Ballaya were Wonde war Crowns, having their own war drums and implements.\(^2\)

Koya and Masimra Loko traditions\(^3\) present a different version as

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1. See Note 1, p.513.
2. Ibid.
3. Oral Traditions
   Pa Samuel Ngombu Smart, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   Pa Alimamy Sesay Mahera, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.2.76
   Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
   Pa Kapprr Conteh, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
to the origin of Smart's Wonde. According to them, it was a Mende Wonde and both Smart and Pa Balla actually went to Taiama in Mende country, got initiated and returned home with the Wonde Crowns and the war drums and implements; and this was why Smart took Pa Balla as his second in command on their coronation and installation day.

Considering the two accounts, it appears the Temne only try to assert their superiority or overlordship over their Loko counterparts, so that even the crown of the latter, had to be given them by the Kuranko who were in fact, relatives of the Thally Temne of Masimra, the owners of the Bai Simra Crown. In consequence, they seem to perpetuate the colonial myth that pre-colonial Sierra Leone was a dangerous place where it was impossible for people to move about. On the contrary, there was constant movement of traders and other strangers throughout the nineteenth century. There was no inherent reason therefore, why Smart could not have gone to the Mende country to be initiated into the Wonde Society. We can see later in the 1820s when Ngombu Smart II was beheaded during the Temne/Loko war in Masimra, his sister Yainkain Magbachee going to hire the Kpa Mende warriors from Jama who came in large numbers and devastated Masira country and had to be pacified by the Governor of Freetown through the agency of Mr. Forsyth of Samblama.¹

Both the Ngombuya and the Ballaya Crowns were akin to the Poro Society; and all the Ngombus and Ballas, and their smaller chiefs under them must first be Poro members before they could be crowned.²

¹. T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes, pp.28 and 29.
². Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.516.
From the institution of these crowns, seven Ngombus and seven Ballas have been crowned and have played a very important role in the politics of the Masimra country. They have since been contested crowns and have their own established Ruling Houses, as well.

Both Pa Ngombu and Pa Balla would rule Lower Masimra together. The Ngombus however, became more important than the Ballas. One reason for this was that the ancestor of the Ballayas, Pa Oldgbiri Forna, did not report himself officially to the Bai Simra and his big men when he first arrived at Masimra, and started Rokon; but Ngombu Smart did so giving many presents according to the custom of the country. He and his people were thus known right from the time of their arrival in the country. The second reason was that the Ballayas did not render signal services in Masimra prior to the creation of their crown, whereas the Ngombuyas did - as in the case of their recovering the sacred regalia of the Crown from the Romende country during the war of the Ground-pig. By bringing back these sacred things, they had in fact, restored the kingship and thus ended the interregnum in the country. The third and final reason was that the Ngombuyas were wealthy and educated in English and were also professional warriors, qualities not possessed by the Ballayas. As a result, the Bai Simras needed their services in defending the country from foreign attacks and in Central Government matters. The Ngombuyas however, would use these advantages to enhance their own positions. It was unfortunate that these qualities of the Ngombuyas

1. Ibid. - For list of the Ngombus - See Appendix II D(ii).
2. Ibid. - For list of the Ballas - See Appendix II D(iii).
did not go without incurring the jealousy of the Ballayas and even that of their landlords, the Thallays.

Although the Ngombuyas were Loko Kanus and the Ballayas Temne Fornas, both Chiefs had the same sub-chiefs. Both would be ceremonially crowned and installed by Bai Simra. On installation day, both would be borne by human beings from the Wonde Bush to the town where they would be first sited under the same cotton tree. They would both wear 'RUN HATS'. After the ceremony, Lower Masimra would be handed to both of them together—Pa Ngombu would rule the Loko section and Pa Balla that of the Temne. When one died, the other would rule both sections until he too died, then a new Pa Ngombu and a new Pa Balla would be crowned and installed together. By this arrangement the Bai Simras were trying to check the growing power of the Ngombuyas as future events will prove. This arrangement only opened the way for intriguing and scheming between the two parties, thus generating a situation of unrest in Masimra country in general, and at Rokon, in particular. Such rivalries continued to prevail throughout the nineteenth and during the first two decades of the twentieth centuries.

The sacred things of the crown having been brought to Masimra, it was now time to restore the monarchy. Pa Ferra, the Regent,

1. Oral Traditions - As in Note 3, p.516.
   Important sub-chiefs of Pa Ngombu and Pa Balla.
   Pa Manso          Pa Raka Wonde
   Pa Gbontho        Pa Runia
   Pa Yoma           Na Massa (female sub-chief)
   Pa Bai Sheka

2. Ibid.
assembled all the Thallays and requested them to produce the candidate to be crowned so that he could hand over honourably. The Thallays having consulted together, agreed that this was a great demonstration of honour to them, and fidelity on the part of Pa Ferra. They therefore, offered him the crown. But Pa Ferra declined saying,

"Although I am a Thallay myself, and an heir to the throne, and had on several occasions helped to fight in defence of this country, my role at this point is only that of a regent and a preserver of the country; and this was why I was invited from Kuranko country. I must hand over to some one for the time being and retire to my position as a warrior to help defend the country. And this will be my lot in the new government." 2

Pa Ferra's views were accepted, and Bai Simra Thonkla was crowned. 3 He was a nephew of Bai Simra Kolna and his election brought no contest for he was believed to be a peaceful man who would bring the much needed political stability in Masimra country.

Bai Simra Thonkla (to collect or gather together), as his name indicates, was a powerful ruler who was able to reconstruct the country from the ruins caused by the war of the Ground-pig. It was not difficult for him to bring unity among the people since they had just survived the terrible events of the war of the Ground-pig. To strengthen this unity his first move was to establish diplomatic relations with the rulers of the neighbouring states - Bai Forki Bathpolon and Alikali Fatima Brima of Port Loko; Bai Farma I, Pa Momodu Bundu, and Yan Bome Ruffa of Koya; Bai Koblo Sankolo of Marampa and Bai

1. Oral Traditions -See Note 1, p.514.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Suba Ke Wende of Magbele; Bai Sebora Kondor of Yoni Mamella; and Fula Mansa Gbashankoro of Yoni Mabanta. In this way, he was able to build a fence around himself so that his administration could continue to be peaceful.

Bai Simra Thonkla's second move was to bring the Ngombuyas to his support. He confirmed Ngombu Smart I in his position as ruler of Lower Masimra and chief revenue collector at Rokon. There was no dispute between them as Ngombu Smart I would willingly pay a huge share of the wharf dues he would collect at Rokon. Ngombu Smart I himself was so pleased with the attitude of this new ruler, that he introduced him to the Administration in Freetown. Zachary Macaulay writes of this King as "Pa Simbra, King of the Rokelle country... who lives about 25 miles up the country from the mouth of the Rokelle. His dominions join those of the Quiah King a little above Bunce Island." This "Pa Simbra", continues Zachary Macaulay, "had given free land to the Colony settlers at Rokelle where they have large plantations." Bai Simra Thonkla thus seemed to have been crowned in the early part of the 1790s, and the Colony Government did not seem to have much to do with the Masimra country before this date. Bai Simra Thonkla was probably one of the sixteen Temne Chiefs who concluded treaty No.33 at Magbele on April 18, 1836 by which he was committed "to keep open the rivers and roads in his country." He realised the growing power of the Colony and was thus always in good

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.514.
terms with the Administration to whose requests and dictates he would always answer 'Yessie' (for Yes Sir). For this reason, his people nicknamed him 'Bai Simra Yessie.' That is, 'Bai Simra, the Yes King.'

Pa Balla Bana had died between 1810 and 1820 and in compliance with customary practice, Pa Ngombu Smart I took control of the whole of Lower Masimra. But he too died a few years later, probably before 1825. In order to maintain stability at Rokon, Bai Simra Thonkla crowned his eldest son as Ngombu Smart II; and also, the uncle of Pa Balla Bana as Pa Balla Brima Sama.\(^1\) It was his son and successor Ngombu Smart II, that was involved in the quarrel with Bai Simra Thonkla for which two Maroons were sent from the Colony in 1825 to mediate.\(^2\) Masimra traditions recall that Bai Simra Thonkla, although a very peaceful and wise ruler, had to face many internal troubles during the latter part of his reign.

Both Koya and Masimra traditions vividly recall the Temne/Loko wars in Masimra which drove terror into the minds of the people of the whole of the Rokel River area and Port Loko country. According

1. **Oral Traditions**
   
   Pa Alimamy Hanika, Robis Hanika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.2.76  
   Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76  
   Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76  
   Mr. Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom. 23.3.76

to these traditions,\(^1\) when the Old Ngombu Smart died, the Lokos of Masimra ceased to be on good terms with the Temne in the country. But the Temnes being more in number, and supported by their numerous friends, relations and allies in Koya, Marampa, and Maforki, were successful in several encounters, in the wars with the Lokos. In the first encounter, the ousted Loko fled with their Chief Pa Ngombu Smart II to go to Waterloo to seek British protection. But they were caught at Royema, a border town between Masimra and Koya. There Pa Ngombu Smart II was beheaded together with many of his followers.

Bai Simra Thonkla then immediately crowned his younger brother who, it was said, did not take a serious part in the war, as Ngombu Tham Bendu I. This is the Chief referred to, and who put his mark to the many treaties as "Tom Bendo... Chief of Rokon."\(^2\)

But the Colony Government

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1. Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76
   Pa Bai Mange Bangura, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76
   Pa Pa Gibrilla Kanu, Masorie M'Baimba, Koya Chiefdom 14.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76
   Pa Santigie Kabia Mailla, Koya Chiefdom 15.1.76
   Pa Amara Thana Pallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76
   Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   Pa Samuel Ngombu Smart, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   Pa Alimamy Sesay Mahera, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4.3.76
   Pa Alimamy Bundu, Foredugu, Koya Chiefdom, 4.3.76
   Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.2.76
   Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
   Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Santigie Sangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

   p.347. Treaty No.33 of April 18, 1836.
was on the side of the Loko and did not want them to be driven altogether out of Masimra country. Men were sent to make peace, but when the Loko who were spared returned to their villages, trouble started afresh, for Pa Ngombu Smart II's sister, Yan Yainkain Magbachee, went and hired some Kpa Mende to avenge the death of her brother. These Kpa Mende mercenaries greatly ravaged many parts of the Temne country. In Masimra country in particular, they destroyed many towns and villages belonging to the Temne, as Lawson and Parkes later reported that "they caused great havoc and devastation."¹ The Colony Government had to intervene in order to stop them. These wars did not end when Bai Simra Thonkla died, and more confusion was caused in Masimra country by the contest for the succession. The traditions however, fail to give the cause of these wars.

According to Fyfe² during the slave trade the Smart family at Rokon had accumulated much wealth, power and influence. But when this trade was made illegal, this family had correspondingly declined. When Ngombu Smart Senior died, his son, Ngombu Smart II, who was more of an easy-going man became unable to pay the large presents and wharf dues to Bai Simra Thonkla, as his overlord. Bai Simra Thonkla in turn, sought to dislodge him from his position at Rokon which was still a strategic point on the road from Fula country to Freetown. A bitter quarrel between the two personalities thus ensued. To prevent any war that might dislocate the trade of the Colony, the Governor sent two Maroons in 1825 to mediate between them, but they

2. C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.185.
still remained unreconciled. Finally, they submitted their dispute to Alikali Fatima Brima of Port Loko who decided in favour of Bai Simra Thonkla. The Loko rejected this decision, accusing the Alikali of partiality. The Temne therefore, banded together and attacked the Loko. In the war which ensued from 1828 to 1830, the united Temne forces destroyed the Loko towns and villages, burnt down their farms and killed Ngombu Smart II. His Loko people, assisted by their Mende allies, continued the fight. Since this war badly affected the Colony's trade, Governor Findlay sent in 1831 the Colonial Secretary with Savage and John McCormack to mediate, by which peace settlement the Loko submitted and the Temne allowed them to return and resettle in their towns and villages in Masimra.

But these wars continued throughout the 1830s, and this was what moved Governor Henry Dundas Campbell to proceed to Magbele on journeys in 1836 & 1837 to conclude peace treaties with the Chiefs of the Temne country.¹ This policy was continued by Jeremie in 1841.² By these treaties, in addition to the needed peace, the Chiefs were required to keep the roads and rivers open and safe and to protect the trade of the Colony. To these treaties, both Bai Simra Thonkla and Ngombu Tham Benu I (spelt Tom Bendo in the treaties) put their marks – Bai Simra Thonkla, as King of Masimra country and Ngombu Tham Bendu I as Chief of Rokon.

   p.329. Treaty No.32 of April 16, 1836.  
   p.337. Treaty No.33 of April 18, 1836.  

It is sad to note that this already complicated situation was made much more complex by the sudden fall from office of Ngombu Tham Bendu I and the sudden and successive deaths of Cessie Betty who was his immediate successor and Bai Simra Thonkla. With reference to the fall of Ngombu Tham Bendu I from office and the sudden death of his successor, it is stated in a memorandum dated April 11, 1836, which was annexed to treaty No.32 of April 16, 1836, that

"Tom Bendo, designated herein as "Chief of Rokon" having declared his incapacity to perform the office of Headman of the said town of Rokon, Cessie Betty was appointed to this office with the full consent of the Kings, Chiefs, and Headmen now assembled at Magbeli, and Cessie Betty having suddenly departed this life on the 7th day of April instant, whereby the said office became vacant, Alimamy Dalla Modu was proposed by Lieutenant-Governor, Henry Dundas Campbell and the said Kings, Chiefs and Headmen, with the members of Pa Combo's family having agreed to such proposition, Alimamy Dalla Modu was declared Headman of Rokon." 1

The appointment of Dalla Modu to this office was advantageous both to the Administration and the Masimra people. As a very good friend of the Administration, he would be able to maintain peace and promote the Colony's trade at Rokon, and watch its general interest on the Rokel River area. For the Masimra people, it was necessary to have someone with mature political experience to look over the affairs of Rokon especially when, according to Masimra traditions, 2 Bai Siara Thonkla had died in late 1837, a few months after signing Treaty No.33 of

2. Oral Traditions
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Santigie Bangura Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
April 16, 1836. The Regent for the whole of Masimra was the Pa Roke, who, with the help of his Thallay brothers, held power for a brief while until a new Bai Simra was crowned in about 1838.

When Bai Simra Thonkla died in 1837, there was recalled by Masimra traditions,¹ a fierce contest for the succession. At that time, there were already three established Ruling Houses - Bai Simra Koin Daru, Bai Simra Kolna, and Bai Simra Thonkla Ruling Houses. All these Ruling Houses presented candidates. The fourth candidate, Pa Ferra, did not put forward his claims in any of these Houses, but stood on his own right as any other Thallay.² The elders at first did not want him to contest on the ground that he did not put forward his claims in any established Ruling House and that if allowed to contest he would create a new Ruling House which would make it much more difficult at any other future election. At this time the Administration had not begun to interfere in the internal politics of Masimra country beyond signing treaties. So all the campaign was purely local, in and around Masimra country only.

Pa Ferra argued³ that by right of citizenship, he was a pure Thallay, which the elders accepted; that he had rendered useful services to the country by fighting in the war of the Ground-pig, leading the Masimra forces which joined Ngombu Smart's army to bring back the

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¹. See Note 1, p.523.
². Ibid.
³. Ibid.
sacred things of the crown and that he did not ask for the crown even when it was offered him, but saw to it that Bai Simra Thonkla was crowned – an argument accepted both by the elders and the Loko people; that he had acted as regent throughout the interregnum; that it was through his strategy that the Koya had not captured the Masimra territories beyond the Rossolo Creek; that his father had been a leading official of the Ragbenle Society; and finally, he made it quite clear that if he were rejected he would never in future take part in any military engagement to defend the country. Such submissions won him the support of all the leading men in the country, of all the classes of Societies – the elders, the Thallays, the Lokos, the warriors, the Ragbenle and the Poro officials. At this time also, the practice of crowning professional warriors who would defend the country in time of trouble, was still in vogue. Pa Ferra also enlisted the support of the Sesays of Rokel who were famous Mori Men, promising them an Alimamyship if he succeeded. They agreed and joined his team. In the election that followed, Pa Ferra was chosen. When he was crowned and installed, he assumed the title of Bai Simra 'Pa Nes' which was his warrior name.

By retaining this 'Pa Nes' name making it his official Kingly name, he had tried to show that he was still the old trapper and catcher of the enemies of Masimra country, and that he would cleverly defend the country in time of war. Thus, 'Pa Nes' which had only been his war cognomen, had now become his registered Royal Title. Because of his long reign, for he was on the throne for over sixty

1. See Note 1, p.523.
2. Ibid.
years (1838-1898), and for his long span of life for that matter, he was also called Bai Simra Kamal. In Temne, 'KA MAL' is the name of an old log of hard wood which can remain in the water or underground for very many years. It is said that he lived for over 120 years, and thus justifying his chiefly title of 'Kamal.' This was the name by which the Colonial Government knew him throughout his reign. His third name which was quite popular among his Masimra people as well as among his neighbours was Bai Simra 'An Plane.' A plane is an instrument used by the carpenter to smooth the rough edges of a piece of board. He was so styled because his decisions were clear, straightforward and firm and would smooth any rough palaver.

When Bai Simra Pa Nes ascended the throne, Masimra country was still the largest country in the whole of Temneland, for its boundaries had not yet been tampered with before the 'White Man's War' (the Yoni Expedition of 1887). Although by that time there were many local wars, Bai Simra Kamal, by his military prowess, political and social strategy and diplomacy, was able not only to control his country and maintain its unity, but also extended his influence far and wide to the extent of his being looked upon as the 'official father' of all the Temne Kings.

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p. 523.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Oral Traditions
   Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Santigie Bangura Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
As soon as he was installed, Bai Simra Kamal's first move was to consolidate his position by uniting together all the Thallays behind him. He succeeded in this move by creating different offices of state for them, such as the headships of the Ragbenle and Poro Societies, the Pa Roke, the Bai Yola, the Bai Suba, the Kapprr Kerr, the Kapprr Benk, the Bai Yatha, and the Paa Thallay Crowns. The Alimamship of Rokel and the Santigieship of Maconteh were also given to relations or henchmen of the Thallays. At the same time he was engaged in these innovations, he also restored the Ngombuya and the Ballaya Crowns of Rokon. With regard to the secret societies he vigorously interfered with the selection of the Ragbenle Officials, since this was the society that was in fact, controlling the kingship. All the officials were Thallays, and the senior Thallay among these Ragbenle officials, he crowned as Pa Kapprr Benk. Pa Kapprr Benk was his main watch dog in this society to see if there was any subversive movement against his administration among the Ragbenle officials. It was the duty of these officials to visit the sacred grove, crown, install and bury the King; and to show the Ruling House whose turn it was to produce the next King, in the case of a struggle for a succession. To Bai Simra Kamal, these were all very important functions not only ceremonially but also politically and therefore, must be held by his Thallay brothers. With reference to the Poro, being an outstanding member, he saw to it that it was given proper attention since its functions were both political and military. It was in the Poro Society that the warriors were trained for the defence

1. See Note 4, p.529.
2. Ibid.
of the country.

The Pa Roke was not the creation of Bai Simra Kamal, but he had already been an important official since the inauguration of the Bai Simra Crown.\(^1\) Bai Simra Kamal himself, at the beginning of his administration, did not crown a new Pa Roke, but only upheld the authority of that of Bai Simra Thonkla who was his immediate predecessor. He was Pa Roke M'Thonkla, who presided over his election. He however, crowned his own Pa Kapprr Masim, who was to be the custodian of the sacred things of the crown. This new Kapprr Masim was himself also a Thallay.

One of the most important posts which Bai Simra Kamal created for his Thallay brothers was the Bai Yola Crown.\(^2\) This post went directly to his younger brother, and from its creation, all the Bai Yolas have been the younger brothers of the Bai Simras. In Temne, 'YOLA' means wealthy man; so that Bai Yola was the wealthy man of the King. The first Bai Yola was indeed a very wealthy man, and being his younger brother, his wealth was of tremendous help to him in maintaining his power. Later, Bai Yola became the principal revenue collector of Bai Simra Kamal. Bai Yola was a fully crowned sub-chief with the full regalia as those of Bai Simra himself. This was to show that both Bai Simra and Bai Yola owned the country together and equally too. But when both were alive the Bai Simra would rule, and in his absence, the Bai Yola would take over as regent, even when the Pa Roke would be alive. In the absence of the Bai Yola, then the Pa Roke would rule as regent until a new Bai Simra would be crowned. Bai Yola had no special

\(^1\) Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.529.

\(^2\) Ibid.
section to rule, but had his own sub-chiefs, the Kapprrs, all over the country and sometimes, these were more numerous than even those of the Bai Simra himself. The reason for this was that he should have a large number of men of sufficient authority posted at strategic positions in the country to help him in the collection of the revenue for the Bai Simra. This revenue included rice, palm oil, palm Kernels, cows, sheep, goats, fowls, fish, money etc. Through this revenue collection and his regency, the Bai Yola would become very important and influential too, and the office had been recognised since the time of Bai Simra Kamal, by the Colonial Government. For instance, Bai Yola put his mark to treaty No.35 of February 13, 1841 as King of Masimra for which he would receive an annual payment of 50 bars.¹

But his designation here is obviously mistaken for Bai Simra Kamal was already in power. He might have probably only represented his King, and was made to put his mark on the treaty on the column against 'King of Masimra.' In treaty No.67 of February 27, 1857² both Bai Yola and Bai Simra (Kamal) put their marks - Bai Simra, as King of Masimra, and Bai Yola, as Chief of Mayola under Bai Simra. Their entitlements for these treaties were 100 bars and 50 bars respectively.

The Bai Yola Crown had four established Ruling Houses to which all Thallays who would wish to contest would put forward their claims.³ There were already seven Bai Yolas crowned before the Amalgamation of Masimra and Marampa countries in 1953.⁴ In spite of all these powers

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³ Oral Traditions - As in Note 1, p.32.

vested in him, the Bai Yola never challenged the authority of the Bai Simra. The reason for this is clear to understand. The Bai Yola and the Bai Simra were one and the same persons, and according to their constitution, no Bai Yola could succeed to the Bai Simra throne.

The creation of the Bai Suba Crown at Rokon grew out of the desire of Bai Simra Kamal to put a Thallay with sufficient authority and tact to control the growing power and influence of the Ngombuya. The other important function of this Bai Suba (open the sack to put the grain) was to collect the revenue or wharf dues at Rokon for the Bai Simra, since the Ngombuya would sometimes refuse to pay what they would collect. This Bai Suba Crown was probably an imitation of the Bai Suba Crown at Magbele which had existed at a much earlier date, but having the same function. From the creation of this crown, only three Bai Subas were crowned and the office was abolished.\(^1\) The story of its abolition will be found in later sections of this chapter.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that a Bai Suba was present when Governor Hay visited Maconteh in Masimra country in 1891.\(^2\) This was probably the second Bai Suba - Bai Suba Kulkaton.

1. **Oral Traditions**

   Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Roke Dowo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Kapprr Conteh, Rokon, Masimra, Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

   The three Bai Subas in question were,
   Bai Suba Yenoh Gbenkeh,
   Bai Suba Kulkaton,
   Bai Suba An Kerray.

2. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knotsford, 120, 9.3.91.
The next crown Bai Simra Kamal created was the Pa Kapprr Kerr Crown. In Temne folklore, Pa Spider's wife is called 'NA KERR' - the female spider with a large bag where it contains its eggs. Bai Simra Kamal's other name being 'Pa Nes' (spider), he felt he should have 'a wife' in his hierarchy to be styled 'PA KERR' who would be his store keeper at Rokon, just as the female spider would store its eggs in its bag. The other meaning of 'KERR' in Temne is 'a strong pillar which holds up a building or a bridge or other structure.' Pa Kerr would thus have a double function - as one of the revenue collectors generally, and as treasurer in particular, and as one of the strong pillars of Bai Simra Kamal's administration. He chose this sub-chief from among his Koroma relations in order to gain their support. In the collection of the revenue, Pa Kerr would work in collaboration with Bai Yola and Bai Suba; in political matters, he was associated with Pa Roke and Pa Masim the Alimams, and Bai Simra Kamal himself. This was particularly the case when such political matters would be related to the Lower Masimra country. Both the Bai Suba and the Pa Kapprr Crowns were not contested. The holders would only be selected, crowned and installed by the Bai Simra himself as he thought fit.

The Bai Yatha Crown was created by Bai Simra Kamal out of his usual desire to increase the number of his lieutenants in his large territory. He gave this crown to the Gblas and Thoronkas (or

1. See Note 1, p. 533.
2. Ibid.
3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p. 533.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
Koromas) so that they could have it in rotation. But these families were becoming very powerful and influential in north-east Masimra to such an extent, that Bai Simra Kamal began to fear that they would be a threat to his position. He consequently decided to abolish the crown altogether and there were only two Bai Yathas crowned— one from the Gblas, and the other from the Thoronkas— when the Crown was abolished. This was one method by which Bai Simra Kamal tried to consolidate his position— that is, he would create a crown or post as he thought necessary for the security of his office and would dissolve it if proved to be the reverse.

The greatest of Bai Simra Kamal's creation was the chiefships of Malal and that of Mamaka. The former covered the large grassland area of north-east of Masimra, and bordering Kolifa Mabang, Marang, and Gbambali Sebora Kingdoms. He posted there his most capable hunter who would regularly fetch meat for him. This man proved so faithful and loyal that at first he crowned him sub-chief. Later however, when he realised the growing power of his northern neighbouring states, Bai Simra Kamal converted this sub-chiefship into a full-fledged crown and gave it the name of Bai Lal, and the country, Malal. In Temne, 'LAL' means, 'grassland'. Malal therefore, means, the grassland Kingdom— and Bai Lal, the 'King of the grassland country.'

In the case of Māmaka, the first sub-chief Bai Simra Kamal created was a Bai Suba, in imitation of the Bai Subas of Magbele and Rokon, whose revenue collection functions were the same. But while the function of the Bai Suba of Rokon was to collect the wharf dues,
the Bai Suba of Mamaka was to collect the tributes in the south of Masimra. But he discovered that the people of Mamaka were the same Kamaras of Kolifa Mabang and Yoni Mamella, and so, he felt a coalition between these kingdoms would pose a threat to the stability of his kingdom. He therefore quickly changed the title of the sub-chiefship and created the region a full-fledged kingdom which he named Mamaka, and its King, Sathi Maka. He then posted security forces to Mamaka to check the advance of the Yoni.

Bai Simra Kamal himself would crown both the Bai Lal and the Sathi Maka with the full Ragbenle ceremonies as those of Masimra. He also gave them the full regalia of kingship such as 'KA BONKOLMA, KA SANGBAN, KA SAWURR, E YONE and AN YIRMA.' Both Kings had their own sub-chiefs and Ragbenle Officials, such as Pa Masim, Pa Roke, the Kapprrs, Kapprr Gbenle, Kapprr Lonko, and Kapprr Gbonko. At first, both Chiefs would be crowned at Masimra Town and after their installation there, they would be taken to their headquarters of their Kingdoms of Malal and Mamaka Towns, respectively. These were however, small kingdoms and were satellites of the huge Kingdom of Masimra; and the Kings of Malal and Mamaka needed the patronage of Bai Simra Kamal.

Bai Simra Kamal then turned his attention to the south-west of his country. He created the Alimamship of Rokel and the Santigiship of Maconteh which were very important towns on the Rokel River.

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Gbesse Conteh, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.75
Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
According to Marampa and Masimra traditions, Rokel was a small hamlet founded by fishermen from Marampa country. The spot where this town was built was a prosperous fishing ground where the Marampa fishermen mainly from the opposite port of Magbele, would assemble and pile their catch. There they would clean the fish and throw their scales on the shore, which in the course of years, accumulated into large piles.

The small hamlet was later inhabited by a famous elephant hunter from the north, called Bai Rank (Chief of the elephant killers). Bai Rank settled in this hamlet with his 'GBENGBA' or apprentices who were strong and active young men, and they came to join him to learn the art of elephant hunting. In order to encourage him to stay in that part of Masimra, the citizens gave him women to marry. Very shortly, this small hamlet developed into a very important village for the fishermen and hunters in the neighbourhood, and was named Ro-Marank, after Bai Rank.

The third set of people to settle in the area were two Mandinka

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Maligie Kanu, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Ansumana Conteh, Mamaligie, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Bai Suba An Pessor, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Alhaji Wusman Bamba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
Pa Alie Fofuna, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
Madam Mabinty Sesay, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
Madam Fatmata Fofana, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
Madam Iye Sankoh, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76

AND - T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes, Information regarding the different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its vicinity, p.28.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
brothers from Bakonko in Guinea. They were Pa Fonkay and Pa Bubu Fendeh who were very famous Mori Men. They were both Sesays. From Bakonko, they first settled at Kabatha in the Maforki country. They came to the Masimra country on the invitation of Pa Fera to help with their 'charms' to win the crown which had become vacant after the death of Bai Simra Thonkla.¹ On their way to Masimra, they first stopped for a while at Magbele in Marampa country, then crossed the Rokel River to Ro-Marank village and travelled overland to Masimra Town. On the Shore at Ro-Marank, they found the many piles of fish scales and noted the area as a possible place of settlement. After Pa Fera had been crowned as Bai Simra Pa Nes or Kamal, he first lodged them at Mafoi Bana, but they did not like the place as they felt it was unsuitable for their 'Mori Work' of invoking spirits. Bai Simra then asked them to choose where they wished to settle and they chose the place where they had first landed when they crossed the Rokel River and where they found the many fish scales - that is, Ro-Marank.² In this place, they soon gathered influence and were given women in marriage. Pa Bubu Fendeh in particular, became very friendly with Bai Rank their host, who gave him his eldest daughter, Yan Bome Kankoro who became the mother of Pa Mori Alie.³

But Bai Rank being a hunter, could not settle in one place. So, he and his followers migrated to Koya country as guests of the Xamaras

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¹. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.537.
². Ibid.
³. Ibid.
of Magbeni, leaving the village of Ma-Rank in the hands of Pa Fonkay and Pa Bubu Fendeh. It was these men who changed the name of the village to Rokel, meaning, the 'place of fish scales', for in the Mandinka language, the name of fish scales is 'E. KEL.' Since then, the village had been so named and the river itself which had formerly been called 'KA SELLU' became known as 'RO-KEL' or 'Rokel.' In the early eighteenth century maps, this river appears as "Mitombo River." But by the time of the Sierra Leone Company it became known as "Rokelle."² So that today, while "Rokel" is its universally known name, "KA SELLU" remains its local name among the natives of the Southern Temne Country.

After they had settled properly at Rokel, Bai Siara Kamal gave them the Alimamyship of Rokel Section which became the first Alimamyship in the Masimra country in fulfilment of his promise.³ The first to be crowned was Pa Alimamy Kabba Sesay, son of Pa Fonkay.⁴ He was succeeded by Pa Mori Alie Sesay, son of Pa Bubu Fendeh by Yan Bome Kankoro.⁵ By the turn of the nineteenth century, six Alimamys had been crowned, and the crown had three Ruling

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.537.
3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.537.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
Houses.  

It is difficult to establish the exact date of the founding of Rokel, but T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter and J.C.E. Parkes have suggested between 1790 and 1800. But since according to them, this town had during the slave trade, risen to "considerable importance", its foundation must have been much earlier. With reference to its importance as a slave trading centre, Masimra traditions say that slaves bought at Rokel were usually taken to the European slave dealers at Bunce Island. When the slave trade was made illegal in British territories and the Sierra Leone estuary was closed to the slave traffic, the slaves bought at Rokel would be taken to Magbele to be transported to be sold in the northern areas, or to the south to be sold in the Sherbro area. Some of these slaves would be bought by

1. Oral Traditions - As in Note 1, p.537.
   List of the Alimamys of Rokel by the turn of the nineteenth century.
   Alimamy Kabba - son of Pa Fonkay
   Alimamy Mori Alie - son of Pa Bunu Fendeh
   Alimamy Sorie - crowned during the time of Governor Rowe - did not rule for a long time
   Alimamy Lahai - also crowned during the time of Governor Rowe
   Alimamy Sesay Loll crowned in 1885 during the time of Governor Rowe - and died in 1886. He too did not live long
   Alimamy Momoh - crowned during the Yoni Expedition of 1887
   All these Alimamys were crowned by Bai Simra Kamal Himself.


3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.537.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.
the big men in Masimra such as the prominent Thallays, the Ngombuyas and Ballayas of Rokon and the Alimamys of Rokel, to be used as domestics and a labour force.

Rokel was also important as a landing place on the overland route to Rokon and Masimra Town during the dry season when the Rokel River would not be navigable beyond this town owing to the waterfall between it and Rokon. Rokel was also an important trading centre where many neighbouring people such as the Yoni, Malal and Kolifa Mabang people, would bring their produce for sale or for transportation across to Magbele or direct to Freetown.\(^1\) There was also a school which was started by the United Brethren in Christ Mission, its first School Master being one Mr. Parker, a Krio,\(^2\) who was one of the large Krio population that had settled in that area. Postal services were also started at Rokel by the Government,\(^3\) to serve the Masimra Chiefdom. This was after the 1898 Hut Tax War. But the post office had to be closed down owing to the dishonesty of the local postmaster who had embezzled the funds. Because of these activities, Rokel port can justifiably be described as second in importance only to Rokon, in the Masimra country.

In the case of Maconteh,\(^4\) although situated on the banks of the Rokel River a few miles up the river beyond Rokon, its importance was

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1. *Oral Traditions* - See Note 1, p.537.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
not based on its being so much a port, but as an agricultural centre. It had a large expanse of swamp on either side of the river, with rich alluvial soil. On this area large quantities of rice, sweet potatoes, cassada, groundnuts, and green vegetables such as tomatoes, okra, spinach, garden egga etc., were cultivated. It also had the richest fishing ground up the waterfall and a thick palm-tree belt, and traders would flock to this town with their merchandise to sell, and purchase these commodities. Any principal ruler at Masimra was thus bound to be interested in this town, to replenish his store and kitchen and for the revenue it would yield.

With all these gigantic political organizations, it now appeared that by the 1890s Bai Simra Kamal had succeeded in creating two centres of gravity in his kingdom. These were Masimra Town and Rokon. The former town was the capital of the kingdom and seat of his administration. In it were the King's court yard, the sacred forest of 'KA YERA'; the crowning forest, 'A KINA'; the ceremonial burial place of the Kings, 'KA LANK'; and the present sacred bushes of the traditional societies of the Wonde, Poro and Ragbenle. It was also the permanent abode of the chief Ragbenle, Poro and Wonde Societies officials. All the Chiefs of Malal, Mamaka and Rokon would meet him at Masimra Town and many meetings of the Masimra country and the Southern Temne Chiefs would always be held at Masimra Town, for Bai Simra Kamal himself would hardly travel outside Masimra Town for fear

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Gbesse Conteh, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
Pa Santigie Bangura Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
of being assassinated.¹

But it would appear that Rokon was a greater centre of gravity. In that town, all the political powers of the Masimra country were present or were represented there. These were,² the Ngombuya, Ballaya, Bai Suba, Pa Kapprr Kerr; Bai Yola's compound and that of Bai Simra Kamal himself, where they would reside whenever they would visit Rokon. As in Masimra Town, the leading traditional societies also had their forests there. These were, the Ragbele, the Poro and the Wonde. Later, when the Oje Society³ was introduced in the Masimra country by the Krio traders in about the 1890s, Rokon had its largest establishment, the second being at Rokel.⁴ Rokon was also the greatest commercial centre of the whole of the Masimra country and the second was also Rokel, while the third was Maconteh.⁵ People from the neighbouring countries would come to Rokon with their commodities to barter for European Merchandise. There were also present at Rokon, a large population of Krio traders. This trade at Rokon benefited both the strangers as well as the natives, while its royalties would go only to the rulers. It is therefore, with little

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Kapprr Conteh, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Mr. D.N. Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.
wonder that there was often a contention between the Ngombuyas who claimed to be founders of the town, and the Bai Simras who were the principal rulers of the Masimra country.

The decades between the 1840s and the 1890s were not all that rosy for Bai Simra Kamal. He had to face internal troubles of a very serious nature, racked mainly by his powerful Loko strangers at Rokon. Ngombu Smart II had been killed in the first Temne/Loko war of 1828-1830, and his successor, Pa Balla Brima Sama had died in 1835. For five years, Lower Masimra was without either of these powerful sub-chiefs, and was thus controlled by Bai Suba Yenoh Gbenkeh and Pa Kapprrr Kerr, on the instruction of Bai Simra Kamal. These two rulers were very happy to have the joint-rulership of Lower Masimra country, and would thus pay huge quantities of the tributes and wharf dues they would collect. But in 1840 Bai Simra Kamal thought it fit to restore the Ngombuya and Ballaya Crowns as the combined team of the owners of these two crowns were threatening a revolt. He crowned the eldest son of Ngombu SmartII as Ngombu Yarroh; and also the eldest son of Pa Balla Bana, as Pa Balla Yoma. Ngombu Yarroh was so called because, it was said he saw his father's devil, 'AN YARROH.' But soon Ngombu Yarroh and Bai Simra Kamal began to be at variance. They would sometimes stage secret dramas as well as open quarrels, in which while Bai Simra Kamal would suppress the Ngombuyas, they in turn, would intrigue with the Colony Administration to discredit him.

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.543.
2. Ibid.
The quarrel between these two personalities was only a continuation of the long standing contention between Thallays and the Lokos which resulted in the Temne/Loko war of 1828-1830 during which Ngombu Smart II was killed. Now, Ngombu Yarroh refused to pay Bai Simra Kamal, the annual customary stranger tributes and also the wharf dues which he would collect.\(^1\) Bai Simra Kamal considered this a grave insult as well as an indication that the Loko were attempting to be independent of him. Consequently, he tried to depose him and a sharp quarrel ensued between the Temne led by the Thallays, and the Loko led by Ngombu Yarroh. During the war which followed in the 1840s, Ngombu Yarroh was killed together with many of his followers.\(^2\) Many of these Lokos fled to Maforki, Koya, Malal, and Bompeh. Those who went to Bompeh were led by Sorie Kessebeh, where he founded the town of Rotifunk.\(^3\) After the war, peace meetings were held during which the remaining Loko apologised and were allowed to return and resettle in their own towns and villages.\(^4\) The Loko however, never forgot the slaughter of their people, but decided to keep quiet awaiting an opportunity to avenge. After the death of Ngombu Yarroh, Bai Simra Kamal suppressed the Ngombuya crown for eight years and Lower Masimra was controlled solely

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1. \textit{Oral Traditions}
   - Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   - Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   - Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   - Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   - Mr. W.M. Bangura, Namaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   - Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

2. Ibid.

3. See Note 1 above.

4. Ibid.

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\(^{1,2}\) See T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes. \textit{Information regarding the Different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its Vicinity.} C.O.806/279, p.29.
by Pa Balla Yoma until his death in about 1860. That same year, Bai Simra Kamal quickly restored the Ngombuya Crown by crowning the eldest son of Ngombu Tham Bendu I as Ngombu Tham Bendu II.

Although the trade wars caused by the Yoni had now virtually ended in the Rokel River region, Bai Simra Kamal was still faced with more troubles, both external as well as internal. This was the era of the Yoni Expedition of 1887, in which he supported the Yoni against the Colony Administration. During the Expedition, Ngombu Tham Bendu II sent his Loko war-men to join the Lokos of Rotifunk under Sorie Kessebeh, and those at Mahera under Charles Smart, to form a band of 'friendlies' in support of the Colony Administration. He also constantly served intelligence to the Administration that Bai Simra Kamal was in league with the Yoni. At the end of the Expedition when the Yoni were utterly defeated, while Ngombu Tham Bendu II was highly commended as a loyal friend of the Administration, Bai Simra Kamal was badly condemned and fined £100, and in addition, was detained in Freetown gaol, and was not released until 1888.

Bai Simra Kamal's release from detention did not leave him in good terms with T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, who considered him as a troublesome King and must therefore be humiliated. During the interlude between 1888 and 1891, Bai Simra Kamal had to deal with an internal situation which brought him some ray of confidence among his people. This situation was that of the election of the Santigie

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.545.
2. Ibid.
3. P.P. Correspondence Respecting the Expedition against the Yonnie Tribe, 1888 (C5358) Despatch No.5, 11.10.87.
4. Ibid.
Sissy Loll of Rokel, one of his sub-chiefs whom he had located there to collect revenue for him. The Santigie Sissy Loll who ended the 1880s had been very faithful and submissive to him. When he died in 1890, Bai Simra Kamal proposed someone to take his place. Ngombu Tham Bendu II vigorously opposed this appointment. He and his Loko people argued that the new Santigie Sissy Loll was a stranger in the land and had no right to the Santigieship of Rokel and that Bai Simra Kamal therefore, acted wrongly to have appointed him without consulting the wishes of the people of Rokel, as was the case of the elections of Bai Subas Tapagun, An Pessor, and An Bolt, of Magbele. In this move, Ngombu Tham Bendu II and his Loko people seemed to have had the support of T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, who might have felt that the new Santigie should be an appointee of Ngombu Tham Bendu II, as a watch-dog for the Colony Administration. Bai Simra Kamal, with the support of all his Temne sub-chiefs in Masimra, argued\(^1\) that the Santigiship was too small a post to be contested by consultation; that no Santigieship had been hereditary as the Bai Subaship of Magbele which belonged to the Kabia Ruling Houses of Marampa as a matter of sole right; and that it had been the sole prerogative of the King to appoint as Santigie in any part of the country, anyone he thought fit. Ngombu Tham Bendu II and his Loko people were broken in spirit when Bai Simra Kamal finally pointed out that they themselves were strangers in Masimra and that they had no right to interfere in the appointment of any sub-chief, other than their own Ngombuya.\(^2\) On this ground,

\(^1\) Oral Traditions  
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76  
Pa Alhaji Wusman Bamba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.3.76  
Pa Santigie Bangura Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

\(^2\) Ibid.
Bai Simra Kamal's appointment of the Santigie Sissy Loll was upheld.\(^1\)

The situation this conflict created was that the new Santigie Sissy Loll and his followers now declared their support for Simra Kamal. Ngombu Tham Bendu II and his Loko people who now felt that they had been badly exposed decided to throw their lot more heavily for the Colony Administration than ever before.

Shortly after this incident, the Governor Hay proceeded to Magbele to enquire into the conduct of Bai Simra Kamal, which, according to Masimra traditions,\(^2\) was attended by hundreds of his followers. The enquiry was held at Magbele on the 6th of March 1891 and in the presence of several Temne Chiefs.\(^3\) The charges brought against him were,\(^4\)

(1) "That he repudiated the authority of the Government to interfere in his country and that he would act without in any way, consulting its wishes."

(2) "That he is in the habit of treating his people cruelly and extorting money from them, the undermentioned instances being brought to notice. (a) He has obtained a girl Nanday and not handed her to one Fawabunay of Rosarri as ordered. (b) He has taken 3½ Binkeys of rice and a quantity of cassawa from one Normann of Mayambay. (c) That his son Sibban seized two farms of rice, four pieces of cloth, three lappas, thirty fowls, ten cutlasses, eight hoes, two axes, one hamper of groundnuts, five cooking pots and a quantity of cotton threads from one Fatma of Masorie who was tied and beaten and whose two children are in Bey Simra's hands. (d) That he has seized the farm of one Loko and pledged his two children named Gbanabome and Rokie."

(3) "That he had sheltered and employed the services of one Hermingstone Williams after the sergeant of the Police had informed him that Williams had illegally personated a Police Constable."

\(^1\) Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.547.
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford; 119, 7.3.91.
\(^4\) Ibid.
It should be realised that although these charges might be true the mentioning of the seizure of the farm and children of one Loko man suggests the probability of Ngombu Tam Bendu II and his Loko people being behind the charges. Further, the charge of engaging Hermingstone Williams who had been personating the Police Constable, was likely to have been inflamed by the Government.

Bai Simra Kamal, knowing full well that he had been a marked man refrained from arguing. Rather, he only apologised unconditionally, he and his followers kneeling before the Governor "in accordance with the country custom, and faithfully promised they would give no cause for complaint in future."\(^1\) After this performance, the Governor felt that the kneeling down of the King and his followers before him was a true submission of their authority to "Her Gracious Majesty."\(^2\) Indeed, this was not only a submission to Her Majesty, but a humiliation to Bai Simra Kamal himself; for it should be noted that the meeting was not held in any town in Masimra country itself, but at Magbele, a town in another country – Marampa country.

This humiliation was immediately followed by another event. This was the confirmation of Ngombu Tam Bendu II as Chief of Rokon and as a stipendiary of the Government, to receive 50 bars annually.\(^3\) This was another humiliation for Bai Simra Kamal, for as in the case of the first incident, the event did not take place in Masimra, but at

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1. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford; 117, 7.3.91.
2. Ibid.
Magbele, in Marampa. Further, Bai Simra Kamal's views were not consulted but those of other Chiefs who were not even from Masimra. The newly confirmed Chief had been a traditional secret agent of the Colony Government, and his being made a stipendiary was thus a reward to him. But Bai Simra Kamal could not take any objection as such a move might make him lose his crown. Rather, he accepted without comments, the new stipendiary Chief of the Government at Rokon, and went on giving satisfactory reports about the condition of the roads and rivers in his country. It should be recalled that keeping the roads and rivers in his country open and in good condition, was one of the treaty obligations of Treaty No.33 of April 18, 1836, concluded at Magbele, and Treaty No.67 of February 27, 1857, concluded at Port Loko. By the terms of Treaty No.33, "Bai Simra is to keep open the river and roads in his country." This treaty was signed by Bai Simra Thonkla, the immediate predecessor of Bai Simra Kamal, but in fact, the latter was bound to keep its terms. Bai Simra Kamal was himself one of the 32 Temne Kings and Chiefs who put their marks to Treaty No.67 of February 27, 1857, concluded at Port Loko, for which they would receive stipends annually, and his was 100 bars. According to paragraph 11 of this treaty,

"The routes through the Timanni ... Country shall be kept open; and they are not to be semed or shut on any pretext whatever, and all parties, British Subjects, Natives and strangers and others are allowed to travel therson, to and from the Colony

1. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford, 117, 17.3.91.
2. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford, 119, 17.3.91.
of Sierra Leone or elsewhere, free and unmolested." 1

Now Ngombu Tham Bendu II, apart from the traditional loyalty of his predecessors, was himself personally very loyal to the Government to whom he owed his official confirmation and stipend as Chief of Rokon. But such recognition only succeeded in making him conceited, feeling that he was the equal of Bai Simra Kamal – as both were now stipendiaries of the Government – and as such, clashes between them would of course be inevitable. This was the 'Pa Kombo' (Ngombu Tham Bendu II) that was personally involved with Bai Simra Kamal in the 1898 Hut Tax issue – an involvement fully discussed in a later section of this chapter.

At the following meeting held at Maconteh, Hay discovered that Bai Simra Kamal's report of the rivers and roads was quite true, and for this, the King was credited in the presence of the assembled Chiefs as having changed his attitude for the better towards the Colony Government. 2 Having thus been relieved of the agony of his humiliation at Magbele, Bai Simra Kamal proceeded to prove his loyalty to the Colony Government. He at once arranged a huge reception for the Governor at Maconteh, at which he himself danced before his Excellency who was very much gratified. 3 This dance was led by 'PAA-THALLAY', the

2. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford, 120, 9.3.91.
3. Ibid.
traditional Masque Devil of the Masimra Kingship.¹

Bai Simra Kamal then proceeded to support the application of Alimamy Conteh of Maconteh, to have his stipend reinstated.² This Alimamy Conteh was one of the Masimra Chiefs who supported the Yoni during the Yoni Expedition of 1887 - most probably on the instigation of his overlord, Bai Simra Kamal. For this conduct, he was detained as a political prisoner in Freetown and was only released in 1888. Since that time, his stipend had been stopped.³ Bai Simra Kamal's plea for Alimamy Conteh was based on the ground that this Chief had never given any cause for complaint since his release from detention. The Governor was pleased to grant this appeal and the payment of the stipend was recommenced in 1891.⁴ But Bai Simra Kamal's plea for Alimamy Conteh's stipend was not a disinterested one. He needed this sub-chiefs support to regain his declining influence and prestige, and also to gain his own stipend too. Alimamy Conteh would now feel obligated to Bai Simra Kamal for his Sub-chiefship and for his stipend. When later, he (Bai Simra Kamal) applied for his own stipend to be renewed, his application was strongly supported by Mr. J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs Department, who based his recommendation on the ground that⁵ the circumstances which led to the stoppage of the

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Alimamy Manika, Robis Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.3.76
   Pa Gbesse Conteh, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

2. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford, 121, 10.3.91.

3. Ibid.

4. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford, 121, 10.3.91.

5. C.0.267/388. Hay to Knutsford, 121, 10.3.91. Enclosing Parkes Memorandum.
King's stipend were the same as those of his sub-chief, Alimamy Conteh of Maconteh — that is, for their participation in the Yoni Expedition against the Government. His application was thus granted and the repayment of his stipend was recommenced with effect from 1891. On this note, it now appeared that Bai Simra Kamal's relationship with the Government would continue to be cordial; but this was left to be proved by future events.

The climax of the drama between Bai Simra Kamal, Ngombu Tham Bendu II, and the Government came in the 1898 Hut Tax issue. In 1897, Bai Simra Kamal convened a meeting at Masimra Town, attended by all his sub-chiefs, and the neighbouring Chiefs of Marampa, Koya, Kolifa Mabang, Malal, Mamaka, Yoni Mabanta, Yoni Mamalla, Fondu, Kolifa Mamunta, Kolifa Mayosso and Marang, where they agreed not to pay the House Tax. This agreement was sealed by an oath which they administered by eating a roasted goat — "which meant death to whoever that broke the agreement."¹ Ngombu Tham Bendu II was one of the sub-chiefs of Bai Simra Kamal who attended the meeting and took the Oath, but immediately after the meeting, he wrote to D.C. Fairtlough at Kwelu reporting the incident.² When in 1898 it was time to collect the House Tax, Ngumbu Tham Bendu/quickly collected and paid his own tax, and then reported to the Frontier Police that Bai Simra Kamal was intimidating him. The Old Paramount Chief, who had long been suspected by the Government, of refusing to pay, was at once arrested and dragged on to Kwelu where he was imprisoned together with other Chiefs. Masimra traditions say³ that Bai Simra Kamal himself

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.552.
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.552.
3. Ibid.
was not personally against paying the House Tax, but being the 'official father' of the southern Temne Chiefs, he had to sing to their tune and to be the last to give in, a statement that is very difficult to prove.

While Bai Simra Kamal was in prison at Kwelu, Ngombu Tham Bendu II began to boast¹ that he had defeated the Chief; using the pun on his own name of 'Tham Bendu - 'Bai Simra Kamal, 'THAM BENDO'. In Sherbro, (for Ngombu Tham Bendu II's mother was Sherbro), Tham Bendu is a name of a person; and when he was crowned, he adopted this name in honour of his mother's brother called Pa Tham Bendu. In Temne however, the word 'THAM' can mean, 'you must', and 'BENDO', 'agree over there', or 'accept the alternative.' The pun on the expression was therefore, Bai Simra Kamal must accept the alternative of either dying in prison, or abdicating. In such a situation, Ngombu Tham Bendu II must be thinking of becoming the Paramount Chief of the whole of Masimra Country. He pursued his boast by mounting a vigorous campaign among the Masimra citizens and the Government to let him be appointed the Paramount Chief of Masimra.² But this was the wrong time to get the Government to give him complete backing, for they were concentrating on the suppression of the Hut Tax War which was still raging in the Mende country and against Bai Bureh. In Masimra, it was absolutely impossible to secure the support of the Thallays and the Ballayas. To remove this difficulty, he invited a soothsayer to help him, who told him to offer human sacrifice by killing a female

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.552.
2. Ibid.
Thallay. He agreed, caught a pregnant Thallay woman took her into the bush, cut her into two halves while she was yet alive, and offered the prescribed sacrifice. By doing so, the soothsayer had made him believe that the Ngombuyas would overcome the Thallays and would capture the crown from them forever. In this act, he was vehemently supported by his own Loko people in Masimra, Mahera in Koya, and Rotifunk in Bompeh.

All the leading Thallays and the direct relatives of the murdered woman then went to Kwelu and sought permission from D.C. Fairtlough to see their Chief, Bai Simra Kamal. They were allowed, and they related the whole incident to him. The Old Chief weeping, only remarked,

"Ahi old age and imprisonment are serious hinderances to avenge a wrong. But my land of Masimra no longer has men; otherwise, I will not meet Ngombu Than Bendu alive, but only his head, on my release."

These few words were too powerful to be left unacted upon – they were enough proclamation for war. The Old Chief died almost immediately after he had made this short speech. The elders who had gone to Kwelu at once sent a message to report the incident of the death of the Chief, in Masimra.

1. Oral Traditions
   - Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   - Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   - Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   - Pa Roke Dawe M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   - Pa Ghessie Conteh, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   - Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   - Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
When the messengers returned and reported the Chief's reply and his sudden death, all the remaining Thallays invited the other Temne Clans to assemble and attack the Loko. There was a quick response to this call, and a vast concourse of warriors thronged at Masimra Town. While the crowds were yet gathering at Masimra Town, the body of the Old Chief was brought for ceremonial burial, and this aggravated the situation. The multitude of warriors rushed in full strength to Rokon, captured Ngombu Tham Bendu II and first tied him against a Kola Tree at the middle of the town. They then danced around him, brandishing their swords and singing:

_"Et e gony c yamu_  
tama y o mu !  
yawo, yawo, yawo,  
yawo, yawo, yawo !

_"Et e gony c yamu_  
tama y o mu !  
yawo, yawo, yawo,  
yawo, yawo, yawo !

_"Et e gony c yamu_  
tama y o mu !  
yawo, yawo, yawo,  
yawo, yawo, yawo !"

**Translation and versification:**

What you have done to your fellow man,  
Will be done to you likewise,  
Yes, yes, yes,  
Yes, yes, yes !

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1. **Oral Traditions**  
Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76.
What you have done to your fellow man,
Will be done to you likewise,
Yes, yes, yes,
Yes, yes, yes!

The song was accompanied with dancing and music from war drums -
'FANKA & LARROW.' They were determined to avenge the deaths of their relatives - the murdered pregnant Thallay woman and Bai Simra Kamal - by killing not only Ngombu Tham Bendu II, but also to exterminate all traces of Loko existence in Masimra Chiefdom. ¹ This military demonstration was also a challenge to the Loko warriors, that they should come forward if they were men! But none appeared as all had taken to the bush or evacuated their families from Masimra.

A few of Ngombu Tham Bendu II's relatives were however, among the crowd, and one of them went secretly and cut the ropes with which he was tied, and advised him to escape but he refused, saying,

"I know the Thallays will kill me. But if they do, that will be the end of the Masimra country. For the Government will surely avenge my death. The 'White Man's War in Yoni / The Yoni Expedition of 1887/ was only a joke. The Government will surely destroy the Masimra country. The Government will surely destroy all the Thallays, their cows, their sheep, their goats, their fowls, and all their property. I have also organised my Loko warriors to fight to the bitter end. Let them just kill me and they will see what befall Masimra country." ²

¹. Oral Traditions - As in Note 1, p. 555.
². Ibid.
These words quickly permeated among the crowd. Ngombu Tham Bendu was immediately recaptured. This time, he was not tied on a Kola Tree but dragged into the bush where he was murdered and his corpse dumped into a bottomless pit; no one ever saw his grave, nor were his murderers immediately known. This is what Masimra traditions call ' DIN3A EN B3K3T 1 – that is, 'he was lost in the wilderness.'

The manner of the death of Ngombu Tham Bendu II is still a top secret in Masimra Chiefdom up to the present day. Indeed, his murderers believed that his death would be avenged by the Government and that was why it was never made known publicly.

But Ngombu Tam Bendu II’s boast never became true for no Government troops ever went to Masimra country to conduct a mass killing. At the end of the Hut Tax War however, some of his murderers were apprehended with the assistance of Bai Suba Kulkaton of Rokon and Charles of Mahera. 2 They were tried, sentenced to death, and hanged together with the murderers of Sorie Bunki of Port Loko and Reverend Humphreys of Fourah Bay College. 3

But this did not bring harmony among the people of Masimra. Instead, it widened the divisions, for the acrimony created by these series of events, climaxed by those of the Hut Tax War, between Thallay Temne and the Loko of Masimra was never resolved during the nineteenth century.

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.555.
2. Oral Traditions - As in Note 1, p.42.
Within a short time after the deaths of Bai Simra Kamal and Ngombu Tham Bendu II, the Thallays did not waste time but assembled and crowned his younger brother, Pa Sheka Soso Thallay as Bai Simra Ponko, in 1899. He was another professional warrior whom they felt would be able to put down any Loko rebellion. The new Paramount Chief effectively suppressed the Ngombuya Crown for thirteen years and was not revived until 1911. During this period of ten years, it was Pa Balla Ussama that was in full control of Lower Masimra. For the control of Rokon and the Collection of the wharf dues, he crowned Bai Suba An Kerrey, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Bai Suba Kulkaton early in 1902. From this time onwards, the politics of Masimra country resumed its old dimensions of internal troubles.

Bai Simra Ponko, at the outset of his administration was highly respected because of his professionalism in warfare and for the sake of his late brother. The Southern Temne had accorded to Bai Simra Kamal with the 'Honorary Chairmanship' of all their important matters and this position had been recognised by the Government which in addition, had made him an Assessor Chief. Bai Simra Kamal thus had the last say in all matters affecting the Southern Temne people.

Bai Simra Ponko and his Masimra People had not yet realised fully well that a new era had dawned - the new Colonial Administration when the Government would not tolerate any incidence of professionalism in warfare and insubordination on the part of any Chief. Masimra traditions recall that Bai Simra Ponko himself was a very arrogant

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.555.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
and conceited man to reckon with. He was bitterly against the Loko and would attempt to wage war on them. He was very troublesome with Government and had no respect for all Government officials sent to him. He would refuse to order the cleaning of the roads to Masimra through which they would pass to meet him; he would not provide carriers for their luggage, to lodge them and even provide food for them, let alone to contribute plantains, fowls and eggs — articles which all Chiefs would, during the early days of Colonial Administration, provide for all visiting Government officials. And above all, he would speak disparagingly against anything connected with the Government. The same Masimra traditions recall that Government sharply reacted to such insolence and insubordination by deposing Bai Simra Ponko; that according to established practice, Bai Yola was appointed regent; but that Bai Simra Ponko was reinstated after three years.

Government sources however, give other reasons for the deposition of Bai Simra Ponko, in 1907. According to the memorandum of D.C. Fairtlough dated October 29, 1907, to the Colonial Secretary, Bai Simra Ponko, formerly known as "Shirkoh Soso", crowned when Fairtlough was on leave in 1899 "has given way to drink to such an extent as to be absolutely incapacitated from managing the affairs of his chiefdom." He had "very nearly precipitated an inter-tribal war with the Marampa people, (Karene District) by interfering with the installation of Bai

1. Oral Traditions — See Note 1, p.555.
2. C.0.267/489. E.D.H. Fairtlough to Colonial Secretary No.478, 29.10. 1907. Enclosure in Probyn to Lord Elgin, No.530, dated 5th December, 1907.
3. C.0.267/489. E.D.G.Fairtlough to Colonial Secretary, No.478, dated October 29, 1907. Enclosure in Probyn to Lord Elgin No.530, dated December 5, 1907.
that he had interfered with the private position of the
Magbele people by imposing heavy dues on those who would cultivate
the land on the other side of the Rokel River; that he was no longer
able to decide cases properly; and that he would flog, torture,
 oppress, and extort his subjects without any just cause. He had
been warned on several occasions but continued to be a constant source
of trouble. Fairtlough therefore, recommended that Bai Simra Ponko
"be deposed and the country placed under Bai Yola of Mayola, the most
important Sub-Chief of Bai Simra Ponko, as regent." But Bai Simra
Ponko was however, reinstated in 1910, by Governor Charles King-Harman.

Although Bai Simra Ponko had been reinstated, he had lost his
prestige among the southern Temne Chiefs who had looked upon him as
their 'official father.' His three years absence from his official
position was responsible for this. The Government however, allowed
him to continue to hold his position of Assessor Chief until 1917 when
it was finally taken away from him due to further trouble in his
Chiefdom. This position was now given to Bai Kompa of Koya, his
enemy whose election he had opposed. This move was meant to enhance
Government's activities among the Southern Temne during these early
years of Colonial Administration in the Protectorate; for after all,
 it would be impolitic on the part of the Government to continue to
 retain in a position of influence and trust, a Paramount who was
opposed to their policies and who had been discredited by his fellow

1. E.D.H. Fairtlough to Colonial Secretary - Minute Paper 1208/1907 -
   Quoted in Memorandum No.478, dated October 29, 1907.

2. C.O.267/489. Fairtlough to Colonial Secretary No.478, dated October
   29, 1907. Enclosure in Probyn to Lord Elgin No.530, dated December
   5, 1907.
Chiefs. It can be recalled that Bai Kompa Dumbuya had, since 1898, become a very good and loyal friend of the Administration, for which he was supported in his election as Paramount Chief of Koya in 1914. He was therefore, a very good substitute for Bai Simra Ponko in the position of Assessor Chief to support the Government policies, especially at that material moment when the British Government was engaged in the World War I. of 1914–1918. From this point onwards, the Masimra politics began to assume a diplomatic dimension in which the Masimra Temne, the Masimra Loko, the Koya Loko, the Bompe Loko, the Koya Temne, the Yoni Temne, and the Government became actively involved.

In order to regain his lost influence and prestige with the Government after his restoration, Bai Simra Ponko's first move was to enlist the support of the Loko by filling in 1911, the post of the Ngombuya which had become vacant since the death of Ngombu Tham Bendu II in 1898. He did this because, he felt that since the Ngombuya were the educated people in Masimra country and were very friendly with the Government, they would plead his cause with the Administration. He crowned the eldest son of Ngombu Yarroh as Ngombu Young together with Pa Balla Sama II, for Pa Balla Ussama had died the previous year.¹ The coronation of Ngombu Young was opposed by Bai Suba An Kerray who wanted to be the sole controller of Lower Masimra, and Rokon for that matter.² But Bai Simra Ponko's decision stood firm as the Paramount Chief of the country, and was supported by the Loko in this move.

Bai Suba An Kerray however, suspended his opposition but remained

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¹ Oral Traditions – See Note 1, p.555.
² Ibid.
aggrieved. He waited for an opportunity to join forces with people in order to overthrow his Paramount Chief, and this opportunity availed itself during a bush dispute between the Masimra and Yoni Mamella countries.

Masimra traditions relate the incident of this bush dispute which led to the second deposition of Bai Simra Ponko. According to these traditions, Pa Kapprr Yoni of Rogbongban Section of Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, had made a rice farm over the Gbonghab River on the side of the Masimra Chiefdom. Bai Simra Ponko resented this flagrant violation of the boundaries of his Chiefdom, and held a meeting of all his sub-chiefs to seize Pa Kapprr Yoni's farm. They agreed but did not take action until the dry season, after the rice had been harvested and stocked in two huge piles in the open at the middle of the farm. One morning, the Masimra people suddenly rushed to Rogbongban Section, seized the farm together with the rice, and put Pa Sasay Bia to scare the birds and wild animals from eating the seized rice. To retaliate, Pa Kapprr Yoni after a while, went to the farm, caught Pa Sasay Bia severely flogged him, kicking him on his sides and broke one of his ribs. After a year, Pa Sasay Bia died and Bai Simra Ponko reported the matter to the District Commissioner at Moyamba, that it was Pa Kapprr Yoni's flogging that killed the man. But before his death however, and while dying, he had confessed that he was a witch.

1. Oral Traditions  
Pa Yusufu Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76  
Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76  
Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76  
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76  
Mr. W.M. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76  
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
When he died therefore, he was buried in the forest of witches called in Temne, 'RO-FANKMA', and his garments put between the branches of the tree by his grave. The cause of this man's death therefore, had two conflicting stories - the flogging and the witchcraft. From these conflicting accounts, manoeuvres began to discredit Bai Simra Ponko whom the Government had already hated for his constant stubbornness and opposition to their policies, and his disrespect for their field officers.

This was the opportunity Bai Suba An Kerray was waiting for to blackmail his Paramount Chief. He enlisted the support of Ngombu Young, promising to hand over the whole of Lower Masimra to him and his Loko people if he helped him to overthrow Bai Simra Ponko. The Masimra Loko who had all along been waiting for such an opportunity, in turn enlisted the help of their relatives at Mahera in Koya, and those at Rotifunk in Bompeh. The Loko leader at Mahera, Charles Smart, and the one at Rotifunk, Santigie Bundu son of Sorie Kessebeh founder of Rotifunk, willingly agreed to help. All these forces banded together and stood behind Bai Suba in Kerray against Bai Simra Ponko. But the Thallayas on the other hand, stood solid behind Bai Simra Ponko, fearing future victimization from Bai Suba An Kerray. This made it possible for the Chief to still have the majority support in the country; for his own relatives, the Thallayas, his Sub-chiefs, and all the Ballayas were for him.

But Bai Simra Ponko had another thorn in his flesh. One Pa Bassie Thallay was seriously against him. This man had approached him

1. Oral Traditions - See Note, 1, p.563.
2. Ibid.
to crown him an Alimamy in the Mayola Section where the disputed farm was located. When Bai Simra Ponko refused to grant him his request on the ground that it was against the custom of the country to crown a Thallay an Alimamy, he decided to join Bai Suba An Kerray's team. Bai Suba An Kerray then promised that he would give him the Alimamysip of Mayola which he had requested, if he overthrew Bai Simra Ponko and became the sole controller of the Masimra country. It was now the whole of this team that accused Bai Simra Ponko of being responsible for the death of Pa Sasay Bia.

When the case was called at Moyamba, all the Southern Temne Paramount Chiefs were invited, and before passing the verdict, Bai Kompa Dumbuya of Koya Chiefdom who was now the 'Honourary Chairman' of the Southern Temne Chiefs, and an Assessor Chief, was asked to give his opinion. Bai Kompa now vividly remembered the tough opposition Bai Simra Ponko gave him at his election to the office of Paramount Chief of Koya Chiefdom, and therefore decided to oppose him too in retaliation. In giving his opinion, Bai Kompa Dumbuya submitted that Pa Sasay Bia was not killed by the flogging; that if that were the case, he would not have been buried at RO-FANKMA', but in the town; that Bai Simra Ponko must have ordered the killing of Pa Sasay Bia as a punishment for his confession of witchcraft; that in fact, Pa Sasay Bia had died over a year after the incident of the flogging; and that Bia Simra Ponko should therefore be held responsible for the death of this man, and in consequence, be deposed from his office of Paramount Chief. After this submission, the District Commissioner's Court moved to Masimra to see the grave of Pa Sasay Bia. The Court saw the grave at 'RO-FANKMA' and the dead man's garments between the branches of
the tree by his grave. This evidence was enough to find Bai Simra Ponko guilty. The Court returned to Moyamba and all the Chiefs were again invited. In the presence of all the assembled Chiefs, Bai Simra Ponko was pronounced guilty.

According to official sources, Bai Simra Ponko and his associates, Kapprr Yellow, Sorie Bia, and Bomino, accused Kapprr Yoni of inflicting grievous bodily harm upon Pa Sasay Bia who died a year and a day afterwards. The case was first heard by Godfrey Wadden James, the Assistant District Commissioner at Moyamba on June 12, 1917, and on "diverse succeeding days." In the eyes of the law, Bai Simra Ponko and his associates were evil disposed persons who accused Pa Kapprr Yoni of murder, and thus wickedly devised and intended to deprive him of his good name, fame, credit and reputation and subject him so far as in the lay, to the pains and penalties by the laws operating in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone. Since the case was of such a serious nature, it was referred to the Circuit Court and became a 'Rex Versus Kapprr Yoni' case. It was then tried by Circuit Court Judge Mr. Ernest Victor Ptrodi, who was assisted by the Paramount Chiefs Bai Kompa Dumbuya of Koya Chiefdom, and Bai Massa Kong of Gbonkolenken Massa Kong Chiefdom, acting as Assessor Chiefs. Bai Simra Ponko and

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. C.0.267/577. His Honour the Circuit Court Judge to the Hon. Colonial Secretary; May 22, 1918. Enclosure No.1 to Despatch, Sierra Leone No.167, dated May 29, 1918; King-Harman to Hon Lord Long, M.P.
his associates Pa Kapprr Yellow, Pa Sorie Bia and Pa Bomino served as principal witnesses. Counsel for the defence was Mr. Barlatt, Barrister-at-law. At the conclusion of the trial, Pa Kapprr Yoni was declared not guilty of the charge of murder and so acquitted on October 3, 1917.\(^1\) This was however, not the end of the trouble for Bai Simra Ponko. As a marked man, he should now be severely punished through the proceedings of the trial. Counsel for the defence, Mr. Barlatt therefore, filed an application for the prosecution of these principal witnesses namely, Bai Simra Ponko, Pa Kapprr Yellow, Pa Sorie Bia, and Pa Bomino, for perjury.\(^2\) The Court however, refrained from directing this application on Pa Kapprr Yoni's client, Mr. Barlatt undertaking to prosecute them for conspiracy before the District Commissioner.\(^3\) This was accordingly done and Bai Simra Ponko and his associates were committed for trial in the Circuit Court at Moyamba.

In this trial before the Circuit Court Judge the composition of the Court was the same as in the previous trial. That is, the Circuit Court Judge Mr. Parodi, president, and the Assessor Paramount Chiefs, Bai Kompa Dumbuya of Koya and Bai Massa Kong of Gbonkolenken Massa Kong. But this time, the defence counsel for Pa Kapprr Yoni, Mr. Barlatt, became the counsel for the prosecution against Bai Simra Ponko and his associates, with the approval of the Attorney General,

1. See Note 4, p.566.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
while their defence Council was Mr. Boston, Barrister-at-law. The charge against Bai Simra Ponko and his associates was on three counts\(^1\) - that of false accusation of Pa Kapprr Yoni; of conspiracy, combination, confederacy, and agreement among themselves to falsely accuse Pa Kapprr Yoni of the crime of murdering Pa Sassy Bia; and feloniously swearing that Pa Kapprr Yoni did commit the crime of murder, before the Circuit Court Judge. In the estimation of the Court and the counsel for the prosecution, these charges were to "the great damage, scandal, infirmity and disgrace of the said Kappri Yoni to the evil example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our Lord the King, His Crown, and dignity."\(^2\) At the end of the trial, the Court agreed with the unanimous opinion of the Assessor Paramount Chiefs that the accused were guilty of the charge brought against them, and were accordingly convicted to four years imprisonment with hard labour.\(^3\)

Having been convicted, Bai Simra Ponko was at once deposed, his staff of office taken away from him by D.C. Fairtlough, and handed over to Bai Suba An Kerray with instructions to rule Masimra Chiefdom.\(^4\) Bai Simra Ponko and his associates were then sent to prison to serve their sentence, at Moyamba. This was indeed a serious blow to the Thallays; but to Bai Suba An Kerray and his team, it was a matter of

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2. Ibid.


4. Oral Traditions
   Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
triumph and much gratification. In this way, Bai Suba An Kerray had now completely superseded his Paramount Chief who in fact, had made him his sub-chief; and for Bai Kompa Dumbuya, he had succeeded in punishing his enemy who had opposed him at his election as Paramount Chief of Koya Chiefdom. To the Administration, it was a matter of much satisfaction for an insubordinate and stubborn ruler had been deposed and Bai Suba An Kerray, thought would enhance the course of the Government at Masimra Chiefdom, had been made to take his place. These diplomatic manoeuvres are bright examples of how the Colonial authorities on the one hand used the local situations to eliminate rebellious rulers in order to entrench their rule; and on the other hand, how the local people themselves used the Colonial situation to discredit their opponents to their own advantage.

Within a few months of his assumption of the control of Masimra Chiefdom, Bai Suba An Kerray strove to strengthen his position. He first tried to reward his most prominent supporters. He went to Rokon and strengthened the Ngombuyas in their position as sole rulers of Rokon and Lower Masimra as against the Ballayas. He made Pa Bassie Thallay an Alimamy of Mayola Section where the bush dispute had taken place. This was the man who had opposed Bai Simra Ponko for refusing to crown him an Alimamy. He then created the Alimamyships of Maconteh the prosperous agricultural area of the Chiefdom; for hitherto, the crown of that town had always been a Santigieship.

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Pa Foday Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Mr. E.S. Bangura Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
Pa Roke Davo M’Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
Pa Gbesse Conteh, Kamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
Mr. W.N. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76

2. Ibid.
But Bai Suba An Kerray was an arrogant and tyrannical ruler.¹ He went to Masimra Town and seized the compound of Bai Simra Ponko, driving away all his wives and domestics. In order to amass wealth he would demand heavy contributions from many of his subjects particularly the principal men of the country in order to make them poor and powerless. He would inflict heavy punishment and fines on those he would suspect of being in sympathy with the deposed Paramount Chief, Bai Simra Ponko. His was a reign of terror indeed. His wives, children and domestics would sing to his praise,

"ŋk̟̄p a fɔŋkərr ʞ̟̄ ki kər̟̄ ƙətə gbəi;
Bəə-aŋkərr ƙi ƙi-a,
ɛ-ɛ! An Kerray
Bə-aŋkərr ƙi ƙətə thasərr nə.²"

Translation and versification

The giant grass is not nurtured
But it flourishes;
If it is nurtured,
Ah ah An Kerray
If it is nurtured,
It will over-flourish.

Becoming tired of his tyranny, the leading Thallays went in a body to Moyamba and complained to D.C. Fairtlough and pleaded for the restoration of their Paramount Chief, Bai Simra Ponko.³ Their plea

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.539.
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.567.
3. Ibid.
was partly met by the release of Bai Simra Ponko and his associates, and that they would be allowed freedom of movement on the expressed condition that they would be of good behaviour. This message was sent to Bai Suba An Kerray, who used the situation as an opportunity to further humiliate his ex-Paramount Chief, hoping to crush him once and for all. He refused to evacuate the ex-Paramount Chief's compound, and allowed him to live only in a small room in one of the houses. He would not allow his relatives, or his domestics or even his wives to visit him, nor would he give him food. Above all, he ordered him to be greeting him every morning kneeling down before him. By this punishment, Bai Suba An Kerray meant to provoke the ex-Paramount Chief so that he could send a report to the District Commissioner at Moyamba that his behaviour was not conducive to the smooth running of the Chiefdom. The Old Chief accepted all these punishments and remained quiet. But after a while, feeling that this humiliation was a worse punishment than the imprisonment at Moyamba, Bai Simra Ponko sent to Fairtlough to take him back to the prison. The messenger was accompanied by many leading Thallays who went to repeat their previous request for the restoration of their Chief.

With the approval of the Governor who now felt that Bai Simra Ponko was convicted only on a technical point and did not actually commit the murder, ordered his restoration. Bai Suba An Kerrey could not defend himself, for he had over-reached his bounds. D.C. Fairtlough

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.569.
2. Oral Traditions - As in Note 1, p.569.
3. Ibid.
himself went to Masimra Town and in the midst of thousands of people, demanded the staff of office from Bai Suba An Kerray, handed it back to Bai Simra Ponko, and once more declared him Paramount Chief of Masimra Chiefdom. This was followed by great jubilation all over the Chiefdom. For Bai Suba An Kerray and his followers, it was a moment of great weeping and lamentation. Thus Bai Simra Ponko spent only two years in prison when he was released and restored to his position.

As soon as Fairtlough departed for Moyamba, the newly re-instated Paramount Chief sharply retaliated. He immediately deposed Bai Suba An Kerray, drove him out of his compound and from Masimra Town, ordered him to carry his own 'THABULE' (the Chief's ceremonial drum) to Rokon, while it was being beaten on his head. His son wanted to take it and carry it for him but was pushed and chased away. Having been so badly disgraced, Bai Suba An Kerray, after he had reached Rokon, absconded and died in an unknown place. No one ever mourned his death in Masimra Chiefdom. Bai Simra Ponko now went ahead to abolish the Bai Suba Crown, and also deposed Pa Alimamy Thallay of Mayola, but left the Alimamy of Maconteh and Ngombu Yarroh undisturbed.

By the turn of the second decade of the twentieth century, Masimra which was reputed to be the largest Temne country had been greatly reduced in size and its principal ruler, the Bai Simra who had been looked upon as the 'official Father' of the southern Chiefs, had now been reduced in status; for Bai Simra Ponko, having been so badly

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.569.
2. Ibid.
humiliated by the two depositions, now at the beginning of the 1920s, decided to pursue a policy of peaceful co-existence with his people and his neighbours, and of unconditional obedience to the authority of the Colonial Government.
CHAPTER VII

THE YONI COUNTRY

PART ONE - BOTH YONIS (GENERAL)

Throughout the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, the whole of the Yoni Country was landlocked because it had no navigable rivers and prominent overland routes. The result was that it was unknown to European visitors and traders until the late 1870s. Until the 1880s, there was a dearth of written accounts about this country, and its history before this period therefore, seems to be based largely on oral traditions.

Before the 1880s, the Yoni Country seemed not only land-locked but also cut off from the rest of the Southern Temne Countries, and it even seemed to be unknown to the Colony Administration that there were two Yoni Kingdoms - Yoni Mabanta and Yoni Mamella. The reason for this lack of knowledge of the existence of two separate Yonis on the part of the Administration was that Yoni Mabanta had no king for over sixty years. During this interregnum the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella ruled both kingdoms. The Bai Seboras were however, assisted in their administration of Yoni Mabanta by Pa Sana Conteh (the blind 'GBONLI' or elder, at Ronietta), Pa Gbesseh M'Fentha and Pa Yellow, as joint regents - the last two were also resident at Ronietta. Even when the

1. Oral Traditions
Pula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Alimamy Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76

2. Ibid.
Fula Mansa Crown was restored in 1896 by the installation of Fula Mansa Kagbengbe,¹ Yoni Mabanta was still probably unimportant as far as the Colony Administration was concerned, for they seemed to believe that the Bai Sebora was the only supreme ruler of Yoni, although T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Secretary of Native Affairs indicated to them since the late 1880s, that Yoni had had two separate divisions with their distinct principal rulers.² For instance, Dr. Hood, Acting District Commissioner of Ronietta District still made the mistake in 1898 of describing the Fula Mansa as a sub-chief of the Bai Sebora.³

The Yoni Country is the southmost of the Southern Temne Chiefdoms. Temne traditions⁴ assert that it was part of the Banta Kingdom which seemed to have stretched from the present Yoni down to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. It covered the modern Kpa Mende Chiefdoms of Kori, Pakunya, Komgbora, Kaiyamba, Bagru, Senehun, Dasse, Imperi, Banta, Yoni Mamella, and Upper Koya. The Capital of this Banta Kingdom was

1. Ibid. AND V.R. Dorjahn: "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni, p.88 (Appendix).
4. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76
   Pa Alima Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76
   Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76
   Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   P.C. Rula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Ch., 9.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch., 7.4.76
Gbangbatoke in Banta Mokelle in the south, where the king, a Temne Mabanta man called M'baimba Kelle or Massa Kelle resided. Some of the Yoni and Koya Temne still claim to be the descendants of the true citizens of this Banta Kingdom, their ancestors having founded it.

This Banta Kingdom had to suffer a serious split as a result of the migration of the Kpa Mende from the east who waged wars in order to secure areas to settle. They conquered a large area of the Banta Kingdom as far as Sherbroland, and thus splitting it up into two. Half of it remained as the modern Chiefdoms of Imperi, Banta, and Banta Mokelle. There are still numbers of the Temne in these chiefdoms who still speak the original Banta Temne. The other half comprises the modern chiefdoms of Upper Koya, Yoni Mabanta, and Yoni Mamella, but the former is now less Banta than the last two. Most of the elite of Yoni (and of Yoni Mabanta in particular) are quite vociferous in their claim of being descendants of the Mabanta people—far more than their counterparts in Yoni Mamella Chiefdom. To the Yoni Mabanta Temne, M'Maimba Kelle was a great King and a hero who always rescued them from the attacks of their hostile neighbours.

As in the case of the other southern Temne countries, the boundaries of the Yoni country in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century were vague and undefined. But by the late 1880s, T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs Department, could attempt to define its boundaries that it was "bounded on the east by the various Timanee districts, on the south by the Mendi and Bompeh Sherbro countries, on the north and

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.575.
west by the Quiiah and Masimera districts.\textsuperscript{1} These boundaries however, underwent different changes. After the Yoni Expedition of 1887, some of the countries which supported the Administration against the Yoni were compensated by extending their boundaries into Yoniland.\textsuperscript{2} Koya boundary was extended to Bath Fep, cutting off the towns of Makarankay and Warema from Yoni and adding them to Koya country; the towns of Magbenka into Komgbora country, and Mapoli into Ribi country.\textsuperscript{3} But the Yoni were likewise compensated for supporting the Government in the 1898 Hut Tax War by shifting their boundaries into the Masimra Country, covering the towns of Mano, Mabora, Sumbuya, Makuntor, and Makeni.\textsuperscript{4} The new boundary between Yoni and Masimra now fell at the Yoni Pet Stream. By the beginning of the twentieth century therefore, Yoni had fairly been delimited through the intervention of the Government and the country can now be bounded as, on the north by the northern Temne Countries of Kolifa Mabang, Kolifa Mamunta, Kolifa Mayosso, and Malal; on the west by Masimra and Koya; on the south by the Sherbro Countries of Ribi and Bompeh, and the Kpa Mende Countries of Komgbora, Kaiyamba, and Fakunya; and on the east, by the Kpa Mende Countries of Kori and Mongere.

2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
   P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu. Yoni Mabanta Ch. 9.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbomgban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch., 7.4.76
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
From the early nineteenth century up to the close of the 1890s, of the foreign policy both Yonis was characterised more by wars with their neighbours than by friendship with them. Regarding this relationship with their neighbours during the nineteenth century, all the traditions collected in Koya, Marampa, Masimra, and both Yonis are agreed that the Yoni were always in conflict with the surrounding peoples, for over eighty years. This period must have included the period of the interregnum up to 1896 in Yoni Mabanta, when both countries were ruled by the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella; and when there was a short interregnum of eight years (1897-1887) following the death of Bai Sebora Kenke I. In all these conflicts, the Yoni were always united and were always the aggressors. The wars fought fell into two categories. The first included the wars fought by

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Bai Mangay Bangura, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76
   Pa Gibrilla Kanu, Masorie M'Baimba, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76
   Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76
   Pa Santigle Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Santigle Yanankay Bai, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Maligie Kanu, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Kelboi Kabia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Suba An Fessor, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Alimamy Manika Robid Manika, Masimra Chiefdom, 25.2.76
   Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Foday Kamara, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Amadu Smart Kanu, Rokon Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara, Rokon, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Alhaji Noah Sesay, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
   Pa Alhaji Wusman Bamba, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
   Pa Alie Smart Kanu, Rokel, Masimra Chiefdom, 23.3.76
   Pa Gbesse Conteh, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Mr. W.K. Bangura, Mamaligie, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Santigle Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Thagbongbo Conteh, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 2.5.76
   Pa Sheka Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Momo Tholley, Fondu, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
private men or warriors purely for their own personal glory and to
gain some personal economic benefits such as slaves and booty.
The leaders of such wars were therefore, professional warriors, pure
and simple. The second wars were national in character and their
motives were for territorial expansion and to gain trade depots.
But even in the wars for territorial acquisition, the desire to
capture slaves and to plunder was a prominent feature; so that whether
the wars were fought for trade purposes or not, the economic factor
for their generation cannot be entirely ruled out. During this
period (1800-1890) therefore, Yoniland did not enjoy any political
stability, and professional warriors took charge. The activities
of three of these professional warriors are noteworthy since they did
not only stop in Yoni but also spread into other countries. The
professional warriors concerned in this case were, Pa Bockarie Fallah
or An Kerry, ¹ Kafiri, and Gbanka.

Pa Bockarie Fallah or 'Pa Kerry' known to the Colony Administration
simple as En Kerry² was a warrior at Fondu in eastern Yoni Mamella
Country,³ who "succeeded in devastating the whole of the countries

Footnote 1 & 2 continued from p. 578

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Alimamy Kamara, Mamaka, Yini Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbomgban, Rogbomgban, Yoni Mamella Chief. 7.4.76

2. V.R. Dorjahn: "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni", p.88 Appendix

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1 above.


3. Ibid.
These wars dislocated the trade of the Colony and Governor Dundas Campbell was thus forced to proceed to Magbele to conclude Peace treaties in 1836 and 1837. En Kerray is reported to have carried a copy of his treaty which he imagined 'like Aladin's lamp', would be a source of great wealth to him, and so kept it carefully in a large wooden box. He waited patiently for six months at the end of which he opened the box to see how much money the treaty had produced. Finding nothing, he closed the box and waited for another six months. Opening the box the second time and finding nothing, he assembled his chief warriors and addressed them saying, "See, it is 12 months since the white man gave me this book \textit{Treaty} and I laid my sword aside. Up to this time, it has produced nothing. Let us take up our swords again, and go and get wealth, for if we follow the white man's word, we will be poor men." After this speech, En Kerray and his forces took up arms and raided the Southern Temne Countries of Marampa, Masimra, and Koya. All the disturbed countries had to band themselves together under the leadership of Momodu Bundu of Foredugu in Koya and defeated En Kerray who fled into the Mende Country where he was killed in war in 1838. But the disturbances he created lasted until 1842 and had to be settled by the Colony Administration with John McCormack

1. Ibid. T.G. Lawson & J.C.E. Parkes, p.38.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
as Commissioner. (More details of En Kerray's wars in Koya are given in Chapter III).

Kafiri, according to Temne traditions, was the second son of Massa Kaniba of Fondu in Eastern Yoni Mamella, and therefore, brother of En Kerray whom he succeeded in the leadership of that country. Kafiri's first name was Pa Abu Fallah, and was a wonderful Mori man with numerous school children (An Karanday - in Temne), and domestics left under his control by his father Massa Kaniba, and subsequently, by his elder brother, En Kerray.

But one morning, according to Yoni traditions, he simply ordered his wives to prepare a meal which should include the flesh of monkeys, snails and frogs. Among the Muslims, these animals were taboos and should not be eaten. While he and his men were eating, the latter noticed the strange meat in the meal and were alarmed. Upon being asked by them why he as a big Mori man should eat such animals, Pa Abu

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1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.2.76
   Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsaar, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia, Magebele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.2.76
   Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch. 7.4.76
   Pa Sheka Kamara, Masemgb, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Momo Tholley, Fondu, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 22.1.76

2. Oral Traditions
   Fula Mansa Bimbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chief. 9.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch. 7.4.76
   Pa Kapprr Thagbongbo Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Ch. 2.5.76
   Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 5.2.76
   Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76
   Pa Roke Kenken, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Mr. M.M. Fullah, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, (Ronietta), 17.1.76
Fallah replied that he was no longer ready to follow Islam but Satan, and to become a warrior. He then changed his name to 'KAFIFI' which in Arabic/Temne means, 'a pagan, cruel, and ungodly person.' From that time, he called large bands of war-men who included Temne, Mende as well, which was not difficult for him, since these war-men wanted nothing but booty. With his large army and within ten years after the death of his brother An Kerray, he indiscriminately waged wars all over the Temne Country and in neighbouring Kpa Mende. But he was defeated by a combined Temne force under Pa Bockarie Bundu, eldest son of Momodu Bundu of Foredugu who was also his successor as head of the Bunduka family in Koya country. (A more detailed account of the defeat of Kafifi in Koya is in Chapter III).

Gbanka's early life can be spelt out briefly. His father, Pa Say Mando Kamara, was a member of the Kamara Ruling families of Yoni Mamella Country. Pa Say Mando married a Fula woman from the Fula Mansa Gbassankoro Ruling House of Yoni Mabanta, and Gbanka was the product of that marriage. He was born at Macrogba, his father's native town in Yoni Mamella, but brought up at Ronietta in Yoni Mabanta, by his mother. He was initiated into the Poro Society and given the name of Say Bankalo. In the Poro, he became a professional drummer and dancer which made him attractive to the young girls. He himself being effeminate, was sneered at by his friends and hated by the big men. In his early youth he was never seriously thought of, nor was he ever trained as a war-boy.

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For several years during his youthful days, both Yonis were constantly at war with the Kpa Mende. In these wars, the Yonis were often repeatedly defeated. Yoni traditions have revealed that in one of the meetings held at Yonibana to plan the counter attack on the Mende, Say Bankalo was present and he offered to lead the Yoni army. All the big men including the warriors were surprised at his gesture as he had never been seen at a battle field. On insisting, he was given the chance with the promise that if he won, he would be given four male and three female slaves. After the meeting had dispersed, he went to Konike Country to redeem some 'medicines' from a famous Mori Man. To prove the efficacy of his 'medicines' he first killed the Mori Man who made them, hacking him to pieces, an act which alarmed the whole Temne Country. Gbanka is reported to have argued that if he left the 'Mori Man alive, he would work more powerful 'medicines' for another person, who might challenge him. From there, he went to Masimra Country to help Bai Simra Kamal in his local wars. At Masimra, he gained victory after victory, thus further proving the efficacy of his war 'medicines.' His outstanding military performances at Masimra won him resounding fame throughout Temne Country. He then decided to return to Yoni.

On arrival at Yonibana Sarr Fera, he was welcomed by enthusiastic crowds of warriors and war-men, and dancing women, who had assembled

1. Oral Traditions — See Note 2, p.6.

2. Oral Traditions
Pa Kapprr Thagbongbo Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom 2.5.76
Mr. H.B. Conteh, 29 Chepstow Way, Camden Estate, London W.E.15. 15.5.76

3. Ibid.
awaiting his leadership. He did not disappoint his Yoni people who had, by this time, believed that he had seen the 'devils of war' of the country and the spirits of their ancestors to defend Yoniland. On his first attempt, he defeated the Kpa Mende at the battle of Taiama, and burnt the town. He then overran all the towns and villages around and marched to Kwelu which had already been deserted on the news of the approaching Yoni forces. The town was only burnt down and no fighting took place there. All the Kpa Mende warriors, their families and domestics had congregated for protection at the well fortified town of Jurma. On hearing this, Say Bankalo marched to Jurma in full strength. After fighting for two days, Jurma fell. The Yoni forces raised Jurma to the ground, killed many people and captured many more as slaves whom they carried to Yoni Sarr Fera together with much booty. Before his arrival at Yoni Sarr Fera, the news of the fall of Jurma had already been relayed by special runners. When he arrived, he was received by jubilant crowds of dancers especially of women, praising him singing,¹

"Kənə-e kənə wurə Royurma - e?
Gbaka kənə wurə Royurma;
əŋ bənko aŋ kurgba aŋ thamro - ə
ŋə Gbanka-ŋə ko wurə !

Translation and versification

Who, who sacked Yurma?
It was Gbanka that sacked Yurma;
The stronghold town the warriors were unable,
That was what Gbanka sacked.

¹ Oral Traditions
Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.2.76
Mr. E.S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.2.76
The Mende who felt they had never been so defeated before, gave him the nickname, 'Gbandekowa', which means, 'hot burning.' It was this nickname the Temne corrupted to 'Gbanka', by which name he later became popularly known.

At Yoni Sarr Fera, Gbanka asked\(^1\) for his promised reward of seven slaves but the senior warriors, especially Fayombo Ka Dora of Romesfreen, who had become jealous of his victories and sudden fame convinced the elders not to reward him for fighting for his country. Fayombo in particular, argued that they, the senior warriors, had never been rewarded for labouring so long for the country, and that there was no reason why Gbanka, who was only inspired by devils should be rewarded; and that if he were rewarded, they too should be rewarded for their long services. The elders, realising that a quarrel might be provoked and that a precedent might be set which they might in future be unable to keep, refused to give Gbanka's reward. Gbanka felt quite disappointed, but made no noise and quietly disappeared from Yoni Sarr Fera.

He then went to the Mende Country and spoke to the leading Mende warriors nicely\(^2\) - for he was quite fluent in the Mende language as well - to join him fight his people. The Mende warriors at first did not believe his sincerity. But when later they became convinced, they joined him. He led his Mende mercenaries first, to Yoni Sarr Fera, and took the town killing all the elders he met. He then marched down south and came to Romesgreen, and met Fayombo who had

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2. Ibid.
vehemently opposed his being rewarded. He only spoke to Fayombo but refused to attack Romesgreen fearing lest the war might spread to his own home town of Macrogba. As he was leaving the town, Fayombo's followers - men and women - sang in praise of him and despising Gbanka.\footnote{Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.581.}

\begin{verbatim}
Gbanka ṣẹ ṣesẹ o kərфи - o;
Fayombo ṣeji gbo kə Dora - e.
Gbaka ṣẹ ṣe ṣesẹ o kərфи - o
Fayombo ṣeji gbo kə Dora - e.
\end{verbatim}

Translation and versification

Gbanka, you fear the devil;
Fayombo, the bird of ill-omen.

Gbanka, you fear the devil;
Fayombo, the bird of ill-omen.

On hearing this song, Gbanka became enraged, returned to Romesgreen and sacked it, killing many people including Fayombo himself, whose body he hacked into pieces. He then changed his mind for Macrogba which was his home town, and which he had not wanted to attack. He sacked it and killed his own uncle and sister whom he found offering sacrifice - for what purpose he did not know.

The next place Gbanka attacked was Ronietta, the town where he had been brought up; and Makundu. As in the case of Yoni Sarr Fera, Romesgreen, and Macrogba, Gbanka sacked this war stronghold. After these devastating victories, he returned to the Mende Country. This
act of attacking his own people was described in Yoni Country as "Gbanka turned". That is, Gbanka turned against his own people of Yoni Country. At this point, the breach of the promise, made to him by his people became obscure; only his cruelty that became pronounced. He was depicted as a cruel warrior who fought for the sake of fighting only, and for killing people - "old and young men, old and young women, babies and pregnant women, and his own relatives as well." During the Yoni Expedition of 1887, Gbanka was one of the most outstanding warriors who fought on the side of the Colony Administration.

One of the notable instances, according to Yoni traditions in which both Yonis fought as a team for territorial expansion was when they, led by Gbanka, sacked Taiama and Jurma. When these two towns fell, the Kpa Mende evacuated them and were occupied by some Yoni for a number of years. But when Gbanka turned against his people, many of the Yoni had to return to their own country. The Kpa Mende

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.2.76
   Mr. E.S. Bangur, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.2.76

2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76
   Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 31.2.76
   Pa Bai Mangay Bangura, Masiaka, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76
   Pa Yufusu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Santigie Bangura Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Thgbongbo Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Ch. 2.5.76
   Pa Kapprr Sundu Gbomgban Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch. 7.4.76
   Pa Roke Kenkeh, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76
   Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 2.5.76

hesitated to re-inhabit them fearing that Gbanka might reconquer them one day, for his Yoni people. Instead, they founded a new stronghold town. This was Logbo (Rogbo-in Temne). Their fears were however, allayed when Gbanka with his Mende allies continued to devastate Temne Country, particularly Yoni, putting all the leading warriors to flight. This gave the Kpa Mende more courage to the extent that most of their warriors who had congregated at Logbo, went to join him; and throughout the period, the Yoni warriors were in hiding.

Because of this decline in the military strength of the Yoni, the Kpa Mende began to taunt them calling them 'women' who were even beaten up by their own son (referring to Gbanka), and that within a short time, the whole of Yoniland would become Kpa Mendeland.1 These taunts annoyed the Yoni leaders who then met in private in the Poro Bush to plan the strategy to attack the Kpa Mende. They decided to invite a professional soothsayer Pa Fio Yimisa to advise them on the matter. This soothsayer told them to appeal to the women for help. According to Yoni traditions,2 the women were to give the men their napkins 'Σ KATHA' (AN KATHA - singular, in Temne) to tie round their waists and cover their privates.3 Among the Temne, 'Σ KATHA' would be used by women only, and correspondingly, the men would use 'TA HOPI' or 'TA MERRAY' whenever they would be faced with a serious fight, such as war or hard labour. While the warriors would be leaving, the

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.587.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
FEMALE AND MALE TEMNE IN SIMPLE WORKING COSTUME.

1. Female Temne with an KATHA round her waist and flowing down.

2. Male Temne with Ka mopi (or Ka merray), in aggressive mood.
soothsayer continued, the leading women should go to the road, strip themselves naked and stand astride the road and each warrior should pass between their legs while each of these women would bless them saying "I give you the blessing of a woman. Go and you will conquer the Mende warriors since they too were born by women." Further, the warriors should take with them, the Bondo Drums instead of the usual '£.FANKA', '£.POPO' and '£.LARROW', to beat and sing before launching the attack.2

"yamaye gboya-e,
Serabembe-e, O wonde gboya-e
Serabembe — gboy-e-e

O yamaye gboya-e,
Serabembe-e, O wonde gboya-e
Serebembe — gboy-e-e

In Temne, the word 'GBOYA' means, to clear or sweep away or wipe out completely. The translation of the song is therefore, simply

Translation and versification

We will raze to the ground,
With great speed, we will raze to the ground,
The town of Gboya, we will raze to the ground

We will raze to the ground,
With great force, we will raze to the ground,
The town of Gboya, we will raze to the ground.

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p. 581.
2. Ibid.
According to the injunction of the soothsayer, the warriors should sing this song before launching the attack.

The night before the installation of the Bondo girls, the Bondo House known as 'AN KANThA' would be demolished by the Bondo Devil (invisible to men), known as AN BOKE (the Snake) believed to be wrapping its body round the Bondo House and pulling it down, and taking it away to the 'RO-BANDASIRMA' or 'GRANKUMA' or 'YARRMA' (the sacred Bondo grove). In the morning, neither the Bondo House, nor even its remains would be seen. In this case, 'AN BOKE' would be said to have 'GBOYA' (sweep away) the Bondo House, and a new one could only be erected on the initiation of a new Bondo Society. This song is held very sacred among the Temne women and is sung only once a year at important and sacred ceremonies of the Bondo Society. The warriors, by singing this song before launching the attack, it was believed that the minds of all the Yoni women would be atuned together and would bless the warriors to bring home victory. It is also said that some of the weapons the warriors carried were consecrated by the women. The final injunction of Pa Fio Yimissa was that they should not kill the women and children, but capture them as slaves.

The Yoni warriors closely followed the injunction of the soothsayer wore the 'KATHA', beat the Bondo drums, and sang that sacred song, dragging the last verse each time, in order to drive terror into the minds of Logbo residents. Fortunately for the Yoni warriors, most of the Kpa Mende leading warriors and war-men had gone to join Gbanka in his wars at Mabang. Most of the inhabitants who remained were only old men, women and children. On hearing the beating of the Bondo drums, and the fearful song, they panicked, others stampeded,
while the rest surrendered. Thus Logbo fell without much fighting. The women and children were spared while all the men - old and young were killed in cold blood. The town was effectively occupied by the Yoni Temne, who changed its name to 'ROGBOYA', meaning, the town that had once been razed to the ground. This is the name by which this town is known up to the present day.

Most of the Kpa Mende warriors who attempted to return when Gbanka was defeated at Mabang, were ambushed by the Yoni warriors, who slaughtered them to a man. In this way, the districts of Taiama, Jurma, Wankele, Parewahun, and Rogboya became an extension of Yoniland. The occupation of these Kpa Mende stronghold border towns was later to become one of the most important local issues which was connected with the Yoni Expedition of 1887. After this victory, the Yoni now in a body turned their attention to Marampa, Masimra and Koya Countries.

The Yoni attack on Masimra was in the 1850s. But this attack should not be considered in isolation. It was to vent their grievance on their neighbours for refusing them access to the river trading centres. The Masimra and Marampa people blocked them from coming to trade on the Rokel River. They consequently decided to attack these countries in order to gain these trading posts; hence these wars were referred to as 'trade wars.' In Masimra, the Yoni launched their first attack in 1856.¹ The leader of this attack was Sorie Mattok. He and his army raided Masimra, destroying many towns and villages and capturing slaves. This war did not reach the waterside owing to the quick action of the traders who sent a delegation to

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Freetown to seek Government intervention, so that their trade would not be dislocated. The response of the Colony Government made a temporary check on the advance of the Yoni forces.

The Yoni next attacked Magbele, the chief port of the Marampa country. Marampa traditions describe this attack as very sudden, sweeping and brutal. They sacked the town, plundered the C.M.S. Mission consisting of several expensive houses. Bai Koblo Sankolo sent troops to aid those of Bai Suba Tapagun who had been stationed there to defend the port, but they were late as the Yoni had already returned before they could arrive there. Up to the end of the 1850s it was not certain as to whether the Yoni would cease to attack the Rokel River region, and also the Administration had not taken effective measures to finally put an end to these constant wars; so that for over a decade, the whole of the Masimra country was in a state of utter confusion.

The Yoni still very anxious to secure a trading centre now wished to follow the trade to the south where it had now shifted. Yoni traditions assert that the port of Senehun on the Bagru river was founded by their ancestors who were slave traders during the Atlantic slave trade, from whence they could transport their slaves to be sold.

1. **Oral Traditions**
   Pa Santigie Yanankay Kabia, Pa Maligie Kanu, Pa Ansumana Conteh, Pa Kelboi Kabia and Pa Suba An Pessor - All of Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom, 23.3.76.


4. **Oral Traditions**
   Pa Kappr Serra, Pa Alimamy Fullah, Pa Bokarrie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.
at the Sherbro estuary; but that this port had been taken away from them by the Kpa Mende who had driven them from that area. The Kpa Mende not only took away that port, but also even prevented them from passing through their country to Senehun on the Bagru river, Bompeh, on the Bompeh river, and Mabang, on the Ribi river. This tradition cannot however be wholly accepted as true as the Yoni might have just invented it to claim that port. From this point, it can be conjectured that the refusal of the Yoni by the Kpa Mende to enter these trading centres was not only based on trade, but also on the fear that they might recapture their former Banta Kingdom, in which case, the Kpa Mende might be ousted. Even when, following upon the British declaration of a "protectorate" over the Sherbro Country in the 1880s, the Colony Government warned the Yoni to stop attacking these countries which were now under the Queen's Government; and promised that the Bompeh and Ribi peoples would be impressed upon to put an end to their practice of preventing Yoni traders from carrying their produce to the tide-water trading centres in their countries, the inhabitants never paid heed to such warnings and promises. Instead, the Kpa Mende of Taiama and Bagru, and the Sherbro of Bompeh and Ribi, all banded themselves against the Yoni who on the other hand, gave no way but continued their attacks on them.

The Yoni were also at the same time, being harassed by the Loko of Rotifunk under Sorie Kessebeh who were "in the habit of seizing and plundering Yoni and Kolifa people when coming down to their country." to trade. For instance, Sorie Kessebeh and his followers were reported

on one occasion, to have detained about 147 traders from Kolifa.\textsuperscript{1} As a result of this, the Yoni Mabanta retaliated on April 1880, by attacking towns belonging to Sorie Kessebeh near Rotifunk killing many people and carrying off a lot more.\textsuperscript{2} The Kpa Mende seized this opportunity to attack Sorie Kessebeh's towns since they were not on good terms. During these attacks, they plundered much property belonging to both Loko and Sherbro in the area. The situation of things became exacerbated as Yoni had now been land-locked, encircled by enemies, isolated by all her neighbours, and were pushed to fight not only for trade depots but also for their very survival.

The Administration did not however, take action against the Yoni and Mende for carrying war into the "Queen's land." Instead, the then Governor, Havelock, simply invited the Chiefs of the countries involved to a general meeting in Freetown, to have all the disputes and matters settled finally. The Chiefs involved were those at Yoni, Koya, Ribi, Bompeh, and the Kpa Mende of Senehun.\textsuperscript{3} This peace making meeting failed and intrigues and accusations continued, causing more wars and further peace negotiations organised by the Administration. "In March 1882, Chief Gbanya of Senehun wrote to inform T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, that the Yoni had congregated at a place near his country waiting for an opportunity to carry war into Bompeh and Ribi."\textsuperscript{4} Although Yoni had no principal Chief at that time, Pa Sana

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid.
\item P.P.1880, T.G. Lawson to Sorie Kessebeh. April 16, 1880.
\item P.P. 1880, Havelock to Sorie Kessebeh. August 20, 1880.
\item P.P. 1882, T.G. Lawson to Gbanya (reply). March 28, 1882.
\end{enumerate}
Conteh a blind man who had become regent of both Yonis since the death of Bai Sebora Kenke I in 1879, assisted by Pa Gbesseh M'Fentha, dissuaded his warriors from attacking these territories as they were the Queen's, and in his letter to Havelock, he said that "he is in Yoni on behalf of His Excellency." But shortly after this, the Yoni and Kolifa Temne, and the Taiama Mende quickly formed an alliance to attack the Ribi and Bompeh people to retaliate on Sorie Kessebeh whose people had been in the habit of seizing the natives of these countries coming to trade in his country. The Governor then wrote to Pa Sana Conteh of Yoni, Bai Komp of Kolifa, urging them to restrain their warriors from attacking Ribi and Bompeh for those countries "are now the Queen's." Pa Sana Conteh and Pa Gbesseh M'Fentha were able once more to dissuade their warriors from waging such war. The Mende, having no allies in this war, retreated. Pa Sana Conteh did not stop at that. He sent a delegation of Yoni Chiefs to Bompeh and Ribi to meet at Rotifunk to have the matter amicably and finally settled. To this meeting, he invited Kanray Ba Caulker of Bompeh and Keni Mahoi of Ribi. But these Chiefs refused to attend any peace meeting at Sorie Kessebeh's town for fear of their lives. The Yoni, not understanding the actual relationship between the Bompeh and Ribi Chiefs regarded this refusal to honour their bid to make peace, as a slight; and consequently, they were very much offended. They remarked that "it was they [Kanray Ba Caulker and Keni Mahoi] who constantly

2. P.P. 1883, Nos.18-20. Havelock to Pa Sana & Bai Komp respectively, March 13, 1883.
send up /To Yoni/ to hire or induce war men to come down to Bompeh by which the name of their country /Yoni/ is held as those who are fond of war and disturbances."¹ Pa Sana Conteh had been anxious to maintain peace because, as Yoni traditions relate,² he had been forewarned by his soothsayer Pa Foi Yimissa, not to allow his warriors to wage war on Ribi and Bompeh on the invitation of a stranger, for the result would be disastrous for them. But Pa Sana Conteh's peace policy with the Bompeh and Ribi Chiefs was frustrated by the apparent slight which the Chiefs of these countries gave him when they failed to honour his invitation for the peace meeting at Rotifunk. It was no longer easy to restrain both his warriors and his Chiefs from attacking Bompeh and Ribi whenever the opportunity would arise.

The opportunity arose when Pa Sella M'Yamana of Ribi went to hire the Yoni warriors to help him avenge the death of his mother said to have been caused by Pa Keni Mahoi.³ Pa Sana Conteh was opposed to the Yoni responding favourably to this invitation; but the warriors, led by the famous professional warrior Kondor, drove him away. The old man took refuge in Konike Country, his original homeland. The Yoni then went to war with Ribi and Bompeh carrying with them, the guarding spirits of the Kingdom. Pa Sana Conteh's son also joined them. Havelock tried to stop the Yoni by commissioning Lahai Bundu of Foredugu in Koya Country, to warn them against attacking Ribi and

² Oral Traditions - Pa K. Serra, Pa K. T. Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.
³ Oral Traditions
Pa Kapprr Serra, Pa Alimamy Fullah, Pa Backarie Fullah, Pa Kapprr Thagbonbco Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.
Bompeh. But this was all in vain. On March 26, 1884, the Yoni attacked Kantine, a small town in Ribi, but were driven away towards Koya, by a counter attack mounted by Sorie Kessebeh of Rotifunk and some other Ribi Chiefs. In their retreat, the Yoni attacked and plundered other Ribi towns including Massankay. In spite of Havelock's warning, the war continued. But by this time, they began to realise that the Bompeh and Ribi Chiefs were mobilising forces to retaliate. They therefore, arranged for a peace meeting in some personal dispute; but this was only a pretext to launch another attack. In their other attack, they "entered Ribi country and plundered factories (including one European)."¹ This moved Havelock to proceed to the troubled area to investigate, but deliberately refused to take sides since he was not sure who was the aggressor, even though Ribi and Bompeh were the 'Queen's lands.' To do this successfully, he ignored the traders outcries, who were not interested on any moral issue of right and wrong, but only their trade. The casualties during the affray included² the Wesleyan Mission. The Catechist J.E. Williams a Mende, having escaped, the Yoni plundered the mission house.³ In preparation against another attack by the Yoni, Keni Mahoi hired some mercenaries from Tikonko, and Kanre Ba Caulker, from Imperi. In the ensuing affray the Yoni were worsted and about 258 of their men including some important Chiefs were captured. Havelock was greatly pleased with this victory against the Yoni.

When Havelock went on transfer to Trinidad in September, 1884,

3. Ibid.
Pinkett took over as Acting Governor, a second time. During his administration, rumours were broadcast\(^1\) that the Yoni had invaded the Bompeh country and were intending to attack Rotifunk its capital. Unlike Havelock, Pinkett decided to take action against the Yoni since Bompeh and Ribi were ceded territories under Turner's Treaty. He sent a team of Police who helped to stockade some of the towns and fought as allies, not as mediators. The Bompeh and Ribi force this time was far more formidable than ever before, as it comprised the Bompeh and Ribi warriors, Sorie Kessebeh Loko who were also reinforced by "200 Fula residents" from Fula town near Rotifunk, and the Government Police. In this war, the Yoni were utterly defeated and forced to retreat.

While the Yoni were engaged in the Bompeh and Ribi area, the Mende of Taiama and Senehun were planning to attack them from the south-east and they had been secretly planning this attack since May 1884. They now seized the opportunity of the weak position of the Yoni and attacked and defeated them in a series of battles. In addition, they now totally prevented the Yoni from using the trade route to Senehun and Bompeh. The Mende of Senehun now seized the opportunity to attack the Yoni towns of Makondu and Robari,\(^2\) but here they were badly defeated by the Yoni forces. On account of these attacks, Pa Sana Conteh quickly returned from Konike and requested Bai Simra Kamal to make peace between his Yoni People, and those of Bompeh and Ribi. But this peace mission failed. Two reasons may be attributed to this. One was that the

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1. C. Fyfe: *A History of Sierra Leone*, p.449.
Administration never credited Bai Simra Kamal and always suspected him as a poor peace negotiator which lowered his prestige in the eyes of some of the neighbouring peoples. Secondly, Bai Simra Kamal and Sorie Kessebeh would never be in good terms as a result of the Temne-Loko wars in Masimra in the 1840s. In these wars, the Loko were completely defeated, their Chief Ngombu Tham Bondu I beheaded, and Sorie Kessebeh himself and his followers forced to flee to Rotifunk. Bai Simra Kamal would therefore, not be a man likely to give an impartial judgment in a case where the Loko of Rotifunk would be involved; and they in turn would never trust him. In fact, Bai Simra Kamal was suspected of being in league with the Yoni against Sorie Kessebeh and his Loko Followers at Rotifunk.

Reports kept pouring in Freetown that the Yoni warriors were congregating in Masimra in preparation for war against Bompeh and Ribi. Such reports were brought to the Governor by Alimamy Sise Loll of Rokell that "the Yoni were preparing in three divisions to attack Quiah, Bompeh and Ribi,"¹ and imploring the Governor to stop the war. This report was quite true, for in November 1885, the Yoni attacked Mafemgbe in Koya and destroyed many other towns and villages in Ribi. They followed this exploit by attacking on November 26, Songo Town including some other towns in ceded Koya, killing some people and enslaving some more.² It was alleged by T.G. Lawson, that Bai Simra Kamal, and Bockari Bomboli of Koya were privy to this attack because of the hatred they had for the Bunduka family whose towns were among

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¹ P.P. 1886. Memo. by T.G. Lawson, Nov. 25, 1885.
² P.P. 1885. Memo. by T.G. Lawson, November 25, 1885.
those destroyed. This allegation was malicious for T.G. Lawson himself seems to have harboured some animosity against Bai Simra Kamal. Lawson was also against Bockarie Bomboli because, the latter was the opponent of his son William Lawson over the succession question to the Koya Crown, for since the death of Bai Kantha in 1872, Koya had had no king. During this interregnum Alimamy Lahai Bundu of Foredugu was regent, and was supported by two Queens namely Bome Ruffa and Bome Baya Fallah. This triumvirate was unpopular among the ruling class because of their tenacity to power. T.G. Lawson must have also suspected Bai Simra Kamal to be supporting Bockarie Bomboli's candidature, since he (the Bai Siara) was the 'official father' of the Southern Temne Chiefs, and who must be interested in supporting legitimacy to kingship which William Lawson did not possess.

The Administration became alarmed by these Yoni attacks on ceded Koya, and Governor Rowe (who had now returned from leave) wrote a stern letter to the Yoni demanding an immediate explanation for bringing war into the "Queen's territory." Colonial Office sanctioned a limited military punitive expedition against the Yoni, but T.G. Lawson advised against this, stressing that the Yoni were quite formidable as they were "strongly entrenched in their stockades with their superior knowledge of the countryside, and openly supported by Masimra, Kolifa, and GbonkolenKen," and that any limited military action would be a humiliating failure. At the same time also, reports were reaching Freetown that Kanre Ba Caulker of Bompeh had completely fallen out with his Loko stranger, Sorie Kassebeh, and that he was

hiring the Yoni to drive him and his men together with Pa Keni Mahoi, from his country.¹

These series of attacks by the Yoni particularly on British Koya raised much indignation among the Colony authorities who demanded that the raiders be punished forthwith. Rowe was however, hesitant as he felt it improper for Government to send an expedition against the Yoni Country, which was outside the British sphere of influence. But the persistent outcries of the Colony people moved him to decide on going to the troubled area. Although it had been rumoured that the Yoni had threatened to attack him if he entered their country, he braved it out and went to Yoni, proceeding as far as Robari in order to make peace and to rescue the captives. In this move, he conceived that his personal influence among the Chiefs was so considerable, that he would be able to achieve a peaceful settlement of the matter. But this was not easy to achieve, for both Yonis had not had any responsible leader Bai Sebora Kenkeh I having died in 1879 and the regent, Pa Sana Conteh of Ronietta in Yoni Habanta, in 1884.² Having interviewed some other Temne Chiefs and arranged with them to clean their roads, he returned to Freetown, and ordered³ the arrest and deportation to the Gambia of some Yoni traders visiting Freetown, who had been suspected of being involved in the raid.

Rowe's second move towards this direction, was to commission Major Festing to proceed to Mamaligie in Masimra to negotiate peace

¹ C. Fyfe. A History of Sierra Leone, p.453.
² Ibid.
between the Yoni, Bompeh and Ribi; and also to effect the release of
the prisoners from Songo Town. This was a great task for Major
Festing. He held a big meeting at Makeni, a border town between Yoni
and Masimra, which was attended by some 200 Yoni Chiefs. Their
spokesmen were Pa Weawa, Chief of Romesgreen, and Pa Yellow, successor
to Pa Sana Conteh. These Chiefs denied any knowledge of the attack
on the "Queen's land" at Songo, stressing that it was the mere work of
the ungovernable "war boys." They then apologised. Festing thus
granted them pardon after they had signed an undertaking never to allow
their 'war boys' to attack the "Queen's territory" anymore.¹ This
peace settlement was commemorated by the planting of two cotton trees
and two coconut trees. To keep things in the balance, Major Festing
and Rowe then warned the Bompeh and Ribi Chiefs not to attack the Yoni
any more. In April 1886, some leading Yoni Chiefs called on the
Governor to confirm their apology and promise of peace with their
neighbours, and to send a letter of gratitude to the Queen through the
Governor. When Bompeh and Ribi joined later, only truce was signed
in Freetown by both warring parties.²

But all the fine sentiments expressed at these negotiations never
brought any lasting peace. Several factors were responsible for this.
The first was that Yoni had still not been allowed access to any of
the trading centres of Rokel, Ribi, Bagru, and Bompeh regions, and
were not at all pleased about this. They could thus be expected to
continue to strive to achieve their trade ambitions. Secondly, there
were still deep divisions and antipathies among the various leaders of

Bompeh and Ribi and there was no attempt to bring them together. Thirdly, in all the peace negotiations in Makeni, Mamaligie, and Freetown, Kondor and the other professional warriors were neither invited, nor were they represented; and in fact, as professional warriors, they disliked peace talks as these were not in their best interest. In this respect, the Chiefs accepting peace terms would not necessarily bring peace as long as the professional warriors were for war. In addition, there were only few Chiefs that could control their professional warriors. In the fourth place, the Bunduka family of Foredugu and the Temne of Rokel were still not on good terms because of trade rivalry. The fifth factor was the provocative attitude of the Loko residents in Bompeh and Ribi and along the Rokel in Mahera. Those at Bompeh were at feud with their overlord Richard Kanray Ba Caulker who was believed to be secretly supporting the Yoni against their leader, Sorie Kessebeh. Those at Mahera were in deep disagreement with their overlords, the Bundukas of Foredugu and the Kamaras of Magbeni, who were in joint control of the country since Koya had no King at that time. Finally there was still fierce fighting going on between the Yoni and the Kpa Mende of Taimam. Both parties were gaining support - the Kpa Mende of Taimam from the whole Kpa Mende confederacy, while the Yoni, from their Temne allies of Mabang, Kolifa, Tane, Konike, and Gbonkolenken.

The Administration still continued to misunderstand the issues involved in these wars, regarding them merely as a demonstration of savagery and love of war. The peace treaty of 1886 itself indicates

quite clearly that no attempt was made to go into the causes of the war. The Administration believed that by making the Chiefs put their marks to a piece of paper which was hardly important to them, peace would be secured. This acquiescence of the Chiefs should not be regarded as a true desire to cooperate, for it might only mean a demonstration of their usual politeness and respect towards strangers, especially the White Men. In such circumstances, only one result could be expected - and that is, the continuation of the wars. After the negotiations in May however, there was temporary peace due mainly to the fact that the warriors decided to rest during the rains. The then Deputy Governor, Hay, called another meeting of the Yoni Chiefs at Mamaligie where he promised them Government assistance if they cooperated in maintaining peace with Bompeh and Ribi. The Yoni accepted this promise but were far from ceasing to fight since they had not still got access to the river trading centres. They now began to get prepared to attack and crush the Kpa Mende once and for all. In this attack, all the Yoni warriors were summoned. Chief of these were Kondor, Kongo, Kalawa (Kabenthay), Tambawa, Mara Gboto, Foray Thuneh, Foday M'Lenka (alias, An Kara - the crab), Bockarie Koliama, and Sella.¹ But this time, the Yoni forces were led by Gbanka, who was then only a young professional warrior.

From the early part of 1887, the Yoni began to launch a series of attacks on the Kpa Mende. The first of these during this period was directed against Makorevo, a village near Senehun in Pa Keni Mahoi's Country.² Hay at once warned the Chiefs of Masimra and Koya "to keep

¹ Oral Traditions
Pa Kapppr Serra, Pa Alimamy Fulla, Pa Bockarie Fulla, Mr. Moses M. Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.

² P.P. Yoni Expedition, 1887. Memo. by T.G. Lawson, February 26, 1887.
from mingling in the disturbances."¹ To the Yoni, he sent a reminder
to emphasize that "Bompeh, Senehoo and Ribee Districts were now all
the Queen's ground and in attacking Mankourie the Yoni have committed
an act which may be regarded in a very serious light," and demanded
an immediate explanation. But this explanation did not come as the
policeman, Lamina Kamara, who took the letter did not deliver it,
because there was no responsible head in Yoni at that time; for Pa
Yellow, the successor of Pa Sana Conteh, had been killed by Ganka
during his raid on Ronietta.²

This attack was followed by another, on Tongia, near Senehun, by
the Yoni. Revington, Hay's special commissioner in the field, at
once reported this incident, since it was committed on the "Queen's
land", and recommended a display of force. But Hay was hesitant about
accepting this recommendation, and instructed that "for the present
you continue every endeavour to negotiate with these men."³ He
asked them to explain "at once why they took war into the Queen's
country," and requested them to come yourselves or send a good
messenger to talk over the palaver with me here \[In Freetown\]⁴ But
Hay was mistaken in his peace move. He forgot to note that at that
time, the Yoni had no responsible leader, and the men, Kondor, Kongo,
and Kalawa Kabenthay, were all professional warriors who would not
hear of peace. Moreover, the Yoni had by this time, seemed to have
lost confidence in the Government because of their failure to sympathise

³. P.P. 1887, No.79. Hay's Instructions to Rivington, May 21, 1887.
⁴. P.P. 1887, No.81. Hay to Yoni Chiefs; March 21, 1887.
with their cause.

In March 1887, there were rumours that the Yoni were contemplating an attack on the Colony.\(^1\) Although T.G. Lawson Government Interpreter dismissed these rumours as groundless, Government took immediate action to reinforce the police post at Songo Town, and Hay himself went to Waterloo to enquire into the truth of the rumours. He at the same time instructed Rivington to continue "to do all that you possibly can for the protection of the Frontier on the Bompeh, Ribe and Senhoo side."\(^2\) The police too were alerted and instructed to exercise the utmost vigilance along the border villages. Both Madam Yoko of Senheun and Chief Kagbeke of Taiame wrote to the Governor informing him of their moves to make peace with Yoni, branding them as the aggressors who did not want peace. Care should however, be taken in accepting the truth of this report as Madam Yoko herself and some of the Kpa Mende were very good friends of the Administration,\(^3\) and could easily use the occasion to blemish the character of the Yoni whom they had always considered as their enemy.

While these events were taking place, Gbanka was actively waging wars in the Temne Country. This time, having been restrained from attacking Yoni, he now turned his attention in Masimra, Malal, and Mabang. In Masimra, he sacked Macontheh, and captured many people including Bai Simra Kamal's wife and two children.\(^4\) Horrified and

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1. P.P. 1887, No.91, March 26, 1887.
2. P.P. 1887, Hay's instructions to Rivington, April 2, 1887.
3. Oral Traditions. Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Ch. 17.1.76.
4. P.P. 1887, Yoni Exp., Memo by T.G. Lawson; April 21, 1887.
dismayed, Bai Simra Kamal wrote to Hay reporting the incident and requesting assistance; but the Governor did not respond, nor did he even encourage the neighbouring chiefs to help this Old Chief. For instance, when Bai Koblo Sankolo wrote to ask for advice on what to do, Hay sharply replied telling him "not to mix yourself in this palaver, neither on one side or the other." The reason for the indifference on the part of the Governor on this matter could be that the war was not fought in, or even near the Colony jurisdiction. Another reason could be that of the mistrust the Administration had for this Old Chief.

In Malal, Gbanka attacked Ropolon where he plundered much property. But when he crossed the Rokel to the other part of the kingdom, he was badly defeated near Masimra; his army deserted him and he himself was captured. But after he had surrendered all the property he had plundered, and promised not to wage war any more on that country, his life was spared because, a professional warrior should not kill another professional warrior. By this time, Gbanka's wars were spreading chaos and disorder in the Temne Country as far as Mayosso, Tane, Gbokolenken, and Gbambali. In the latter, he was badly defeated losing very many of his men as well as the captives he had taken. This defeat made him retreat to Macrogba, his stronghold in Yoni Mamella. From here he moved to Yonibana to rest. At Yonibana he got wind that the Administration was getting alarmed at his activities.


2. See Note 1, Above.

3. Oral Traditions
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongbon, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamela Chiefdom 17.4.76.
   Pa Kapprr Thagbomgbo Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mamanta Chiefdom 10.5.76.
To avert this feeling he quickly wrote to the Governor to inform him that he was "punishing the Temne (the Yoni in particular), for the evil perpetrated by them on the Queen's territory and subjects; and that the Governor should not look upon him as a bad man."¹ The Governor would doubtless want to hear such a statement and thus in his reply he stated that he had no ill-feeling against Gbanka, adding that "the Mendis have always been the friends of this Government and trust that they would continue so."² By this reply the Governor had assumed that Gbanka was out-and-out a Mende warrior. This was another pointer to the fact that the Administration never understood the nature of the wars in the Hinterland, nor did they attempt to study their causes, but kept on thinking that they were purely 'tribal' — in this case, the Mende under Gbanka, versus the Temne under their leading warriors. The fact is that Gbanka could speak both Temne and Mende, and in his wars he would always hire one group against the other whenever he found it advantageous to do so. At first he appeared to have fought to avenge some wrong done to him at Ronietta (in Yoni Mabanta), but his wars in the rest of Yoni especially his destruction of Yonibana which was his paternal town, and in the other Temne countries particularly his former friend Masimra, seemed to have been motivated primarily by the desire to plunder and to acquire fame as a professional warrior. Having convinced the Administration that he was fighting on their behalf, Gbanka now continued to devastate Temne country without hesitation. He and his Mende war-men attacked

1. P.P. 1887. The letter was written in Arabic — Memo. by T.G. Lawson. June 15, 1887.

Mathenefore in Koya, routing the Yoni warriors in that town and
pursuing them into upper Koya. Here he was joined by Sori Kessebeh's
mercenaries hired from Tikonko. The whole of the Temne country was
greatly alarmed at Gbanka's renewed activities. Bai Komp of Kolifa
was reported to have written to Hay reporting Gbanka's devastation of
his country and about "the treatment we received from the Mendes
who took war into our country ... burnt down our
towns, plundered our properties, and took our subjects captives; a
nation with whom we have not the slightest quarrel." In this war
Bai Komp lost the box containing the sacred things of the Crown and a
copy of the 1884 treaty which he and his people had signed with the
Government. Further, Gbanka captured about 500 people from Kolifa
Country.

Bai Kurr of Mabang also wrote to the Governor reporting Gbanka's
atrocities. But these reports did not move the Governor to act
quickly for the wars in that distant land were not an immediate danger
to the interest of the Colony; and moreover, Gbanka and the Mende were
good friends of the Administration. The Governor waited for a month
before he took action, which was in fact not in the interest of these
Chiefs of Kolifa and Mabang; for he merely wrote to restrain them
from retaliating on the Mende stressing that "the whole of Bompeh and
Ribee districts were part of this settlement and any attack on them
by any Chief will be regarded as an unfriendly act towards this Government."

1. P.P. 1887. Memo. by T.G. Lawson; August 23, 1887.
3. P.P. Yoni Exp. 1887. Bai Kurr to Hay - Bamabg; August 18, 1887.
4. Ibid.
It should be noted that all the Chiefs of Bompeh, Ribi, and Sherbro and Mende Countries were by this time, completely united against the Yoni and such a statement could also apply to them equally. The two Chiefs, Bai Komp and Bai Kurr, must have felt badly let down by this breach of faith on the part of the Government. Like their counterparts in Masimra, Yoni, Marampa, and Koya, they too had now lost confidence on the Administration. They were now perfectly convinced that the Administration would not be of help to them in redressing any wrong done by the Mende - quite a mistaken conception for the warriors under Gbanka were not all Mende but included some Loko as well.

The Mende and Loko being now quite conscious of their friendship with the Administration decided to follow the examples of Gbanka in devastation of the Temne Country. Early in August 1887, they occupied certain places in Quiah.\(^1\) In this attack, they were led by Sorie Kessebeh's war leaders, Jonga and Gbatonko. Gbanka's brother, Raka, whom he had sent to Senehun to help Madam Yoko against the Yoni, also fought on the side of Sorie Kessebeh's men. Raka led the attacking party\(^2\) which had advanced from Rotifunk, Sorie Kessebeh's town. They overran some parts of Koya and set up their stockades at Mawilfila near Mahera. As this was his area, Lahai Bundu of Foredugu reported the matter to Hay, while at the same time he was preparing to mount a counter attack.\(^3\) It was alleged that the attack was to avenge the humiliating treatment by the Koya people, on Bome Wara, one of the

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1. P.P. 1887. Hay to Colonial Secretary; August 17, 1887.
2. P.P. 1887. Memo. by T.G. Lawson; August 23, 1887.
Mammy Queens of Koya, who "tied, stocked and flogged her for no just cause."¹

These wars caused much devastation in Koya and although W.M. Huggins² the Acting Manager of the second Eastern and Koya Districts reported, on August 20, 1887, these incidents, the Governor did not demand immediate withdrawal of the Loko and Mende forces from the occupied Koya territories. He only reinforced the Police on the border villages, while the Loko and Mende warriors were devastating Koya as far as Foredugu; and Gbanka in the Yoni Country. Interior Koya was thus in a dilemma, for on the one hand, they were not on good terms with the Yoni, and on the other, the Administration could not help them to redress and wrong committed against them by the Mende, and the Loko under Sorie Kessebeh. But for the time being to retaliate, the Koya forces under Lahai Bundu who was in effect the Chief who had suffered most from the devastation of the Loko and Mende forces, quickly joined the Yoni - Masimra-Marampa alliance. This alliance had made a definite plan to attack the Mende and Loko forces without any fear of Colony intervention. In this way a diplomatic regrouping of forces had taken place. On the one hand, there were the Taiama Kpa Mende, the other Kpa Mende under Madam Yoko, Gbanka, the Bompeh, Ribi, the Loko and Fula of Rotifunk under Sorie Kessebeh, all backed by the Administration; on the other, there were the Yoni, Kolifa, Mabang, Tane, Gbokolenken, Konike, Mayosso, Marampa, Masimra, Gbambali, Koya, and Romende.

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¹ P.P. Vol.LXXV, W.T.G. Lawson to T.G. Lawson (his father) Aug.10, 1887.
The scene for a further conflict having thus been set, the Yoni first took the field. On September 1887, a combined force comprising of Yoni, Marampa, Masimra, and RoMende inflicted a crushing defeat on the Wonde/Loko forces and their allies, while the latter were still fighting in Koya. The invading forces fled for British Koya, and Freetown became alarmed. In order to prevent the war from spreading into the Queen's land, T.G. Lawson suggested a meeting of all the Chiefs involved to settle the matter. But Hay rejected this suggestion. Instead, he sent Captain Halkett, the Inspector-General of the Police to Bompeh, Ribi and British Koya to prevent the war spreading into those places. In this tour Halkett was accompanied by Kong Gbana, son of Chief Gbanya of Senehun, husband of Madam Yoko; Santigie Lahai, headman of Senehun; and Lambote, son of Sorie Kessebeh, representing his father. Chief Kamanda of Bauya failed to turn up as he had promised. When Halkett reached Tongia, a town now in control of the Yoni forces, he wanted to enter the stockades but the Chiefs refused him entry. He therefore turned his attention to Bompeh where he strove to mediate between Kanray Ba Caulker and Pa Keni Mahoi. It should be noted that in this tour, Halkett did not visit the Temne countries that were involved in the conflicts - Upper Koya, Marampa, and Yoni - neither was he accompanied by a representative of any of these places, but only by people from Bompeh and Senehun. This

1. P.P. 1887. Memo. by T.G. Lawson; September 19, 1887.
2. Ibid.
suggests that the Administration was already on the side of the Mende, Bompeh and Ribi people against the Yoni and their allies.

The fears expressed that the Temne forces were pursuing the Mende into the Queen's land, proved false, for the Temne themselves said they had no palaver with His Excellency. Their Chiefs however, met at Magbele\(^1\) and wrote to Hay stating their case and stipulating conditions for the restoration of peace between them and the Mende. In this letter, they demanded the restitution of the Temne captives in Mende and Loko hands; compensation for the property plundered or damaged; and the restitution of the people who had been killed by the Mende and Loko warriors, during the battles. They requested the Governor to "kindly elicit from Sorie Kessebeh, what we have done against him that we may avoid another war.\(^2\) They also declared in the letter that "among the raiders that come against us ... we observed not a few of the Mendes and Lokos residing in British territory near Waterloo,"\(^3\) and appealed to the Governor to stop "these mischief makers."

It was unfortunate that the Governor and his Administration did not pay heed to their letter, and when consequently the Temne Chiefs held another meeting at Magbele to discuss the matter, T.G. Lawson reported that "a large section of the Temne clans are uniting to avenge themselves on the Kendies, who have, by their actions offended many of them, and there seems to be little doubt that the Quiachs, Marampas,

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2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Masimera, Kolifas, Yonnies, and people of Mabang are now at one against the Mendies."¹ Hay immediately took action and wrote to the Temne Chiefs warning them against "making a common cause with clans /The Yoni, in this case/ whose antecedents and interests are not identical with theirs."² Hay, as in the case of other Administrators, had all along thought the Yoni to be quite a different people from the Temne, for they always referred to them as the "Yonnie Tribe." They never thought that the Yoni were only another group of the same Temne people. Hay was therefore, quite wrong to believe that the antecedents and interests of other Temne were quite different from those of the Yoni. Their interests especially those concerned with defence from the Mende and their collaborators or allies were largely identical.

In this case, Lawson's estimation of the situation was quite in order; for in antipathy towards the Mende and the Loko and their allies in the Colony, the Yoni were, by this time, in one accord with many other groups of the Temne people.

The Yoni thus continued their attacks on the Mende. On October 24, 1887, while Madam Yoko was away in Freetown,³ the Yoni made a sudden attack on Senehun at 6 o'clock in the morning.⁴ The attack which was organised at Makundu, was led by Kondor, Kongo, Kalawa Kabenthay, and Barri Sella. It was a surprise attack for the Senehun people themselves were reported to have said, "We never heard rumours

2. Ibid.
3. C. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, p.476.
of it before it came." In this attack, three British subjects (one man and two women) were killed and a Police Constable wounded. The man killed was John Parker, husband of the daughter of T.G. Lawson. The Mende Chiefs had trusted this man (who was also a Mende recaptive), as he used to write their letters for them. He had also been engaged in peace making missions between the Mende and the Yoni.\(^1\) The Yoni further plundered and destroyed six other towns and villages belonging to Madam Yoko. These included Bauya, Mongre, and Manjehun. At Mongre, they killed two more Krio women, captured a man from Rotifunk, cut off "his hand, thumb, and ear" and sent him first to Rotifunk and then to Freetown "to tell the people that the Yonnies are coming... and that they will spare no one; Sierra Leone people, English Officers and white people will all be treated alike."\(^2\) This exciting report was sent to Captain Halkett by Rev. R. West, a United Brethren Church American Missionary at Rotifunk. Yoni Mabanta and Bompeh traditions\(^3\) confirm this report but go further to say that the mutilated man was a Kpa Mende, and that this was a common practice among the natives as a declaration for war. By this means, the Yoni had now declared that they were in a state of war with the Kpa Mende and the Sherbro of Bompeh and Ribi and their allies - the Administration.

In this attack, the Yoni were said to have been assisted by the

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3. Oral Traditions
   Pa Kappr Serra, Pa Alimamy Fullah, Pa Bookarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76.
   P.C. William I. Caulker and Madam Emma Kessebeh-Manley, Rotifunk, Bompeh Chiefdom, 28.1.75.
Sofa warriors,¹ an allegation that was difficult to prove. After this victory, the Yoni followed their success. On October 7, 1887, they attacked some villages of Rotifunk, killing two people.² During this attack, Sorie Kessebeh was away in Freetown giving evidence in a case. After this devastation, many of them returned to Yoni, leaving a large force of warriors permanently settled at Mongze apparently to keep the Kpa Mende and Sherbro busy so that they would not be able to mobilize and attack Yoni from the south. The force that remained at Mongre kept on devastating the surrounding countries for many days. They raided many regions in Kagboro, Bagru, Bompeh and Ribi Countries. In Kagboro, they destroyed Rokai; in Bagru, the town of Manomo; and in Bompeh, the village of Ballil on the banks of the Bompeh river.³ In each of these places, they burnt down the towns, plundered property, killed many people and captured many more as slaves.

On account of these devastations, the Acting Governor Hay, sent a telegraphic message to Governor Rowe⁴ who was still on leave in England, and another to the Colonial Office reporting this "destructive attack by the Yonnie savage horde and asking for official sanction for some punitive measures against them."⁵ This was immediately followed by another action of the Executive Council which met in Freetown on October 9, 1887, and recommended "50 rank and file of the First West

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2. Ibid.
India Regiment, and 10 Police Constables under Captain Halkett be sent to the disturbed area and to protect the Colony's interests.¹ Sending recommendations was the only course of action Executive Council could take under the circumstances, since according to colonial regulations, the West India Regiment could not move without sanction from London. On October 11, Colonial Office sent its approval to inflict a sharp and severe lesson upon the Yoni.² It was these recommendations and sanctions that later developed into a serious official action against the Yoni; and it was their last attack on the Queen's land that precipitated this official action. Thus, a punitive expedition against the Yoni had become imminent.

According to W.T.G. Lawson, Government undertook the expedition because "the Yoni were a terror to all the Timini Tribes..."³ In this statement, Lawson was referring to the wars which the Yoni were fighting with their neighbours during the second half of the nineteenth century. He however, failed to give the true picture of the whole situation in the interior during the era as to whether the cause for which the Yoni were fighting was justifiable or not. He was merely telling this story to Chalmers, the Royal Commissioner inquiring into the Hut Tax events in the Sierra Leone Protectorate in 1898. Chalmers did not know anything of the Yoni Expedition in which war he (William Lawson) was an interested party who profited from it, and he therefore, took pains to mention this episode to the Royal Commissioner to justify the Government and his own father T.G. Lawson, for having fought it.

In this regard, William Lawson's statement can be briefly examined in an attempt to draw out the reasons for the Yoni wars and for the expedition against them. In the first place, the Yoni wars were not the only wars fought in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone during the period. Local wars in the interior were rampant throughout the nineteenth century before the establishment of the Protectorate in 1896. It was a period of professional warfare and professional warriors and their followers would fight to earn their living and to gain military glory. Yoni being full of these professional warriors, the Yoni would be found fighting in several places either on their own, or on being hired. Secondly, the Yoni were not fighting the other Temne all the time as alleged by William Lawson. In fact, they were sometimes in alliance with the other Southern Temne of Marampa and Masimra; the Eastern Temne of Tane, Kolifa, Konike, Mayosso, and Gbonkolenken; and the Northern Temne of Maral, Mara, and Gbambali. Occasionally, they would be in league with Upper Koya, as was the case when they cooperated to drive away the Mende and Loko who were devastating their towns bordering northern Yoni and Southern Koya. Thirdly, during this era, the Yoni were fighting not only offensive but also defensive warfare, for they were being harassed on almost all sides by their enemies. The fourth and very important reason why the Yoni were fighting was to gain access to the trading posts on the Rokel, Ribi, Bompeh, and Bagru rivers, which was refused them by their neighbours throughout the nineteenth century. William Lawson's evidence that the Yoni were a terror to all the Temne can therefore be dismissed as inaccurate and misleading. Of
course, one can understand his motive for being so much against the Yoni. The whole truth of this can be judged from two angles. First, as regent of Koya at that time, he wanted the boundary of his Chiefdom to be extended into Yoniland, but felt this could only be done by the Administration; hence his attitude towards the Yoni can only be calculated as an attempt to achieve his ambition. Secondly, William Lawson himself would never forget the Yoni for having killed his sister's husband, John Parker, when they stormed Senehun on October 24, 1887. It cannot therefore, be conceived that the expedition was mounted to punish the Yoni mainly because of their hostile attitude against the other Temne people as asserted by William Lawson. In fact, the Administration at that time had no wish to fight in defence of any section of the Hinterland peoples who were outside the Colony jurisdiction.

The Expedition set off from Mafengbe in Koya on October 1887, marched through that country and sacked the Yoni stronghold towns of Robari, Macondu and Ronietta. The whole campaign was just a matter of days when the Yoni were utterly defeated and their military power crushed. But while the Yoni were being harrassed from the south-west by the Expedition, their border towns on the east and south were also under heavy attacks by the combined forces of the Loko, Sherbro, and Kpa Mende, who quickly united for this purpose, taking advantage of the Yoni Expedition.

Yoni traditions firmly state that the struggle during the Yoni Expedition was not so much between the Yoni and the 'white men' as

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.604.
MAP OF YONI ILLUSTRATING THE YONI EXPEDITION OF 1887 AND THE LOCAL ATTACKS ON YONI DURING THE STRUGGLE

- Movement of Government troops
- Movement of attacking troops from Ribi, Bompeh & Kpa Mende countries
- Movement of defending Yoni troops and their allies

National Boundaries
Highland

0 20 miles
between them on the one hand; and the Mende, Sherbro, Loko, on the other. Their warriors, the traditions continue, could not fight the 'white man' for long since some of these warriors had retreated to defend their country from attacks by their enemies from the south. These attacks were mainly on the east and south, which area was the front line border between them.

Beginning from the east,¹ the Kpa Mende of Mongere led by the powerful professional warriors Moseray and Moigula, launched a heavy attack on Fondu, but were repulsed by the Gbonkolenken warriors, who were the allies of the Yoni. The fleeing Kpa Mende warriors passed a round about way and joined the Taiama forces who marched to Yoni through Kassabereh pass. They attacked and destroyed Kithboe, aiming at sacking Yoni Sarr Ferra (present Yonibana), but were driven back with heavy losses, by the Konike and Masimra forces - another set of Yoni allies during the fight. These two towns, Fondu and Kithboe were recaptured, and Yoni Sarr Ferra, saved.

A more terrible attack came from the central Kpa Mende, on Rogboya.² It can be recalled that this town had earlier been captured by the Yoni who had it repopled by their own people. It was a vast concourse of Kpa Mende warriors led by the distinguished professional warrior, Kongomoh. This attack took place in the night, and indiscriminately killed people - men, women and children. The advancing Kpa Mende forces marched to Perewahun, and Wankele, and sacked these towns. They then crossed the river, sacked Ronuri,

¹. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.604.
². Ibid.
crossed the Kayana River and burnt down Robang. In all these attacks, the onslaught was terrible. The attackers appeared to have aimed at attacking Roruks, to joining the Colony forces at Ronietta. But before they left Robang, they were confronted by some of the Yoni warriors who had retreated from the Ronietta campaign in order to defend the border towns. According to Yoni traditions, when the retreating Yoni warriors saw Robang in flames, some of them crossed the river on the upper part, while the others on the lower part, thus avoiding the main road - so as not to be noticed by the enemy. They then laid a sally for the Kpa Mende warriors. The other warriors, unknowingly cut down the bridge. Then hundreds of the remaining Yoni warriors rushed from the direction of Roruks into Robang to confront the Kpa Mende warriors, who in consequence, retreated. Some of these Mende warriors were drowned into the River Ka Yana while the others were slaughtered by the Yoni warriors in ambush. In this battle, many Mende warriors were killed, and Robang, Ronuri, and Wankelay were recaptured by the Yoni forces. But Perewahun and Rogboya remain Kpa Mende towns up to the present day.

The remaining three attacks came from the south. The fourth was

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Ch. 9.1.76
Pa Amadu Bangura, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta, Chiefdom, 22.1.76
Pa Kapprr Serva, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Kapprr Thagbomgbo Contheh, Ronietta, Yoni, Mabanta, Ch. 6.4.76
Pa Sheka Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch. 7.4.76
Pa Sorie Kamara, Tonibana, Yoni Mamella, Chiefdom, 19.4.76
launched by a coalition of the Kpa Mende of Pakunya and Kaiyamba. They attacked the Yoni border strongholds towns of Sosowuray (a town said to have been founded by Susu/Temne slave traders. They sacked this town with terrible slaughter. The fleeing Yoni warriors were pursued across the Karenkan River on to Mafenta. But here the Kpa Mende warriors were confronted by some Mabanta Fula/Temne led by Pa Mara Gboto of Ronietta. Most of the retreating Mende warriors were drowned in the Ka Renkan River. Mafenta was saved but Sosowuray remains in Kpa Mende hands up to the present day.

The fifth attack came from the Kpa Mende of Komgboro or Bavya Country. They sacked Magbenka, killing the Chief Pa Gbenka Masankay, a Mabanta Fulla of the Fula Mansa Gbassankoro Ruling House of Yoni Mabanta. Having captured Magbenka, they crossed the Mabunkuma stream and razed the Mabunkuma Village to the ground and forcefully marched to Masankay itself, aiming at going to Ronietta. But on the way, they were met by hundreds of Yoni warriors in full strength, who drove them back into Mendeland. Thus Masankay was saved but Magbenka remains in the Kpa Mende hands up to the present day.

The sixth and final attack came from the south-west corner of Yoni Mabanta. It was launched by a coalition of Loko and Sherbro warriors from Bompeh and Ribi, led by Bote Kanu, Sorie Kessebeh's younger brother. They passed through Massanda and captured the Yoni Mabanta western border town of Mapoli. They wanted to cross the Ribi River to march to Malanchor but there they were met by Yoni

1. Oral Traditions — See Note 1, p.621.
2. Ibid.
warriors from Mayamgba, Mafalla, and Malanchor. Neither force
crossed the river, but remained on the other side throwing insults,
and stones from slings on each other. And the town of Mapoli was
never recaptured by the Yoni. It remains in Ribi hands up to the
present day.

It can thus be seen that during the Yoni Expedition, Yoni was
seriously encircled by hostile forces - on the west, by the Colony
troops and their 'friendlies' from Koya, Ribi and Bompeh; on the east
and north-east, by the Kpa Mende of Mongere and Kori (or Taiama); on
the south, by the Kpa Mende of Fakunya, Kaitamba and Komgbora; on the
south-west, by the Loko and Sherbro of Bompeh and Ribi. Ronietta
was definitely the main target since it was the greatest stronghold and
seat of the Yoni Kabanta rulers. 1

In the Yoni Expedition of 1887, it can be seen that a great deal
of local politics were involved, which the Colony Administration never
took notice of. Although the neighbours of Yoni joined the Adminis-
tration in the fight because they were bound by treaty obligations,
their main aim was to have the Yoni completely crumbled and Yoniland
itself partitioned among themselves. So that satisfying their ambition
to partition Yoniland could be regarded as one of the main reasons for
their joining the Colony Administration in the Yoni Expedition. But
these Kpa Mende attackers were disappointed as can be seen from the
internal settlement of political affairs, for no territory was
assigned to them other than the ones they had already captured. It
was on the other hand impossible to evacuate them from these occupied

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.521.
Yoni territories, a situation which continued to be a constant source of discontent on the part of the Yoni in to the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Commenting on the defeat of the Yoni generally, it can be seen that their defeat by the Colony forces was only a proof of the inability of the native forces to withstand modern European warfare with a well disciplined army under a tried and experienced commander. That is the native war fences, mud walls, stockades, and cap - guns were no match for the sophisticated European mode of fighting. Locally, the defeat of the Yoni only showed that no country could survive in the midst of united opposition from its neighbours.

The aftermath of the Yoni expedition can be viewed from the way its effects were felt in Yoni itself as well as in other countries. These effects can be considered under three main heads namely, the political reconstruction of the Southern Temne particularly Yoni itself; the situation in the neighbourhood of Yoni; and the post-expedition affairs among the Southern Temne people as a whole. In connection with the political reconstruction, Government first thought it necessary to keep Yoni quiet. In order to achieve this objective, a portion of the army was stationed at Robari as long as they were needed there.¹ This was one of the results of the first meeting held on December 2, 1887 at Mimaliegie with certain Chiefs. Captain Lendy of the 2nd West India Regiment was put in charge of the detachment.

But he also performed circuit duties to surveillance other neighbour-countries and to send regular reports to Government until 1891 when this detachment was withdrawn and replaced by the Frontier Police.\(^1\) In his duties, he was helped by 'loyal' chiefs in Southern and Eastern Temne Countries, Sherbro Countries, and those of the Kpa Mende Confederacy, most prominent of which was Madam Yoko of Senehun. He was also to check on the slave trade in all these countries. One of his most notable efforts in regard to checking the slave trade was at Fula Town near Rotifunk in Bompeh Country. In this town,\(^2\) he found 80 slaves in chains. They were owned by the Fula traders who helped de Winton during the Yoni Expedition, who were just getting ready to take them to the Northern Rivers for sale. Instead of arresting the owners and bringing them to Freetown for trial, he released the slaves, had the owners summarily flogged, destroyed Fula town and drove them out of Bompeh Country. He acted this way because taking them to Freetown for trial would have provoked the very ticklish question of slavery on British soil such as Bompeh.

But Lendy's main political settlement moves were in the Southern Temne Countries. In April 1889,\(^3\) he convened a meeting of all the neighbouring Chiefs at Romesgreen in Yoni Mabanta and got them to agree to a general pacification. In this move, he was again assisted by the 'loyal' Chiefs, with Madam Yoko playing a leading role.

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1. CO.267/391. War Office to Colonial Office 074/892, 10.1.91.
3. Ibid.
The other result of the meeting held at Mamaligie on December 2, 1887 was an arrangement to capture the Yoni warriors, for it was felt that as long as they were still at large, the war would revive. This was done with the help of certain local chiefs. The most prominent of these warriors were Kondor, Kongo, Sella, Kalsaw Kabenthalay, Bockarie Koliama, Obanka, and Pa Mahung. After this meeting, de Winton returned to Freetown for a short time to meet Rowe who had arrived there from Bathurst since November 28. He stayed in Freetown for nine days holding consultations with the Governor. On December 7, he returned to Mamaligie via Mafemgbe by the Ribi river and through Robari. By this time, the whole area was quiet.

At the second meeting held at Mamaligie on December 16, 1887, the Chiefs of Masimra, Marampa, Koya, Bompeh and Ribi were all invited but there was no Yoni Chief present. It was the two personalities of the Government, Rowe and de Winton that summoned this meeting. In his opening speech, Rowe blamed the Chiefs for having "brought all these troubles on yourselves by bringing war boys into the country."\(^1\) Having ended his speech, he then handed the conduct of the meeting to de Winton. The latter then informed the chiefs that the land having now been conquered, "now belongs to the Governor,"\(^2\) and that he would establish such peace that would make it impossible for any "tribe" to cause trouble in the future. He however, took care not to say that the land belonged to the Queen, though T.G. Lawson did.\(^3\)

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2. Ibid.
arrangements which ensued, Sorie Kessebeh was to be responsible to keep the road open between Rotifunk and Robari, to provide 50 carriers every two months to convey provisions from Mafemgbe to Robari to maintain the troops stationed there. Keni Mahoi was responsible to open the road between Mafemgbe and Robari and also to supply 50 carriers every two months. As his reward, Keni Mahoi's country was extended by formally declaring the Ribi river to be the boundary between Ribi and Yoni, and thus putting the former Yoni towns of Mafulmo and Mapoli into Ribi. In the case of Koya, its boundary was shifted to Bath Fep, cutting off the hitherto Yoni towns of Mathenefore, Warema, Makaranke near Robari, and putting them into Koya. Hitherto, the Makaranke stream had been the boundary between Ribi, Yoni and Koya.¹ Rossolo Creek was formally declared the boundary between Masimra and Koya by which the size of the former country was seriously reduced, and consequently increasing the size of Koya. Both Pa Keni Mahoi of Ribi and William Lawson of Koya, a leading prince of that country, were particularly happy for the extension of their countries into Yoniland.

This was not the end of the trouble for Yoni. Their allies were now to be punished "for participating in the war against the English."² This would check them from further supporting the Yoni and any other people for that matter, in the future. In addition to reducing his country and adding it to Koya, Bai Simra Kamal was fined £200, to be paid in kind (a bushel of rice being reckoned at 6d). That is, Bai Simra Kamal was to pay in kind, 800 bushels of rice to the Administration. This Chief was himself detained in Freetown gaol

1. Oral Traditions. Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76
   Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
   1887
until his fine was paid. One of his Sub-chiefs, Alimamy Contheh, was arrested and detained for a short while, but was promised pardon if he also cooperated in apprehending the Yoni warriors who were said to be hiding in Rogbongban in Yoni Mamella Country, which was a day's march from Macontheh. This he did after he had been released from detention. Bai Koblo Sankolo and his sub-chiefs, with the exception of Bai Suba An Pessor, who was found blameless, were fined £100, and £50 of it would be remitted if the chiefs would help to apprehend the Yoni warriors still at large. Bai Suba An Pessor was however, not compensated since he hesitated to stop his men from joining the war against the Government. Bai M'Salmansa of Port Loko was arrested, detained in Freetown gaol and his stipend stopped, which was only reinstated in 1893, after a plea was made to that effect was made by the Alikali and some Port Loko leading men.

It is however, significant to note that two of the Yoni enemies who fought on the Government side were punished. These were Kamanda of Bauya and Gbanka of Yoni. Kamanda was detained in Freetown gaol and later deported to the Gambia together with the Yoni warriors. His charge was "failing to restrain the friendlies under him when ordered to do so." But this charge was only a pretext to get rid of the chief. The fact is that Kamanda was an opponent of his overlord, Madam Yoko, who was a very great friend of the Administration. It can be recalled that at the beginning of the Hostilities, Madam Yoko had accused Kamanda of conniving with the Yoni to kill her, and both the Madam and her friend, the Administration, had been seeking for an opportunity to depose and banish Kamanda from his country.

The case of Gbanka is also an interesting one. Throughout the era of these trade wars, Gbanka had been fighting against his own Yoni people for his promised reward which was refused him and for his own personal glory as a professional warrior. During the Yoni Expedition, he was one of the most outstanding warriors who fought on the side of the Government. But it was he and Kamanda who conducted the friendlies that plundered and devastated the Masimra towns of Macontheh and Badsurma, and did not stop them even when ordered to do so. Gbanka's arrest and detention can thus be considered justifiable because, if this was the offence for which Kamanda was incarcerated, Gbanka too must suffer the same fate. But as in the case of Kamanda, Gbanka's punishment by imprisonment, was only a pretext to get him out of the way. There appeared to be an underlying reason. The truth is that Gbanka had become a very powerful and famous professional warrior, and the absence of the other professional warriors who had been apprehended and deported from the country, would have doubtless afforded him and his numerous followers, an opportunity to continue to devastate and plunder Yoniland and other Temne Countries. There was not even any guarantee that such devastations and plundering would not be taken into the "Queen's territories," and internal wars would thus have continued indefinitely. Since it was the aim of the Government to maintain the peace, it would have been impolitic to have left Gbanka uncontrolled. He was captured in April 25, 1888, and sent to gaol for seven years.  

Pa Mahung was arrested in December 1889, for his participation in the Yoni disturbances of 1887, being the leader of the Yoni in the attack on Mawoto, Bauya, and Senahun, towns belonging to Madam Yoko's territory. As the evidence against him was unsatisfactory, he could not be criminally prosecuted but only detained in Freetown gaol.

By the end of 1889, all the warriors, except Kondor, described as a "notorious free lance" had been captured. Kondor was captured in January 1890. This was effected by Captain Palmer assisted by Chief Moigura of Tikonko in whose country he had taken refuge, and whom the Government had promised a reward of goods to the value of £30, if he assisted in his apprehension. Like Gbanka and Pa Mahung, Kondor was also detained in a Freetown gaol. In the case of these three warriors no prosecution was made since no sufficient evidence could be found to incriminate them. To enable the Government to legally detain them therefore, special detention ordinances had to be passed. While Pa Mahung died in detention, Kondor and Gbanka were released in 1894.

1. PRO.C0267/382. Hay to Knutsford 191, May 8, 1890. AND C0.267/384. Lendy to The Administrator, Freetown, 8.5.90.
2. PRO.C0267/384. Lendy (Robari) to The Administrator, Freetown, 8.5.90.
3. PRO.C0267/381. Administrator Maltby to Knutsford, 1816; 7.1.90.
4. PRO.C0267/381. Administrator Maltby to Knutsford, 1816; 7.1.90.
5. PRO.C0267/381. Administrator Maltby to Knutsford, 1816; 7.1.90.
Government was not in a hurry to compensate the Kpa Mende probably because they were not a threat to the peace and stability needed for the trade of the Colony. Moreover, part of Kpa Mende Country such as Senrehun and Bauya, were actually British, and as such, it was their duty to support the Government in the expedition. A more likely reason was that the Kpa Mende warriors had already compensated themselves with plunder.

Matters having thus been settled in the neighbouring territories, the Government now concentrated in reorganizing the internal politics of Yoni. Since 1880, the Yonis had had no responsible principal Chief. Bai Sebora Kenkeh I had died in exile, and this made it difficult to perform the customary rites following the death of a "Poro" installed Chief. Pa Sana Conteh of Ronietta who was regent looking after the affairs of both countries died in 1886 and his successor, Pa Yellow had been killed by Gbanka during his raid in Ronietta in January 1887. Following these deaths, there was total confusion in Yoniland during which time Professional warriors took charge. Colonel de Winton believed that it was this absence of a head chief that had been "one of the main causes of the unsettled state of Yonnie country and the Yonnies have all been led astray like sheep having no shepherd." Consequently, on December 18, 1887, another big "palaver" was held at Mamaligie attended by de Winton and Rowe and their staff; and the Chiefs of Port Loko, Koya, Marampa, Masimra, Bompeh, and Ribi to select a principal Chief for Yoni. At this meeting, it was agreed that Pa Say Massah (alias, Pa Raka) of Warema

1. P.P.1887, Yoni Expedition; War Diary, Mamaligie Meeting. Dec. 16, 1887.
should be the Chief of Yoni, whom, it was reported, had already been
elected as the rightful successor, by the Yoni themselves; but that
his coronation and installation had been prevented by the outbreak of
the war. The new Chief assumed the title of Bai Sebora Queen in
honour of Queen Victoria during whose reign he was crowned, and whose
peace de Winton told him he was appointed to keep in Yoniland. It
was further stated that he was a suitable candidate because, "he was
a good man whose hand has been in war palaver, and no one has anything
against him." To mark the occasion of this crowning ceremony, de
Winton ordered two bullocks to be slaughtered for the Chiefs who
assembled at the meeting. The new Chief was however, not allowed to
return to Yoni but to remain at Mamaligie in Masimra, until Yoni
became quiet. After this meeting, de Winton returned to Freetown on
December 19, 1887, and this was followed by a telegraphic despatch
from Her Majesty's Government expressing "much satisfaction" at the
success of the expedition. Colonel de Winton returned to the United
Kingdom by the steamer "Abriz", leaving Rowe to carry out the
administrative details. For the Administration, the Yoni Expedition
was a "matter of much satisfaction", and as expressed by T.G. Lawson,
"as for the Yonnie country, it is now to be considered the Queen's by
conquest and Her Majesty desires to keep it," but Yoni was never
formally annexed until the declaration of the Protectorate in 1896,
when the whole Hinterland legally became a British possession.

Although Yoni had now got a Chief, the appointment of such a ruler cannot escape some criticisms. In the first place, the meeting for the election of this new Chief was not held in Yoni itself, but in Mamaligie in Masimra which was quite a different country. Secondly, the election was done not by the elders of Yoni as was the custom of the country, but by Chiefs from other countries. These Chiefs were not in any way connected with the election and coronation of a "Poro Chief" in Yoni. The representation at the meeting was, 7 members of the Administration including de Winton and Parkes; 3 from Masimra; 8 from Marampa; 5 from Koya; 3 from Bompeh and Ribi; and 8 from Port Loko.¹ Yoni was represented only by two people. These were, the candidate himself, Pa Say Massah, and his brother Pa Say Bana (alias Pa Raka); both of whom came from Warema.² This Warema had been a Yoni border town but according to the new political divisions fixed between Koya and Yoni, this town had already become a Koya town. With such composition, Yoni was virtually not represented at this very important meeting affecting their national life. Thirdly, Pa Say Massa seemed to have been a nominee of the Government; for the people were not asked to select a candidate. de Winton seemed only to have imposed him on the people saying at the meeting, "I am informed he is here; he is Sey Masah."³ Finally, Say Massa's legitimacy to the Yoni Crown was only established by Pa Keni Mahoi who was totally a non-Yoni man in the following language:

1. P.P.1887,Yoni Exp. op.cit. Despatch No.58; Enclosure 5, PT.III, Dec. 21, 1887.
2. P.P.1887,Yoni Exp. op.cit. Despatch No.58; Enclosure 5, PT.III, Dec. 21, 1887.

Ibid.
"I know Sey Masah, he is a good man, his hand had been in no war palaver. When the last war broke out between the Yonnies and the Masimras he was with me, and the Yonnies were desirous of making him Bey Sherbro, before the war took place and prevented his coronation. I never heard anything, anything against him. He is Sey Masah, the rightful successor to the office of Bey Sherbro." 1

This statement was corroborated by the other Chiefs who were all non-Yoni, that Say Massa was a good and fitted man to be Bai Sebora and his hand had been in no war palaver. In this way, all the Chiefs had acquiesced to the Colonel's choice. But it should be noted that Pa Keni was not only a non-Yoni man, but he had also been a bitter enemy of the Yoni over the Ribi river boundary. Further, he seems to have been a personal friend of Pa Say Massa. And he also did not tell us that Pa Say Massa had actually been elected Bai Sherbro by the Yoni themselves before the outbreak of the war; but that they (the Yoni) were only "desirous of making him a Bey Sherbro", the truth of which had no evidence whatever. Further, Pa Say Massa, according to Pa Keni's statement appeared to have been in Ribi when the Yoni were desirous of making him Bai Sherbro, which would be an unnatural way of electing a principal Chief. Moreover, although it was stated that Pa Say Massa's hand was in no "War palaver", this might only mean that he was not on the side of the Yoni against the Administration, for if he were, he would definitely not have been appointed. He might probably, have even been supporting the Administration (even though only secretly); and his election could well be some compensation for his support.

Yoni traditions assert2 that he was in fact, one of the leaders who

2. Oral Traditions - see Note 1, p.621.
recruited the 'friendlies' and informed the Government of the probable hiding places of the Yoni warriors, and that this was why he was crowned as a reward. The whole election of Pa Say Massa appears to have been manipulated by the Administration to get someone as Chief of Yoni, who would carry out the will of the Government. His assumption of the title of Bai Sebora Queen in honour Queen Victoria, suggests this. In the election itself, it should be noted that no other candidate was allowed to contest. Thus Pa Say Massa became Chief of Yoni in an election in which he was the only candidate. But Yoni could not protest as they were now powerless, having been conquered in battle, their country devastated, and their leaders arrested and deported to a foreign land. Consequently, they only had to pretend to accept any person appointed for them as principal Chief, by the Government.

According to Yoni traditions¹ two people were crowned at Mamaligie. These were Pa Say Massa, as Bai Sebora Queen for Yoni Mamella; and Pa Sani, as Fula Mansa Sani for Yoni Mabanta. But these Chiefs never assumed their offices for they were never ceremonially crowned and installed by the Yoni people who merely regarded them as the "White Man's Chiefs." They never ventured to return to Yoni for the people had threatened to kill them if they did, for betraying them to the "White Man." Pa Say Massa remained at Warema while Pa Sani at Mafemgbe. Within two years of their coronation at Mamaligie, they died in Koya and were buried there; but the Government was never informed. In Yoni Mamella, one of Pa Say Massa's younger brothers, Pa Say Bana M'Yenkain was ceremonially crowned, and when it was time

¹ Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.621.
for his installation, the Government was informed and he was named Bai Sebora Queen after his late brother. In Yoni Mabanta, the replacement of Pa Sani Pulla had to be suspended until the sacred things of the crown had been brought back from Mabankra, in Masimra Country, when Fula Mansa Kagbengbe was installed. This accounts for the installation of Bai Sebora Queen and Fula Mansa Kagbengbe in 1869 and 1896 respectively.¹

By 1890, Government began to think seriously of withdrawing the detachment of the West India Regiment from Robari, and this was done in 1891.² Two reasons were responsible for this decision to withdraw the troops. Firstly, the Administration had become convinced that Yoni and the neighbouring countries were now quite peaceful. Secondly, by early 1891, the Administration had felt that the Frontier Police Force introduced only in May 1890, was already doing satisfactory work in the maintenance of law and order and that it was a duplication of manpower resources and a waste of money to retain the troops at Robari. It was therefore, decided that the detachment should be withdrawn at once, and replaced by Frontier Police. In this connection, Mr. Meade at the Colonial Office commented,

"...this force /The Frontier Police/ has made such satisfactory progress as regards numbers and efficiency since its formation in May last, that you /The Under-Secretary of State/ will be so good to bring to Lord Knutsford the opportunity which now occurs for the immediate withdrawal of the detachment of the West Indian Troops at Robari, and its replacement, if necessary, by the Frontier Police." ³

¹. V.R. Dorjahn: "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni..." p.88,Appendix
². CO267/391. War Office to Colonial Office, 074/392, 10.1.91.
Another reason for the Administration being sure that peace had been restored in Yoni was the presence of the principal Chief, Bai Sebora Queen in Yoni Mamella who was in fact, Virtually in control of both Yonis before the installation of Fula Mansa Kagbengbe in 1896. During his period of nine years in office (1889-1896), he actually kept the peace of the country, which was within the expectation of the Administration.

The Yoni Expedition of 1887 had a tremendous effect on the Southern Temne as a whole and on the other countries involved. In the first place, Captain Lendy’s surveillance of Yoni was also a surveillance of all the neighbouring countries as well; so that by the early 1890s, Government could ascertain the true feelings of the natives towards the Colony. The expedition ended the era of professionalism in warfare and the influence and power of war chiefs, no matter to whatever peoples they belonged. No more professional warriors could be heard of in any of these countries. On the other hand, the British prestige was enhanced and the power of the “white man feared and respected.”¹

The experience gained in the Yoni expedition provided one of the reasons for the Government to establish the Frontier Police Force in 1890, to patrol the frontier line, to keep the peace, to suppress the slave trade and any element of subversion, and to prevent invasion from outside. As Ijagbemi has rightly pointed out, "The Yoni Expedition brought to an end the trade wars in Temne Country and marked... a turning point in the British attitude towards Sierra Leone as a whole. After the completion of the Expedition there emerged a consistent and

¹. P.P. 1899. Chalmers Report; Appendix II. No.XVII - Petition - Temne Chiefs against the Protectorate Ordinance, June 28, 1897.
purposeful imperial policy towards the Sierra Leone hinterland."

A final result of the Yoni Expedition is that it helped to widen the already existing divisions among the Southern Temne. The Yoni never trusted anymore, their neighbours, especially the Koya Temne, who always looked down on them. As a result, the Southern Temne were never able to form a united front to fight a common enemy. One shining example of this lack of unity became visible during the era of the establishment of the Protectorate and the Hut Tax War which followed. During this period, when the other Southern Temne were holding their meetings to forment their opposition against the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896, they did not invite the Yoni Chiefs; and the Yoni themselves would never have cooperated even if they were invited. They rather preferred joining the Government. Of the other chiefdoms, only Maforki was openly in league with Bai Bureh; and Koya, probably only secretly; while Marampa and Masimra remained neutral. These divisions among them formed the basis or foundation for the British policy of divide and rule.

On the whole therefore, the history of the Yoni Expedition is essentially part of the history of the Southern, Eastern, and Northern Temne; the Kpa Mende; and the Sherbro of Bompeh and Ribi. It also throws light on the history of the penetration of the British into the hinterland during the latter part of the nineteenth century. However,

it was not until 1896 that they formally took control of the hinterland, having declared it a Protectorate.

The most important incident during the last decade of the nineteenth century, in which both Yonis united as a body was during the Hut Tax War of 1898. But unlike the other Southern Temne Chiefdoms of Koya and Maforki, which openly resisted the tax collection; Masimra, secretly; and Marampa remaining neutral; Yoni openly fought on the side of the Government. In this endeavour, they were led by Fula Mansa Gbanka.

Since 1897 when Fula Mansa Kagbengbe died, Gbanka had forced the Yoni Mabanta elders to ceremonially install him as their Paramount Chief, and this use of force took place at Ronietta. The elders quickly responded to prevent him taking his sword against them; but they did this without the authority and recognition of the Government. When Bai Sebora Queen of Yoni Mamella who had ruled both Yonis up to 1896, was arrested and detained early in 1898, Fula Mansa declared his full support for the Government in the Tax issue. He was immediately and officially recognized and awarded his full staff of office, proclaimed Paramount Chief of both Yonis and head of the tax collectors in many Southern and Eastern Temne

2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
YONI AND THE HUT TAX WAR OF 1898

Colonial Highway

Probable route of D.C. Fairtloughs
2nd expedition to Koya, accompanied
by Fula Mansa Gbanka

Probable route followed by Fula
Mansa Gbanka & his Yoni troops

Chiefdom Boundaries

Yoni Internal Boundaries

Chiefdom Boundaries

Probable route followed by Fula
Mansa Gbanka & his Yoni troops

0 20 miles
Countries. Becoming energetic to please the Government to whom he owed his official recognition as Paramount Chief, he fought for the Government during the Hut Tax War. During the Mende Rising which began in April 1898, he led 500 Yoni war-men to help the Government in the siege of Taiama which fell after two days of fierce fighting.

Marching to Bauya, he killed Kamanda, an ex-Kpa Mende war prisoner, who had been his co-warrior in fighting for the Government during the Yoni Expedition of 1887.

Yoni traditions strongly assert that the Yoni were strongly supported by the eastern Temne of the Kolifas, the Gbonkolenkens the Konikes, and Tane - who had been their allies all through the era of the trade wars. According to the same traditions, the method of assembling the warriors and war-men employed was slightly similar to that used by the Mende. The Mende used the palm leaf to call all the warriors together and their pass-word was "Ngo-yila", meaning 'one word', or 'united action in the name of Poro.' In the case of the Yoni Temne, it was the leaf of the bamboo tree (that grows in swamps) from which raffia is produced, that was used to assemble the warriors.

1. Oral Traditions. Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chief Pa Kapprr Serra Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76 Pa Alimamy Fulla, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76 Pa Backarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76 Pa Kapprr Tholley, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76 Pa Kapprr Thagbongbo Conteh, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Ch. 2.5.76 Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch. 7.4.76

2. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.583.

3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, above.

4. Ibid.

5. C. Fyfe: A History of Sierra Leone, p.571. AND Oral Traditions - See Note 1, above.

6. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, above.
This bamboo tree itself is very sacred to the Temne Poro Society, and its leaf which is used in performing all the important rituals and ceremonies is very symbolic of everything that is Poro.\(^1\) Sending it round therefore, meant to call all able-bodied Poro men (the 'SOKOS') to assemble immediately for positive action. The pass-word accompanying this bamboo leaf to convey the message, was the name of the leading warrior. This had been a long standing practice, before the Hut Tax War, and the leading Yoni warrior could be Fayombo Ka Dora, or Kondor, or Yamba Packle, or Kalawa Kabenthay, or Kongo, etc. During the Hut Tax War however, the leading warrior was Gbanka, and the rest, including the last four (for Fayombo Ka Dora had earlier been killed by Gbanka) simply joined him. It was very easy and quick for all the warriors and war-men and the Eastern Temne, the former allies of the Yoni to join Gbanka's call to arms - because, for one thing, the war was called in the name of Poro; and for another, these allies had been the enemies of the Kpa Mende who were the main target. But the most important reason was Gbanka's fame as an outstanding professional warrior, and particularly now that he had become a Paramount Chief backed by the Government, they strongly believed that he would lead them to success.

According to the same traditions,\(^2\) Gbanka appointed his most forceful lieutenant Kalawa Kabenthay to organize and command the Yoni forces while he remained the General. For this position, he was called 'KAMANDA', a name he was later to use as his chiefly name when he became Paramount Chief of Yoni Mabanta (as Fula Mansa Kamanda).

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1. My personal knowledge of the Poro Society.
2. Oral Traditions, See Note 1, p.640.
Kalawa divided the Yoni troops into battalions and named each after a leading professional warrior - dead or alive. He then revived an old rhyme used in the days of professional warfare, by which he as commander, would call the names of all these warriors beginning with Gbanka, and the warriors would respond in unison, calling his own name of 'KALAWA', as follows:¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEADER</th>
<th>Gbanka</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WARRIORS</td>
<td>Kalawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEADER</td>
<td>Kondor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARRIORS</td>
<td>Kalawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEADER</td>
<td>Kongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARRIORS</td>
<td>Kalawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEADER</td>
<td>Fayombo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARRIORS</td>
<td>Kalawa</td>
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<tr>
<td>LEADER</td>
<td>An Kerrey</td>
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<td>WARRIORS</td>
<td>Kalawa</td>
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<tr>
<td>LEADER</td>
<td>Kafiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARRIORS</td>
<td>Kalawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEADER</td>
<td>O'Koro (Abbreviation for Korothamba, the Gbonkoleken warrior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARRIORS</td>
<td>Kalawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEADER</td>
<td>Koli (Abbreviation for Bockarie Koliama, the Macundu warrior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARRIORS</td>
<td>Kalawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc., etc., etc., etc.

The traditions² recall that Kalawa himself had the supernatural power of transforming himself into a kind of 'bat-like' creature called 'O KOMBOLO', which could both run and fly at great speed. With this

1. Oral Traditions, See Note 1, p.540.
2. Ibid.
supernatural power, Kamanda could move very fast in supervising and controlling the forces. The marching warriors would stamp their feet - LEFT. RIGHT. LEFT. RIGHT. etc., while saying the rhyme with heavy voices. The aim here was to move the warriors into vigorous action, and to drive terror into the minds of their opponents. This method proved so successful that there was in fact, no fighting in many of the towns and villages of the Mende which the Yoni warriors attacked. That is, the towns had already been deserted before they were entered by the Yoni Warriors.

When Fula Mansa Gbanka was killed at Gbonjema in the Mende Country during the war, Kalawa Kabenthay became his successor as general of the Yoni forces. Kalawa continued the war on the side of the Government until the Kpa Mende rebel countries were finally subdued.

One then wonders whether the Yoni and their allies did not see in the Hut Tax War, an opportunity to avenge on their former enemies (like the Kpa Mende) during the trade wars, and more particularly during the Yoni Expedition of 1887; or whether they did not think that the days of professional warfare had now been revived once more - for after all, such warfare had just been ended by the Yoni Expedition of 1887 (only about 10 years ago), and most of the warriors must still have been alive, and still longing for a return to their old profession to loot and make a name. As for the Yoni, they obviously meant to recapture their lost territories in Kpa Mende Country. But they were all disappointed for the Colonial Government would not tolerate any wars any more, in the Protectorate; and during the political reorganisation of the Southern Temne Country after the war, the Yoni occupied territories by the Kpa Mende were left intact, and Yoni was only slightly extended to Masimra Country.
After the 1898 Hut Tax War, both Yonis were ruled in a spirit of mutual co-existence although they had quite different Paramount Chiefs. The reason for this was that their people had undergone mutual suffering in their economic depression caused by their lack of access to the trade depots on the Rokel, Ribi, Bompeh, and Bagru Rivers; continuous wars with their neighbours; the events and effects of the Yoni Expedition of 1887; and their support for the Government during the Hut Tax War. All these events seemed to have united them together and throughout the 1890s they seemed to be acting quite independent of the rest of the Southern Temne Countries. On June 2, 1900, one Major Weston reported that the Yoni were contemplating a fresh rising. But such a report might probably have been motivated by the scheming of Enterprise & Co. Ltd., who were opposed by some Yoni Chiefs in their Concession hunting. Cardew's refutation of this report was a clear indication of the Government's immense confidence in, and support for the Yoni at the close of the nineteenth century.

The Yoni policy of living in a spirit of mutual co-existence and cooperation within their two chiefdoms could also be noticed from the way their economy was controlled during the first two years of the twentieth century. This was facilitated by the construction of the railway which afforded them their long needed opportunity to trade with the Colony. When, according to Yoni traditions, the railway

1. C.0.267/382. Hay to Knutsford, 8.4.90.
2. C.0.267/453. Cardew to Chamberlain, 2.6.1900.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.640.
reached Rotifunk in Bompeh Chiefdom in 1900, the Temne Chiefs were invited to discuss the possibility of constructing a branch line in the interior of their countries. While the others hesitated, Fula Mansa Kamanda of Yoni Mabanta went to meet the Government authorities and declared that his country would be glad to have it, and that he would provide sufficient labour, for he said, "I have men as numerous as the leaves in the bush." This statement which was at first regarded as an empty boast, later became a reality when the work commenced.

The reasons for the construction of this branch railway line through Yoni Country were both economic and administrative. When the railway reached Bauya, a tram line was first constructed to Yoni Country which was found to be most useful in tapping the resources of that country. But this tram line was soon found to be inadequate to cope with the volume of produce to be brought down to Bauya, then to Freetown. This produce included Palm kernels, palm oil, rice, timber, gum, pepper, kola nuts and ginger. It was therefore decided to convert the tram line into a branch railway line for 68 miles from Buya through Ronietta and Yonibana in the Yoni Country, to Rowula, a town near Makump in the Kolifa Rowalla Country, on the southern valley of the Rokel River.

Writing to the Colonial Secretary in 1906, Walter May, the

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alimamy Pullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76


3. C.0.267/494. Enclosure in Despt. Sierra Leone No.232, dated June 18 1907. Probyn to Under-Secretary of State. 18.6.1907.

4. Ibid.
construction engineer, reported on the progress of this branch railway line that "This road if constructed would be the most important of all the roads yet made or proposed; it would pass through a rich palm belt and a fertile tract of country and also open out and connect the whole of the Koinadugu District with a railway, and Boia where at present there is but little traffic, would probably become the most important, busiest and best paying station on the railway." 

In his report on his journey through the Yoni Country, the Reverend J.R. King Superintendent of the United Brethren in Christ Mission, wrote in 1907 that he had visited the new branch line as far as Yonibana; that the course selected for the road bed appeared to the "non-professional eye", to be the most level and natural course and also to pass through the heart of the palm Kernel belt; and that he was greatly surprised at the richness of the country that the new road was tapping. Comparing the economic importance of the Yoni Country with the Sherbro Country where he had served for twelve years, Rev. King revealed that,

"I have travelled pretty extensively in the Sherbro district during the past twelve years and have not seen any place richer in palm kernels than the land in most of the country from Ronietta to Yonibana. I was told that it was even richer beyond Yonibana. This section also has a fair supply of native timber for building purposes. Some of the hill-sides of this part of the country appear to be rich in Gum copal..." 1

"I believe, Sir, that the opening of this country would add materially to the trade of the Colony, as this part was particularly untouched before. The native traders whom I saw preparing to move to towns on the line of this new road." 2

Such reports would doubtless move the Government to go ahead with the work on this branch railway line to open up the country and to boost the economy.

the Colony's trade.

When the work started, hundreds of people poured in to provide the much needed labour force, on the orders of Fula Mansa Kamanda and his sub-chiefs. This labour was at first meant to be free. ¹ Probyn however, objected to the use of this term 'free labour' as he felt it was "somewhat misleading as by some people it will be understood to mean forced labour without payment. The point of fact however, is that every man giving his so-called "free labour" has received 3d a day as ration money. The most conclusive evidence that this 3d a day may be regarded as liberal payment, is the fact that Mr. May has labour gangs aggregating from 300 to 400 in number, composed of men who have journied far to work under him for 3d a day. I suggest therefore, in estimating the cost of making the branch railway, it should be assumed that it be practicable to get labour at 4d a day without bringing any pressure at compulsion to bear upon the Chiefs." ²

The fact that they were paid was enough incentive for the natives who now turned up in large numbers to speed up the work on the new branch railway line.

A Krio trader, Henry Beckley, resident at Roruka, became the local engineer. ³ Later in 1912, Bowden, District Commissioner of Ronietta District, strongly emphasized in his annual report that "the entire labour for the construction has been supplied by the whole of the chiefdoms bordering the railway." ⁴

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¹ Oral Traditions – See Note 2, p.57.
² C.0.267/494. Probyn to Lord Elgin, 232, 15.6.1907.
³ Oral Traditions. See Note 1, p.26.
The railway reached Roruks in 1908, the year Fula Mansa Kamanda died, and Macrogba, the following year. Macrogba was a border town between Yoni Mabanta and Yoni Mamella. It was here that negotiations were concluded between the Paramounts Chiefs, Fula Mansa An Sapor who succeeded Fula Mansa Kamanda, and Bai Sebora Kama, for the latter to carry on the construction to Yonibana. This meant an increase in the number of the Yoni Mamella labourers than ever before, for they had now come to realise the benefit of the railway. The railway reached Yonibana in 1911, the year Bai Sebora Kama died, and the first portion of this branch line from Bauya to this town was open to traffic in September 1912. The successor of Bai Sebora Kama, Bai Sebor Ka Na Serry, proved quite energetic in continuing the construction work, and it was he who founded the new Yonibana Rochian Ka Sombali where the railway station was built. The new town, Yonibana Rochain Kasombali, was so named after the owner of that portion of the country, Pa Sombali Koroma. This new town was quite separate and distinct from the old Yonibana, called Yonibana Sarr Fera (white stone), so named because of the many white stones in and around the place where the town was founded.

1. Oral Traditions – See Note 2, p.57.

2. Oral Traditions
   Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 5.2.76
   Mr. T.K. Centeh, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 6.2.76
   Rev. J.F. Tholley, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 9.2.76


5. Oral Traditions
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbomgban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom,7.4.76
   Pa Abdulai Koroma, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76
   Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76.
The railway brought tremendous blessings in Yoniland. The number of Krio people in that country increased immensely, bringing with them, trade and western civilization and their new ideas of progress. The natives no longer cherished going to the tide water trade of the Rokel, Ribi, Bompeh and Bagru Rivers, but would now sell their produce to the Krio traders or send them by train direct to Freetown. Conversely, European merchandise could now be brought in large quantities into Yoniland and the neighbouring countries for sale, and thus promoting trade prosperity in the area. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the European trading firms of Messrs. Patarson Zochonis, French Company and A. Genet, began to establish themselves in Yoniland.¹

In addition to the value of the railway in Yoniland in improving the means of communication, it equally brought the great value of setting free the large body of labour which hitherto had spent their time and energy in transporting produce over long distances. Once this labour had been liberated it now became available for producing more produce needed to boost new produce/merchandise trade.

In addition to the commercial values, the towns along the railway such as Ronietta, Roruks, Macrogba, etc., began to develop and new ones such as Komrabai Yoni and Yonibana Rochain Ka Sombali were constructed. In the case of the latter in particular, the Paramount Chief, Bai Sebora Ka Na Serry, was himself involved in its physical planning and construction. Describing the role of this Paramount Chief in the

construction of the new Yonibana, and the economic benefits accompanying such endeavours, Bowden, D.C. Moyamba, Ronietta District mentioned in his annual report of the District for the year 1912 that "The first portion of this /branch line/ was opened to public traffic as far as Yoninana on 1st September. This has caused that town from a small native community to recognized trade centre. The Chief, Bai Sebora, who is also the Paramount Chief, has taken intelligent view of the expansion of this town and has done all to assist the laying out of the proper town on the site reserved for the trading community /Yonibana Rochain Ka Sombali/. Traders have however, not stopped short at Yonibana but remembering the advantage brought by those who were wise enough to open up new grounds saw the completion of the main line, had been eager to secure sites for trading stations over the whole length of the line under construction." 1

The construction of the railway also had political advantages. The Government in the early twentieth century, needed to link up this section of the Protectorate which they considered "most central" and which had become their most reliable allies, with Freetown. This would promote regular and continuous intercourse between them in administrative issues. As Probyn had pointed out to the Under-Secretary of State, "Reasons of trade, coupled with the enormous administrative advantages of placing Freetown in railway communication with the centre of the Protectorate, will compel this extension /of the branch line/, whenever the finances of the Colony permit." 2

From Yoniland, it would now be possible for Government to easily


2. C.0.267/494. Probyn to Lord Elgin. Enclosure in Despatch Sierra Leone No.232, June 18, 1907, Probyn to Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 232, 18.6.1907.
crush any rebellion in the neighbouring Kpa Mende countries of Kori and Mongere; and in the Temne Countries of Masimra, Malal, Mara, the Kolfas, the Gbonkolenkens, and even northwards as far as Limbaland and Kurankoland. In this way, the branch line not only promoted trade and commerce, but also peace in Yoniland. It is therefore, with little wonder that during the first two decades of Colonial Administration in the new Protectorate, the Yoni Country became the centre of the Government's economic, commercial and political activities among the Southern Temne Countries.
PART II

THE YONI MABANTA COUNTRY

The Yoni Mabanta Country was part of the Banta Kingdom whose ruler, Massa Kelle, lived in Gbamgbtoke in the South of Sierra Leone. When this King divided his kingdom into smaller units under sub-chiefs, he gave a Fula slave dealer named Abibibu Jalloh, jurisdiction over the north in the modern Yoni Chiefdoms, and Fakunya in the Kpa Mende area.¹ T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter, and J.C.E. Parkes, Secretary of Native Affairs, say that this Fula leader "became wealthy and renowned for the efficacy of his charms, which were reputed to have more power than any other medicine man in that part of the country in which he resided. For this reason, they styled him Foulah Mansa, or Foula King, and marrying many wives, he soon became allied to most of the principal Chiefs of the country...."² Fyfe has noted that "A Fula styled Fula Mansa (or King) became ruler of Yoni country south of the Rokel. Some of his Temne subjects afraid he would sell them, fled and settled ultimately in the Banta country near the Jong, and became known as the Mabanta Temne."³ From this time onwards, the terms 'Banta' and 'Mabanta' were applied to that country and its people, respectively - the Temne of modern Yoni and Upper Koya being referred to as Mabanta Temne.⁴ With the break up of the Banta Kingdom,

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Ch. 9.1.76


4. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, above.
Fakunya seceded and joined the Kpa Mende confederacy, leaving Yoni under the entire administration of the Fula dynasty. For over a century, 1 Alimamy Abibu Jalloh and his successors, Alimamy Araba, Alimamy Musa, Alimamy Kajoro, and Fula Mansa Bibinkoro, ruled the whole of Yoniland. When the last named died, his brother, Gbanabome, 2 succeeded him as Fulam Mansa Gbassankoro, and it was during his reign that the Bai Sebora Crown was established 3 and Yoni Mamella carved from Yoni Mabanta.

These Fula people of Yoni Mabanta came from Timbo in modern Guinea. 4 Their leader was Abibu Jalloh. They first settled at Kolifa Rowalla as guests of King Massa Kama. From there, they went to Gbakru (Bagru) country as guests of King Soloku. They were both Muslims and warriors.

Abibu Jalloh had been King in Timbo with the title of Alimamy Abibu Jalloh. But conflict with his brothers drove him and his followers to seek refuge in other countries. King Soloku then handed him to the Mabanta Temne to look after, intimating their leader, Massa Kelle, that the leader of the strangers had three qualities — namely,

1. Oral Traditions — See Note 1, p.652.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Oral Traditions
   Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
that he was a wonderful Mori Man who could work wonders; that he was a warrior; and thirdly, that he was a King. Massa Kelle accepted the stranger so that he could help him in his local wars with his neighbours, particularly the Kpa Mende. As he did not travel with women, Massa Kelle gave him one of his daughters in marriage. This woman, Na Yinto, had three children by Alimamy Abibu Jalloh. They were, Arba, Musa, and Kajoro. The youngest son, Kajoro was sent to Timbo to learn Arabic, while the two remained with their father to learn the art of war in which they became proficient.

In these wars with their neighbours Abibu Jalloh gained victory after victory but he did not kill many of his captives, but would sell them as slaves, thus becoming wealthy. He was then rewarded with the chieftaincy of some of the areas he had conquered from the Kpa Mende who had previously captured a large part of the Banta Kingdom. He then moved and settled in modern Yoni country. In the Fula language, the word 'Yoni' means, 'now'. In their language, expediency is expressed as 'yoni, yoni' - that is, 'now, now'. This means, 'Let us conquer now, now, without any delay. When Massa Kelle confirmed him in that area which comprised the modern chiefdoms of Yoni and Fakunya, he named his own section 'Yoni', and his headquarter town, 'Yoni Bendu', near present Petifu in Yoni Mabanta. His second capital was Bathbana.

Although he owed allegiance and paid tributes to Massa Kelle, the

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.653.
3. Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.653.
Banta ruler at Gbangbatoke, he was regarded locally as the first King of Yoni. This crown which Alimamy Abibu Jalloh instituted was Muslim. He appointed sub-chiefs after the Muslim fashion and called them Santigies who were warriors like himself. They were responsible for the day-to-day administration of their respective sections in the country. When he died, his elder children took up the rulership in succession, first Alimamy Araba, then Alimamy Musa. But these Alimamys did not reign long. This was particularly so with Alimamy Musa who was already too old, sickly and weak, to be able to control his armies, and as such, the Kpa Mende captured the territory. He suddenly collapsed at the news of a serious defeat of his forces. For nearly ten years, the Yoni Kingdom had no ruler. The monarchy of this kingdom was only restored by Kajoro who had been sent to Timbo to learn Arabic.

While in Timbo, he had become a powerful Muslim wonder worker, and warrior. Hearing of the disaster that befell his people, he came with many Fula warriors to liberate them. On his arrival, he was joined by large forces which included Mabanta Temne, some Sherbro and the remaining Fula, all of whom had become scared of the Kpa Mende advance. They succeeded in defeating them in several battles and recaptured Yoni. The Kpa Mende however, continued to control the Kingdoms of Fakunya and Kori. Kayoro at once assumed the crown and the title of Alimamy Kajoro. He took as his capital, Yoni Bendu, which had been established by his father, Alimamy Abibu Jalloh, and which was a border town between Yoni and Kpa Mende country. This was probably

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.653.
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.653.
a suitable area for him to settle in order to check the advance of the Kpa Mende warriors.

Alimamy Kajoro had three sons, Binbinkoro, Gbassankoro and Gbabere, and a daughter, Na Yinto II, named after her grandmother Na Yinto, wife of Alimamy Abibu Jalloh. Although a Muslim himself, Kajoro allowed his two sons Binbinkoro and Gbassankoro, to be initiated into the Poro Society, naming them Yamba, and Gbanabome respectively.\(^1\) Na Yinto II was initiated into the Bondo Society and was named Ducko.\(^2\) To consolidate his position more firmly, Alimamy Kajoro gave his daughter, Na Yinto to a Sesay, one of the leading Mabanta Temne in marriage.

According to Yoni traditions, the Poro Society and its corresponding crown the 'AN FARRAY', had long been introduced into the Banta Country (mixed community of Banta and Sherbro) by Farma Thami. This is unlikely/true, for if Farma Thami did, he would first have introduced it into the other Temne countries in the north from whence, he is alleged to have come. The society would then have spread from north to south – the route said to have been followed by him, and not the other way round. But there are no traces of Poro among the northern Temne people. In fact, today, Poro is found only in a few Temne Chiefdoms – the Yonis, the Kolifas, Masimra, Marampa, Koya, Mapaki, Malal, and southern Gbambali. In the Sherbro country on the contrary, this society is everywhere.\(^3\) Poro therefore, seems to have been invented by the

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1. Oral Traditions - See Note \(^4\), p.653.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. My personal knowledge of the Temne and Sherbro countries.
Sherbro, and Matthews says that it "is peculiar to the Sherbro."¹
The Temne only copied it from them and some Temne according to their
own traditions, borrowed it from the Sherbro.² From Yoni, the Poro
then spread into the other Temne countries.³ It appears that the
Yoni Temne want to capture the credit for the invention of this
powerful traditional society by associating its origin with the great
Temne hero - Farma Thami.

Alimamy Kajoro's youngest son, Binbinkoro,⁴ became a leading Poro
official in the Mabanta Country. When Massa Kelle and his father,
Alimamy Kajoro died, Binbinkoro migrated to Yoni with his sister, Na
Yinto, to assume the Alimamship of that country. He came to Yoni
with all his Poro Officials and landed at Yoni Bendu. There he
established his Poro Bush (AN GBANIKA), the first in Temne country,
and converted the chieftaincy into a Poro Crown (AN FARRAY).⁵ Many
Temne joined his Poro, especially the warriors and the leading citizens,
such as the Sesays. Within a short time he was able to mobilise a

1. John Matthews. A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone on the Coast of
Africa. (London, 1788), p.82.

2. Oral Traditions
Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Pa Amadu Bangura, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Pa Alimamy Fullah Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Backarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
Pa Kapprr Thgbongbo Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Ch.
Pa Sheka Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
Pa Kapprr Bundu Obongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella, 7.4.76
Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76


4. Ibid.

5. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, above.
large team of Poro men whom he engaged to push the Kpa Kende from some parts of south-eastern Yoni country. In this way, he gradually extended his territory. Yoni country however, up to the early part of the nineteenth century, was still a narrow strip of territory lying between Kpa Mendeland on the south, Koya on the south-west, and Masimra on the north-west. The title of the Crown, Alimamy was abolished and replaced by that of Fula Mansa (King of the Fula or Fula King). It should be noted that the title of Alimamy among the Fula was only accorded to the Principal Ruler or King. Among the Temne however, the Alimamy was a sub-chief and the crown was Muslim. To clarify the position in terms of traditional society, the Poro now being in complete control of Yoni, and not Islam, it was but appropriate to change the title of the crown and the new King should assume it. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro therefore, became the first Fula to rule with the aid of the Poro Society. Thus right from its introduction into the Temne country, the function of the Poro Society had assumed a political and military nature. From the time of Alimamy Abibu Jalloh, Sixteen Kings or Chiefs have ruled Yoni Mabanta.

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.657.
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.657.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. Ibid. AND V.R. Dorjahn, A Brief History of the Temne, p.82.
6. Ibid. Dorjahn, p.88, Appendix, AND also Appendix II E(i).
But the new crown instituted by Fula Mansa Binbinkoro was not a mere change of personality. More seriously, it was a reformation of the whole Yoni Mabanta political system. According to this reformation, 1 Poro should be the supreme traditional society of the country to which all future rulers, their sub-chiefs and elders, and in fact, all male citizens should be initiated. For this purpose, every town or village should have a 'GBANIKA' or Poro Bush. In addition, the town where the King should be crowned and installed should have a 'FARRAY'. Whenever a Poro man died, he should be buried in the 'GBANIKA', and the dead King, in the innermost part of the 'FARRAY' Grove. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro created a Council of State comprising his sub-chiefs whom he called 'KAPPRRS', and the Poro Officials. As King elect, he should be confined in the 'KANTHA', a sacred house, where he would be and choose his Poro Officials who would be confined in a separate 'KANTHA'. The Poro Officials, while in their own 'KANTHA', would initiate their own Poro in the Bush. There should be a regular system in the installation ceremony - first, the Poro Officials, who should ceremonially install the King; the King should then install his own Poro in the whole country. The Poro Officials should include a few women called '‡BOREH', who should be responsible for the domestic part of the Society.

For the purpose of effective administration, he divided his country into sections each under a Kapprr. Some of the Kapprrs however, had no special administrative or ceremonial responsibilities. 2 Those with

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.657.
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.657.
special responsibilities included Pa Kapprr Masim (later to be called Pa Roke on the death of the King, when he as chief mourner, should act as regent), the custodian of the sacred things of the crown; Pa Kapprr Gbogboro, the Young chief who would bring fowls, goats, sheep, and even cows for the King; Pa Kapprr Lawyer, the King's Advocate; Pa Kapprr Kuma (Box or Safe or Treasury), who was the King's chief revenue collector; Pa Kapprr Fenthy, the King's Sanitary officer; Pa Kapprr Wanda (a type of medicine), the King's doctor to cure him when he would be ill; Pa Kapprr Kawan (chair), the chairman at all important meetings; and Pa Yellow, the King's chief minstrel or leading singer at all important occasions. There should be a few female Kapprrs, one of whom should be the King's wife to take care of him while in the 'KANTHA', and to be responsible for the domestic life of the court yard when he would be installed.

As Yoni was a buffer state, Fula Mansa Binbinkoro realised the need to strengthen his military power. He saw to it that military training camps were established all over the country, for the training of warriors. The training was undertaken by well experienced professional warriors, and under the auspices and direction of the Poro Society. Finally Binbinkoro decreed that only the Fula could be crowned Kings in the country, and that no Fula should be sub-chief. That is, the Sub-chiefship, the headmanship, and headship of the Poro Society should be left to the non-Fulas, so that they too could have a full share in the government of the country. The immediate result of such political organizations was complete unity and Fula Mansa

2. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.657.
Binbinkoro thus became a popular ruler. The system was seen to survive throughout the reign of his immediate successor. Binbinkoro died in about 1785 and was succeeded by his younger brother as Fula Mansa Gbassankoro, who was another professional warrior. Gbassankoro's administration was strong and peaceful and throughout his reign, the Yoni country did not experience any confrontation from foreign invaders.

It was during the reign of Fula Mansa Gbassankoro that the Bai Sebora Crown was introduced in Yoni and the kingdom became divided into two - Yoni Mabanta, ruled by the Fula Mansas, and Yoni Mamella, ruled by the Bai Seboras. The story of this division will be given in Part III of this Chapter. But up to the late 1880s the Colonial Government did not seem to know about the existence of both Yonis. This was because of the long interregnum of over sixty years in Yoni Mabanta - to be given in a later section of this Chapter - during which time both Yonis were virtually ruled by the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella. T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter and J.C.E. Parkes, Superintendent of Native Affairs Department, writing in 1887, noted that "The Yonnie Tribe are now divided into two parts, ruled by separate Chiefs, the one being called Foulah Mansa, the other, Bey Sherbro." This may be a reference to Pa Sani and Pa Say Massa, crowned at Mamaligie after the Yoni Expedition of 1887, as Fula Mansa

2. Ibid, p.82, AND Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.69.
Sani and Bai Sebora Queen,¹ respectively.

The death of Fula Mansa Gbassankoro ushered in a period of political depression in Yoni Mabanta which was characterized by confusion, divisions, and a long interregnum of over sixty years. As soon as the burial ceremonies were completed the logical successor, Pa Gbabere, third son of Alimamy Kajoro, was asked to assume the crown.² But as he was not a Poro man, he sought permission to go to Banka Loll in the original Banta Country to seek advice from the other relatives so that he might be initiated into the Poro in that country. The permission having been granted, he proceeded. He was accompanied by his nephew, Kon M’Yinto, son of Na Yinto II, by one of the leading Sesays in Yoni Mabanta Country. Kon M’Yinto had also been a powerful warrior and had been ambitious for the crown itself. While crossing the Pampana River on their return, Kon M’Yinto, through the help of the canoe men murdered the Old Man, Pa Gbabere, and threw his body into the river. He promised to pay the canoe men 'SIX HEADS OF MONEY' (1 head = £1.50, and 6 heads = £9.00), and he advanced them 'THREE HEADS'. He promised to pay the balance if he succeeded in becoming

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1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabenta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 2.5.76
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch. 7.4.76

2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Seddu Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
King of Yoni. When he returned home, he reported that Pa Gbabere had remained behind to hold further private consultations with his relations. Just at about that time, the Kpa Mende were planning to launch another attack on Mabanta, taking advantage of the absence of a King in the country. Kon M'Yinto, now backed by his mother, applied to be crowned, since his uncle Pa Gbabere, could not return. He threatened that if he was not crowned, he would not help to defend the country in the event of a Mende attack; and that in fact, he would join the enemy. The elders, fearing what might be the outcome of such an attack, quickly crowned him. Kon M'Yinto now assumed the title of Fula Mansa Kayinto in honour of his mother who helped him win the crown. For the first time, a Non-Fula had assumed the Fula Mansa Crown of Yoni Mabanta.\(^1\) This was a complete departure from the Binbinkoro constitution, which debarred non-Fulas from becoming Kings in Yoni Mabanta. The new King transferred his headquarters to Yoni Sarr Fera or Yonibana, but would visit Yoni Bendu occasionally to have some important discussions with his Mabanta people.\(^2\) Five years after his installation the treachery of how he had murdered his uncle, Pa Gbabere, became known. From this point, two traditional accounts of what followed, have been given.

According to the first account, because of the treachery of Fula Mansa Kayinto, the Yoni people did not cooperate with him, nor did they care for him, and this was why he left Yoni Bendu and settled at Yonibana Serr Fera. The following year, he went to Ronietta, and then to Macundu; but in both places he could not have

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2. Ibid.
any support. He finally fled to Masimra Country as guest of Bai Simra Pa Nes who allowed him to settle at Mabankra near Royama. He carried with him to Masimra, the box of the sacred things of the crown. He lived for many years at Mabankra and died there. The Yoni people did not go to collect his corpse and he was thus buried there, without the usual ceremonies attending to the burial of a Yoni King. Since the box containing the sacred things of the crown could not be traced, it was not possible to crown a successor, and so, Yoni Mabanta remained for a long time without a King. During this interregnum, the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella ruled both Yonis as Kings, but in Yoni Mabanta itself, Pa Sana Conteh, a blind chief, took control as local ruler. He was assisted by his younger brother, Pa Lamina M'Shengbe, and a leading member of the Sesay clan called Pa Chesseh M'Fatha.

Pa Sana's father was a member of the Conteh Ruling House at Masingbi in Konike Polawoso country. He had, at about the close of the eighteenth century, come to Ronietta in Yoni Mabanta to learn the art of warfare to equip himself to fight the Mende and Kono who were always at war with his people. He was allowed to settle permanently at Ronietta where he was given in marriage, Na Forna Fulla, a daughter of Fula Mansa Binbinkoro. Out of this marriage, Pa Sana and Pa Lamina M'Shengbe were born. Their father, having learnt the art of

1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Thagbongbo Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chief. 2.5.76

2. V.R. Dorjahn, "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni", p.84.
warfare, returned home to defend his native land, while Pa Sana and Pa Lamina M'Shembe remained at Ronietta. Through his military prowess, wisdom, and 'Bad Medicines', Pa Sana became very powerful in both Yonis; and as far as Yoni Mabanta was concerned, his word was law; and during the interregnum, the whole Yoni Mabanta looked up to him for help, guidance and advice.

In order to restore the crown the famous professional soothsayer, Pa Foi Yimisa, was invited from Romende. Having made the usual consultations, he told the elders that a charm (sebe) which he would make would have to be swallowed by someone who would die and be buried. After this the Mabanta elders should proceed to Masimra and they would be able to bring the box of the sacred things. The man who volunteered to swallow the charm was Pa Thenefore at Mathenefore in Koya Country. After he had been buried, they proceeded to Mabankra and were able to secure the sacred box, bring it back home and made the restoration of the monarchy at Yoni Mabanta possible.

The second account completely negates the first particularly on the death of Fula Mansa Kayinto, the carrying of the sacred box to Mabankra, and the swallowing of the charm. According to this account, the three men whom Kayinto had bribed to murder his uncle Pa Gbabere, came to see him five years after his installation to collect the balance of 'three heads' money (£4.50). By the time of their arrival in Yoni Mabanta, it was raining heavily, since they went on that journey during the August heavy rains. The rains lasted for a whole week which overflooded the rivers and streams. On account of this heavy

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Alimamy Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.2.76
Mr. Moses Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.2.76
flood, they were unable to cross the Mapini River which was between Yoni Bendu and Mapini Town. Arriving at Mapini, they were the guests of Pa Foray Bana, uncle of Pa Gbabere. Pa Foray Bana entertained them so well that they were with him for four days without knowing who he was. During the period of stay with him they discussed with their host, the purpose of their visit in the country and told him it was they who made it possible for Kayinto to be king by killing and drowning Pa Gbabere, and that they had come to collect the balance of payment. Pa Foray Bana feigning to be very pleased with such information, retorted,

"Oh yes! you have done very well indeed. Were it not for such a help, that old and wretched man Pa Gbabere, would have been king and my brother would never have been able to be crowned. So please stay for two more days. This is your home, and feel free for you are no more strangers in Yoniland. In addition to your reward we shall make some arrangements to crown you sub-chiefs and give you a section to rule and make you the important advisers of our king." 1

During those additional two days, the entertainments were increased. Instead of fowls, goats and sheep were slaughtered for them, and they were given much wine to drink. The more they drank and got drunk, the more they exposed the secret of Pa Gbabere's death. At the same time as they were thus being entertained, secret messages had been despatched to all the Fulas all over the country that the murderers of Pa Gbabere had been discovered and would be taken to Yoni Bendu at an appointed day. After the second day, when the rains ceased and the floods

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.2.76
Mr. Moses M. Fullah, Ronietta, Yombanta Chiefdom, 17.2.76
considerably abated, their host Pa Foray Bana, crossed with them to
Yoni Bendu accompanied by many Mapini citizens. When they arrived,
they were taken straight to the barri where the King had been resting,
lying in a hammock. On seeing them, Kayinto rose up and cheerfully
greeted them embracing them, as his good friends. All the Fulas who
had assembled there at once surrounded the barrie, and the strangers
were immediately ordered to relate the whole story, otherwise they
would lose their lives. They did, to the great astonishment of the
whole assembly. Kayinto was so dumbfounded and shocked that he was
unable to defend himself or to deny. The Fulas therefore, cut the
rope of the hammock on which he lay; he fell on the ground, whereby
he was deposed, for in Yoni Mabanta the King should not fall on the
ground. He was immediately seized, tied hand and foot, wrapped in
a big native mat and carried by human beings round the town with a
song,¹

TRANSLATION AND VERSIFICATION

"I jala jo!
Jojo yall jo!

I jala jo!
Jojo yalla jo!

I Jala jo!
Jojo yala jo!

The devil of magic has carried him away!

Has carried him away!
The devil of magic has carried him away!

Has carried him away!
The devil of magic has carried him away!

Has carried him away!

¹. Oral Traditions. Pa Alimamy Fullah & Moses Fullah, Ronietta,
Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.2.76.
The bundle was carried to the Mapini Pool (AN BUNTH) where it was sunk with heavy stones tied to it to prevent it from floating. Warriors were stationed at the place to prevent anyone coming to take him out. This was how Kayinto was killed and buried, and thus paying him in his own coin. The pool became sacred to the Fulas of Yoni Mabanta. ¹

As regards the taking of the sacred box to Mabankra in Masimra Country, the second account rejects the view² that Kayito took it there; but that it was carried there for safe keeping by the Fula elders to prevent it from being captured by the Kpa Mende. The reigning King at that time, Bai Simra Thòkla, then appointed someone at Mabankra to keep it. The appointed man then dug a pit in the forest, put the box in a brass kettle and buried it. When Bai Simra Thòkla and the custodian of the sacred box died, Bai Simra Kamal who succeeded him on the throne could not trace where the box had been kept, when the Yoni elders went to collect it. This was why the professional soothsayer, Pa Fio Yimisa was invited to find it. He was able to do so and was paid in kind.

With reference to the swallowing of the charm, the second account categorically denies³ that it had anything to do with the Yoni Crown. It was a Koya affair. The incident was connected with the war of Kafiri, the dangerous warrior at Fondu in the north-east of Yoni Mamella, whose indiscriminate wars were devastating the whole Temne

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.666.
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.666.
3. Ibid.
Country for which the people of Koya invited Pa Foi Yimisa to advise them what to do. The 'SEBE' which this soothsayer had made was swallowed by Pa Thenfore in Koya Country, to enable the Koya forces to conquer Kafiri. By this time, Kafiri had already been defeated and driven away from all the Temne territories.

Analysing both accounts, the second seems creditable for three main reasons. First Bai Simra Kamal had not yet been crowned when Kayinto was said to have fled to Masimra. Bai Simra Kamal was crowned in about 1835 - about ten years after the death of Fula Mansa Kayinto. Secondly, the 'SEBE' was swallowed at Mathenefore in Koya Country and by a Koya citizen. It is unnatural to believe that a citizen of a different country should sacrifice his life for a crown in which he had no hands, and the restoration of which would neither benefit him nor his people. This point becomes very vividly clear from the fact that the whole ceremony of the swallowing of the 'SEBE' was not performed in Yoni but in an entirely different country; and that was Koya. But whatever might be the manner of the death of Fula Kayinto, it was 'KOTHO', which was believed to be responsible for the short reigns of all future rulers of Yoni Mabanta, and this had got to be removed by some future rulers.

Thirdly it is improbable that the grave of Kayinto who had died long ago could have been traced and his body exhumed in 1896, to find his skull still intact to be carried home to be included among the sacred things. It is therefore more reasonable to believe that he had been drowned in a pool with his own skull, and that it was the skull of his predecessor, Fula Mansa Gbassankoro, being
safely kept in the sacred box, that was used in the restoration of the monarchy, when Fula Mansa Kagbengbe was crowned and installed in 1896.

Concluding on this point, it now appears that the exponents of the first account, the Sesays, who are the descendants of Na Yinto, younger sister of Fula Mansa Binbinkoro I, are trying to perpetuate a situation whereby they can register their claim to the Fula Mansa Crown. These Sesays have often described themselves as descendants of Kayinto Ruling House.

For over sixty years, Yoni Mabanta was without a principal ruler - that is, from the death of Fula Mansa Kayinto to the installation of Fula Mansa Kagbengbe in 1896.¹ During this interregnum, Yoni Mabanta was ruled partly by the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella, and partly by a triumvirate comprising Pa Yellow, Pa Gbesseh M'Fentha, and Pa Sana Contheh. Pa Yellow was a nephew of the Fula Mansas of Yoni. Pa Gbesseh M'Fentha was a leading citizen of the Sesay Clan; while Pa Sana Contheh was a citizen of both the Fula and the Contheh Clans.²

But it appears that the authority of the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella ceased to prevail in Yoni Mabanta, after the death of Bai Sebora Kenkeh I, at Rotifunk in about 1872 or 1879.³ At about that time, Pa Yellow having died, both Yonis seemed to have been under the control of Pa Sana Contheh and Pa Gbesseh M'Fentha, both of whom were resident

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1. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni, Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76

2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Kapprr Thagbongbo Contheh, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 3.5.76

at Ronietta in Yoni Mabanta. This was a period of about ten years (1879-1889).\textsuperscript{1} It was during this interregnum of ten years in both Yonis that the whole of that country was engaged in very serious hostilities with their neighbours, which disrupted the trade of the Colony. In their wars, the Yoni attacked the 'Queen's territories' in Koya, Ribi, Bompeh, and Senehun, for which the Expeditions of 1887 was mounted against them, by the Colony Administration with the full cooperation of their neighbours of Koya, Ribi, Bompeh, and the Kpa Mende Countries who also organized local wars against the Yoni. In the end, having been so hemmed in and attacked on all sides, the Yoni were defeated. One of the methods the Colony Administration considered fit to adopt in order to control the Yoni after their defeat was to elect kings for both countries.

According to Yoni Mabanta traditions,\textsuperscript{2} Pa Sani Pullah was crowned at Mamaligie as Chief of Yoni Mabanta, while Pa Say Massa for Yoni Mamella. But both Chiefs were never ceremonially installed for they died within two years after their coronation. The Yoni people did not accept them as their Chiefs because, as they said, they were the "White Man's Chiefs." In Yoni Mabanta, the sudden death of Pa Sani was given another interpretation - that it was the effect of the 'KOTHO' put on the Crown by Fula Mansa Kayinto, by murdering his uncle Pa Gbabere, in order to be crowned King. This incident created fear among all the Fulas of Yoni to assume the Crown.\textsuperscript{3}

In order to restore the monarchy, a famous professional soothsayer,

\textsuperscript{1} See Note 3, p.670.
\textsuperscript{2} Oral Traditions - See Note 1 above.
\textsuperscript{3} Oral Traditions - See Note 1, above.
Pa Foi Yimisa (well known throughout Temne traditions) was invited to find out what to do. This soothsayer told the elders that since the 'KOTHO' was caused by a nephew (Kon M'Yinto), another nephew would first have to be crowned to remove it. But he predicted that this successor would not live long, and this would be a sign that the 'KOTHO' had been properly removed. The Fulas assembled and after thorough consultations by casting lots, they chose Pa Salia Koroma as the new Fula Mansa. This man was the nephew of Pa Gbabere, whom Kon M'Yinto had murdered. He was born at Masalia in Koya Country where his father and mother had gone to settle, and brought up at Yenkessa in the Bompeh Country. By faith, he was a Muslim and a non-Poro man. He was very huge, but quite old. Before he was crowned, he was initiated into the Poro Society because the Fula Mansa Crown was a Poro Crown. When he was crowned in 1896, he was called Fula Mansa Kagbengbe (hot pepper) because he was very haughty. His first headquarters was Yonibana Sarr Fera, but soon a personality clash between himself and Bai Sebora Queen made him leave that town to settle first, at Bathbana, then later at Ronietta, where he performed the ceremony of the removal of the 'KOTHO'. But he, by sheer force of his haughtiness, put his own 'KOTHO' on the crown. He had taken wine from some Conteh traders from Maconteh in Masimra and refused to pay his just debt saying that a King had no debt in his own country. The owners therefore, swore that since the debt had not been paid, whoever that assumed the Fula Mansa Crown should not live long. The Yoni Mabanta people believed that this was the cause of the short reigns

of his successors; and this 'KOTHO' had to be removed by Fula Mansa Gbabere in 1924, who lived up to 1948.¹

The crowning of Fula Mansa Kagbengbe provided the second incident in which a non-Fula was crowned a Fula Mansa in Yoni Mabanta. His short reign witnessed the declaration of the hinterland into a British Protectorate in 1896, and the preparation of the Government to implement the House Tax. Up to this point four Ruling Houses had been established in Yoni Mabanta, and Fula Mansa Kagbengbe was given a House as a reward.² This was because, although he was a Koroma, his coronation caused the restoration of the monarchy in Yoni Mabanta, and because, it was he who removed the first 'KOTHO' from the Crown.

Fula Mansa Kagbengbe reigned only for one year, and died in 1897,³ making the Yoni Mabanta people believe the Kayinto's 'KOTHO' had been properly removed. He was succeeded by Fula Mansa Gbanka. During the reign of Gbanka, Yoni was once more plunged into the activities of the Colonial Government. Gbanka became the most dreaded Paramount Chief among the Southern Temne people.

Gbanka was released from prison in 1895 and returned to Yoni that same year. Up to early 1897, he remained quiet, trying to reorganise his private life. His hopes of becoming ruler of one of the Yonis were still blighted. In Yoni Mamella, Bai Sebora Queen was still in

1. Oral Traditions
   Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
   Pa Kapprr, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Follah, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76

2. Ibid. AND Appendix II B(ii).

power and could not be overthrown as he was a good friend of the Administration. In Yoni Mabanta, Fula Mansa Kagbengbe was Chief and was the popular choice of all the Ruling Houses, and had increased his influence by removing the 'KOTHO' imposed on the Crown by the treachery of Fula Mansa Kayinto. He therefore, continued to wait for the opportunity which was afforded by the short reign of Fula Mansa Kagbengbe in Yoni Mabanta, who died in late 1897.

As soon as the funeral rites of the late Fula Mansa Kagbengbe had been performed, Gbanka marched down to Ronietta and threatened to kill the elders if he was not crowned immediately.1 There and then, arrangements were made to crown him, for the elders were afraid of a fresh outbreak of war which might bring more trouble into Yoni country. He was crowned and installed at Petifu, in the Ruling House of Fula Mansa Gbssankoro, to which he was nephew as Fula Mansa Kagbengbe had been. Being a Kamara, Gbanka's coronation and installation in 1897, brought the third non-Fula to the Fula Mansa Crown. But these arrangements to crown Gbanka were purely local and were not known to the Government. In order to have a stable Government, Gbanka crowned as his sub-chiefs, all the leading warriors among whom were those who had been in prison with him after the Yoni Expedition of 1887.2 These were, Kalawa Kabenthay, Yamba Fackle, Kondor, Konko, and Bockarie Koliama. Their new names as sub-chiefs were Kapprr Kenthi, Kapprr Gbla, Kapprr Konko, Kapprr Mella and Kapprr Koliama, respectively.3 With such arrangements, Gbanka's administration was

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.673.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
bound to be strong and stable, for no one dared make trouble on a
government which was by far more military than civil.

Up to 1898, Gbanka's position as ruler of Yoni Mabanta had not
been recognized by the Government, who only knew Bai Sebora of Yoni
Mamella as Paramount Chief of the whole of both Yonis. This was
certainly not pleasing to Gbanka who was ambitious to gain political
pre-eminence. His opportunity came during the 1898 Hut Tax War
issue.

After his installation, Fula Mansa Gbanka who had already heard of
the approaching House Tax began his scheming for political recognition.
He went to Freetown and asked the Government to recognize him promising
to help them in the collection of the House Tax. When in 1897, Bai
Sebora Queen held a meeting at Yonibana Sarr Fera in which he was
invited together with Sathi Maka of Mamaka and Kinna Farray of Fondu,
to plan the resistance against the House Tax, Gbanka clearly told the
assembly that it would be unwise to refuse payment and dangerous to
attempt to fight Government. He related the events of the Yoni
Expedition of 1887 and his experience when he was imprisoned for seven
years for this "White Man's War." He warned that anyone who might
obstruct the Government on the House Tax Affair would surely face a
similar, or worse situation because, "the power of the 'White Man was
very great indeed." As soon as he had completed his address, he was
shouted down by Bai Sebora Queen who was joined by the other Chiefs.
They angrily told him that he was only a young Chief, knowing nothing

2. Oral Traditions, See Note 1, p.83.
about Government matters. By this remark, they meant to point out to Gbanka that he was too new on the throne to dictate to them, his seniors. But Bai Sebora Queen was most vehement in his show-down with Gbanka. They thus proceeded to administer the oath by eating a roasted goat and swearing on 'bad medicines' of the Poro Society so that whoever that went against their decision might suffer a disastrous fate. Gbanka thus kept quiet and joined them in taking the oath as if he had agreed with them in heart and spirit.

Early in 1898, when Moore the Acting District Commissioner at Kwelu invited the Chiefs of the Ronietta District to tell them about the collection of the tax, Gbanka secretly informed him that Bai had Sebora Queen of Yoni Mamella/convened a meeting of certain Chiefs where they agreed not to pay the tax at all. ¹ Bai Sebora Queen was immediately arrested and detained at Kwelu together with the other rebellious Chiefs; and although he was released after he had promised to pay the tax, he had, by this time lost face with the Government. The reason for this was that it was to maintain the 'Queen's peace in Yoni' that his brother, Pa Say Massa whom he replaced was crowned and imposed on the Yoni Mamella people; and by refusing to pay the tax, he had broken this contract with the Government. He was then rearrested and sent to Freetown gaol and was released only in 1899.² So that throughout the House Tax issue (1898-1899), both Yonis were directly under the control of the Fula Mansas of Yoni Mabanta. Having thus gained such paramountcy, Fula Gbanka now declared wholeheartedly for the Government in the collection of the House Tax. Government then

1. P.P. Chalmers Report; Appendix II, p.23 Evidence by Dr. Hood, Acting D.C., Ronietta District.
gave him a full staff of office and proclaimed him Paramount Chief of both Yonis.

Charles Smart of Mahera in Koya, who had successfully discredited his superiors, Bai Kompa Bomboli and Nemgba Simor, quickly formed an alliance with Gbanka to support the Government. Both Gbanka and Charles Smart accompanied Warren to march through Koya Chiefdom in search of Bai Kompa Bomboli and Pa Nemgbana Simor. During this march, towns and villages, were burnt down and people killed. Fula Mansa Gbanka was then appointed Acting Paramount Chief of Koya with special instructions to collect the tax.

During the Mende rising which began in May 1898, Fula Mansa Gbanka led 500 war-men to help the Government in the seige of Taiama which fell after two days of fierce fighting. Marching to Buya, he killed Chief Kamanda, the Mende Chief and ex-war prisoner who had been his co-warrior in fighting for the Government during the Yoni Expedition of 1887. His next fight was at Gbonjema, a well fortified Mende war town. But it was here he met his death; for he was shot dead while fighting. It has never been established as to who killed Gbanka - whether the Mende or the Temne - for the bullet which killed him struck him on the back. This meant that the bullet must have

1. C.O.267/440. Cardew to Chamberlain 86, 24.4.98. AND Oral Traditions
 Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Masiak, Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76
 Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76
 Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76
 Pa Santigie Turay Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76


3. Oral Traditions
 Pas A. Fullah, B. Fullah, K. Serra, K.T. Conteh, Ronietta, Y.B.17.1.76
 Pa K.B. Gbongban, Rogbongban, Y.M. Chiefdom, 7.4.76
come from behind him and probably from his own Temne forces. If the bullet came from the Temne forces, it might have been one of his strongest enemies that had done the act to get rid of him as a traitor of his own people, and as a dreaded warrior who had indiscriminately devastated many Temne territories. Thus, the truth as to who killed Gbanka remained a mystery.

As soon as Gbanka fell, one of his young apprentices, Gbana Kirreh Conte, cut off his head and left hand, wrapped them in the Chief's own sacred garments and brought them to Ronietta. In performing this heroic act he was assisted by Pa Kamando, who was his colleague. Gbana Kirreh thus brought back the Crown to Yoni Mabanta. As a reward, he was offered the crown but he declined saying that the Fullas would one day kill him for it. As an alternative, he was crowned sub-chief of Gbanka's successor, assuming the title of Kapprr Thgbongbo. 'Thgbongbo' is the name of the woodpecker - a bird with a strong beak - that makes its nest in the hollow of a tree which it makes with its beak. Kapprr Thagbongbo was thus so named because of his boldness in bringing the crown back to Yoni Mabanta, and for his toughness among his fellow sub-chiefs.

Within the same day Gbanka fell, Pa Kapprr Kenthi (Kalawa Kabenthay), assumed the control of the Yoni forces in the field. By this act, he thus meant to gain favour from the Administration to appoint him the official successor of Gbanka. He thus continued his predecessor's policy of alignment with the Government.

generalship, the Yoni forces captured the well fortified Mende war towns of Mano and Juma and pursued the fleeing warriors as far as Panguma. To the Government, this was a matter of extreme satisfaction. But the Yoni people did not crown Kapprr Kenthi the immediate successor of Gbanka. Instead, an old man, who was a relative of Fula Mansa Kagbengbe was crowned as Fula Mansa Kafoim. 'Kafoim' is an edible plant which produces a soothing effect to the taste and heart. It is also used as medicine to cure heart complaints. The Yoni Mabanta people crowned this man because of his peaceful disposition as they had now become anxious for peace at that time. Unfortunately however, he reigned only for one year, and died in 1899, without gaining Government recognition.

As soon as the burial ceremonies of Fula Mansa Kafoim were completed, Pa Kapprr Kenthi appeared for the crown. He was overwhelmingly supported by the warriors because they thought he would engender fighting which might enhance their profession once more. But they were mistaken, for this was a new era of colonial rule when all wars must cease forthwith. Pa Kapprr Kenthi's application for the crown was backed by the Government because of his role in the 1898 Hut Tax War as an immediate successor of Gbanka in controlling the Yoni forces in the battle field. The elders therefore, had no alternative but to crown him as Fula Mansa Kamanda. This was in 1899. The Government did not only stop at supporting him to be crowned Paramount Chief of Yoni Mabanta, but also honoured him with a chain and medal which the Yoni locally call 'KING DALLA', and a black velvet

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 3, p.577.
2. Ibid. - See note 1, above. Also my personal knowledge of Temne culture.
jacket and trousers, and a 'RUIN HAT'. These articles the Yoni locally call 'COMMISSION'. But this is a mistake on the part of the Yoni traditions. The 'Commission' the Government gave the Fula Mansas must have been the general 'rebate' given to all Chiefs who would collect the tax. For example, in Koya Chiefdom, "Each one who is thus placed in control of an Alimamyship or district, will collect the House Tax within his own jurisdiction and will receive 5% commission for so doing. ... Paramount Chief will receive 2½% commission on the total amount of House Tax paid." This was the general policy throughout the new Protectorate. Fula Mansa Gbanke must have received this commission before his death, and Government only continued to give it to his successor like Fula Mansa Kamanda. Both Chiefs must have been receiving all the commissions including those of their sub-chiefs because, being dictators, no sub-chief would dare ask them for his own commission. As a matter of fact, they must have been receiving huge amounts as commission money, being the principal House Tax collectors in Yoni Mabanta, Yoni Mamella, Koya, and some parts of Kpa Mende Country. To the Yoni, this was more than a mere reward, but it was also a mark of Government's continued support and interest in the Yoni Country. It also helped to boost the prestige of the Yoni people among the other Temne Chiefs for their Paramount Chief was the only one 'so honoured', with a chain and medal after the Hut Tax War.

When Bai Sebora Queen died shortly after his release from detention

in 1899, the Yoni Mamella people requested Fula Mansa Kamanda to allow them to crown a successor. The reason why they had to make this request was that since the arrest and detention of Bai Sebora Queen in 1898, the Fula Mansas of Yoni Mabanta had been the recognised rulers of both Yonis, and that they had superseded the Bai Sebora in both local and Government circles. He agreed, and in 1900, Bai Sebora Kama, a supporter of both the Gbanka and Kamanda regimes was crowned. Both Chiefs ruled their territories as good friends in a spirit of mutual co-existence, and each had complete freedom to choose his sub-chiefs from either Chiefdom. The Yoni people were thus once more united under these two Paramount Chiefs.

When Fula Mansa Kamanda died in 1908, the elders did not hesitate to crown his colleague, Yamba Fackle, as Fula Mansa An Sapor (key) the same year. By assuming the title of An Sapor, which means the 'KEY', he meant to open up the Yoni Country to civilization. It is interesting to note that when Gbanka, Kamanda (then Kalawa) and An Sapor (then Yamba Fackle) were in prison in the Gold Coast, they were

3. Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 5.2.76.
given a little smattering of Western education. They could read and write a little English and were taught some trades such as carpentry, tailoring, etc., and personal hygiene. This was one reason why they had enormous respect for the 'White Man's Government. Fula Mansa An Sapor was therefore, right to boast that he had come to open up the Yoni Country.

Fula Mansa An Sapor thus continued the work of supplying labour to construct the railway from Roruks, and when it reached Macrogba, he invited Bai Sebora Kama to take over as the remaining portion was in his own country of Yoni Mamella. But Bai Sebora Kama replied that An Sapor should continue as both were one; that Fula Mansa Kamanda and himself had ruled both countries as brothers and good friends; and that the Yoni people had been united under their banners. Acting on this mandate, Fula Mansa An Sapor continued the work on the railway and carried it on to Yonibana. By this time, the blessings of the railway had already been deeply realised by the Yoni Mamella people. They now began to feel that the Yoni Mabanta labourers should return to their country so that they too and only they, that could be employed in the works. The Yoni Mamella elders then formed a delegation, met Bai Sebora Kama and presented the request. At a meeting held at Macrogba, both Chiefs agreed that Bai Sebora Kama should now take over the construction of the railway, and so, many of the Mabanta Labourers

1. Oral Traditions
P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Mr. T.K. Conteh, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Mr. Moses Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
Pa Kapprr T. Conteh, Ronietta Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 2.5.76
Pa Kapprr B.C. Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 7.4.76

2. Ibid.
gave way to those of Yoni Mamella.

Fula Mansa An Sapor also brought western education in Yoniland, for it was during his reign the United Brethren in Christ Mission opened schools and churches at Macundu, Ronietta, Roruks, and Petifu in 1900, 1910, 1911 and 1912 respectively. Bai Sebora Kama emulated these examples by inviting the same mission to open up missionary work at Yonibana in 1918. With the coming of the railway, many modern developments were brought into Yoniland, such as the increase of Krio activities, the trading firms of Messrs. Paterson Zochonis, French Company, A. Genet, were established at Roruks and Yonibana. Lebanese traders opened shops at Roruks, Makonkary, Komrabai Yoni, and Yonibana, and postal services were set up in these places. It is said that Fula Mansa An Sapor was the first Chief in Yoniland to build a compound with zinced houses and decorated them with English made furniture. Thus the era of 1899 to 1916 when Kamanda and An Sapor were Paramount Chiefs of Yoni Mabanta, was a period of enlightenment which the country had never witnessed before and which formed the foundation of future developments.

When Fula Mansa An Sapor died in 1916, all the Fulas met and took an oath at Gbombama never to give their crown to a non-Fula anymore.

1. Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 5.2.76
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.682.
5. Ibid.
They went in a body to the District Commissioner at Moyamba to make their request, which was immediately granted. The first of these Fulas to be crowned was Fula Mansa Kabop, who was a huge and heavy man as a log of the 'KA BOP' tree that grows only in swamps. He was too old to live long and died in 1918. He was succeeded by Fula Mansa An Soila (lion). He took this title because he felt he was so powerful among the other Chiefs as the lion is among the other animals of the bush. He too had a short reign and died in 1922.

In the new arrangements to restrict the Crown only to the Fulas, the Koromas were left behind as the nephews of the Fulas and of the crown for that matter, since it was one of them, Fula Mansa Kagbengbe, (Koroma) that removed the 'KOTHO' put on the Crown by Fula Mansa Kayinto; and further, since it was a Koroma, Fula Mansa—Fula Mansa Kafoin—that restored peace among the people of the Chiefdom, after the war and after Gbanka's reign of terror.

The short reigns of the last six Paramount Chiefs, Kafoin, Kamanda, Ansapor, Kabop, and Ansoila, were attributed to the 'KOTHO' which Fula Mansa Kagbengbe had left on the crown, and because of this when Ansoila died in 1922, the Chiefdom was without a Paramount Chief for two years. Pa Kapprr Yellow, grandson of Pa Gbabere whom Kayinto murdered, was invited to take up the Crown. By this act, the

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.682.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
Crown had now been properly reverted to the original heirs. The new Paramount Chief assumed the title of Fula Mansa Gbabere, in honour of his grandfather Pa Gbabere. He was crowned and installed in 1924. It was Fula Mansa Gbabere who went to enormous expense to remove the last 'KOTHO' of Fula Mansa Kagbengbe. Because of the longevity of his reign, the Yoni people concluded that he had properly removed the 'KOTHO' from the Crown. He reigned for 24 years (1924-1948).

Thus, as Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom ended the last twelve years of the nineteenth century with good relationship with the Government, so it ended the first two decades of the twentieth century with economic prosperity and stability in their local government affairs.

1. **Oral Traditions** - See Note 1, p.682.
Like Yoni Mabanta, the Yoni Mamella Country was originally part of the Banta Kingdom whose ruler Massa Kelle, resided at Gbangbatoke in the south of modern Mendeland; but who divided his kingdom into sections under sub-chiefs, for the day-to-day administration. The modern Yonis Mabanta and Mamella were put under the control of a Fula slaver named Abibu Alimamy Abibu Jalloh. He later created his own dynasty on the death of Massa Kelle and after his death, five of his brothers ruled the country in succession. It was the fourth of these rulers that changed the title of the crown (originally Muslim) to Poro, and the title, Fula Mansa, styling himself Fula Mansa Binbinkoro. During the reign of the last of these five rulers, Fula Mansa Gbassankoro, the Yoni Country was split into Yoni Mabanta and Yoni Mamella, and the Bai Sebora Crown was established in the latter.

Written sources seem to be silent about the founding of the Yoni Mamella Country. This is probably so, because the whole of Yoni Country was unknown to European until the middle of the nineteenth century. Yoni Mamella traditions are however, quite unanimous about the history of the founding of this kingdom. According to these traditions,\(^1\) the founder of Yoni Mamella Crown Pa Selo M'Yenki, hailed

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1. Oral Traditions
   - Pa Roke Kenke, Yonibanda, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.1.76
   - Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 5.2.76
   - Pa Sheke Kamara, Masembe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa John G. Koroma, Masembe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa Columbus S. Koroma, Masembe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa Alimamy Kekara, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch. 7.4.76
   - Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76
   - Pa Abdulai Koroma, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76
from Mamunta Country. He and his elder brother, Pa Sa Yarri, were children of Massa Muntha Ka Sim. Both brothers had, from their early youthful days, become interested in politics of the area. Pa Say Yarri became Bai Kurr Kamalefore in the Kolifa Maban Country while Pa Selo M'Yenki migrated to the Banta Country where he joined the Poro Society and became a leading Poro Official, adopting the name of 'Kondor' which also became his warrior name. He married a daughter of Fula Mansa Gbassankoro family and thus became integrated into the Fula Mansa ruling class.

Having gathered much influence and property, Selo M'Yenki decided to return to Mamunta Country. He first landed at Maseri in the Yoni Country where he established his own Poro which later became united with that introduced in Yoni Bendu by Fula Mansa Binbinkoro. He wanted to return to Mamunta but his father could not allow him being a Poro Official, and Mamunta Country being of Hagbenle.¹ He therefore complained to his brother-in-law, Fula Mansa Gbassankoro, who mediated and was thus allowed to return home. But within a few years, his brothers sharply rose against him because they suspected that he was trying to introduce the Poro into the Mamunta Country by which means they feared he might kill them all.² He once more fled to Maseri in Yoni Country and continued with his Poro activities. When Fula Mansa Gbassankoro died in about 1800, there was utter confusion owing to the treachery and consequent death of his successor, Fula Mansa Kayinto. It was during this period of confusion that Selo M'Yenki carved, through


2. Ibid.
his well organised Poro at Maseri, his Yoni Mamella Kingdom, from Mabanta Country. He created his own capital, Yoni Sarr Fera which later became known as Yonibana. During the early years of interregnum of over sixty years, Selo M‘Yenki or Kondor, declared his own independence, naming his new territory Yoni-Yoni Mamella, and was crowned Bai Sebora Kondor. He made his second in command in the Poro, the new leading Official with the title of Pa Somano. He then arranged with the warrior who protected him throughout the voyage from the Banta Country to Maseri, to rule his new Kingdom alternatively. This was Mankota who was another Poro Official, thus creating the first two Ruling Houses of Yoni Mamella - the Kondor and the Makota Ruling Houses. When Bai Sebora Kondor died, he was succeeded by Bai Sebora Makota I.

After the death of Bai Sebora Makota I, there was confusion over the succession question, which was increased by the appearance of a Muslim Fula Prophet from the north. This prophet told the people to burn all their 'fetish things' including the sacred things of the Crowns. This Prophet however, did not take his message to Yoni Mabanta because he thought it was still a Muslim Crown. In Yoni Mamella, one Pa Bumneh Kamara suspected a plot in this prophet’s message. He believed that the prophet was preaching nothing but politics, so that if the sacred things of the Bai Sebora Crown were destroyed, the whole country would have united under the Fula rulers, as had previously been the case. Pa Bumneh therefore, hid the sacred things in a cave

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.686.
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p. 686.
3. Ibid.
to prevent them from being destroyed. After the era of this Muslim Fula Prophet, the contest for the crown was resumed. Then Pa Bumneh produced the sacred things of the crown, and was thus crowned as a reward. The new King assumed the title of Bai Sebora Bumneh (the protector), for in Temne, the word 'BUMNEH' has two meanings - 'BUM' - to protect, and 'NEH' - self. Combining the two words, 'BUMNEH' is the result, which means, 'to protect oneself.' Bai Sebora Bumneh thus created the third Ruling House.

The fourth Ruling House was created by the Gbashia family which migrated from Kafe-Simiria in Kurankoland. The leaders of this group were three brothers, Gbashia, Kemo, and Kondor who were also Kamaras. They were all warriors and hunters. They first came to Mabang Country and conquered the inhabitants and established the crown, by crowning their eldest brother Kemor Nonnie as Massa Mang. The two other brothers proceeded to Yoni Country. Here, they met the Yoni people at war with the Kpa Mende and they helped their hosts, playing the most prominent role. After the war, when the Yoni were victorious, the elder of the two, Gbashia, was crowned as Bai Sebora Gbashia as a reward, and thus creating the fourth Ruling House. Since the establishment of the Bai Sebora Crown sixteen Bai Seboras have been crowned in Yoni Mamella Country. No dates have been specifically ascribed to them but a Bai Sebora put his mark to Treaty

1. Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 5.2.76
2. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.686. For the list of the four Ruling Houses, see Appendix.
3. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.l. Also see Appendix IIF(i) for list of the Bai Seboras. AND V.R. Dorjahn. "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni", p.88 (Appendix).
No. 67 of February 1857, together with 31 other Temne Chiefs.\textsuperscript{1} This was probably Bai Sebora Gbashia, or Bai Sebora Thelleh I or Bai Sebora Sampa, for all these three Kings reigned before 1860.\textsuperscript{2}

Although the four Ruling Houses had been established, Yoni Mamella was still a small country compared with Yoni Mabanta. The two nearby small Kingdoms of Fondu and Mamaka had to be diplomatically integrated before the close of the nineteenth century. At this point, it is necessary to give a brief account of the founding of each of these two small Kingdoms and how they became integrated with Yoni Mamella.

The founder of the Kingdom of Fondu was Massa Kaniba,\textsuperscript{3} who hailed from Kankan in the modern Republic of Guinea. The Kanibas were the same as the Fallaha, Dumbuyas, Kontos, Koromas and Yanssanehs.\textsuperscript{4} He was both a powerful warrior and a wonderful 'Mori Man', who could work wonders. He hunted in the Fondu area, killed and drove away the elephants. He dominated the people he found there, whose language he did not understand. They were probably Mende, or Loko, or Kuranko, or a mixture of all three.

2. Ibid.
3. Oral Traditions
   Pa Roke Kenkeh, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 10.1.76
   Pa Sheka Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Komo Tholley, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa John G. Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Columbus S. Koroma, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Yan Iye Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Roke Kargbo, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Kaprrr Bundu Gbongban Rogbongban Yoni Mamella Chief. 7.4.76
4. Ibid.
POLITICAL MAP OF YONI IN EARLY 20\textsuperscript{th} CENTURY SHOWING

(1) THE TWO KINGDOMS/CHIEFDOMS OF MABANTA AND MAMELLA
(2) MAMAKA AND FONDU AS SATELLITE STATES OF MAMELLA
(3) THE RAILWAY AND OTHER IMPORTANT PLACES
After he had established himself, he was crowned as Chief of the area, and he assumed the title of Massa Kaniba. At first, it was a Muslim crown, but after his death, it was converted into a Poro Crown - 'FARRAY', and the Chief styled 'KINA FARRAY', that is, 'the King of the Farray.' The first to be crowned was Kinna Farray Obana Fallah. The Kingdom of Fondu seems to have been founded somewhere in the eighteenth century. But there appears to be an interregnum in this Kingdom during the first half of the nineteenth century although oral traditions seem to be silent about this assumption. The reason for this assumption is that it was during this period that two warriors, En Kerray and his successor, Kafiri lived at Fondu and intermittently devastated the whole of the Southern Temne Countries. In Treaties Nos. 32, 34 and 34A En Kerray is described as Chief of Fondu. There is no evidence whatever, that he was a ceremonially crowned and installed Chief, and the Temne people could not therefore, regard him as a Chief. Probably, he was a Chief only by 'de facto' occupation being a big man or a warrior in the area at the time. He was finally defeated by the combined forces of the Temne led by Momodu Bundu of Poredugu in Koya Country. In the case of Kafiri, he was defeated by

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p. 690.
2. Ibid.
4. See Note 1 above.
the forces of Pa Kombo Bundu, brother and successor of Mamodu Bundu. Other accounts of these wars are given in Part I of this Chapter. From the inauguration of the Kinna Farray Crown, only seven Kinna Farays were installed before the Crown was converted into an Alimamyship in 1950 by Bai Sebora Makonta II. It was a contested crown having four Ruling Houses. The Kinna Farays were usually crowned and installed by the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella.

According to Fondu traditions, the Kamuras of Yoni Mamella who own the Bai Sebora Crown were the children of one of the daughters of the Massa Kaniba clan of Fondu. To tie up the relationship between the Kinna Farays and the Bai Seboras, the former were often crowned by the latter. The Bai Seboras however, would have to be brought to the town from the Farray (the Poro place of installation), by a Koroma of the Kinna Farray clan. Thus the tradition had been developed that such a task had always to be performed by a Koroma. This is to indicate that the Koromas of Fondo 'traditionally gave birth' to the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella. On account of this kingship relationship, the Kinna Farays decided to place themselves and their crown under the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella. Politically, this relationship was

1. Oral Tradition - See Note 5, p.690.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. - See Appendix IIIF(ii) for List of Ruling Houses.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
advantageous to both countries. To the Fondu people, since their country, its eastern part of which is wedged into the Kpa Mende Country, and having a large population of Mende people, they needed the patronage and protection of the Yoni Mamella people who were more numerous and stronger in warfare. On the part of Yoni Mamella, they needed strong representatives on that eastern border with a warrior King to check any Mende invasion. A system was thus worked out whereby the Kinna Farray became the powerful sub-chief of the Bai Sebora. Both the Bai Seboras and the Kinna Farrays however, had their full regalia; their own separate sub-chiefs but who were of the same type; and their separate places of coronation, installation and burial.¹

In the case of the Mamaka Country, Masimra and Yoni traditions say² that it originally belonged to the Masimra Country. But Bai Simra Kamal created it a separate Kingdom to have someone on the Yoni border to check the advance of the Yoni forces. Secondly, he wanted to split up the power of the Bai Seboras of Yoni Mamella who were also Kamara. He therefore, selected a relative of theirs, a Kamara of Kolifa Mabang, and crowned him a Bai Suba. He gave him the full regalia of the Ragbenle Society Chief and allowed him to select his own sub-chiefs of the same type as those of the Bai Simra himself.³

The third reason why Bai Simra Kamal created the Bai Suba Crown was for

1. Oral Traditions – See Note 5, p.690.
2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Roke Davo M’Nes, Maconteh, Masimra Chiefdom, 22.3.76
   Pa Yusufu Koroma, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Podat Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Mr. Ernest S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom, 20.3.76
   Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom, 18.4.76
   Pa Alimamy Kamara Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Sorie Kamara, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Sorie Kargbo, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Ghongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chief. 7.4.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah Ronietta, Yoni Nabanta Chiefdom, 22.2.76

3. See Note 2, above or Note 5, p.690.
the collection of the border dues from the travellers who would carry their produce from Yoniland to sell to Rokon, Maconteh, and Rokel. This was a well thought out plan because, Mamaka was one of the most popular highways through which travellers would pass between the two countries. In this way, the Bai Suba of Mamaka was performing the same economic functions of a revenue collector as the Bai Suba of Rokon and the Bai Yola of Mayola, and was thus one of the most powerful sub-chiefs of Bai Simra Kamal. This was also an imitation of the Bai Suba Crown of Magbele in Marampa Country.

But the Bai Suba of Mamaka was, by clan affinity, also closely related to Bai Kurr Kamalefore of Kolifa Mabang who was a bitter enemy of Bai Simra Kamal for the latter had on several occasions, unsuccessfully attempted to dominate him. Bai Kurr Kamalefore's local position was weak since his kingdom was small, poor and sparsely populated. His only strength and support would come from the Kamaras of Yoni Mamella and Mamaka, and their traditional uncles, the Fallahs of Fondu. These families were on no account prepared to undermine the authority of Bai Kurr Kamalefore and expose him as a prey to the tyranny of Bai Simra Kamal.

The parting came about the period between the 1850s to the 1860s when Bai Suba of Mamaka died. Bai Simra Kamal could not crown an immediate successor because he had to deal with numerous internal and external political troubles at that time. At home, the Ngombuyas were giving him much troubles which resulted in wars between the Temne and the Loko. In 1856, the Yoni attacked Masimra and destroyed many towns and villages. In 1865, Chanka swooped into Masimra and caused much devastation, capturing as prisoners, the wife and two children of
Bai Simra Kamal himself. 1 Thus his support of the Yoni earned him the hostility of the Administration.

In the midst of this confusion, the Mamaka Country was left without a leader for a long time, and thus became exposed to the taunts of the Yoni Mamella People. 2 Two of the eldest sisters of the Ruling family, Yan Bome Sama, and Yan Dora Bana (both of them being Kamaras) therefore, went to Bai Kurr Kamalefore of Mabang to complain against such a situation facing their people. Bai Kurr Kamalefore then acted quickly and chose Pa Beareh Kamara eldest brother of the two ladies, crowned and installed him at Mabang as Sathi Maka. 3 He then abolished the Bai Suba title with all the Regalia of Bai Simra Kamal which he had previously given to the Mamaka Bai Suba. He then gave him his full regalia and annexed the Mamaka Kingdom to Mabang, an act which had the full backing of the Kamaras of Yoni Mamella, and the Koromas of Fondu. Bai Simra Kamal had to acquiesce as his position was at that time, seriously threatened by both external and internal situations.

The new King of Mamaka was then posted to his headquarters at Mamaka Town where he assumed the title of Sathi Maka M'Song (son of Pa M'Song) or Sathi Maka M'Primor (son of Yan Primor). 4

1. P.P. 1887, Memo. by T.G. Lawson, April 21, 1887.
2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alimamy Kamara, Mamka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Momoh Kargbo, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch. 7.4.76
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
It was this Sathi Maka M'Primor that mobilised the Mamaka, Yoni Mamella, and Gbongban forces against the Administration during the Yoni Expedition of 1887. He had to take this initiative because at that time, Yoni Mamella had no king for Bai Sebora Kenke I had died in 1879, and the interim ruler of both Yonis, Pa Sana Conteh, was blind and lived too far south at Ronietta, capital of Yoni Mabanta. Since the inauguration of this crown, six Sathi Makas had been crowned, and the crown had four established Ruling Houses. It appears however, that the affairs of the creation of the Mamaka Kingdom and its secession first from the Masimra to Mabang, and finally to Yoni Mamella, were unknown to, or unnoticed by the Administration. This was probably because, these events were too local and did not cause any damage to the trade of the Colony to attract its attention.

Up to 1887, Yoni Mamella had still not yet quite settled as a complete political unit. During the interregnum between 1879 and 1887 caused by the death of Bai Sebora Kenke I, Yoni Mamella being under the divisional control of the blind Chief, Pa Sana Conteh of Ronietta in Yoni Mabanta, Sathi Maka M'Primor of Mamaka, and Kinna Farray Gbana Fallah of Fondu, had no stable and responsible Government. The Political settlement of Yoni Mamella had to await the early years of the 1890s.

After the defeat of the Yoni in the Yoni Expedition of 1887, the

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 2, p.695.


3. Oral Traditions - See Appendix II P(v) for list of the Sathi Makas.
Administration thought it better to give them a new Chief so that they could have a responsible leader once more. On December 18, 1887, a meeting was held at Mamaligie to elect this new Chief. The person elected was Pa Say Massa who was crowned as Bai Sebora Queen in honour of Queen Victoria, whose peace he was to maintain. But according to official information, this Chief did not assume office until 1889 and with the support of the Administration. The question as to what must have happened within those two years (1887-1889), is attempted to be answered by the Yoni traditions.

According to these traditions, when Bai Sebora Kenke I died in 1879, Pa Say Massa and his younger brother, Pa Racca, left the country and settled at Warema in Koya Country, during the Yoni Expedition. From there, they migrated to Mafenkray in Ribi Country as guests of Chief Keni Mahoi. It was here they joined the Koya Forces against the Yoni during the Yoni Expedition in order to gain support in the event of a contest for the succession to the Bai Sebora Crown in Yoni Mamella. At the end of the war, Pa Say Massa was therefore, rewarded with the Chiefship of Yoni Mamella. Although he was a Kamara of the Bai Sebora Gbashia Ruling House, he had never been elected by the Yoni people and this was why he could not go to Yoni Mamella to be

2. Ibid.
4. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alimmy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Nabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Kappr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Nabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Nabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Pa Kappr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chief. 7.4.76
   Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 5.2.76
5. Ibid.
cereonially crowned and installed. The Yoni Mamella people threatened to kill him if he went to their country, as he was the 'White Man's King, who had succeeded in betraying them. The Yoni Mamella people did not however, crown anyone in his place for fear of the 'White Man.' Two years after his coronation at Mamaligie, he died at Warema and was buried there, and no Yoni man mourned his death. The Yoni Mamella people therefore, assembled and crowned his other younger brother, Pa Say Bana M'Yenkain, who was the next in the order of seniority in the Gbashia Ruling House, and who was one of the Yoni Mamella warriors in the 'White Man's war' (the Yoni Expedition). The Administration was never informed of Pa Say Massa's death. The elders only sent to Freetown to inform the Government that they were ready to ceremonially instal Bai Sebora Queen. The Administration favourably and quickly responded. While in the 'KANTRA', the new Chief assumed the title of Bai Sebora Gbashia II in honour of the first King of that Ruling House. But the elders objected on the ground that the Administration would suspect that he was not the man they had crowned at Mamaligie and this might bring them fresh trouble. He therefore, changed his title and assumed that of his late brother (Pa Say Massa), Bai Sebora Queen, and promised faithfully to work in accordance with Government orders.

Installed in 1899, Bai Sebora Queen (Pa Say Bana M'Yenkain), began to manoeuvre to consolidate the three countries - Yoni Mamella, Fondou, 

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.697.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.
and Mamaka, into one country. It was easy for him to have the continued loyalty of Kinna Farray Gbana Fallah. The two Kings, Bai Sebora Queen and Kinnah Farray Gbana Fallah, met at Yoni Sarr Fera to plan the strategy on how to capture the Mamaka Country. This was no problem as the three countries were ruled by members of the same family or clan - the Kamaras. At that time, Sathi Maka M'Primor had just died, and the Mamaka people were complaining of the tedious problem of having to go to Mabang to attend to Government matters. This was particularly so in the rainy season since Mabang was mostly a grassland and swampy area, and as such, its roads were easily overflooded at such a season. Bai Kurr Kamalefore of Mabang Country readily agreed to the proposals to merge Mamaka Country to Yoni Mamella Country on the grounds of Kingship association and geographical nearness. Bai Sebora Queen then crowned his nearest relation as Sathi Maka Bacca, who had all along been residing at Ro- Bacca in Ro-Mende Country. His ceremonial coronation and installation were however, performed by Bai Kurr Kamalefore since the Sathi Maka Crown was of Ragbenle Society, and the old Chief was a leading Ragbenle Society official. Since then, all the Sathi Makas were ceremonially crowned and installed by the Bai Kurrs of Mabang. From this point, the ground had been prepared for the unification of Yoni Mamella, Fondu and Mamaka, into one country - the Yoni Mamella Country - as it existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Bai Sebora Queen, backed by the Administration, now became the most powerful ruler in the Yoni area. He now removed the administration of Yoni Mamella Country from Pa Sana Conteh, the blind Chief

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 4, p.697.
at Ronietta in the Yoni Mabanta Country and even exercised limited control over that country in the name of the Administration until 1896 when Fula Mansa Kagbengbe was crowned. His influence continued to survive even up to 1898 for which the Government thought Fula Mansa to be a sub-chief of Bai Sebora. Whereas in actual fact, as "unanimously" recalled by Yoni traditions, the Fula Mansa crown was older than the Bai Sebora crown.

Bai Sebora Queen then began to formulate his political plans for the efficient administration of his newly united country. In his new plans, the Kinna Farray and the Sathi Maka Crowns should operate under the Bai Seboras, as the most senior sub-chiefs. They should however, have their own sections to rule uninterrupted by the Bai Seboras; their full regalia; same type of sub-chiefs; ceremonial places of coronation, installation and burial; and their own minstrels. It


3. Oral Traditions
Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
Pa Kapprr Bana, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.2.76
Pa Amadu Bangura, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.2.76
Mr. T.K. Conteh, Petifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.2.76
Pa Alimany Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
Pa Kapprr Thagbongbo Conteh, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chief.
Pa Roke Kenke, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Ch. 10.1.76 2.5.76
Pa D.B. Hallowell, Mayira, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 5.2.76
Pa Sheka Kamara, Masembe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
Pa John G. Kamara, Masembe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
Pa Roke Kargbo, Masembe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
Pa Columbus S. Koroma, Masembe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
Pa Alimany Kamara Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
Pa Kapprr Bundu Ghongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chief. 7.4.76
Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76
Pa Abdulai Koroma, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76

4. Oral Traditions - See Note 3 above.
The Minstrals were,
Pa Mella - for Yoni Mamella (proper) Country
Pa Fallah - for Fondu Country
Pa Mankie - for Mamaka Country.
is interesting to note that while the Bai Sebora and the Kinna Farray had the same type of regalia, those of the Sathi Maka were quite different. The reason is that both the Bai Sebora and the Kinna Farray were Poro Chiefs, while the Sathi Maka belonged to the Ragbenle Society; so that the relationship between the Bai Sebora and the Sathi Maka became quite subtle. That is, ceremonially, the Sathi Maka Crown belonged to Mabang, both being Ragbenle Crowns, but politically, it was under the Bai Sebora. Thus, although there was blood relationship between the Bai Sebora and the Sathi Makas, in chiefly matters, the Kinna Farray was next to the Bai Sebora in authority in the Yoni Mamella Country. It was further stipulated that the Bai Sebora Crown should only be given to the Kamaras and that the Kinna Farrays, by customary practice, should be the 'mothers' of the Bai Seboras.¹

The Pa Masim Crown was strengthened in each of the sections of the united country. The Pa Masims, as their titles indicate, (Msim = sacred - in Temne), were the custodians of the sacred things of the crowns. They also had other functions.² They were the Chief's aides in social and political matters for which they should be members of the Poro and the Ragbenle Societies. They should also act as regents when their Chiefs died, and while they were in this capacity, their

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1. Oral Traditions
   - Pa Roke Kenke, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 10.1.76
   - Pa Roke Kargbo, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa Sheka Kamara, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa Roke Kargbo, Mamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa Alimany Kamara, Kamaka, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 6.4.76
   - Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Ch., 7.4.76
   - Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 19.4.76

2. Ibid.
titles were changed to Pa Rokes (chief mourners). They should continue to play this role until successors were crowned and installed, in which selection they should actively participate. After that, they should then hand over the sacred things to the new Pa Masims and would retire to their honorary positions, but would continue to be leading members of the chiefly hierarchy. No Pa Roke should ever be crowned a Bai Sebora, or a Kinna Farray, or a Sathi Maka. In Yoni Mamella proper however, whenever the Bai Sebora died a council of leading chiefs comprising the Pa Roke, the Kinna Farray, the Sathi Maka, and the Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, should rule the country until they conducted the election of a successor, crowned and installed him.¹ In performing these functions, the Pa Roke would be chairman.

The Kapprr Bundu Gbomgban Crown was created by Bai Sebora Queen (Pa Say Bana M'Yenkain) himself, from among his Koroma nephews of Fondu. He posted him to Rogbomgban section, a border stronghold town, to check any hostile advance from Masimra.² In playing this defence role, both the Kapprr Bundu Gbomgban and the Sathi Maka would act in concert. Thus by the turn of the nineteenth century the political power of Yoni Mamella had rested upon four pillars — namely, the Bai Sebora of Yoni Mamella, the Kinna Farray of Fondu, the Sathi Maka of Mamaka and the Kapprr Bundu Gbomgban of Rogbomgban.

The period from 1896 to 1899 were years of political depression for the Yoni Mamella Country. This was brought about by the events

1. Oral Traditions — See Note 1, p.701.
2. Oral Traditions — Ibid.
of the House Tax issue. When the Government declared the hinterland a Protectorate in 1896 and imposed the House Tax of 5/- per house to be paid in 1898, Bai Sebora Queen was one of the Chiefs who convened a meeting and administered oaths to disuade others from paying. As a 'Big Chief',\(^1\) he had attended the meeting convened by Bai Simra Kamal at Masimra Town for the same purpose of resisting payment of the tax. His own meeting he convened at Yoni Sarr Fera was full of all the neighbouring chiefs including Fula Mansa Gbanka of Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom. When the latter advised against resisting payment of the proposed tax, Bai Sebora Queen shouted him down saying that he should "sit down and keep quiet" as he was only a 'small chief.'\(^2\) By this remark, Bai Sebora Queen meant to point out to Fula Mansa Gbanka that he (Bai Sebora Queen) was mightier for three reasons, namely, that he had a bigger country and was supported by three powerful sub-chiefs such as Kinna Farrey, Sathi Maka, and Kapprr Bundu Gbomgan; secondly, that he was senior on the throne to Fula Mansa Gbanka, for he was crowned in 1827 while Fula Mansa Gbanka, only in 1897; and thirdly, that he was the favourite of the Government. In this, he implied that Gbanka was still an enemy of the Government because of his incarceration after the Yoni expedition of 1887. In this case Bai Sebora Queen had obviously underrated the cleverness of Fula Mansa Gbanka who had by this time, become jealous of his position to the extent of wishing to equal him, or, if possible, supercede him altogether in the face of the Government. Little did Bai Sebora Queen know that Fula Mansa Gbanka had already gone to the Government to lobby for support or recognition,

1. *Oral Traditions* - See Note 1, p.701.
2. Ibid.
promising to help in the collection of the House Tax. When Fula Mansa Gbanka therefore reported secretly to Moore, the Acting District Commissioner of Ronietta District at Kwelu, that Bai Sebora Queen had canvassed some other chiefs against the payment of the House Tax, the latter was immediately arrested and detained first at Kwelu, then in Freetown; and Fula Mansa Gbanka, recognised, given a full staff of office and proclaimed Paramount Chief of both Yonis. During that period of two years when Bai Sebora Queen was in prison, the two successors of Fula Mansa Gbanka - Fula Mansa Kafoim and Fula Mansa Kamanda - still exercised political control over Yoni Mamella. During this period, these two Fula Mansas were the House Tax collectors all over both Yonis, for which purpose they would crown special sub-chiefs all over the two chiefdoms. For example, Kinna Farray M'Bapi was crowned and installed by Fula Mansa Kafoim in 1899 before Bai Sebora Queen was released from prison that same year. When Bai Sebora Queen died suddenly after his release from prison, it was believed that he died of a heart attack, or broken heart - and some people say he committed suicide for he loathed serving under any of the Fula Mansas, who were in fact, his juniors in office. From that time onward, the two successors of Bai Sebora Queen, Bai Sebora Kama (1900-1911) and Bai Sebora Ka Ma Serry (1912-1921), were never important personalities so that during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the fame of the Yoni people rested only on the Fula Mansas of Yoni Mabanta.

1. C. Fyfe: *A History of Sierra Leone*, p.559.
2. *Oral Traditions* - See Note 1, p.701.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The Temne, according to their own traditions, came from 'ROTHORON' (east or north of Sierra Leone), which is the modern Republic of Guinea. It does not however, seem that they migrated to their present habitation as a single massive wave of invaders or conquerors as is often thought, for this supposition is not supported by their oral traditions (which are yet our only available source of information about their early history). These traditions clearly state that their ancestors arrived in Sierra Leone as hunters of elephants and other wild animals. This leads us to conclude that the Temne must have entered Sierra Leone in small groups and at different periods over a very long time - even far longer than the present Temne can remember. In this regard, it can thus be reasonably concluded that right from the outset the Temne were a disunited people; and this disunity is a principal characteristic of their history throughout the centuries.

The Temne had to put up with many other peoples. Notable examples of these were the Bulom whom their traditions say, they met along the coastal region, and who have been identified as Sherbros. The affinity between these two peoples has been established by linguistic evidence.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. My personal observations.
The others were the Susu, Fula, and Mandinka, who through intermarriage, trade and their religion of Islam, were able to integrate with the aboriginal Temne. Throughout these early centuries, the Temne had no kings or centralized authority. But since as a people, they must have had some form of government however weak it might be, we can assume that the clan system was their only unit of social and administrative control; and anyone who could provide protection was regarded as the leader or head. This clan system in itself was another form of disunity, for as clans, each would try to harmonize its members; and such early governments of the Temne were thus necessarily segmentary. Because of this fragmentation, they were easily conquered by more united and forceful people or invaders.

The most noted of these invaders were the Mani from Cape Mount in the modern Republic of Liberia, who have been identified as Mandinka. They conquered the coastal people of Sierra Leone, including the Temne and ruled them. Advancing north, they were defeated by the Fula and Susu who pushed them back south to the Temne. Because of their disunity, the Temne were unable to withstand these invaders. But before the seventeenth century, the Mani dynasty collapsed, and the Temne were able to absorb their rulers and began to establish their monarchies; for when the English began to trade on a large scale on the coasts of Sierra Leone during that century, it was the Temne Kings they met. In spite of all these conquests and intermixtures, the Temne were able to retain their language. For this reason, they can thus be

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Amara Thana Pallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76.
Mr. I.E. Davies – Mayay, 18 King George Avenue, Kissy Dockyard, Freetown, 15.4.76.

2. C. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, p.2.
correctly described as a language, rather than an ethnic group. The period up to roughly the sixteenth century can therefore, be regarded as the formative period of their history.

It is difficult to date the beginning of Temne Kingship organization. But from their Traditions,\(^1\) it appears that the Masimra and Marampa Countries were the first Southern Temne to have ceremonially crowned and installed kings, followed by Maforki, Koya, Yoni Mabanta, and Yoni Mamella. But it is doubtful whether most of their early kings were Temne. For example, Bai Simra Kelle Gbethle of Masimra hailed from Kurankoland,\(^2\) and there is no indication whatever, that he was Kuranko or Temne; Bai Rampa Ke Kelle of Marampa was clearly a Mandinka from Mali;\(^3\) Bai Rank of Maforki hailed from Gbambali Sebora;\(^4\) but we are not told to what people he belonged, since other people also inhabited

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\begin{array}{ll}
1. & \textbf{Oral Traditions} \\
& \text{Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,} & 4.12.75 \\
& \text{Pa Santigie Turey, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom,} & 3. 2.76 \\
& \text{Pa Santigie Yamanka Bia, Magbele, Marampa Chiefdom,} & 22. 2.76 \\
& \text{Pa Santigie Bangura Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,} & 18. 4.76 \\
& \text{Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom,} & 17. 1.76 \\
& \text{Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban, Rogbongban, Yoni Mamella Chief.} & 7. 4.76 \\

2. & \textbf{Oral Traditions} \\
& \text{Mr. Ernest S. Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom,} & 20. 2.76 \\
& \text{Pa Foday, Bangura, Masimra Town, Masimra Chiefdom,} & 20. 2.76 \\
& \text{Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes, Macontheh, Masimra Chiefdom,} & 22. 2.76 \\
& \text{Pa Santigie Bangura, Royema, Masimra Chiefdom,} & 22. 2.76 \\

3. & \textbf{Oral Traditions} \\
& \text{P.C. Bai Koblo Parbbana III, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,} & 20. 2.76 \\
& \text{Pa Say Bana Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom,} & 20. 2.76 \\
& \text{Pa Santigie Yamanka Bia, Magbele, Marampa, Chiefdom,} & 20. 2.76 \\
& \text{Mr. E.A. Kabia. "Geneological History of the Kabia Koblos"} \\
& \text{Received} & 23. 3.76 \\

4. & \textbf{Oral Traditions} \\
& \text{Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,} & 4.12.75 \\
& \text{Pa Alieu B. Sesay, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,} & 7.12.75 \\
& \text{Pa Alpha M. Kamara, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,} & 7.12.75 \\
& \text{Pa Alimamy Follah, Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom,} & 31.12.75
\end{array}
\]
Gbambali Country; Alimamy Abibu Jalloh and Fula Mansa Kajoro\(^1\) of Yoni Mabanta were Fulas from Banta Country in the South; Bai Sebora Kondor of Yoni Mamella, Massa Kaniba of Fondu, and Sathi Maka M'Primor of Mamaka were immigrants from Kuranko\(^2\); but we do not know whether they were Temne of Kuranko. The origin of the early 'Temne Kings' thus remains obscure. It was only through social intercourse facilitated by inter-marriage that they became integrated with the Temne, and their descendants later claimed to be Temne and were accepted as such. The situation in Koya was however quite different. In that country, it was a Mabanta Temne, Pa Ka Konko Fallah (later known as Pa Ka Konko London), that organized his Koya Temne to throw off the Kani yoke, and he himself became the first Temne King. This happened during the late eighteenth century, for he was a stipendiary of the Colony Government up to the 1820s.\(^3\) The practice of alien personalities coming down to organize the Temne into a political unit and ruling them, appears to be a chief feature of the history of the Temne kingship organization.

Although in their traditions,\(^4\) the Temne ascribe the beginning of their kingship to Farma Thami whose origin is still obscure (since Temne

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1. Oral Traditions
   P.C. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Retifu, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 9.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Seddu Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
   Mr. Moses M. Fullah, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76

2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Sorie Kamara, Yonibana, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 23.4.76
   Pa John G. Kamara, & Pa Columbus Koroma, Masemgbe, Yoni Mamella Chiefdom, 7.4.76


traditions themselves say he was not Temne, but Mandinka, or Sangara, or Fula, etc.¹), it appears the foundation of their monarchies grew out of the sheer desire they must have probably been nursing to emulate their neighbours such as the Bulom, Kuranko, Susu, Limba and Fula.

But since the name of this legendary hero, Farma Thami, still carried with it much prestige and dignity, they must have felt it wise to associate their Kingship organization with him in order to give it some recognition, and to glorify their past.

With the inauguration of their monarchies came the introduction of their secret societies of Ramena, Ragbenle and Poro, whose functions were mainly social and political. In the case of Poro in particular its political and economic roles were tremendous. The introduction of the secret societies leads one to believe that the Temne had no culture of their own besides their language which they managed to preserve as a unique aspect of their culture. Thus whatever may be termed as Temne culture is merely borrowed from other peoples and may be safely described as a synthesis of cultures.

The coming of the Muslims also meant the introduction of Islam among the Temne and the conversion of first, the traditional elite. These Muslim immigrants brought not only their religion, but also trade and politics; for Muslim itinerants were also teachers, holy men, traders, warriors and by the occult power of their craft they were able to convince the natives of their ability to probe into the supernatural and cause fortune or misfortune. Skinner also holds this view when

¹. See Note 4, p.708.
he says that "The position of Islam was strengthened by the valuable services performed by traders, military leaders and clerics. In many polities, important posts were held by Muslim notables."¹

With these advantages the Muslim families thus dominated the politics of the areas where they settled. Important examples of such Muslim families among the Southern Temne were the Bundunkas of Foredugu and their Susu strangers at Rothumba, in Koya;² the Mandinka settlers at Magbele in Marampa, the Susu Sankohs of Maforki; the Mandinka Kabba Sesays at Rokel in Masimra; the Fulas of Yoni Mabanta; and the Kanibas of Fondu in Yoni Namella. They not only helped the principal men, but they also became powerful rulers and important sub-chiefs. The establishment of the Kingdoms also meant the need for territorial expansion and defence. Consequently, the Kings had to adopt either or both, of diplomacy or war. The former was facilitated mainly by marriage and friendship ties. In the case of the latter, each Kingdom had to train its warriors and post them at strategic border towns to check invading troops, and to defend the chief towns by well built fences and thick mud walls. By this latter method, no attempt was made to unite the Southern Temne, for unity might mean the domination of more powerful Kingdoms over weaker ones, and rendering the professional warriors unemployed by which they could become a danger to their own countries. The result of this was that up to the close


2. Oral Traditions
   Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo, Kasiaka Koya Chiefdom, 13.1.76
   Pa Alimamy Kenn, Nawona, Koya Chiefdom, 14.1.76
   Pa Amara Thema Fallah, Mahoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76
of the nineteenth century, while the Southern Temne Kingdoms remained only small principalities, professional warfare was rendered effective.

Throughout the centuries, the Southern Temne had developed their economy which was based on their local productions, and promoted mainly by human labour - and barter was their chief medium of exchange. Because of this, the acquiring and retention of domestic slaves as a labour force became the principal phenomenon of the life of the traditional elite, and as such an important aspect of their economy. To them also, the possession of many domestics was a mark of social honour, hence they would vie to acquire as many as possible. Even when the slave trade was made illegal in British territories in 1807 (and replaced by the 'legitimate trade in produce') and the hinterland declared a Protectorate in 1896, domestic slavery was still allowed to operate for fear that abolishing it hastily might provoke rebellion and ruin the economy. It necessarily follows that domestic slavery was older and survived longer among the Southern Temne than the slave trade.

Southern Temne Country from the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century has been described as a region of confusion. This is because of its frequent wars which were generated not only by the desire for territorial expansion but by trade. These nineteenth century trade wars were not however unique in Southern Temne Country; for such wars were fought throughout the hinterland. During the slave trade the purpose of these wars was to catch slaves to sell to the Europeans on the coast who would ship them

1. Oral Traditions - collected all over Southern Temne Chiefdoms.
to the Caribbean to work on the plantations. In this respect, the slave trade was perfectly legal for both Europeans and Africans. With the abolition of the slave trade, the produce trade was re-styled 'legitimate trade' and made to replace the 'illegitimate slave trade.

It was felt the new trade would end the local wars. But paradoxically, this produce trade only succeeded in producing the contrary effect of engendering more wars, in order to catch slaves for sale to the local magnates who would use them as a labour force to fetch the produce. In consequence therefore, professional warfare continued, to the detriment of the new produce trade, and was never stopped until the establishment of the Protectorate in 1896.

One of the methods by which the Colony Government tried to stop these wars was by peace negotiations followed by signing of fresh treaties, offering of presents and gifts to the contending parties. But this method often proved ineffective for the natives would always spring on each other at any time. This clearly showed that the Colony authorities never understood the motives why these essentially trade wars were fought, and often attributed them to the desire of 'savage people' to plunder and loot.

Another method employed by the Colony Government was by military expeditions. The most important of these expeditions conducted during the latter part of the nineteenth century was the Yoni Expedition of 1887 locally known as the "White Man's War." (More fully discussed in Chapters II & VII). In this Expedition the Yoni were utterly defeated by the combined efforts of the Colony troops, the Kpa Mende, the Sherbro and Loko of Bompeh and Ribi and the Koya Temne. This illustrates the point that the natives were unable to withstand the power of the white
man in warfare and this was the impression gathered by the Yoni and their allies as well as the countries that cooperated with the Colony Government. On the part of the British Government, they now became convinced that they could go ahead with their plans to extend their influence inland since they had crushed the strongest military power in the hinterland. Thus, the history of the Yoni expedition is essentially the history of the Southern and Eastern Temne as a whole, including their Mende, Loko and Sherbro neighbours - and it also cast a shadow on the history of British Colonial expansion in Sierra Leone in the nineteenth century.

To the Yoni in particular, the Yoni Expedition in general, had both bad and good effects. In regard to the bad effects, they were now a defeated and demoralized people, and especially so when they had failed to gain trading access to the river-head trading posts. This was indeed devastating to them.

But on the other hand, the expedition had tremendous advantages to them in their relationship with their neighbours and later, with the Government. As has been pointed out elsewhere in the thesis, Yoni was landlocked and this isolation policy considerably ruined their economy which they were never able to revive throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But paradoxically, enough, this isolation policy brought some advantages to them. The tough conditions facing their country produced tough citizens who were hardened by their perpetual struggle for their survival. In order to survive, they had to build up a very strong military power which was unrivalled among her neighbours, and which could even be hired as mercenaries by other
people. On this point Ijagbemi has correctly noted that "In fact the Yoni had become famous as tough, fearless warriors before the nineteenth century. People hired them as warriors in distant lands, and their reputation was not confined to Temne Country alone. As bold and fearless fighters, they were both feared and admired by their neighbours,"¹ and Temne traditions² corroborates this view of Ijagbemi. This high esteem in which the Yoni were held by their neighbours was alone in itself an advantage to them. When in the 1898 Hut Tax War the Yoni swung their military support to the Government, they were seen on a much higher plane of estimation, politically. And economically when in the early twentieth century the railway was being constructed through Yoniland and the 'legitimate trade in produce' shifted from the Rohel area to their country, the interest of the Government also shifted with it. And so, the isolation under which the Yoni had suffered for over two centuries turned out to be a splendid isolation, for politically and economically, their relationship with the Government in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, was now quite splendid.

In their traditions,³ the Southern Temne say that they had always preferred the English, their 'good strangers' to other European nations.


2. Oral Traditions

This was because of the trade the English introduced in their country. Moreover, the system of treaties brought their rulers much economic benefit. In this system, although they were required to keep the roads clean and clear, to protect the strangers, particularly the British subjects in order to promote trade, the Chiefs would in turn receive stipends. To these Chiefs the obligation of the British Government in the form of stipends and gifts was more important than their own obligation in the maintenance of the roads. Two reasons can be given for this attitude. Firstly, the stipends helped to enhance their economy. Secondly, according to their traditions,¹ the stipends conferred honour upon them, and a stipendiary chief had greater prestige among his contemporaries, as one highly thought of by the 'White man.' Stipends thus showed the importance of someone and the weight of his citizenship in his community. In consequence therefore, the Southern Temne had held the English in high esteem since the eighteenth century.

Although throughout the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, the Governors wanted to acquire more territories mainly for their own personal glory, Colonial office was somehow reluctant to sanction such acquisition on grounds of administrative cost. They were satisfied with making treaties, and the Chiefs too were pleased with this; and British attitude did not alarm them in any way whatever — and as such their friendly relations continued.

But the crucial moment came when the British decided to change their attitude in favour of acquiring more territories after 1860. The new policy affected the whole of the hinterland which was needed

¹ Oral Traditiona — See Note 3, p.714.
as a market for the British manufactures and to obtain raw materials. After the Berlin African Conference of 1884-1885, this hinterland which was hitherto only referred to as the 'British sphere of influence', was properly confirmed as belonging to the British, which they had to keep by all means, to prevent another power such as France from taking possession of it. In consequence, the expansion of 'Pax Britannica' became a prime necessity for Britain. To the natives however, such territorial expansion would be fraudulent, because, they had no idea of allocating their territories to any foreign power, other than the provisions of their former treaties with the British.

The position of the trade during the period under review can also be considered. As has been pointed out in Chapter I, since its foundation in 1787, the Colony had always depended on the interior for its survival. During the nineteenth century, the Caravan trade and the produce trade were conducted in Southern Temne Countries. The produce in question were timber, groundnuts, palm oil and palm kernels. But this trade was never permanent in one region. The caravan trade affected mainly Port Loko, Koya, Marampa and slightly Masimra through the port of Rokel; but Yoni being landlocked, did not benefit much from it. When the timber trade was introduced in 1816, Port Loko flourished more, but when the trees became denuded in the Port Loko Creek in the 1830s, this trade shifted to the Rokel River where the trees were now plentiful. The result was that while Port Loko lost its economic importance, Magbele in Marampa, and Rokel and Macontheh in Masimra flourished immensely. As the trade shifted, the trade wars also shifted with their complicated Colony politics. By the 1860s, there was no more timber to be found in Sierra Leone, and the important
commodity became palm produce. Since the palm trees were found most plentiful in the south, the trade with all/implications and Colony interest shifted there too, rendering the whole of the Southern Temne Countries of Koya, Maforki, Marampa and Masimra almost completely commercially unimportant. This swing of the trade to the south was made much more effective by the construction of the railway which ran through the south including Yoniland. Among the Southern Temne, it was the Yoni who benefitted from this swing of the trade as they no longer had to fight for trading depots – for these were now provided by the railway. In the early twentieth century however, the commercial depression of the Rokel region was slightly eased off by the arrival of the Syrians with their dynamism in trade activities. But the Syrians also operated in Yoniland. So, Yoni gained both ways economically – that is, from the effects of the railway and from the trade brought by the Syrians.

What was the position of the Southern Temne King before 1896? Prior to this date, the King who was elected through recognized ways and by well established electoral Colleges, was the centre of authority. He owned his country, the cultural societies; controlled the economy; responsible for foreign policy such as the reception, accommodation and settlement of important strangers, the conclusion of Treaties, the declaration and making of peace; settlement of disputes of both internal and inter-territorial nature, and every important issue for that matter was the King's responsibility. But he was far from being a dictator, for he would share his powers and responsibilities with his sub-chiefs whom he would locate at important stations all over his Kingdom. In this regard, he was a constitutional
monarch. Socially as well as politically, he belonged to the people for he was their choice and they belonged to him. On the whole, he was 'their father' and they were 'his children'. Finally, he held the power on behalf of his people and owed allegiance to no foreign power.

Nevertheless, this central position of the King was never left undisturbed by some elements of intrigue and confusion among the Southern Temne during the period under review. That is, the disunity which characterized their early history, continued throughout the nineteenth and even up to the early twentieth centuries. These divisions were of both internal as well as external character.

Within each Kingdom, local strifes were quite prevalent. Cases in point have already been pointed out in various parts of this thesis – in Koya, Charles Smart of Mahera against his overlords, Bai Kompa Bomboli, Pa Nemgbana Simor, and Alimamy Sinneh Bundu; in Maforki, the Brima Konhori group versus the rest of the inhabitants led by Moriba Kindo Bangura and Fatima Brima Kamara who were vehemently supported by Bai Forki Bashpolon in 1815; and in 1893, Bai Forki Fenka and Alihali Moriba II; in Marampa, Bai Suba An Kokie versus Pa Runia and the rest of the Kabias of Magbele; in Masimra, the Bai Simras versus the Ngombuyas; and in Yoni, Fula Mansa Kayinto versus the rest of the Fulas, and Gbanka versus his Yoni people, and later (as Fula Mansa Gbanka) against Bai Sebora Queen.

Inter-territorially, there were long standing disputes between Koya and Masimra over the Rosolo Creek boundary; between Masimra and Marampa over territorial expansions; between Maramapa and Romende which
resulted in the 'war of the ground-pig' in which Masimra was drawn in; and between the Yoni and the Southern Temne Countries of Koya, Marampa, and Masimra who refused them access into the Rokel trading depots, which resulted in the nineteenth century trade wars.

There were also other reasons for these wars such as avenging a wrong done to someone, petty jealousies as those between the Port Loko Chiefs and those of other countries over the disparity in the stipends, for the former were receiving far more than the rest and the situation remained unchanged even when treaty No.67 of 1857 was concluded ratifying and revoking earlier treaties.

Such disagreements had serious devastating repercussions on the history of the Southern Temne as a whole. They could not unite to solve any issue that confronted them either as separate countries or as a people. For instance, when Koya was faced with harrassment from the Colony (in the 1840s-1860s) over the question of cessions and annexations, they received no help from any of their Southern Temne neighbours. Secondly, during the Yoni Expedition of 1887, while Marampa supported Yoni secretly and Masimra openly, Koya sided with the Colony Government. During the Hut Tax issue, the meetings convened by the Southern Temne of Koya, Maforki, Marampa and Masimra to plan the resistance, were not attended by the Yoni Chiefs. Instead, during the war that followed in 1898, Yoni fought on the side of the Government. This situation leads us to conclude that it was not the British that introduced disunity among the Southern Temne as is often thought. The fact therefore, is that the people were already sharply divided before the British took control of their
Country in 1896. It can only be true to say that the British effectively encouraged the divisions to entrench and perpetuate their policy of 'divide and rule.'

It should thus be finally noted that the history of the Southern Temne in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is essentially the study of the consequences of the socio-economic changes which had taken place during the pre-colonial centuries upon the political institutions of the people. It is now evident that the entry wedge of the British into Southern Temne Country was trade; and while the people were ruling their states through their social and cultural organizations prior to the period under review, British commerce was gradually making inroads in preparation for the eventual political control of the hinterland which became a reality in 1896. The close of the nineteenth century therefore, witnessed the authority of the native kings taken away from them by the British Colonial authorities under whom they were now serving as subordinate rulers in the succeeding decades. Thus the situation of the administration of the new protectorate after 1900 could be viewed as a partnership between the British Colonial authorities and the Chiefs with the former assuming the position of the senior partner, or more simply playing the role of the boss. But an interesting interplay in the new administration of their countries can however, be noted here. This was, while the British utilized the divisions among the chiefs to entrench colonialism, the latter, particularly the 'friendly ones', used the colonial situation in order to gain favours from the Government to be able to suppress their opponents, enhance their
economy and strengthen their political positions amongst their people.
APPENDIX I

HOW I COLLECTED THE ORAL TRADITIONS

For over a century now, missionaries, administrators and scholars have been busy recording Temne oral traditions. The first missionary to be outstandingly noted in this exercise was Reverend Christian Schlenker of the C.M.S. Mission. He lived and worked among the Temne for many years and in the 1840s he collected in the Port Loko area, useful traditions, fables and proverbs of the Temne people.¹

The most notable of his recordings was the tradition about Farma Thami, the legendary hero of the Temne.²

Among the administrators, the foremost in this regard were T.G. Lawson,³ E.F. Sayers,⁴ Hon. J.A. Songo-Davies,⁵ E.R. Langley,⁶ A.B. Toure,⁷ A. Sisay,⁸ G.W. James,⁹ N.G. Frere,¹⁰ H.C. Hodgson.¹¹

3. T.G. Lawson: Information Regarding the Different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and Its Vicinity (Colonial Office, 1887).
8. A. Sisay: "Funeral Ceremonies Among the Temne". Sierra Leone Studies O.S. No.XXI (January, 1931) pp.94-100.
Lieutenant-Colonel H.G. Warren, Bubu Inga, and Douglas Scotland, Lawson was a Government Messenger and interpreter, and an experienced Colonial Official on native affairs. Later, he was promoted to the headship of the Aborigines Branch of the Secretariat, a post he held until his retirement in 1888. He made huge collections (probably the largest ever recorded) of the traditions of the peoples of Sierra Leone which was arranged and published in 1887 by his one time collaborator in office, and now successor, J.C.E. Parkes. Although as noted by Hargreaves, these recordings are repetitive, obscure, and in part unreliable, they nevertheless give us one of the best general introductory accounts of the confused and tangled histories of the various peoples of the "Protectorate." The remaining administrators (some of whom were mere clerks in the District Offices), had their recordings published only in the form of articles in the *Sierra Leone*.

Footnote 10 & 11 cont'd. from p. 722


4. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Evolution of the Native Affairs Department" *Sierra Leone Studies*, N.S. No.3 (December, 1954) p.177.

5. J.D. Hargreaves: "The Evolution of the Native Affairs Department" *Sierra Leone Studies*, N.S. No.3, p.178.

6. Ibid., p.177.
Studies. Nevertheless, their articles also offer us useful information in constructing the history of the Temne people. This is especially so if much of what they record corresponds with Government official accounts.

The scholars connected with these recordings were educationists, anthropologists and historians. These include Amadu Wurie, who was an outstanding educationist but later became a politician, and of Fula/Temne ancestry; Elizabeth Hirst, late of Fourah Bay College; Vernon R. Dorjahn, Professor of Anthropology at Oregon University, U.S.A., Elijah A. Ijagbemi of the Department of History, University of Ibadan, Nigeria; and J.A. Opala, Peace Corps Volunteer of the Sierra Leone Museum, also attached to Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone. The recordings of these scholars, as in the case of some of the administrators, have been published in the form of articles in leading journals. Those of Ijagbemi have only been typed and


deposited in the Library of the Centre of African Studies in the University of Edinburgh, and he used much of these in the preparation of his Ph.D. Thesis. They have however, remained unpublished material, but are useful to researchers on Temne history. Opala, a Peace Corps Volunteer on the staff of the Archaeological Section of the Sierra Leone National Museum, in collaboration with Arthur Abraham and others of the Department of History at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, has mounted a huge research project on the history of Bunce Island in Temne Country. All these recordings have proved quite valuable in sorting out the complicated history of the Temne people.

Of all these recorders, only¹ A. Wurie, A. Sisay, and Bubu Inga probably had less problems in their exercise because they were in one way or the other, connected with the Temne in culture such as language, marriage and religious ties. They could all speak Temne, and by their names, they were all Muslims. By origin, A Wurie was a Fula/Temne, and both Sisay and Inga were probably Susu/Temne. With such backgrounds, they stood a better chance to know more about the Temne than any other researchers. But on the other hand, they would not be in a position to fully understand some of the cultural aspects of the Temne such as their traditional or secret societies - Ragbenle, Ramena, and Poro, which are dominant among the Southern Temne and are deeply connected with the coronation, installation and burial of their Chiefs, in which sense they play a political role. The reason for this is that as Muslims, they would not join these secret societies, a good knowledge

1. Oral Traditions
A. Wurie, Mahera, Kaffu Bulom Chiefdom, 15.3.76.
of which is necessary for a fuller appreciation of the cultural and social life history of the Temne people. It is thus the function of the historian to be cautious in using the material of these writers in constructing the history of the Temne people.

In my research, I was not confronted with local problems as my predecessors, who had to live and work for a considerable length of time among the Temne to learn their language, and secrets which they never fully achieved because of the conservative nature of the Temne who would never let a stranger into their secrets. A pure Southern Temne myself, I was born and partly brought up in Koya, and partly in Yoni Mabanta, my paternal and maternal Chiefdoms, respectively. I received my primary education in the Yoni and Bompeh Chiefdoms. It is interesting to note that the latter Chiefdom is now also dominated by the Southern Temne who are their immediate neighbours. I am related to the Ruling Houses of Koya and Yoni Mabanta, in the latter of which I am a Ceremonial Chief or Customary Official. Among the Temne, Ceremonial Chiefs or Customary Officials are responsible for the selection, coronation, installation and burial of Paramount Chiefs, although they themselves may not be crowned chiefs. The post is given to anyone by appointment by the Paramount Chief and the elders of the Chiefdom. This was how I was appointed to this office in 1972, to fill the vacant post created by one of the leading elders of my clan, as that post had always been held by my ancestors. I am also a great great grandson of the Bundukas of Foredugu, for my paternal grandmother was a daughter of Pa Kombo Bundu, second son of Pa Komodu Thabara Bundu, founder of the Bunduka family in Koya, who were also related to the Fula Mansas of Yoni Mabanta, the Fulas of Rotifunk and
Fula Town (present Mokondowa) in Bumpeh Chiefdom, and those of Port Loko in Maforki Chiefdom. ¹ In the Bumpeh Country, I was brought up by the Kessebehs of Rotifunk whose ancestor, Sorie Kessebeh, was the founder of that town, and who also played a leading role in the history of Masimra and Koya Countries.

Culturally, I am a leading member of both the Ragbenle and Poro Societies and some of my female relations in Koya are officials of the Ramena Society in that country. And of course, no one can be appointed Ceremonial Chief unless he is a leading member of the secret society of that country. I speak Temne very fluently, and clearly understand its various dialects. I have also taught Temne to Missionaries and Non-Temne Government Officials. In addition, I was for ten years, a broadcaster in Temne (1958-68) in the Sierra Leone Broadcasting and Television Services.

My services in Sierra Leone included Primary and Secondary School Teaching among the Southern Temne, a Central Government Official in the Ministries of Education and the Interior, which also had direct dealings with the Temne people in general. In all these capacities, the many interviews and discussions I held with Temne people were entirely conducted in the Temne language.

Such a background stood me in good stead during my field research project. My first advantage therefore, was my proficiency in the Temne language. The second was my cultural, social, and traditional ties with the Temne in particular, and with other peoples (Loko,

¹. Oral Traditions  
Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom, 15.1.76  
Pa Alimamy Bundu, and Pa Bassie Bundu, Foredugu, Koya, Ch. 4.2.76
Sherbro, and Kpa Mende), in general. I am one of themselves, kith-
and-kin; all the informants are personally known to me, and most of
the adults in Temne Country know me very well as their brother, a
teacher, and administrator. The result was that when I started my
field research project, I was enthusiastically welcomed everywhere,
and all the informants were very eager to give me of their best.
This was quite the contrary in the case of previous researchers whom
the Temne never allowed into their secrets as they considered them as
aliens. In fact, I spent only six months (December 1975 - May 1976),
when I completed the work - which was just a quarter of the length of
time spent by such an energetic and industrious scholar as Ijagbemi,
an African of Yoruba descent from Nigeria, who was in Sierra Leone for
the same research project on Temne history from September 1965 to
August 1967.1

In spite of my many advantages, I also encountered some problems.
These were mainly of a political nature, for at the time of my field
work, the political atmosphere in Sierra Leone was very tense. The
campaign for the General Elections of 1977 was already at full swing.
As a native of the area, some of the politicians associated my
movements in the country with canvassing for the election either of
myself or in support of some good friend. Some of my good friends
even among the Ministers of State, had to advise me to check my movements,
which I willingly did. To clear my head of all political suspicion,
I first had to obtain a written permission from the Ministry of the
Interior to engage in the field work. Copies of this written

1. B.A. Ijagbemi; A History of the Temne in the Nineteenth Century
permission were circulated to all the Provincial Secretaries, District Officers and Paramount Chiefs, and I was also given a copy which I would produce to every Chief before beginning any research in his chiefdom. This written permission produced a very good effect in my favour for the people clearly believed that my work was connected with Government service. But this was not the end of my strategy to obtain freedom of movement. I decided not to start in my own chiefdom, Yoni, which would likely be the centre of my opposition, for the politicians there would never have believed that I was not in for politics, but only to do my research. I therefore, started off with Maforki Chiefdom, which has no common boundary with Yoni. By the time I finished Maforki, the motives for my movements had become quite clear to all the politicians. This was revealed to me by a Yoni canvassing politician (now a Member of Parliament), who one day met me at Port Loko and expressed his happiness that I had not gone for politics otherwise, I would have reduced his chances of winning the election to Parliament. The politicians then began to give me support, telling their people to give me all the information I needed. My mission having thus been known and clearly understood, I experienced no other obstacle throughout my field research work.

I arrived in Sierra Leone in November and began the work in December 1975. The bulk of my work covered the six Southern Temne Chiefdoms of Maforki, Koya, Marampa, Masimra, Yoni Mabanta, and Yoni Mamella, and I conducted the work generally in this order. I visited all the Headquarter towns and other big towns in these chiefdoms, and also many smaller ones and villages where I could obtain good
information. In each chiefdom the chiefs would organize the elders at certain places where, accompanied by my guides, I would meet them. Among the people I interviewed were Chiefs, Imams and other Muslim leaders, old men and women, teachers, Ministers of the Christian Religion, Secret Society Officials and both active and retired Civil Servants. I however, also visited neighbouring countries such as Lokomassama, Kaffu Bullom, Mange, Kolifa Rowalla, Kolifa Mayosso, Malal, Ribi, Bompeh, Komgbora, Kaiyamba, Imperi (Gbangbatoke), and Panga-Kabundeh. At Gamgbatoke, I went to see a few of the surviving Mabanta Temne, but I was not able to acquire anything from them as I could not understand their own Temne which has been seriously corrupted by the Sherbro and Mende dialects; and further, I had no one to translate to me. In Panga-Kabunde Chiefdom in the Pujehun District, I went to see Mr. Abdul M. Jah, a relative of the Fula who had settled at Bathbana in the Yoni Mabanta Country. But he too could not give me much information as he said, he was only a great great grandson of these Mabanta Fulas, and that he knew only of the migration of his people from Mabanta to Pujehun to trade in slaves. All my informants were men and women of note who were very knowledgeable about the culture, traditions and activities of the Temne people in their various chiefdoms.

I employed several methods in collecting the oral traditions. The first was the open discussion method. In this method, several people would be invited and they would assemble in one place. The Chief narrator would then be appointed by them from among themselves, who would usually be the most elderly man in the area. Sometimes, the
assembled people would be of the same clan or family, but in most cases I was lucky to have various families represented. Before the discussion could start, I would give a 'Shake-Hand'. In Temne, this is a sum of money of any amount according to the ability of the giver, the dignity of the receiver, and the nature of the matter to be discussed. Fully aware of this custom I would employ this method to introduce my mission. Accepting the 'Shake-Hand' would be an indication that my mission was accepted. I would then produce my letter of introduction from the Ministry of the Interior, copies of which had already been circulated among the Provincial Secretaries, District Commissioners, and Paramount Chiefs; so that although I would normally be accepted, being one of themselves, this method strengthened their confidence in me.

I would then set the tape recorder, and then the chief narrator would commence. Sometimes I would allow him to finish before the others could be asked to contribute or ask questions. But sometimes I would come in at some point to ask questions and request other speakers to comment. I found this interruption to be quite useful because it helped to check them from concealing the truth by speaking diplomatically.

The second method was the questions-and-answers method. I would ask many questions and either the chief narrator or someone from the audience would answer. The questions and answers would be recorded in the tape recorder, or where this would fail, I would write them down. After the discussion, the whole tape would be played back for all to hear, and it was amazing to note how attentive the people would be in listening to their voices.
The private interview method was also quite useful in having people who, for one reason or another, would not contribute in public. The reason might be political or cultural. Political, because of fear of victimization. In the case of cultural reasons, it would be impossible to get officials of the traditional societies such as the Ragbenle, Ramena, Poro, and Bondo to serve certain information in public even though such information would have nothing to do with the revelation of the secrets of their societies. Such informants would have to be met in private with their own 'Shake-Hand' and sometimes, also with a bottle of rum for them to pour libation to their sacred things and their dead. Their revelations would neither be recorded nor written down in their presence, for they never trusted educated people. I would have to remember everything. But this was no problem for me because of my profound knowledge of the Temne language, culture and customs. I would then reproduce their information in writing at my own leisure.

The fourth method was to visit sacred places such as forests used for the burial of chiefs, ruins of old and deserted towns and important buildings or houses. In such visits, I would be accompanied by some local dignitaries whom I would ask certain questions and they would answer. The proceedings would not be recorded for this was forbidden. I would only hear them in mind, and later have them written down privately and as accurately as I would remember them.

The traditions I collected fall under two divisions namely, narratives and songs which included music and dancing. The narratives contained ingredients such as myths, legends, fables or folklore,
parables and miracle stories. The mythical aspects can be traced from many traditions. One typical example is the tradition about the Temne having migrated from Mesopotamia because of a sharp disagreement with their King 'BUN KA NANA'. For this reason, the tradition continues, when the Temne offer sacrifice, they begin by saying that they do not give it to BUN KA NANA, but to KURU (God). To the Temne, BUN KA NANA symbolizes all evil, and KURU all the good and righteous acts. This is clearly a myth because it is a tale, such as exists among all primitive peoples, invented to explain the origin of something they do not understand. In this case, the Temne do not understand the origin of their religious belief about the existence of their origin and of KURU who is almighty, the infinite being, the creator and the end of all things. In this way, they also try to establish their origin too and importance as a God-fearing people. In short, this tradition can be dismissed as a mere product of imagination.

Like the myths, the Temne traditions are also full of legends. But unlike a myth, a legend has some foundation in fact. A good example is the tradition about the existence of Farma Thami, who is said to have come from 'ROTHORONG (East or North), organized the Temne as a warlike people, created their kingship, crowned their first kings and gave them their kingly regalia, is common among the Temne.

1. Oral Traditions
Pa Santigie Turay, Romessa, Koya Chiefdom, 3.2.76
Alpha Brima Kroma, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom, 15.1.76
Alpha Sorie Turay, Makuru, Koya Chiefdom, 16.1.76
Pa Santigie Kabia, Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom, 15.1.76
Pa Amara Thana Fallah, Makoya, Koya Chiefdom, 31.1.76
Although it has been difficult to establish the date of his existence, 1 for he is said to have lived 300 generations before 1840; it has some foundation in fact, in that the original Farma Thami must have died hundreds of years ago, and that his place in Temne cultural associations must have been taken by succeeding Farma Thamis. In short, a Farma Thami at least must have existed, and because of his mystical character, the Temne adopted him as their hero to give prestige and dignity to their origin.

Fables and folklore are a typical characteristic of Temne traditions. The fables connected with 'PA NES' (Mr. Spider) are common among the Temne. 'PA NES' is fabled as the cleverest 'man' on earth, and when Bai Simra Kamal styled himself 'PA NES', he meant to say that he was a clever and tricky ruler, and this name remained the title of a Ruling House in the Masimra Crown - 'BAI SIMRA PA NES RULING HOUSE.'

It is a common practice for the Temne orators or narrators to speak in parables. Literally, a parable means "a comparison." That is, something is put alongside something else, with which it is similar in one or more aspects. The Temne elders would address in parables their immediate hearers such as youths in secret societies or in private clan or family meetings, and such parables would be so told that they could be understood by the peasants.

Parables would not be unfamiliar to the very early Temne, for the use of parables was an accepted mode of pedagogy among the elders. The narrators of the Temne traditions, when the Temne traditions began

to be recorded since the nineteenth century, did not therefore, invent
the parables and were not the first to make use of them. Parables
were used by the elders so that their hearers could remember their
 teachings. In other words, a parable is a picture to illustrate a
point or a situation; and as a picture always remains in the mind
more firmly and longer than a general statement, Temne parables have
indeed been preserved and are still treasured and remembered because
of this quality. For example, a Temne elder would want to teach the
youth in a male society, about the spies employed to operate in
warfare, by telling the parable of 'MR. RABBIT' going disguised into
the camp of other animals who were at war with his people to know their
war secrets. This parable makes sense to the society youths or peasants
who live in the bush or villages, because they know that the rabbit is
a clever and cunning animal, and in Temne folklore, the rabbit is often
depicted as being clever and cunning. This parable is meant to
illustrate by comparison, the cunning way the spies used to fish out
information about the enemy in times of war. So, parables are, as a
permanent feature of Temne oral traditions, very valuable.

The other characteristic of Temne traditions is that they are full
of mystery stories. Every important event in the life of the Temne
man has some mysterious aspect. That is, it is the supernatural world
that controls Temne political, social and cultural life—such as
Kingship, the secret societies, the seasons of the year, heavenly
bodies, the wild animals and fishes, success and failure, strength and
weakness, power and subordination, activity and indolence, health and
sickness including great epidemics, heavy rains and droughts, good and
bad harvest, art and talent, wisdom and might, brilliancy and idiocy —
all have their origin from the supernatural powers and are controlled by them. The tradition about the origin and death of their legendary hero, Farma Thami, is a case in point. According to this tradition, this hero came from the east. As no one knew to what people he belonged, some concluded that he was a devil, and when he was about to die, he simply leapt into a pool in a forest at Robacca, in Koya Country and disappeared. No one ever saw his corpse or his grave and is said to have returned to ROTHORONG. That forest became the sacred burial place of all Koya Kings. By this tradition, the Temne have tried to paint the supernatural power of their hero and patron, who they say, died and went back to the devils who in turn, took him back to ROTHORONG (East or North), hence every Temne Chief is said to have returned to Putha (Rothoron), from whence he would come back when the new chief is installed. This is a tendency for the Temne to tie their past or origin to some prestige places or personalities - the sun rises from the east, and the first traders and Islam came from the east or north. The Temne are so much tied up with the supernatural world, that they believe every thing they have is given them by the 'KURU MASEBA Ḥ BANA' (the Great and Almighty God), through the devils or demons or spirits or angels, and such an attitude is vividly portrayed in all the traditions.

As is often the case with the traditions of many other peoples, Temne oral traditions are full of embellishments, inaccuracies, inconsistencies and contradictions, some of which are a mere result of their being handed down from generation to generation over the

1. Oral Traditions - See Note 1, p.38.
centuries. Some however, are deliberate, and in such a case, the narrator has a hidden message, probably to credit his own people to the discredit of other people. For example, the tradition\(^1\) that the Poro Society was brought down from Rothorong by Farma Thami, together with other secret societies and deposited in a pool in Yonnie in Sherbroland from whence the Temne later took it and brought it to Yoni Country, is meant to credit the ingenuity of their hero by discrediting the inventive prowess of the Sherbro people. It is a popular belief that Poro was invented by the Sherbro, and the Temne only borrowed it from them and adopted it as an instrument of political and military control.

It is thus the task of the historian to assess the traditions with a view to finding the truth. In this endeavour, I have been greatly encouraged by one prominent feature of all the traditions I have collected — and that is, their similarity in matters of important details. By this, I mean to say that almost all the traditions relate the same events, differing only in the mode of presentation and emphasis. In the body of the thesis, I would illustrate that a cited tradition is true by quoting the several people who give it — the more many people say or believe a tradition, the greater the likelihood of its being true. But sometimes, in the mode of presentation, the majority of the narrators would emphasize one aspect, and only one small minority, and sometimes even one person that would differ; and sometimes these minorities would be right, and the majority of course, wrong. I would then try to prove the rightness by either referring

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1. Oral Traditions.
   Pa Kapprr Serra, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 17.1.76
   Pa Bockarie Fulla, Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom, 22.1.76
to written accounts (where available) or by argument from hypotheses or
deductions. Such proofs can be found in numerous sections of the
thesis. This has got to be done, because, to the Temne whose history
I am endeavouring to construct, oral traditions are of indispensable
importance. This is because they regard the past as being important
as the present. By knowledge of the past, they are able to establish
their citizenship and their rights over political and social situations.

Finally the importance of the songs can be noted. The Temne were
predominantly illiterate and one of their popular methods of preserving
events was by putting them into songs. In Temne,¹ the word for song
is 'Kë LEŋ'. From this noun, four expressions bearing different
meanings of the verb 'to sing', emerge - namely 'Kë LEŋ' (to sing),
'Kë LEŋSHIR Kɔ' (to extol him with a song), 'Kë LEŋ Kɔ' (to
ridicule him with a song), and 'Kë LEŋ Kɔ Mɔ GBOŋ' (to cast a
bad hint on him with a song). Such songs would be rendered by the secret
society members in public, or by the minstrels or professional singers
in the King's compound. This method was also important for encouraging
great deeds or acts of gallantry, to stimulate on enholding warriors;
to correct of chastise or condemn or ridicule one for a wrong act, and
to serve as a deterrent against the committing of social ills. They
were also used for publicizing some incidents and a means of entertain¬
ment. I recorded some of these songs and used them widely in the
thesis.

¹. My personal knowledge of the Temne language.
APPENDIX II

List of Rulers or Set of Rulers in Southern Temne Country—Compiled from oral traditions as well as written sources

A. Kova Country – Since the time of Pa Konko London

1. Pa Konko London (Same as Pa Ka Konko London) – about the last quarter of the eighteenth century – was crowned king but relinquished the crown to his eldest son Pa Mara Pethru who became the first Bai Kompa while he remained as 'king-maker'.

2. Bai Kompa Pethru or Bai Kompa I (King).

3. Bai Kompa Ke Kent or Bai Kompa II (King).

4. Bai Kompa Ke Foro or Bai Kompa III (King).

5. Bai Kompa Ke Mant or Bai Kompa IV (King).


7. Bai Kompa Feth or Bai Kompa V (the Boy King or the Boy Kompa). He died very young – only a few months after his installation in about 1793 – and by an ant-hill.

8. Bai Farma I (1793-1807). He died shortly after the peace settlement of 1807. He was discredited by the Colony Administration and also accused of selling the land to the 'White Man' by his Koya people.
9. **Nemgbana Bureh I** - Bai Farma I's Nemgbana. He ruled the Koya Country after the death of Bai Farma I (1807-1825) - died in 1825.

10. **Tom Kanttineh** (1825-1832). Probably he became Bai Farma II, and succeeded Pa Konko London in receiving the rents for the treaties Nos. 3 and 6 of July 10, 1807 and May 25, 1819, respectively.

He signed the Treaty No. 32 of April 15, 1836, together with 15 other Temne Chiefs including Momodu Bundu of Foredugu. His Nemgbana, was Nemgbana Bureh II. He did not live long - reigned only for 7 years.

11. **Bai Bureh** - formerly, Nemgbana Bureh II. He was Bai Farma II's Nemgbana. He was the first Nemgbana to be crowned King in Koya, but did not live long, and died in 1838 (1832-83, Ijagbemi, A History of the Temne, p.128).

12. **The first interregnum 1838-1859 - 21 years**

   Political instability - four Queens took charge vying for supremacy - these were, Bome Ruffa, Bome Gbashia, Bome Bintha, and Bome Baya Ballay Mankay. Momodu Bundu of Foredugu also exercised overall control although he himself was not able to control the Queens.

13. **Bai Kantha** - formerly Dick Wola I (1859-72). He was crowned in 1859 and died in 1872 shortly after the treaty of retrocession in 1872. He was the youngest son of Bai Farma I (Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone p.247)

14. **Nemgbana Gbontho Gbonko.** He was Bai Kantha's Nemgbana. He was a weakling and could not rule the country. He did not live long - died in 1873.
15. The Second Interregnum (1873-1890 - 18 years)
Alimamy Lahai Bundu of Foredugu was regent of the whole of Koya. He ruled jointly with two Queens namely, Bome Ruffa (a Kamara of Magbeni), and Bome Baya Fallow (a Fallow of Gbabai). Bome Ruffa was however, the stronger of the two. She supported Alimamy Lahai Bundu's administration. It was only after her death that a new King was crowned. This was Bockarie Bomboli or Bai Kompa Bomboli.

16. Bai Kompa Bomboli or Bai Kompa VI (1890-1898). Crowned in 1890 and died in 1898 during the Hut Tax War. His Nemgbana was Nemgbana Simor.

17. The third Interregnum (1898-1902 - 4 years)
Alimamy Sinneh Bundu of Foredugu was regent of the whole of Koya, while Nemgbana Simor was still alive; and this was 'KOTHO'. This was Alimamy Sinneh Bundu's first regency.

18. Bai Farma III - Dick Wola II (1902-1907). Invited to England to witness the coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII in 1909. He was deposed by the Government in 1907, and died in 1909. His Nemgbana was Nemgbana Dumbuya of Gbabai.

19. The fourth Interregnum (1907-1914 - 17 years)
Alimamy Sinneh Bundu's regency of the whole of Koya. He ruled jointly with Nemgbana Dumbuya of Gbabai, in which he played the senior role. Sinneh Bundu was crowned at Rothumba in 1893, as the Alimamy of Foredugu, and died towards the close of 1916.

20. Bai Kompa Dumbuya or Bai Kompa VII (1917-1940). He was crowned in 1914 at the beginning of World War I. He was the second Nemgbana to be crowned Paramount Chief in Koya. His first Nemgbana
was Nemgbana An Thura (the Bull) who died a few months after installation. The second was Nemgbana Kamara of Magbeni.

21. **Bai Kompa Yek I** or **Bai Kompa Kamara** or **Bai Kompa VIII**. He was formerly the Nemgbana of Bai Kompa Dumbuya. He was the third Nemgbana to be crowned a Bai Kompa in Koya. He died in 1956, shortly after the 1955-56 disturbances in the Protectorate.

22. **Bai Kompa Yek II** (1956-1972) or **Bai Kompa IX**. He was the son of Bai Kompa Yek I. He was deposed in 1972 by the Government and died in 1975.

23. **Bai Kompa Bomboli II** – formerly, Pa Amadu Kanu of Mawoma; or **Bai Kompa X** (1975– ).
B. Maforki Country – Since the time of Bai Rank

(i) THE BAI FORKIS OF MAFORKI COUNTRY UP TO THE 1940s

1. Bai Rank
2. Bai Sebora
3. Bai Forki Pa Makasi
4. Bai Forki Pinkineh
5. Bai Forki Kump Yamu or Sonko I
6. Bai Forki Bathpolon
7. Bai Forki Fenka
8. Bai Forki Karrgbo I
9. Bai Forki Kafaka
10. Bai Forki (?) - Kandehe Balli

(ii) THE ALIKALIS OF PORT LOKO, MAFORKI COUNTRY FROM 1815 TO 1973

1. Alikali Moriba I (Bangura) 1815 – 1825
2. Alikali Fatima Brima I (Kamara) 1825 – 1840
3. Alikali Namina Modu I (Bangura) 1841 – 1851
4. Alikali Modu I (Kamara) 1852 – 1854
5. Alikali Yankuba (Bangura) 1857 – 1862
6. Alikali Saddu (Kamara) 1863 – 1867
7. Alikali Kindo (Bangura) 1867 – 1872
8. Alikali Sheku (Kamara) 1872 – 1886
9. Alikali Moriba II (Bangura) 1886 – 1898
10. Alikali Fatima Brima II (Karara) 1899 – 1902
11. Alikali Namina Modu II (Bangura) 1903 – 1919
(iii) THE KOMRABAIS OF MAFORKI CHIEFDOM

1. Pa Komrabai Conteh (Conteh)
2. Pa Komrabai Kombo Fallah (Dumbuya or Fallah or Koroma)
3. Pa Komrabai Sorie Bonnoh (Kamara)
4. Pa Komrabai Saddu (Dumbuya or Falla or Koroma). He was also Imam of Port Loko and thus combined the two posts
5. Pa Komrabai Lamina Benchie (Dumbuya or Fallah or Koroma)
6. Pa Komrabai Nonkoh Lahai (Dumbuya or Fallah or Koroma)
7. Pa Komrabai Bockarie Yallah (Kamara) – the last and the crown has since not been revived (1943-48).
C. Marampa Country - since the time of Bai Rampa I

(i) Names of some of the Bai Rampa and Bai Koblo up to the present day - not arranged chronologically - all from Marampa tradition

Bai Rampa Kekele I
Bai Rampa Kepath
Bai Rampa An Bamp-A-Pain-Tupa
Bai Rampa Kekele II
Bai Rampa Sankolo I
Bai Rampa Pathbana I
Bai Rampa Kekele III - changed the title of the Crown to Bai Koblo and became Bai Koblo Kekele
Bai Koblo An Gbemachi I
Bai Koblo Queen
Bai Koblo Thamrabai
Bai Koblo An Gbemachi II
Bai Koblo Kennedy
Bai Koblo Pathbana II
Bai Koblo Kuth Bono
Bai Koblo Ke Wende
Bai Koblo Sankolo or An Gbalan
Bai Koblo An Gbemachi III
Bai Koblo Kegbele
Bai Koblo Pathbana III - the present Paramount Chief
(iii) **List of the Bai Subas arranged chronologically – all from Marampa traditions**

Bai Suba An Chanchan
Bai Suba Ke Wende
Bai Suba An Kochie
Bai Suba Tapagun
Bai Suba An Pessor
Bai Suba Ke Nanday or An Bolt
Bai Suba Ka Peki
Bai Suba An Gbethen
Bai Suba An Bolt II
Bai Suba An Pessor II. Since his death the Crown has not been revived.

**The Bai Suba Ruling Houses**

1. Bai Suba Ke Wende House
2. Bai Suba An Kochie House
3. Bai Suba An Bolt House
4. Bai Suba Ke Peki House
5. Bai Suba An Gbethen House
D. Masimra Country – Since the time of Bai Simra Kelle Gbethle – all from Masimra Traditions

(i) The Bai Simras

Bai Simra Kelle Gbethle
Bai Simra Kowjoro (or Koin Daru)
Bai Simra Kolna
Bai Simra Gben Ke Loll (Small Bangle)
Bai Simra Noi Serra
Bai Simra Thoth Rayerra
Bimra Thoth Ralankay or Yonnaneh (Do it yourself)
Bai Simra Thanka Sembulu or Pa M’Gbara I
Pa Ferra Thallay (Regent during the interregnum)
Bai Simra Thanaka Yessie
Bai Simra Pa Nes I (the Spider) or Kamal or An Plane.
Bai Simra Ponko
Bai Simra Pa M’Gbara II
Bai Simra Pa Nes II – After whose death the Chiefdom was amalgamated in 1953

(ii) The Ngombuyas of Rokon – All from Masimra Traditions

Ngombu Smart I
Ngombu Smart II
Ngombu Tham Bendu I
Ngombu Yarroh
Ngombu Tham Bendu II
Ngombu Young
Ngombu Manki – still in office
(iii) The Ballavas of Rokon - all from Masimra Traditions

Pa Balla Bana I
Pa Ball Brima Sama
Pa Balla Yoma
Pa Balla Ussama
Pa Balla Bana II
Pa Balla Assana
Pa Balla Brima II - Since his death the crown has not been revived.

(iv) The Bai Subas of Rokon - all from Masimra Traditions

Bai Suba Yennoh Gbenkeh
Bai Suba Kulkaton
Bai Suba An Kerray - Deposed and the crown abolished by Bai Simra Ponko.
E. Yoni Mabanta Country – Since the time of Alimamy Abibu Jalloh –
Quoted from Dorjahn’s "A Brief History of the Temne of Yoni, and
also from oral traditions.

1. Alimamy Abibu Jalloh (Fula & Muslim) – Oral Traditions
2. Alimamy Araba Jalloh (Fula & Muslim) – Oral Traditions
3. Alimamy Musa Jalloh (Fula & Muslim) – Oral Traditions
4. Alimamy Kajoro (Fula & Muslim) – Dorjahn & Oral Traditions
5. Fula Mansa Binbinkoro (Fula & Poro) – Dorjahn & Oral Traditions
6. Fula Mansa Kayinto (Kon M’Yinto – Sessay & Poro – c 1820-1825)
   Dorjahn & Oral Traditions
7. Fula Mansa Kagbengbe (Pa Salia – Koroma – Muslim & Poro – c1896-1897)
   Dorjahn & Oral Traditions
8. Fula Mansa Gbanka (Say Bankalo – Kamara & Poro 1897-1898)
   Dorjahn & Oral Traditions
9. Fula Mansa Ka Foim or Gbaranda (Koroma & Poro – 1898-1899)
   Dorjahn & Oral Traditions
10. Fula Mansa Kamanda (Kalawa Kabenthay, Kapprr Kenty – Kanu & Poro
    1899-1908) Dorjahn & Oral Traditions
    Oral Traditions.

(ii) The Four Ruling Houses of Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom – Oral Traditions

Fula Mansa Binbinkoro House
Fula Mansa Gbassankoro House
Fula Mansa Ka Gbengbe House
Fula Mansa Ka Bop House
F. Yoni Mamella Country - since the time of Bai Sebora Kondo -

Quoted from Dorjahn

(i) A Brief History of Temne of Yoni.." p.88 (Appendix) - Supported
by Yoni Mamella Traditions

Bai Sebora Kondor
Bai Sebora Makota I
Bai Sebora Bumne
Bai Sebora Gbashia
Bai Sebora Thelleh I
Bai Sebora Sampa
Bai Sebora Soko
Bai Sebora Thombo (d. 1870)
Bai Sebora Kenke I (d. 1872 or 1879)
Bai Sebora Queen (1889-1899)
Bai Sebora Yankay or Ka Ferenden (1899-1900) - from Oral Traditions only
Bai Sebora Kama (1900-1911)
Bai Sebora Ka Na Serry (1912-1921)
Bai Sebora Thelleh II (1923-1940)
Bai Sebora Kenke II (1941-1945)
Bai Sebora Makota II (1950- ): was deposed in 1950, but still alive.
The two Yonis were amalgamated in 1949, and Fula Mansa
Binbinkoro II became the second Paramount Chief of the
Amalgamated Chiefdom in 1960.
(ii) **The Four Bai Sebora Ruling Houses** - from Oral Traditions only  
Bai Sebora Kondor House  
Bai Sebora Makota House  
Bai Sebora Bumne House  
Bai Sebora Gbashia House

(iii) **The seven Kinna Farrays** - from Oral Traditions only  
Kinna Farray Gbana Fallah  
Kinna Farray M'Bapi  
Kinna Farray M'Yombo  
Kinna Farray Sheku  
Kinna Farray Koya - from Koya Country  
Kinna Farray M'Baromy  
Kinna Farray Gbongban - from Bankafu in Yoni Mabanta Country

(iv) **The Four Kinna Farray Ruling Houses** - from Oral Traditions only  
Kinna Farray Gbana Fallah House  
Kinna Farray M'Baoi House  
Kinna Farray M'Yombo House  
Kinna Farray Sheku House

(v) **The six Sathi Makaes** - from Oral Traditions only  
Sathi Maka M'Primor, or M'Song - Son of Yan Primor or Pa M'Song  
Sathi Maka Bacca - born at Bacca in Romende Country  
Sathi Maka M'Baromy - son of Yan Baromy  
Sathi Maka M'Bookrie  
Sathi Maka An Memneh (the mirror) - because he was very handsome.  
Sathi Maka An Siola (the lion) - the last and the Crown was never revived. The first four formed the established Ruling Houses.
APPENDIX III

Official Names of Professional Royal Minstrels (Mask Devils of the Kings/Paramount Chiefs) - up to the 1950s

Marampa - Paa Sonkay
Masimra - Paa Thallay
Yoni Mabanta - Paa Yellow
Yoni Mamella - Paa Mella
Fondu - Paa Fallah
Mamaka - Paa Makie

Koya and Maforki had none. Their functions were performed by Yelli-men.
APPENDIX IV

List of some of the professional warriors in Southern Temne
Country - All from Temne Traditions

(i) In Kova
Pa Konko London
Pa Mara Pethru
Pa Kagbana Wonko
Pa Molai Yankay
Pa Namodu Bundu
Pa Maligie Bundu
Pa Bassie Bundu
Pa Kombo Bundu
Pa Ke Perry
Pa Gberrkoh Sosa
Pa Foday Lenka (Alia An Karra - the crab)
Pa Simbara
Pa Bockarie Bomboli
Pa Konnoh Mussu
Pa Kapprr Yeffenfeh

(ii) In Maforki
Bai Rank
Bai Sebora
Bai Forki Pa Makasie
Bai Forki Bathpolon
Mariba Kindo Bangura
Brima Konkori Sankoh
Fatima Brima Kamara
Pa Ansurnana Karrgbo
Bai M'Salmansa
Bockarie Bamp
Santigie Keareh
Ansurnana Balli
(iii) In Marampa

Pa Ke Kelle
Pa Kelboi
Pa Thami
Bai Rampa An Bamp–A–Pain Tupa
Bai Koblo Kuth Bono
Bai Koblo Sankolo of An Gbalan
Bai Suba An Chanchan
Bai Suba Tapagun
Bai Suba An Pessor
Bai Suba An Bolt

(iv) In Masimra

Bai Simra Kelleh Gbethle
Bai Simra Koinjoro
Bai Simra Kolna
Bai Simra Gben Ke Loll
Bai Simra Thonkasemgblu
Pa Ferra or Bai Simra Pa Nes
Pa Nenneh
Bai Simra Ponko

(v) In Yoni

Pa Gbesseh M’Fentha
Pa Sana Conteh
Pa Mara Gboto
Pa Yellow
Pa Kapprr Yellow
Kalawa Kabenthay (or Kamanda)
Yamba Fackle
Kondor
Kongo
Bocharie Koliama
Pa Mahung
Pa Mahung
Pa Kembe
Pa Bockarie Fallah or En Kerry
Say Bankolo or Gbanka
Fayombo Kadora (Bird of ill-omen)
Fafiri
Pa Weawah
Pa Dumabe
Yamba M'Yenkain
Pa Bari Sella
Pa Tambawa
APPENDIX  V

MEMO FOR THE INFORMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF

RELATIVE TO PORT LOKKOH OR BAKE LOKKO FROM EARLY DATE

Port Lokkoh is about 60 or 70 miles up the Sierra Leone River from Freetown; was first visited by Portuguese in the year 1400 or 1500 A.D.

It is situated at the end of the North Branch of that river called Port Lokkoh river which is divided from Requelle River by Kassankoh point. Before entering the River there is an island called Bance island, besides other islands near to which are two large rocks in the water called Devil Rocks which are never covered by the highest tide, and of which the natives had a superstitious idea that they travelled and offered sacrifices to them in former years. The English had a slave depot on this island about the year 1600 and the tombstones over the graves of renowned persons who died there can prove that the French attacked it in about 1799, and at this day caves and pits in which slaves were deposited are to be seen in it. The slave trade was stopped in that island in the year 1807 when that trade was abolished by an act of Parliament - the natives before the abolition of the slave trade dreaded to go to the island: the Proprietors of the island were enemies of the Sierra Leone Company who first established this Colony and prejudiced the minds of the natives against it, and instigated them to invade it in the years 1801 and 1803.

The Port Lokkoh town is in the Mendi Mafo land between which and the Lokkoh Country are many other countries. It receives its name
"Bake Lokkoh" translated "Port Lokkoh" from its being the Port from which many Lokkoh people had been shipped to be sold at Bance island.

The Soosoo people being much engaged in the slave trade came to the Timanee Country for the purpose and excited the Timanee people to engage in continual wars by which they can procure slaves to be sold to the Traders at Bance island; and about the beginning of the year 1700 permission was granted them to reside at Port Lokkoh and they located themselves on the North bank of the Port Lokkoh River where they called "Sain Dugu" and the Timanees on the South bank called "Old Port Lokkoh", and in process of time the children of the Timanees who were owners of the country becoming more intelligent than their predecessors built another town called "Ro Marung" which is the principal town and the Soosoes increasing in number built another town called "Robatt", and being Mohammedhans from Mellicourie in the Moriah Country were more intelligent than the Timanees who were then pagans, and they usurped authority. The Timanees being then unable to resist the Soosoes submitted and gave them wives and placed many of the children of the noblemen under them to learn the Alkoran. In process of time the women produced many children who were carefully brought up according to the Mohammedan creed and became energetic and persevering, and thereby acquired wealth and power and in no less degree did they also acquire patriotism.

The Soosoo family who located themselves at Sain Dugu are of the Sankoh family who had a head over them called the Alimamy and this state of things continued till about the year 1815 on the assumption of the Government by Brimah Konkori Sankoh who was an austere and
arbitrary ruler and was rigorous on the Timanees who thought themselves oppressed and in 1816 Moruba Kindo son of one of the principal Kings of the country whose Aunt was wife of one of the Alimamy and was thoroughly educated in the Mohammedan religion by the Soosoos thought it was time the country should cease to be governed by the Soosoos. But before attempting to take any measures for that purpose he first thought of visiting the Sooso country where those at Port Lokkoh came from, and procured information. The timber trade had little before this had been introduced into the country by the late J. Macormack Esq.: which enabled the Timanees to acquire means sooner than was expected. Moruba Kindo then went to Malaghea in the Sooso Country and visited Mellicaourie on several occasions while it was Malaghea and hearing the title Alikarlie made use of it as he liked it, and on enquiry being made about it he was told that it means Magistrate or Judge; and he told the Chief of Malaghea that he would like to have the title introduced into his country: his wish was granted, and he paid 7 slaves worth of money in merchandise and a Turban worn by persons of that title was placed on his head. And as soon as he was crowned he returned to his country and summoned all the principal men of the Timanees to a private meeting each one binding himself by an oath not to reveal what he will hear, after which he proposed that all should take up arms unitedly and expel the Soosoos from the country which was agreed to and he was acknowledged as Alikarlie, and an influential Timanee Chief of Madingo descent called Fatma Brimah Camarra was nominated his second on carrying out their plans. Then Bai Foki the king of the country having been offended at the insolence and improper behaviour of the Soosoos placed the country under his management in
these words:

"My son, you are my son: the country is yours as it is mine. I and your people can no longer bear the insults of these strangers. I place the country in your hands that with my assistance and that of the whole country you drive the Soosoos out of this land."

The Alikarlie then said:

"Thank you further, this is all I want. I shall call to my assistance a dear and true-hearted friend, one that will be able to take my place if I fall in the struggle and carry out your wish."

The Alikarlie then had a drum called "Tablay" made: this drum was to be in the possession of no one but the King or Chief in authority. The plan for attacking the Soosoos having been known to all the Timanees, the Alikarlie one morning ordered the drum to be beaten, which was the first time the Soosoos heard it there. The Alimamy of the Soosoos at Saindugu on hearing where the sound came from, sent to see if his tablay was in its place; and being told it was in its place ordered 150 armed men to proceed to Romarung and bring the tablay, the person who was beating it, and the person who ordered it to be beaten to be brought to him: the distance from Ro Marung to Saindugu is about 10 (ten) minutes walk.

The armed men proceeded not knowing that more than 500 = Timanees had ambushed themselves in a thicket which divided Ro Marung from Saindugu and Robatt, who never interrupted them till they had gone over when they were all captured without a gun being fired and brought as prisoners to the Alikarlie, their arms having being first seized; some however of the principal ones were killed and 5 (five) sent back to inform the Chief of the intention of the Timanees. War was at
once proclaimed and the Timanees from all quarters poured into the town and engagements succeeded one another day after day. The Soosoos fought desperately but were defeated and ultimately were not permitted to come out of the stockades. The Timanees then surrounded the town and continued to do so for some time till the Soosoos were out of water and provisions when the town was entered by the Timanees and Allimamy Brimah Konkori and his sub-chiefs were beheaded and killed, others sold into slavery. The order was that none of the Timanee women who were wives to the Soosoos, as well as their children should be killed; all were spared and each allowed to go to her own family, and the children who had grown big were permitted to enjoy the privileges of a citizen; the principal children who were thus spared were Namina Lahai, Misfarray, Booboo Sankoh, Adama Lahai, Momoh Sankoh and several others who afterwards became renowned men and Mohammedans.

Ten (10) years after the war the first Alikarlie Mornbah Kindo being sick and conscious that he would not live sent for Fatma Brimah and took from his finger a gold ring and gave him, charging him at the same time in these words:

"You and I have agreed to fight for the rights of our country and to rescue it from the hands of those people who would dispossess us of it, and God being our helper we succeeded in doing so: I am dying now; I leave the sword of defence in your hands and the title of "Alikarlie" which I introduced into this country also, which are to be handed to our children successively: Good bye."

and he died a day afterwards. Fatmah Bribah attended to see his remains properly interred according to the country customs.

Before the report of the Alikarlie's death reached Freetown a man named Jack Cobby, alias Pa Runiah, was illegally elected as Alikarlie
which was contrary to the wishes of the proper owners of the country
and application was made to this government to interfere so that the
right person might be crowned. The governor of Sierra Leone then
proceeded to Port Lokkoh in the Royal Colonial Steamship African"
the first that came to this Colony. His Excellency was accompanied
by the Honourable Kenneth M'Cauley, W. Ross, John Macormack Esq."
M.C. Alimamy Dalu Mahommedoo and a detachment of the Royal African
Corps (White Regiment).

His Excellency General Turner on arriving at Port Lokkoh at the
request of the principal persons there demanded that the crown in the
possession of Jack Cobby then should be given up, which was objected
to at first, but on the Governor's insistence it was brought in a
calabash and delivered to Dalu Mohammedoo to be delivered to the
Governor and His Excellency according to the wish of the people placed
it on the head of Fatma Brimah as successor of the deceased Alikarlie,
and thus it is that the title of Alikarlie of Port Lokkoh has always
been enjoyed by the two houses of Bangoorah and Camarrah - Korubah the
first Alikarlie was of the Bangoorah family and Fatma Brimah the second
Alikarlie was of the Camarrah family - and made a treaty with the
Chiefs by which the Port Lokkoh Country was ceded to Great Britain
(vide Treaty No.15 dated 12th December 1825. Ordinance Vol.2) and
returned to Freetown and died shortly afterwards and the Treaty was
not sanctioned by the government in England and Sir Neil Campbell who
succeeded Governor Turner went up to Port Lokkoh in December 1826 and
confirmed the appointment of Fatmah Brimah as Alikarlie (vide Treaty
No.20, 14 December 1826. Ordinance Vol.2) and he transferred the country
to him, which rendered Treaty No.15 nul and void.
The children of the Soosooes who were spared because their mothers were Timanees, after they had become influential endeavoured to reinstate the Allimamyship which their fathers enjoyed, and kept the matter a secret till the coronation of Namina Modoo, son of the first Alikarlie, after the death of Fatma Brimah when on the occasion of his coronation in 1841 they raised opposition, but they were not permitted to have their plans carried out by the presence of His Excellency Governor Jeremy who had gone to Port Lokkoh to witness the coronation, accompanied by J. Macormack and others, after which the Timanees thought it advisable to appoint a head for the Soosoo families residing in Port Lokkoh and Momoh Sankoh, great grandson of the first Allimamy was appointed.

Namina Modoo reigned about 10 years and died and Alikarlie Modoo Camarrah son of Fatma Brimah was appointed Alikarlie in 1852 and died in 1854; his reign was of short duration and the country was without an Alikarlie till 1857 when Yankubah Bangoorah was crowned Alikarlie. During his reign the Sankoh family (Soosoo) having become powerful again threatened to disturb the peace of the country by attempting to oppose the coronation of Yankubah which caused His Excellency, S.J. Hill then Governor to proceed to Port Lokkoh Accompanied by civil and military officers and the coronation was done in His Excellency's presence and Treaty No.67 dated 27th February 1857 was then entered into.

During the administration of Yankubah the Timanees found that the Soosoo descendants were becoming troublesome, united together and led by Sadoo Camarra son of the second Alikarlie suddenly invaded the Chief
towns of the Sankohs (Soosoo descendants) and expelled them from the Port Lokkoh country. The Sankohs took refuge in the Lokko Massama and found their way to Bullom Shore (Madina) and solicited the assistance of Kalli Modoo who was then at the head of the Dalu Mohammedoo family. Momo Sankoh came to Freetown accompanied by Kalli Modoo to report the circumstances to the governor, who was much displeased with the Timanees for violating their Treaty by their conduct; and Momo Sankoh was requested to remain here until he would hear from the Port Lokkoh Chiefs and if necessary he would go up to have the matter settled. He was treated kindly and given £60 to enable him to subsist. Instead of putting the money into proper use he laid it out in ammunition and by Kalli Modoo's advice he went to Bullom where he procured a large army and contrary to the governor's desire attacked Port Lokkoh and burnt it to the ground. Information was sent to the governor of the attack and Commissioners were sent up viz: A. Pike Esq. and Major Hill (Governor's son) whose report confirmed the information already brought, and the Timanees blamed the Government for having prevented them from pursuing the Soosooos on the 1st attack. The government then saw it advisable to aid the Timanees by giving them ammunition and the war continued till 1860 and was settled by John Macormack Esq. on behalf of this government, when Allimamy Fenda Sanassi Modoo who was then popular among his people the Timanees was appointed at the request of the Timanees and his own relative head of the Dalu Mohammedoo family.

During the time the war was going on Alikarlie Yankubah died and Sadoo Camarra was elected his successor about 1863, and Honourable G.W. Nicol, Robert Blackall, Col. Yonge 1st W.I.R. and other officials
were commissioned to proceed to Port Lokkoh to witness his coronation; during the administration of Sadoo peace was restored in the country. He died in 1867 having reigned about 4 years.

Sadoo Camarra was the son of Fatma Brimah the 2nd Alikarlie. He was succeeded by Morubah Kindo Bangurah the grandson of the 1st Alikarlie and son of the 3rd Alikarlie Namina Modoo. The country enjoyed peace during his administration and trade flourished. Binneh Sankoh who was then representative of the Sankoh family was allowed to return to Port Lokkoh, having taken refuge for some time in the Soosoo country to evade the calamity that would have come upon him on account of the disturbance created by his family (vide Treaty No. 6 Vol. 5 Feb. 25, 1872). The Hon. Col. Yonge 1st W.I.R., A.Pike, Mr. Laurie, Inspector of Schools and several officers, civil and military went as commissioners to witness the coronation of the Alikarlie. He visited the Colony once during his administration and died shortly after he returned home from the visit. He died in Dec. 1872 and Seckoo Camarra, son of the 2nd Alikarlie succeeded him.

This Alikarlie Seckoo did not possess the spirit and influence of his predecessors, was influenced by his sub-chiefs and the country was in an unsettled state. He was crowned during the administration of governor Hennessy and Commissioners were not sent up to witness his coronation because the governor was absent on the coast then. He reigned for 14 years and died in 1886. Mambubu Sinkrifa of the Bangurah family succeeded him with the title of Alikarlie Morubah. His days were full of anxiety. Political events of more than ordinary importance characterised this reign. During the earlier part of it
the country lived in a state of unrest owing to rumours of a threatened invasion by the Sofas. Next followed the proclamation of the Protectorate in 1896 - a scheme which as the time created much heartburning amongst the natives on account of the proposed levying of the Hut Tax from and after January 1, 1898. In the said year (1896) Government officials visited Port Lokkoh in order to explain the above named scheme to the Alikarlie who during that and the succeeding year both in conjunction with other chiefdoms as well as for his own sent several petitions to the Governor Sir. F. Cardew against the proposed Hut Tax. In June 1897 the Alikarlie (Moruba II) accompanied by a few of his sub-chiefs and Headmen at the invitation of the government visited Freetown to witness the Diamond Jubilee celebration of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Soon after his return sickness disabled him from active business and Bokari Bamp of the Bangurah family was recognised as his Deputy. The year 1898 was a red letter year; the enforcement of the Hut Tax made Port Lokkoh to experience much violence from the hands of the Government. On Wednesday, February 9, 1898 the Acting Chief Bokari Bamp with four principal men of the town viz.: Bai Salmansa, Santigie Karrie, Ansumana Bali and Alfa Saidoo were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in Freetown under a general charge of refusing to pay the Tax. Sori Bonkay - a man who had no legal rights to the native crown was appointed chief by the government and before long he met the fate of a usurper. About this time the invalid chief Alikarlie Morubah died. He was crowned in 1385/7 and reigned for nearly 11/13 years.

After 8 months imprisonment the acting Chief Bokari Bamp with Bai Salmansa, Santigie Karrie, Ansumana Bali and Alfa Saidoo were released.
on the condition that they paid the government £95. They returned to Port Lokkoh either in October or November and set themselves to the work of repairs. After peace and quietness was restored Bai Salmansa of the Kamarra family was chosen as the rightful successor of the late Alikarlie Morubah and crowned with the title of Alikarlie Fatma Brima II in the year 1899.

This Alikarlie pointed out the ancient boundaries of his Chiefdom and regained for the Port Loko country towns and villages forfeited by his predecessors. Her Majesty Queen Victoria died during this reign. Alikarlie Fatma Brima did not live long; he reigned only 3 years 7 months. He died in 1902.

Bockari Bamp of the Bangurah family, who was deputy in the time of Alikarlie Morubah, succeeded to the crown with the title of Alikarlie Namina Modu II. He was crowned in October 1902, and may be lived long! His reign witnessed marked improvements in the country - good roads, fine bridges, establishment of trading firms, Post Office, and a military barracks and other attendents of civilization, also a government hospital and a further expansion of the C.M.S. School. He was the first Alikahli to be given the British Staff of office as Paramount Chief.

Received from Pa Alpha Bedor Bangura,
Port Loko Maforki Chiefdom on December 7, 1975.
The Maforki Chiefdom up to 1826 was only known as Bake Loko with the Paramount Chief at what is today called Old Port Loko.

The name Maforki which is the Chiefdom's name today and which means in Temene "Let us unfold" was derived from a Swear which was suspected to have been the cause of the short reigns of the former Chiefs in the 16th to 17th Centuries.

In 1775 to 1825 when the Chiefdom was without a Paramount Chief as every one feared he would die when crowned a Chief they decided to pull the swear in 1825 and the first Paramount Chief who was crowned after unfolding the swear was called Bai Forki (Bai Unfold) and thereafter all successors were called Forki.

The Chiefdom became divided into two after 1815 when Moriba Kindo a Temene of the Bangura Family was asked by Bai Forki the nominal Chief of Old and New Port Loko to throw off the Susus who had settled in the Chiefdom and had built a town in the Chiefdom called Robat.

Moriba Kindo asked his friend a man called Fatma Brima (of the Kamara Family) who resided at a town called Magbele in Masimera now Marampa Masimera Chiefdom to help him in the task and Bai Forki cheerfully surrendered all powers into the hands of Moriba Kindo who was a member of the Chiefdom and both Moriba Kindo and Fatma Brima were the Generals of the Temene Forces, and Brima Konkori was the General of the Susus Forces.
The war which began with dramatic suddenness came as a complete surprise to the Susus, who after being cleverly ambushed by the Temenes, fought desperately but were completely defeated and Brima Konkori with other leaders suffered decapitation.

Certain leading Susus were spared, and of these the Sanko family still lives in Sendugu and constitute part of the Tribal Authority in the Chiefdom.

After the victory Fatma Brima was asked to stay and for his reward Moriba Kindo promised that they would take the Crown in turn to this Fatma Brima agreed and they both created the Bangura and Kamara Ruling Families in Bake Loko dividing the Chiefdom, "Bankasoka" the bridge at the entrance of New Port Loko on the Port Loko Freetown Road being the boundary and Moriba Kindo was crowned the First "Alikali" of Bake Loko in 1815 (Alikali means a Judge) from this time the heredity rulers, Bai Forkis, have been content merely with occasional assertion of ceremonial offices in the Administration of what gradually became the lower Loko Chiefdom and their advice is usually asked in any matter of importance while all the lower Loko people pay a nominal allegiance to Bai Forki.

After the death of Alikali Moriba I the Administration of the Chiefdom was handed to Fatma Brima I my great Grandfather (Kamara family) whose Coronation in 1825 was opposed by Pa Runia (Alias Jack Cobby). This upstart was suppressed and Governor Turner arriving at Port Loko crowned Alikali Fatma Brima I creating a precedent which has been more or less adhered to that every New Alikali should be crowned by the Governor. After the coronation the Governor made a treaty with
Alikali Fatma Brima I and Sub-Chiefs by which he accepted the Sovereignty of Bake Loko.

In 1826 Governor Campbell made a fresh convention with Alikali Fatma Brima, but British Sovereignty was not asserted over the Port Loko District until in 1893 when Major Crooks at an impressive scene asserted British rule over the District.

Bake Loko was the biggest Trading Centre in the Protectorate - it had with Kambia, long slave markets standing as they do on the Caravan Routes from Malekuri and Falaba.

In 1836 complaints from the Traders on the Creek led to a proclamation of absolute free trade exempted from any tax or tribute on the Port Loko river.

In 1840 the C.M.S. endeavoured to start a mission station in Bake Loko, but owing to the Moslem religion which the Susu who penetrated in the Temene Country in 1700 had brought, they were compelled to give it up. And later established a mission where most of our people had their education.

In 1841 Governor Jeremie visited Port Loko to crown Alikali Namina Modu I.

In 1885 Governor Sir Samuel Rowe arrived to crown Alikali Koriba XI and his attention was called to the depredations of Alimamy Samoray (Guinea Samoray).

In 1898 the Traders declined not to pay their tax and the Government insisted on it and the Acting Chief Bockari Bamp and my grandfather Fatma Brima II and others were held responsible and found themselves in
Freetown goal. After the rebellion Fatma Brima was crowned and became Alikali Fatma Brima XI.

The Chiefdom became together in the year 1949 before Paramount Chief Alikali Modu III the present Chief was elected.

14 Chiefs have been crowned in Bake Loko Chiefdom since 1815:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Moriba I</td>
<td>Father of Namina Modu I</td>
<td>1815-1825</td>
<td>Bangura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Fatma Brima I</td>
<td>Father of Alikali Modu I</td>
<td>1825-41</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Namina Modu I</td>
<td>Son of Moriba I</td>
<td>1841-51</td>
<td>Bangura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Modu I</td>
<td>Son of Fatma Brima I</td>
<td>1852-1854</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Yenkuba</td>
<td></td>
<td>1857-1862</td>
<td>Bangura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Sade (4 yrs-cm 1863 &amp; d.1867)</td>
<td>Son of Fatma Brima I</td>
<td>1863-1867</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Kindo (c.1867 &amp; d. 1872)</td>
<td>Son of Namina Modu I</td>
<td>1867-1872</td>
<td>Bangura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Sheku (c.1872 d.1836)</td>
<td>Son of Fatma Brima</td>
<td>1872-1886</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Moriba II</td>
<td>the Hut Tax, Son of Moriba I</td>
<td>d.1898</td>
<td>Bangura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Fatma Brima II (1899-1902,3y 7m)</td>
<td>Son of Alikali Modu I</td>
<td>1899-1902</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Namina Modu II, 1902-</td>
<td>Uncle of Moriba I</td>
<td>1903-1919</td>
<td>Bangura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Modu II</td>
<td>Son of Fatma Brima II</td>
<td>1919-1925</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Mela-</td>
<td>Son of Namina Modu II</td>
<td>1925-45</td>
<td>Bangura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alikali Modu III</td>
<td>The Amalgamation of Alikali Modu II</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ten Chiefs have been crowned in Old Maforki either to only the Gbara or Kameras were the Ruling Family in this Chiefdom until Paramount Chief Kandeh Bali a Kanu was elected a Paramount Chief in the 1940s.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paramount Chief Bai Forki Makasi</th>
<th>Gbara Family</th>
<th>Kamara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Bai Forki Sonkoi I</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Bai Forki Karigbo I</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Bai Forki Pinkinneh</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Bai Forki Patpolon (over 50 )</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Bai Forki Fenka (7 yrs)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Bai Forki Kafaka</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Bai Forki Sonkoi II (7 yrs)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Kandeh Bali</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kanu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bai Forki Karigbo II (1943) died in 1948 - then the amalgamation.

Received from P.C. Alikali Modu III

Port Loko Maforki Chiefdom on December 2, 1976.
APPENDIX VII

SAMPLE COURT CASE ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF DOMESTIC SLAVES

This matter has been enquired into by P.C. Bai Fonti of Romandi and Alusaine Tamba of Gbinti, Dibia Chiefdom.

They informed me that native law rules:

(a) If a man marries his slave, treats her well and she treats him badly, she reverts to the position of slave to another member of the family.

(b) If a man marries his slave and treats her badly, she being of good behaviour, the woman should be freed.

(c) If a married slave is unfaithful to him while his "wife", he compels her to eat human dung and the dung of animals, which act is not justifiable.

Fonti Pratt of Port Loko and younger brother of defendant, told me that the whole family were against the "marriage", and on several occasions advised defendant to free the woman, but to no avail. Defendant admitted this.

Fonti Pratt said that defendant was fined by Pa Soko of Mamaligie, Marampa Chiefdom, for making plaintiff eat human dung, as it is against native custom. This disposes of this charge. Defendant has already been punished for this in the Court of Native Chiefs.

In reference to the flogging he administered "10 days ago", the defendant told me that he could not obtain evidence of unfaithfulness, that he flogged her because she left his home at midnight, and she failed to explain to his satisfaction the cause of her absence.

Pa Kamanda of Robis, Romandi Chiefdom one of P.C. Bai Bonti's "big" men, told me that if a man takes his slave and wife and sleeps
with her, this act changes the status of the woman. She is no longer a slave. She becomes a free woman.

P.C. Bai Fonti caused the defendant to be handcuffed because he refused to pay a fine of £10 for ill-treating the woman. I told the P.C. that I consider such a fine too heavy. He then told me that he had returned what had been paid, namely cost of £2.10.0. I ordered the handcuffs to be removed. After which defendant was released. I again placed the matter in the hands of the Court of Native Chiefs with instructions to make another attempt to arrive at a fair decision. The woman had no business to leave the house at night as she could not satisfactorily explain the cause of her absence. Being unable to explain the cause of her absence means she was up to no good. At the bottom of this is a family quarrel, defendant appears to be disliked by the members of the family.

Sgd. ? ? 25/2/14

The Court of Native Chiefs:

P.C. Bai Fonti of Romandi
Sub Chief Ali Tamba of Gbinti, Bibia
" Ali Bangura of Batkanu

Upper Lokkoh West III decided that according to native law and custom, Pa Soko should relinquish all claim to plaintiff as his "wife", because:

(a) Plaintiff was his father's slave when he the defendant began to sleep with her.

(b) even though she may have been unfaithful as a "wife", he cannot treat her as a slave again.
(c) She refuses to live with defendant because of his persistent cruelty, and having been his father's slave and not his freedom wife, purchased as a freedom wife according to Native custom, he cannot compel her to live with him again.

(d) None of defendant's family wish to receive the plaintiff as a slave.

(e) Because it is against all native laws and customs to make any woman eat human and animal dung.

Bai Fonti  His X Mark
Ali Tamba  His X Mark
Ali Bangura  His X Mark

Witness of the marks of the above signatories: A. Fonti Pratt

Sgd.  ?  ?
"  "  Campbell

Inform defendant, Pa Soko, that he must obey the decision of the Court of Native Chiefs and I warn him that any disregard of this decision will be treated as an act of defiance.

Sgd.  ?  ?

Note: A sword and dagger in defendant's possession are detained until he calls for them. C.M. Campbell tells me police are afraid of the way as he came control his

Defendant Pa Soko reports that he has found out the reason he has all the trouble with his wife Digba. It was on account of her keeping company with another man. He now wants to treat the man. I have not gone into the case, that I have told Pa Soko that he is to take place. If he has any palaver he must take his case back to the Chief that the case is the first instance by Bai Fonti; Alusine Tamba

Sgd.  ?  ?

12/8/14
F.A.,

Will you see what all this is about, Campbell reports that after I had cautioned Soko to do no swearing he went back and got 5 medicine men to swear certain people including the D.C.

Sgd.   ?  ?
25/8/14

D.C.,

I have heard that it was before the man Soko came in here that he got five Medicine men to swear the woman and her family. I heard nothing about his swearing the D.C. perhaps that is added to make the case appear grave. I am told by the father and mother of the woman Digba when they came in here a few days ago, that Bai Fonti is in possession of the Medicines and that he had sent to call in the man Soko to explain why he swore the family of Digba, but that he refused to attend the call, and instead came in here to see you. They said that Bai Fonti had told them he was tired with the man and had nothing more to do with the case. I told them of Bai Fonti’s remedy against anyone disobeying his lawful orders, and that it was the chief’s business to look after his country properly. The whole case is as follows:

Digba and family are the slaves of Pa Soko’s father. Pa Soko married his father’s slave and in order to make her a free woman paid £2 to his father for her. She was unfaithful to her husband on several occasions and at one time he made her eat human and cow dung mixed together. This was about ten years ago. Pa Suba looked into the matter and fined Pa Soko £20, which was paid by the late Mr. Pratt of Portloko, brother of Pa Soko. Afterwards the woman went in company
with another man and Pa Soko threatened to kill her and she came and complained. The matter was looked into and the chiefs agreed that as Pa Soko was rather old, and the woman would go with younger men, he should relinquish all claim to the woman as his wife. The whole of Pa Soko's family agreed to this decision and added that by his persistent cruelty he was freeing all their slaves which passes from one brother to another Pa Soko still feels dissatisfied.

Sgd. ? ?
25/8/14

Note: When visiting Romendi again see Pa Soko and Bai Fonti and instruct Bai Fonti that it is his business to see that his orders are obeyed.

2. If Bai Fonti has the medicine which was used to swear these people it should be destroyed.

3. Pa Soko should be if given any more trouble he will be severely punished.

Sgd. ? ?
25/8/14

Received from Pa Alieu Badara Sesay,
Port Loko, Maforki Chiefdom
on February 6, 1976.
APPENDIX VIII

GENELOGICAL HISTORY OF THE KOBLO KABIAS

This is a brief story of the Marampa people, particularly about the coming of Kekele Kabba, the ancestor of the Koblo Kabia family, who hailed from a town in former French Sudan territory now known as Mali; as obtained from many citizens of Marampa Chiefdom.

Though with different ideas, I took the pains to compile this information which seems nearer the required facts, with many thanks to Pa Sebana Kabia, Pa Santigie Polla Kabia, Sorie Kabia of Makalo and Pa Bassie Bia, to name a few, who contributed some valuable information that made it possible for me to submit this as history.

Kekele Kabba was an elephant hunter who was a twin brother to a sister who died immediately after their birth and that was why he was named Kekele, meaning a lone son. He came to Marampa with his wife, Fatmata Jabbie during the time of the Ghana empire by way of Koinadugu District in Sierra Leone; following elephants. He first settled at Sonfon by the Lake Sonfon and from there to Malal for a short time before he finally came to Marampa as a guest of the Lokkos who were then having few scattered villages in upper part of Marampa as Makalke, Magbiri, Magbil, Matoba, Magbenkte, Matorkor and Malokko to name a few and while the rest of the Chiefdom was forestry, down to Bathtooki, where the Yama stream which is the recognised chiefdom bounty between Marampa and Mafooki enters into the Rokel River.

When the mysterious Farama Thami was on his way to establish Chiefs, he came down to Mange in Marampa Chiefdom to distribute the
sacred relics of Chieftaincy, he sent for the Lokkos to go and receive their relics of Marampa Chieftaincy, they made laughter and did not go, especially their head who was then staying at Makalke. As Kekele Kabba heard of it and knowing the importance of what Farama Thami was doing because he knew that before he came, he went and received the relics from him. He became as Bai Rampa Kekele when he died his first son Bai Rampa, Kepanth succeeded him. After Bai Rampa Kepanth, his second son Bai Rampa An Bamp A Pain Tupa succeeded him and he too, after his death, the third son, Bai Rampa Kele succeeded. The three Bai Rampas above enumerated as sons of Bai Rampa Kekele form the ruling houses of Marampa Paramount Chieftaincy, as follows Bai Rampa Kepanth was the father of all the Kabias of the ruling houses of Sankolo and Pathlibua, Bai Rampa An Bamp A Pain Tupa was the father of all the Kabias of the ruling houses of Bai Koblo Gbamati, Bai Koblo Kennedy and Bai Koblo Queen, while as Bai Rampa Kele was the father of all the Kabias of the ruling house of Bai Koblo Kegbele. During the reign of Bai Rampa An Bamp A Pain Tupa the Lokkos perceived the importance of the position they had so reluctantly refused to accept from Farama Thami and as a result waged war against Bai Rampa An Bamp A Pain Tupa, his family and his people to seize the opportunity, this war never ended when Bai Rampa An Bamp A Pain Tupa died. He was called An Bamp A Pain Tupa for the sake of the above tribal war, and I must however give the readers the meaning of such a name: "A bird without feathers." In our tradition when a Paramount Chief is appointed, he would not be at once put into Kantha (confinement) but taken to a village called Komrabai to prepare him for Kantha ceremonies. It was there Bai Rampa An Bamp A Pain Tupa lived for two years and died because the war never
permitted him to be confined into Kantha.

Before his death, he had already founded Lunsar Town and at the same time drove the Lokkos from Makalke. He was buried at the Lunsar Porro bush, where you can still find the emblem of his grave. Bai Rampa Kele was also a hunter like his father, he left Marampa Village passing through Lunsar in pursuit of elephants, arriving at a site now called Lemray Borlor, he shot at a pankal (Reindeer like) there and finding that it was a suitable place for a Village, he returned and collected his wife, Ya Bonke Bureh Kanu of Potfu-Romende from Marampa hence the town of Rolemray Borbor was established and during that time, Lunsar was the only Village between Marampa Village and Rolemray Village. His son Kabo with Ya Bonke Bureh Kanu, took the gun of his father to hunt, he shot at a bang (bush cow) on the spot now called Makabo Village after his name. Bai Rampa Kele the second advanced downwards of now Marampa Chiefdom and founded Makele, now known as Magbele, who named the stream there as Maporta, that is the located stream where his wife should always wash his hunting suits or garments. Thus, it is easy to understand that the descendants of Kekele Kabba, the sub-families of Bai Koblos: Sankolo, Pathbana, Gbamatu and Kegbele founded the whole of Marampa Chiefdom by conquest and establishments, from Robil in the East to Mathtorki in the West.

Before dealing with the activities that strengthened the permanent stronghold of Marampa by the Koblo-Kabias up to today, I must however give a true picture of the coming of Pa Kelboy, the forefather of the Kabias of the Subaship, apart from the Kabias of Poboanka whose forefather Pa Bosim came from a different family which I should immediately deal with before the family of Pa Kelboy.
The first Suba Chief of Marampa was called Suba Chancha of the Sankoh family of Masuba Village (about 4 miles from Lunsar and by the Rokel River). The reason of taking the Subaship from the Sankos was that Pa Suba Chancha squandered Kassi (fine) amount that he obtained from accused alligator-witches without consulting or gained permission from the Paramount Chief.

The Paramount Chief Sankolo I with the consultation of the representative elders of the Koblo ruling houses, offered the Subaship to Pa Bosim Kalemine, a descendant of An Bamp a Pain Tupa or rather his son. Pa Suba Chancha was not having sacred relics as Yirima, Sangbba, Bonkolma or Gbogboro but as Pa Bosim Kalemine was out of the Koblo Kabia groups agreeing to waive his chance of succeeding to the Paramount Chieftaincy, he demanded that the above sacred relics be given to him, though not in full size; they were offered to him and in consequence his son, Kochi was crowned as Bai Suba Kochi and stationed at Magbele to collect canoes 'or boats' fees for the benefit of the Chiefdom.

Pa Kelboy, the forefather of the other Kabias of Suba ruling house later came and resided at Rokerefe in Marampa Chiefdom about 4 miles away from Lunsar by Motor road and 3 miles to Marampa town on foot path during the reign of the 24th Koblo. He used to visit the Chief and the elder Kabias at Marampa Village. By conversations, he told them that he too came from Kabba in Mali. He was so familiar and frequent at paying visits and his conversations to convincing that after the death of Bai Suba Kochi, the elders offered him the sub-chieftaincy of Bai Suba Kochi and to have alternative turns with their brothers - the Bosim Kaleniwe family.
If Pa Kelboy was born by Kekele before leaving Kabba, he must have had about approximately 250 years before arriving here, taken into consideration that each of the seven Bai Rampas and 24 Koblos reigned for 8 years period. A person of that age could not travel on foot from Mali to Kabba Town to Marampa Chiefdom and therefore the question of Pa Kelboy being a son of Kekele Kabba, the forefather of the Koblo-Kabias is far from the truth, except another Kekele.

WARS As stated earlier, An Bamp A Pain Tupa died while the Lokkos war was still on as well as his successor Bai Rampa Kele but ended during the reign of Bai Rampa Pathbana through the assistance of the devil that his wife, Bonkith Bono saw and bargained that if her husband conquer the Lokkos, she would offer to him in sacrifice a white sheep. When the war ended in her husband’s favour, she could not procure the sheep from her husband or family and as a result of that, she and her maid servant fressed neatly and followed the devil to Robala (a cave with an open lake in front or rather a grotto) there she and her maid servant plunged alive and disappeared up to date. To reward her relatives for what she had done, the Bai Polon - Subchiefship was offered to her family, the Polis or Fornas of Mange Section of Marampa Chiefdom, whose forefather Kebo hailed from Ma thamp, Gnbonkolenken Poli in Tonkolili District. All Paramount Chiefs by custom are bound to offer libation and feast annually by the cave. I here give details of each of the ruling houses together with some of the important people that defended this Chiefdom and other Chiefdoms in Sierra Leone.

The children of Kekele Kabba were: some warriors, Chiefs, hunters and other Arabic sorcerers or Arabic fortune tellers of different characters to what other Arabic scholars are doing now. They in their
period had no papers to write on but on sand and had visionary assistance while now they have papers, no visionary assistance but guess works. For matter of Lordship and economics, the children or the ruling houses of the Kobloship shared with each other the following portions of Marampa Chiefdom land:

1. Sankolo house owns all the land on the left hand side from Bridge (Tholonkakoblo) to Teme stream that form the boundary between Marampa and Mange sections and Pathbana house, the right side.

2. An Bamp A Pain Tupa or Gbimati owns the land West of Bridge to Lankoro stream, i.e. from Lunsar to Masebana.

3. Kagbele owns from Lankono to Bathtorki each Chief of the tree divisions has an Alimamy (Section Chief) besides Alimamy Balla who is the supreme Section Chief over the rest.

The deeds of some Kabias in the past were not memorised by their living descendants and for that matter are totally dead and forgotten, not the historians in being personal in some details or deeds of their own ancient people that have memories of their own people. In writing this paragraph, we are apologising beforehand for any embarrassment that might cause unpleasantness to those that are left out. The children of Bai Rampa Kepanth who were warriors:

(a) Bai Koblo Sankolo
(b) Bai Koblo Pathbana
(c) Pa Thinka and
(d) Funiborthou

Bai Rampa Kepanth was the father of Bai Rampa Pathbana, who was the father of Bai Koblo Pathbana and Pa Funka Bai Koblo Pathbana I and Pa Funka Bai Koblo Pathbana I, was the father of Pa Ghana Bia, the father of Pa Santigie Payombe, Pa Santigie Payombo was the father of Honourable
P.C. Bai Koblo Pathbana II, Pa Sebana Kabia and many other sons and daughters. Bai Koblo Sankolo alias Bai Koblo Angbalan was crowned in about 1852. He reigned for nearly sixty years and died in 1912. He was gifted with wonderful performances, some of which were his capability of calling his principal men from distances of 2 to 3 miles range. He used to invite baboons from the sacred forest of Marampa to his compound and ordered each as a treat to pick a pawpaw as well as giving them rum to drink. He commanded the rice birds that were nestling on top of the cotton trees on the ground of the sacred space to be silent whenever he was hearing cases and complaints. He was also so powerful that he crushed pebbles that he trod on, he was the son of Bai Rampa Sankolo.

Pa Yorgbo, the first born son of Bai Rampa Anbampapaitupa was the father of Bai Koblo Gbamati I. Yorgbo in Temne means "simple do." He was as his name implies a generous man among his people, mor especially on account of the trouble and a short life of his father as P.C. His brother was Pa Tetfu and his sons were: Pa Kanrebia who was the father of Pa Bommo Bia, the father of Pa Bai Bai of Lunsar and formerly of Masebana, who was the father of Pa Santigie Folla Pa Kuma, the second born son of Bai Rampa Anbampapaitupa who was a wonderful dreamer, a charmer and protector of warriors that needed his services. He was a full grown bachelor when on account of his wonders on divination, was called to go to Bombali Sebora by Bai Sebora Bamp. Yonne to divine for and charm his warriors as protection against harm and defeat by the Kurankos that invaded his chiefdom. He was lodged at Petbana Karank and after the Kurankos were defeated and driven, the Paramount Chief Bai Sebora Bamp Yonne gave him in marriage his daughter, Ya Korya
Serrie and portion of land at Petbana Maranke to farm with his wife. With his wife Ya Korya Serrie he had two sons, Pa Kapr Katuim and Renka. Pa Kapr Katuim was the father of Pa Bommo. Pa Bommo was the father of Bai Koblo Gbamati II. Pa Renke was the father of Kanlu Renka Pa Gbangba and Pa M'bossa. Pa Kanlu Renke was the father of Pa Sebia the father of Pa Gbangba was the father of Pa Momo Bia. When all was quiet at Bombali Sebora, Masakima Luiboli of Kolifa Rowalla heard of the wonderful deeds of Pa Kuima on war affairs, he too asked his brother Chief to let him have the services of his stranger (Pa Muma) to help him drive the Kurankos that were invading his Chiefdom.

Pa Kuma was allowed and went to the call of Masakima Luiboli. He lodged him at Rogberenka. When the Kurankos were defeated and driven, Masallui Luiboli also gave his daughter Yabom in marriage and a portion of land to farm with her. They had three sons: Pa Kapr Tuianof, Pa Tamba Bia and Pa Kapr Mora alias Bai Koblo Kennedy who was crowned about in the year 1843. Pa Kuma founded Mabom town on the land given to him and his wife. Pa Kapr Katuim was the father of Bomor Kolifa, the great warrior that defended lower Marampa Chiefdom against the wars of Gbana Serrie and Kombu Smart. He also defended many other chiefdoms, such as Bombali, Kolifa, Rowalla, Mayosso, Mamuntha etc. He was the father of Pa Soso Bia, the father of Alimamy Kabia of Barclays Bank, David Kabia, Mechanic and motor transporter and many other sons and daughters.

Bormor Kolifa was also the father of Pa Ansumana Kolifa who was the father of Pa Lamina Bia, Speaker of Kolifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Pa
Momodu Bia of Lunsar. Bai Koblo Gbamati III was the father of Pa Sanfa Bia, A.E. Kabia (the writer) Aluseni Kabia and many sons and daughters. Bai Koblo Gbamati I was the father of Pa Bommo Magbengbe and Yan Bonyima, the wife of Pa Gbando Kamara, the forefather of the Kamaras of Chaindata. Bai Rampa Kele was the forefather of Makabo Kabias known as Kegbele, he was the father of Pa Kabo, Fuia Bia and many daughters with his wife Yan Louke Burre Kanu of Petifu-Romende. Pa Kargbo was the father of Pa Yoko Kabia and Pa Sankra alias Bai Koblo Thamrabai. Bai Koblo Thamrabai was the eldest among the descendants of Bai Rampa Kele at the time when their turn of crowning a Chief came, he was at that time old, poor and feeble and instead of nominating one of his brothers or cousins to be crowned, he refused by saying they never cared for him. With repeated persuasions and begging, he totally refused to nominate any though he was told by extra people that he would die shortly by the performances of the sacred rites, but he in reply, said never mind if he would reign for only a day than giving such a chance to his kith and kin because they were not generous to him.

He was crowned and confined in Kantha and while rounding the Boromasara on the very night of his Coronation Ceremonies, he collapsed and died instantly. His corpse was taken into the Barri and as day dawned, the ceremonial Chiefs announced his sickness of not to live and the customs forbade. Following the announcement after seven days in the barri, he was removed to the Porro bush for another seven days, after which pretence of his illness was housed in a house for another seven or more times before the announcement of death was publically made to the wailing relatives. The announcement of such is always at
night and after which a Yerren Vigile, dancing throughout the night, singing sacred songs.

At daybreak, the Pa Roke or (customary Regent Chief) installed and seated at the Barri until a Successor is elected. When Thamrabai died, the Crown went to the House of Bai Koblo Kennedy of Anbampapatupa, who only reigned for seven years. From Kennedy to Bai Koblo Angbalan and after him, Bai Koblo Kegbele was crowned by votes instead of the house of Pathbana that had the right according to ancient agreement of alternative turns. It was for me a good idea to explain about why the name of chiefs of Marampa was changed from Bai Rampa to Bai Koblo. Marampa would have had eight Bai Rampas instead of seven. When the turn of Bai Rampa Kele arrived, Kele his son would have been Bai Rampa Kele I, but before he was brought to Marampa town to be confined into Kantha, he went into contact with devil leaving a Machet whose name is Koblo. The devil told the new elected Chief that he should be called after its name and all subsequent future chiefs. The devil further told him that whoever sees him during campaigns of electing a Koblo, that candidate however hard and difficult would surely be elected and as well as powerful Chief. That is why the Chiefs of Marampa are powerful and respected because they are always with extraordinary visions and communications with Koblo (the devil).

The children of Bai Rampa Kele were: Bai Koblo Thamrabai was the father of Pa Yamba Bia whose offsprings were Pa Lamina Bia, Pa Ansumana and Bai Koblo Kegbele II. Pa Ferra was the father of Koblo Kamder (not a chief). Pa Santigie Kailan and Pa Tampi, Pa Koblo Kamder was the father of Pa Sorsor and Pa Yamba Lisia. Pa Lamina Bia had no sons but daughters. Pa Ansumana Bia was the father of Sorie
Kabia now at Lunsar. Pa Yoko had sons and daughters who were at Sherbro land but could not now be traced as they never came at all into Marampa. Bai Koblo Kegbele II had two sons who are now dead.

Pa Yamba Lisia was father of S.G. Kabia (ex Sanitary Overseer) Sheka, Sorie Kabia II and Alpha Kabia of Rogbane. The Kabias of the Koblo family never depended on outside warriors to defend their Chiefdom against invaders. They with their nephews, namely: Bornor Kolifa, Pa Kamanda of Kepath, Pa Sorsor of Sankole, Pa Foday and Pa Santigie Fayombe of Pathbana, Pa Thamba of Kepath, Pa Kaselo Kabia, Gbofowa Bangura, Pa Thamba, Pa Sorsor Gbande Kabia, Pa Kafinthane, Ferra Bia, Kawan Kanu, Pa Katewa and Pa Mankara all of Makabo, defended the Chiefdom as renown warriors. I shall continue this story on the family of Sankolo Kepath and some of the important families of Marampa. However before concluding, I must not fail to say some aspects of the society attached to the paramountcy of Marampa, which is called Ramena, this Society has some similarities to those of the Porro Society.

For instance, the initiates of the Ramena are confined in a special bush on the east for some days and nights before pulled and brought to the sacred space called "Ankanbana" in the centre of Marampa town, surrounded by a Porro bush and cotton trees. After rounding the boromasar (a tiny round hut with a platform of bush poles, whereon stones of dead chiefs are placed as an account with musics of tomton). Their dresses are made of white, black and red sewn caps decorated with cowries, white blouses, nickers or shorts and white and red long pieces about their breasts; only girls or women are admitted in this society.
The bush into which they are initiated is called Romare, the paths leading into this bush are emblazoned with signs akin to those of the porro bush initiates, to prohibit non members enter or walk into it. This kinness of rites, made it a custom that any newly appointed chief should firstly be initiated as a member of the Porro Society if he has not been a member before and after which the actual sacred ceremonies are applied to him.

Received from Mr. A.E. Kabia, Lunsar, Marampa Chiefdom on March 23, 1976.
APPENDIX IX

THE BEGINNING OF THE YONI MABANTA CHIEFDOM CROWN

Long ago, before the white man could be able to come in contact with the Timinies of the Chiefdom among the tribe, the Sesay Timinies were good fighters against the enemies of their war days.

A day came when they got strangers who told them that they came from the Fullah country and that they were Fullahs. These Fullahs assisted the Sesays in fighting. Therefore the Sesays gave wives to the Fullahs and the Fullahs to the Sesays. After a certain period, the recognised sons of the Fullahs and the Sesays who were in the persons of Pa Nomodu and his brother Habiboo whose father was a Fullah and Pa Arabar whose father was a Sesay and Pa Musa whose father was a Sesay made a firm arrangement to be ruling in the country one after the other.

Pa - Nomodu Kaiyouror was the 1st person crowned being that he was their Mohammedan Minister according to the Mohammedan ceremony who was called P.C. - Kaiyouror.

He was a Fullah that had two sons and a daughter called Naryito.

After the death of P.C. Kaiyouror, his son was crowned who was known as P.C. Baimbain Keror because Pa Arabar the Sesay was too old and his brother Musa the other Sesay was dead, therefore Baimbain Keror took that part of his uncle Habiboo the brother of Nomodu Kaiyouror, whose death too followed Pa Musa that of Pa Musa the Sesay. Crowned according to the Porror society ceremony. Pa - Arabar who should have reigned instead of P.C. Baimbain - Keror the 2nd Fullah
Chief was too old but he had a wife from the P.C. Kaiyouror who was his real daughter called Nar-yito, who had a son for the Sesay Pa that was called Arabar. The son's name was called Kong yite that was his Porroh society name. While Kengyito the Sesays son was growing, then, the 2nd Pullah, P.C. Baimbay-Koror died. His brother who was known as P.C. - Ghasan Koror reigned in place of Musa the Sesay because Kengyite the Sesay was too young. After the death of P.C. Ghasankoror then came in Kongyito. The Sesay who was known as P.C. Kaiyito in the place of his father Arabar the Sesay. P.C. Kaiyito was the real person who brought the crown from Marbanta of the Kergborroo Chiefdom where all of them were staying to this Yoni Nabant Chiefdom. After some years reigning P.C. Kaiyito the Sesay became an old man so much that he was not recognised, therefore he went and made a report to the P.C. Symrah Pernays of Morsymrah Chiefdom, who lodged him in the town of Morbankrah where he died and lief the crowning Box in the bush. Then there arose a warrior who was pestering the country for so many years, who was called Kerfiri.

P.C. Kaiyito the Sesay's children were,

(1) Par Rukor
(2) Pa Gbandaimboo
(3) Par-Fintar
(4) Par-Gbesseh Finta
(5) A daughter called NarSir tiam-bayray

Yambar-mar-kokrov
Kappri Sirah Dimar bay whose brother was Gbesseh Finta
Tenneh Foray was the son of a Sesay woman

Because Pa Kafiri was always setting the country at war, therefore Pa Tenneh Foray and his cousin Gbesseh Fina asked a Mohammedan man to
help them in getting rid of this pest that has made the crowning box to be hidden in the Town of Morbankra for 137 years. This particular Mohammedan man made a Sebbeh or charm to be swallowed saying that the one that was to swallow it was to die, then the country will be at rest before they could be able to go for the crowning box. Pa Tenneh Foray the Sesay woman's son told his cousin Gbesseh Finta that he will swallow it and die and that after his death, his cousin Gbesseh Finta the Sesay party of P.C. Kaiyite should go for the crowning box at Morbankra of Morimrah Chiefdom. After Pa Tenneh Foray has died by the charm effect, then Gbesseh Finta went there with a few of his followers. There the people of Marsymrah told him that as they were at war with the Yoni Marmila people they do believe that he was a spice who said No. Therefore they gave him the crowning box which he gave to his few followers to bring home while he went to war with them to prove that he was not a spice against them. There Pa Gbesseh Finta was killed the Sesay. Therefore Pa Tenneh Foray the Sesay woman's son died by swallowing the charm or sebbeh for the country and Gbesseh Finta died at war for the country who was a Sesay on both sides.

After their deaths the branches of P.C. Momodu - Kaiyouror. Pa P.C. Habibee - Baimbain korror who were real Fullahs and that P.C. Musa Ghasankoror the Sesay's place that was filled up by the Fullahs started exchanging the Crown to themselves as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P.C.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sirlia</td>
<td>Ker-gbembe</td>
<td>(1) A Kroma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Gbanka</td>
<td>(2) A Kamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Gbarander</td>
<td>(3) A Kroma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kamander</td>
<td>(4) A Kanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Sappor</td>
<td>(5) A Gblah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kabop</td>
<td>(6) A Fullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Soinlar</td>
<td>(7) A &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kaberreh</td>
<td>(8) A &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Besides P.C. Kaiyouror
" Baimbain koror
" Gbassankor

Who were Fullahs of the beginning since Kaiyite the Sesays part was not considered. Therefore the late P.C. Kaberreh declared that the crown remained with the Sesays of Mortenneh Foray in the house of Gbesseh Mofinta for the place of P.C. Kaiyite. I am the grandchild son of Mosbesseh Finta.

I am now called Santigie Lahai.

Received from Mr. R.L. Deen, Roruks,
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

I. Sierra Leone

(i) Sierra Leone Archives Material

These are in three divisions namely.

(a) Governor's Despatches (in bound volumes) to native Chiefs in the hinterland (1862 - the 1890s. The volumes have two titles - first (up to 1878) known as Governor's Letterbook to Native Chiefs (G.L.N.C.) and later after 1978, renamed Governor's Aborigines Letterbook (G.A.L.).

(b) Colonial Secretary's Office Letterbook to Native Chiefs (C.S.L.) - these contain mainly complaints about and from Colony people resident in the neighbourhood of the Colony such as Koya, Sherbro, Bulom Shore etc.

(c) Government Interpreter's Letter Book - (G.I.L.) - This is in eleven bound volumes. The contents are memoranda and letters by T.G. Lawson, Government Interpreter from 1852 - 1888.

(ii) Oral Traditions

These were recorded throughout in the six Southern Temne Chiefdoms of Koya, Maforki, Marampa, Masimra, Yoni Mabanta and Yoni Mamella - and also in Magburaka, Kolifa Rowalla Chiefdom; Koyamba, Kaiyamba Chiefdom; Rotifunk Bompeh Chiefdom; Bradford in Ribi Chiefdom; Mahera, Kaffu Bulom Chiefdom; Freetown in the Western Area; and London United Kingdom. Reference to the traditions is made by quoting the
name of the speaker, his address and date. Copies of the recordings are available in the University of Edinburgh Library and the Library of the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh. The following are my chief informants:

1. MAPORKI CHIEFDOM

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Bomporo - Sub-Chief of P.C. Alikali Modu III, Member of the Bangura Ruling House of the Alikali Crown, devout Muslim and Chiefdom Councillor; Port Loko, 4.12.75.

Pa Alhaji Molai Sankoh - Imam of Port Loko Central Mosque, member of the Sankoh Family of Port Loko; Port Loko, 4.12.75.

Pa Alhaji Komoko Sesay - leader of the Port Loko Branch of the Muslim Brotherhood Mission; Port Loko, 4.12.75.

Pa Alieu Badara Sesay - Member of the Bai Forki Crown; Port Loko, 7.12.75.

Pa Alpha M. Kamara - Member of the Kamara Ruling House of the Alikali Crown of Port Loko; Port Loko, 7.12.75.

Dr. Shaka Hassan Kanu - Member of the Bai Forki Crown of Maforki Crown of Maforki Chiefdom, and grandson of Pa Komrabai of Petifu, Lokomasama Chiefdom; Port Loko, 15.12.75.

Pa Alpha Bedor Bangura - Member of the Bangura Ruling House of the Alikali Crown; Port Loko, 20.12.75.

Pa Alimamy Pollah - Sub-Chief of Alikali Modu III, devout Muslim and Chiefdom Councillor, Port Loko, 31.12.75.
2. **KOYA CHIEFDOM**

Pa Alhaji Alimamy Kargbo - a Mabanta Temne, Section Chief and ex-regent of Koya; Masiaka, 13.1.76.

Pa Bai Mamgay Bangura - Uncle of Bai Kompa Bomboli II, local dignitary and farmer; Masiaka, 13.1.76.

Pa Alimamy Kanu, Mawoma, a Mabanta Temne, Section Chief, Ceremonial Chief, farmer and trader; Mawoma, 14.1.76.

Pa Gibrilla Kanu - leading member of the Kanu Clan and prominent elder; Masorie M'Baimba, 15.1.76.

Pa Santigie Kabia - Sub-Chief of Alimamy Labai Bundu II of Madigba, elder and farmer; Mabilla, 15.1.76.

Alpha Brima Fallah - a Mabanta Temne Member of the Kompa Bomboli and Bunduka Ruling Houses, and a leading Muslim scholar; Mabilla, 15.1.76.

Alpha Sorie Turay - nephew of late Pa Alimamy Thoronka of Makuru, Arabic Teacher and farmer; Makuru, 16.1.76.

Pa Amara Thana Fallah - a Temne Mabanta, member of the Fallah Ruling Family, Ceremonial Chief, Arabic Scholar, local politician and Chiefdom Councillor; Makoya, 31.1.76.

Pa Santigie Turay - Ceremonial Chief and farmer; Romesa, 3.2.76.

Pa Alimamy Sesay - Section Chief of Bai Kompa Yek, trader and farmer; Mahera, 3.2.76.

Pa Samuel Ngombu Smart - great grandson of Ngombu Smart I of Pepel (Rolamgba in Lokomasama, Mahera in Koya, and Rokon in Masimra; Masiaka, 3.2.76.)
Yan Mama Bangura - Member of the Bunduka Family of Foredugu; Foredugu, 4.2.76.

Pa Alimamy Bundu - Town Chief and member of the Bunduka Family of Foredugu, Foredugu, 4.2.76.

Pa Bassie Bundu - member of the Bunduka Family of Foredugu; Foredugu, 4.2.76.

Pa Borbor Kamara - nephew of Kapprr Fenthy of Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom; Masiaka, 5.2.76.

Pa Sorie Sesay - son of Pa Alimamy Sesay of Mahera, local politician; Masiaka, 5.2.76.

Pa Foday Kamara - son of the late Bai Kompa Kamara, member of the Nemgbana Ruling Family, local politician and trader; Magbeni, 19.2.76.

Pa Kapprr Komna, Sub-Chief Bai Kompa Yek and member of the Nemgbana Ruling Family; Magbeni, 19.2.76.

Yan Bome Warra Kamara - Queen and leading official of Ramena Society; Magbeni, 19.2.76.

3. MARAMPA CHIEFDOM

Pa Alhaji Mustanha Kargbo - member of the Bai Suba Ke Wende Ruling House of Magbele, Muslim leader and trader at Mabilla, Koya Chiefdom, 20.2.76.

Pa Say Bana Kabia - brother of Bai Koblo Pathbana III, Chiefdom Councillor, local politician; Lunsar, 23.2.76.

Mr. A.B. Kabia, Member of the Kabia Ruling Class and brother of Bai Koblo Pathbana III, Chiefdom Councillor and local politician; Lunsar, 23.2.76.
Pa King Kanu – elder and Councillor, local politician and trader; Lunsar, 23.2.76.

Pa Ghana Bia – elder, brother of Bai Koblo Pathbana III, Councillor and local politician; Lunsar, 23.2.76.

Pa Santigie Yanankay Bia – grandson of Bai Suba An Bolt, farmer and trader; Magbele, 23.2.76.

Pa Maligie Kanu – Acting Chief of Magbele, nephew of the Bai Suba Crown, farmer and trader; Magbele, 23.2.76.

Pa Ansumana Conteh – nephew of the late Pa Ruma, trader and farmer; Magbele, 23.2.76.

Yan Chama – member of the Bai Suba Ruling family, leading official of Ramena Society; Magbele, 23.2.76.

Pa Kelboi Kabia – grandson of Bai Suba An Pessor, local politician, trader and farmer; Magbele, 23.2.76.

Pa Suba An Pessor – grandson of late Bai Suba An Pessor, trader and farmer; Magbele, 23.2.76.

4. MASIMRA CHIEFDOM

Pa Yusufu Koroma – grandson of Fula Mansa Kagbengbe of Yoni Mabanta, elder and farmer; Masimra Town, 20.3.76.

Pa Foday Bangura – grandson of Bai Simra Thonkla Ruling House, leading traditional elite and farmer; Masimra Town, 20.3.76.

Mr. Ernest S. Bangura – grandson of Bai Simra Thonkla Ruling House, leading traditional elite, Head teacher; Masimra Town, 20.3.76.
Pa Roke Dawo M'Nes - a Bangura (or Thallay) of Bai Simra Kamal (Pa Nes) Ruling House, the '0'Roke' of the late Bai Simra Pa Nes II, custodian of the sacred things of the Bai Simra Crown, head of the Ceremonial Chiefs and Court President; Macontheh, 20.3.76.

Pa Amadu Smart Kanu - great great grandson of Ngombu Smart I, trader and farmer; Rokon, 23.3.76.

Pa Alimamy Betty Kamara - Section Chief at Rokon, Councillor, trader and farmer; Rokon, 22.3.76.

Pa Alhaji Noah Sesay - Member of the Alimamysiphip of Rokel, Imam of Rokel Mosque, trader and farmer; Rokel, 23.3.76.

Madam Mabinty Sesay - grand-daughter of the Alimamy Sesay Ruling Family, Housewife; Rokel, 23.2.76.

Madam Fatmata Daramy - member of the Alimamy Sesay Ruling Family, Housewife; Rokel, 23.2.76.

Mr. Alie Smart Kanu, great great grandson of Ngombu Smart I, local politician and trader; Rokel, 23.2.76.

Mr. Alie Fofana - grandson of the Alimamy Sesay Ruling House, local politician and trader; Rokel, 23.2.76.

Pa Alhaji Wusman Bamba - descendant of the Bamba Clan at Rokel, Arabic Scholar and trader; Rokel, 23.2.76.

Pa Alimamy Manika - Section Chief, descendant of the Loko founders of Rokon, trader and farmer; Robis Manika, 25.2.76.

Pa Saddu Kolma Conteh - headman of Kontha Kuma, local politician and farmer; Kontha Kuma, 27.2.76.

Pa Gbessay Conteh - Courtier of the Bai Subas of Magbele, served under Bai Subas Tapagun, An Pessor and An Bolt; Mamaligie, 18.4.76.
Pa Santigie Bangura - member of the Bai Simra Kamal Ruling House, leading official of the Ragbenle Society and Ceremonial Chief; Royema, 18.4.76.

Mr. W.M. Bangura - grandson of Bai Simra Kamal (Pa Nes) Ruling House, Councillor and Head teacher; Mamaligie, 18.4.76.

5. **YONI MABANTA CHIEFDOM**

Paramount Chief Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II - P.C. of amalgamated Yoni and ex-speaker of Yoni Mabanta Chiefdom; Petifu, 9.1.76.

Pa Kapprr Bana - Sub-Chief of Fula Mansa Binbinkoro II, Councillor, Ceremonial Chief and farmer; Petifu, 9.1.76.

Pa Amedu Bangura (alias Korkofo) - Councillor, local politician and farmer; Petifu, 9.1.76.

Mr. Thomas Kanray Conteh - son of the late Kapprr Thagbongbo Conteh of Ronietta, Yoni Mabanta Councillor and Head teacher; Petifu, 9.1.76.

Pa Kapprr Serra - a Mabanta Temne, grandson of Pa Gbesseh M'Pentba, Sub-Chief of late Fula Mansa Gbabere, Ceremonial Chief and farmer; Ronietta, 17.1.76.

Pa Alimamy Fullah - member of the Thenefore Ruling House, son of Pa Mara Gboto, elder, carpenter and farmer; Ronietta, 17.1.76.

Pa Alimamy Kanu II - brother of Pa Alimamy Kanu I, great grandson of Pa Kembe, Section Chief, trader and farmer; Ronietta, 17.1.76 (has since died).

Pa Bockarie Fullah - son of late Fula Mansa Gbabere, local politician and farmer; Ronietta, 20.1.76.
Pa Santigie Lahai - member of Fula Mansa Kayinto Ruling House, local politician; Moyamba, 13.3.76.

Pa Seddu Fullah - son of Pa Mara Gboto, member of the Thenefore Ruling House, elder and farmer; Ronietta, 22.1.76.

Mr. Moses M. Fullah - Grandson of Pa Mara Gboto, member of the Thenefore Ruling House, local politician and Head teacher; Ronietta, 17.1.76.

Mr. Kabba Conteh - Nephew of Pa Alimamy Fullah, Carpenter and Farmer; Ronietta, 17.1.76.

Pa Kapprr Thagbomgbo Conteh II - son of late Pa Kapprr Thagbomgbo Conteh I and grandson of Pa Sawa Conteh, Councillor, Ceremonial Chief, local politician and farmer; Ronietta 2.5.76.

Madam Iye Kanu - a Mabanta Temne, daughter Pa Kapprr Fenthy Kanu of Ronietta, member of the Thenefore Ruling House, and farmer; Ronietta, 5.5.76.

Madam Nagaima Sesay (Fallah II) - a Mabanta Temne, Senior official of the Bondo Society, highly connected with the Ceremonial Chiefs, trader and farmer; Ronietta, 5.5.76.

6. **YONI MAMELLA CHIEFDOM**

Pa Roke Kenkeh - Member of the Bai Sebora Bumne Ruling House and the 'O'Roke' of Bai Sebora Kenke II, custodian of the sacred things of the Bai Sebora Crown, and Ceremonial Chief; Yonibana, 6.4.76.

Pa Sheka Kamara - Member of the Bai Sebora Kondor Ruling House, Chiefdom Councillor and farmer; Masemgbe, 6.4.76.

Pa Momo Tholley - great great grandson of the founders of Masemgbe Chiefdom, Councillor and farmer; Masemgbe, 6.4.76.

Pa John G. Kamara - Section Chief of Masemgbe Section and member of Bai Sebora Kondor Ruling House, local politician, trader and farmer; Masemgbe, 6.4.76.
Pa Columbus S. Koroma - Great great grandson Masa Kaniba of Fondu, local politician, Councillor, trader and farmer; Masembge, 6.4.76.

Pa Roke Kargbo - Member of the Sathi Maka Bookrie Ruling House, the 'O'Roke' of Sathi Maka An Soila, Custodian of the sacred things of the Sathi Maha Crown and Ceremonial Chief; Namaka, 6.4.76.

Pa Alimamy Kamara - Section Chief, local politician, trader and farmer; Mamaka, 6.4.76.

Pa Momo Kargbo - local politician and farmer.

Pa Kapprr Bundu Gbongban - Member of the Koroma Clan of Fondu, Section Chief, Ceremonial Chief and local politician; Rogbonghav, 7.4.76 (Has since died).

Pa Sorie Kamara - member the Bai Sebora Kondor Ruling House, Section Chief, Ceremonial Chief and Councillor; Yonibana, 19.4.76.

Pa Abdulai Koroma - leader of the Koroma Clan of Yonibana Rochain Ka Sombali, Councillor, local politician and farmer; Yonibana, 19.4.76.

Rev. W.B. Claye - District Superintendent of U.M.C. Mission and Manager of Schools of this Mission in his circuit; Yonibana, 20.4.76.

Rev. T.S. Bangura - a Mabanta Temne, Education Secretary of United Christian Council and Pastor of U.M.C. Church, Freetown; Ronietta, 25.4.76.

Rev. J.F. Tholley - a Mabanta Temne, Head teacher of U.M.C. Primary School, Yonibana and Pastor of U.M.C. Church, Masorie; Yonibana, 2.4.76.

7. BOMPEH CHIEFDOM

Paramount Chief William I. Caulker - Present Paramount Chief of Bompeh Chiefdom, local politician and also connected with the Rotifunk Loko; Rotifunk, 28.12.76.
Mrs. Priscilla Claye - Daughter of late Santigie Bundu and granddaughter of Sorie Kessebeh, wife of Rev. W.B. Claye of Yonibana; Rotifunk, 28.12.75.

Madam Emma Kessebeh Maulay - Daughter of late Santigie Bundu and granddaughter of Sorie Kessebeh, Chief and present head of the Rotifunk Loko, local politician and trader.

Mr. Daniel H. Johnson - a Temne Mabanta member of Fula Mansa Kayinto Ruling House, retired Head teacher, local Councillor and trader; Rotifunk, 28.12.76.

8. RIBI CHIEFDOM

Paramount Chief Kaine Kai Maboi - Present Paramount Chief of Ribi Chiefdom, related to the Bundu of Foredugu local politician, trader and farmer; Bradford, 29.12.76.

9. KAPFU BULOM CHIEFDOM

Pa Amadu Wurie - Member of the Dibia Chiefdom Ruling Class, retired educationist and politician; Mahera, 15.3.76. (Has since died)

10. KOLIFA ROWALLA CHIEFDOM

Pa Abu Lako - Devout Muslim, local politician, Councillor, trader and farmer; Magburaka, 21.4.76.

11. WESTERN AREA

Pa Rafieu L. Deen - a Mabanta Temne, member of Fula Mansa Kayinto Ruling House, devout Muslim, retired Railway worker, now trader; 29 Horton Street, Freetown, 1.5.76.
Mrs. Elma C. Lisk – A leading member of the Loko/Sherbro ruling class at Rotifunk and eldest sister of Mrs. Friscilla Claye and Madam Emma Manley, and trader, 44 Pademba Road, Freetown; 10.4.76.

Mr. I.E. Davies-Mayay – Retired Government teacher and Education officer; 18 King George Avenue, Kissy Dockyard, 12.4.76.

11. UNITED KINGDOM


Dr. Andrew Conteh – Deputy High Commissioner, Sierra Leone High Commission, 33 Portland Place, London WIN, 3AG, 30.8.75.
II. BRITAIN

(a) Public Record Material (PRO.CO267/- or simple CO267/-) - particularly from 1900 - 1918.

| CO267/381 | 1890 | CO267/439 | 1898 |
| CO267/382 | 1890 | CO267/440 | 1898 |
| CO267/385 | 1890 | CO267/441 | 1898 |
| CO267/386 | 1890 | CO267/443 | 1898 |
| CO267/387 | 1890 | CO267/444 | 1898 |
| CO267/388 | 1891 | CO267/445 | 1898 |
| CO267/390 | 1891 | CO267/445 | 1899 |
| CO267/391 | 1891 | CO267/450 | 1900 |
| CO267/394 | 1892 | CO267/453 | 1900 |
| CO267/395 | 1892 | CO267/463 | 1902 |
| CO267/396 | 1892 | CO267/494 | 1907 |
| CO267/400 | 1893 | CO267/496 | 1907 |
| CO267/402 | 1893 | CO267/497 | 1907 |
| CO267/403 | 1893 | CO267/489 | 1907 |
| CO267/404 | 1893 | CO267/517 | 1909 |
| CO267/407 | 1894 | CO267/521 | 1910 |
| CO267/420 | 1894 | CO267/542 | 1912 |
| CO267/418 | 1895 | CO267/548 | 1913 |
| CO267/424 | 1896 | CO267/577 | 1918 |
| CO267/426 | 1896 | CO267/806 | 1887 (wrongly dated 1886), Africa No.332, Information regarding the different Districts and Tribes of Sierra Leone and its vicinity. (compiled by T.G. Lawson and arranged for publication by J.C.E. Parkes) I am grateful to Mr. C. Fyfe of Edinburgh University for allowing me the use of his Microfilm copy).
(b) **Parliamentary Papers (P.P.)**

P.P. Vol. VII, 1826/7 - Report of Commissioners of Inquiry into the Colony of Sierra Leone and its Dependencies.

P.P. Vol.XI, 1842: Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on West Coast of Africa (Madden's Report).

P.P. Vol.XII, 1842: Report of Select Committee on West Africa.

P.P. Vol.XLVII, 1886: "Correspondence Respecting Disturbances in the Native Territories Adjacent to Sierra Leone" (Feb., 1886) (C 4642).

"Further Correspondence..." (June 1886) (C 4840).

"Further Correspondence..." (Oct., 1886) (C 4905).

P.P. Vol.LX, 1887 "Further Correspondence..." (Sept., 1887) (c 5236).

P.P. Vol. LXXV, 1888: "Correspondence respecting the recent Expedition against the Yonnie Tribe" (5358).

P.P. Vol.56, 1889: "Further Correspondence (c 4740).

P.P. Vol.60, 1899: "Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner on the Insurrection in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. Parts I and II."
(c) **Journals**

Journal of Zachary Macaulay, original in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A. (I am gratefully indebted to Mr. C. Fyfe of the University of Edinburgh for allowing me the use of his microfilm copy).

(d) **Newspapers:** Sierra Leone Weekly News, 1898–99. From the British Newspaper Library, Colindale, London.
B. SECONDARY SOURCES

I. Articles


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III. Sierra Leone

(a) Government Publications

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(b) Unpublished Government Reports


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IV. Theses


