

BRITAIN AND THE GRAINS TRADE IN THE GAMBIA, 1830-1965

BY

Malang FANNEH

Matric No. 209664

B.A. History & English Language, M.A History (University of The Gambia)

A Thesis in the Department of History

Submitted to the Faculty of Arts

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of the

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

SEPTEMBER, 2021

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this study was carried out under my supervision by FANNEH, MALANG in the Department of History, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

.....

Supervisor

C.B.N. OGBOGBO,

B.A. (Ibadan), M.A. (Ibadan), LLB (Ife), B.L., LLM (Ife), Ph.D. (Ibadan)

Professor of History, University of Ibadan,

Ibadan, Nigeria.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the glory of Allah, the Almighty for his infinite blessings upon me and my family

And

To the loving memories of my late parents: Muhammed Lamin Kebba Fanneh and Kanku Janko.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I give glory to Allah for His infinite Grace and Mercy. Without Him, this work would not have been possible. My family members were essential to the completion of this thesis. I cannot thank you enough, because words would not be enough for me to do so. Alhagie Seku Kanteh, my foster father and the entire Kanteh Kunda family of formerly No 4 New Street, Banjul have always been supportive to me. I thank the family for being there for me all the way. Sulayman Mboge and his entire family have been very helpful to me. Jonsaba Mboge has always been supportive to me and has all always been a shoulder for me to lean on whenever I need one.

To Professor C. B. N. Ogbogbo my supervisor, I am indeed grateful for the supervision, mentorship and support. When the going got tough and rough, Professor Ogbogbo was always willing to provide direction, support and courage. His eyes for details had been very helpful to me during the period when this thesis was written. I cannot ask for a better supervisor. He made the timely conclusion of this work possible by providing erudite supervision during the period of uncertainty when I almost lost hope of ever finishing the PhD programme due to the ASSU strikes and Covid 19 pandemic. The rigour with which he subjected me and this work to is indeed without blemish. I thank Professor Ogbogbo very much for his phenomenal supervision.

I am also grateful to Professor O. C. Adesina, the Head of Department of History, University of Ibadan. Professor Adesina has been exceptional, creating time out of his very busy schedule to attend to me any time I knock on his door. He also was a source of inspiration for me throughout. I thank Professor Adesina for his leadership and direction.

I am indebted to Professor V. O. Edo, Sub-dean Postgraduate, Faculty of Arts and Department of History at University of Ibadan. Professor Edo has always been instrumental in making sure that I carried out the necessary paper works that were required of me. May Allah always guide and protect Professor Edo.

In addition, I am grateful for the contribution of my friends Dr. David Ajayi and Dr. Ayodele Abolorunde of the Department of History at University of Ibadan. I thank these two for always making their office available to me and making our intellectual discussions educative and memorable. I also appreciate the kind gestures of Professors Babatunde Sofela, S. A. Ajayi, R.

O. Olaniyi, Dr. O. G. Mujuoma and all the non-academic staff of the History Department of University of Ibadan. Mr Wasabo Darboe and staff at the National Records Service of The Gambia were very helpful to me during archival research. I am also indebted to Mr Siaka Fadera and staff at the oral archives of the National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) in the Gambia. Their kind gestures of enabling me access the oral tapes and listen to them greatly enhanced this work.

My special appreciation goes to Professor Faqir Muhammad Anjum, the Vice Chancellor of University of The Gambia (UTG) who made it possible for me to undergo PhD studies by granting me scholarship. Professor Anjum's sincere and selfless service to our nation makes him dear to me and many other young Gambian scholars. My colleagues in the postgraduate programme in the History Department played a crucial role in the completion of this study through their moral support and encouragement. The management and staff of Adebayo Akande Hall have all been very supportive to me during my stay in Ibadan. The Gambian Community at Ojoo in Ibadan has always been accommodating and supportive to me during my entire study period in Ibadan. Mr Kutubo Kora, Tombe Kanteh and the entire Gambian community under the leadership of Mr Ousman Tambajang have been phenomenal in the support and encouragement they offered to me during my study period.

I owe my informants across The Gambia gratitude because they welcome me to their homes and educated me on issues I raised with them. I am also very grateful for the support I received from the History Department and Postgraduate College of University of Ibadan. I owe Professor Babalola, Provost of the Postgraduate College of University of Ibadan a lot of gratitude for his patience anytime I go to his office with my numerous complaints and appeals. Professor Babalola is an astute administrator per excellence and had always motivated me to endure and strive hard. I thank him for his words of wisdom.

To my late father, mother, and the entire extended family, I say *alaa baraka, ali ningbaraa*. I am indeed thankful for all the prayers, support and understanding!

ABSTRACT

The involvement of Britain in the Gambia's grains trade led to significant transformations in the economy of colonial Gambia. Existing studies on the grains industry in the Gambia have focused on production, with little attention paid to trade. This study was, therefore, designed to interrogate Britain's involvement in the grains trade in the Gambia from 1830, when the first consignment of grains was exported from the country, to 1965, when independence was attained, with a view to examining the socio-economic transformations the trade had on the Gambia.

The historical approach was adopted, while the interpretive design was utilised. Primary and secondary sources were used. Primary sources included Colonial Secretary's Office files, Travelling Commissioners' Reports, Agricultural, Financial and Intelligence Reports and newspapers, obtained from the National Records Service in Banjul, The Gambia. In addition, oral tapes obtained from the National Council for Arts and Culture were utilised. In-depth interviews were conducted across the country with 40 purposively selected key informants - 19 farmers, 18 traders and three *griots* - aged between 60 and 95 years, based on their knowledge of the Gambian grains industry. Secondary sources included books, journal articles, theses and internet materials. Data were subjected to historical analysis.

Beginning from 1830, Britain got involved in the grains trade through the activities of the British merchants and companies such as Bathurst Trading Company, Elder Dempster and United Africa Company. British intervention in the Soninke-Marabout Wars (1850-1870s) was to maintain the peace and ensure the free flow of the Gambian grains to the metropolitan market. Competitive capitalism of the 1870s, resulting from the French intrusion into the Gambia's grains trade, compelled Britain to impose colonial rule on the country in 1894. From the 1900s, the British, in order to expand the grains trade, established the infrastructure of exploitation such as roads, bridges and wharves in strategic Gambian communities (Basse, Kaur, Kuntaur and Walikunda), which became commercial centres. The British involvement in the Gambian grains trade led to socio-economic transformations of the country. There was significant increase in family sizes occasioned by the practice of polygamy aimed at providing additional labour for expanded grains production. There was also the emergence of female entrepreneurs (*banabanas*) and indigenous merchants as intermediaries between the rural producers and European companies. Between 1914 and 1945, series of colonial policies like import control on grains, standardisation of measures, Seed nut Rule and Head Tax on migrant farmers were initiated, leading to economic transformations. From 1946 to 1965, there was emphasis on the production and export of groundnuts, making the Gambia, a mono-economy.

The expansion of the grains trade occasioned by the British involvement from 1830 to 1965 led to the transformation of the Gambia from subsistence to market economy. It also led to the penetration of foreign capital into the country essential to the development of merchant capitalism in the Gambia.

Keywords: British imperialism, The Gambian grains trade, Migrant farmers, European trading companies, Peasant commodity production

Word count: 473

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
Title	i
Certification	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of tables	x
Abbreviations	xi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Background to the study	1
1.2 Statement of problem	3
1.3 Aim and objectives of the study	4
1.4 Scope of the study	4
1.5 Significant of the study	5
1.6 Methodology	5
1.7 Conceptual clarification	6
1.8 Literature review	8
CHAPTER TWO: GAMBIA'S GRAINS INDUSTRY BEFORE 1830 AND BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL INTEREST	
2.1 Land, Peoples and their Socio-political Organizations	23
2.2 The Gambian economy and grains industry before 1830	49
2.3 Grains culture, organisation of production and trade	51
2.4 Factors of grains production	54
2.5 The nature of British activities in The Gambia before 1830	56
2.6 The Crown Colony and direct rule	57
2.7 The Protectorate and Indirect Rule	58

CHAPTER THREE: BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE GRAINS TRADE AND LOCAL RESISTANCE, 1830 TO 1945

3.1 The Introduction of the cash crop economy	60
3.2 Major trading companies	62
3.3 British policy on agriculture	67
3.4 British policy on the taxation of grains	73
3.5 The British interventions in religious tensions that affected trade in the 1850s	86
3.6 Gambians' resistance to British agricultural policies	93
3.7 Gambians' resistance to British policies on taxation	96
3.8 British response to Gambians' resistance	102

CHAPTER FOUR: GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAINS TRADE, 1946 TO 1965

4.1 The involvement of trading companies	111
4.2 Processes of grains production	112
4.3 Organisation of grains trade	127
4.4 British administrative policy on agriculture	128
4.5 Local initiatives and British involvement in the promotion of grains production	130
4.6 Development of local infrastructure	145

CHAPTER FIVE: THE IMPACT OF GRAINS TRADE IN COLONIAL GAMBIA

5.1 Introduction	151
5.2 Grains trade and settlement patterns	152
5.3 Impact on transportation networks	157
5.4 Impact on the environment	167
5.5 Grains trade and the Gambian economy	171
5.6 Grains trade and the dynamics of gender relations	178
5.7 Impact of grains trade on Gambian livelihoods	188

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION	194
REFERENCES	201
APPENDIX	232

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Rainfall in Banjul	27
Table 2.2: Rainfall in Janjanbureh	29
Table 2.3: Rainfall in Basse Santo Su	31
Table 2.4: Distribution of the Gambian population by ethnicity: 1973-2013 censuses	35
Table 2.5: Population of the Gambia for selected years (1911, 1931 and 1963)	37
Table 2.6: Population of major ethnic groups in Bathurst/ Banjul (1911-1963)	39
Table 2.7: Percentage distribution of the Gambian population by ethnicity 1973-2013	41
Table 3.1: Principal firms that carried out general import and export trade in the Gambia up to 1919	66
Table 3.2: Taxes collected in North Bank for 1902-1903	75
Table 3.3: Taxes collected in North Bank for 1904-1905	77
Table 3.4: Taxes collected in North Bank for 1905-1906	79
Table 3.5: Taxes collected in North Bank for 1907-1908	81
Table 3.6: Taxes collected in the South Bank for 1919	85
Table 4.1: Revenue and expenditure for the period 1901-1910	114
Table 4.2: Quantity of grains export for the period 1901-1910	116
Table 4.3: Revenue and expenditure for the period 1919-1923	118
Table 4.4: Firms authorized to purchase French rice and coos against cloth	121
Table 4.5: Quantity of grains bought by trading firms during the 1932/1933 season	123
Table 4.6: Major trading centres in colonial Gambia	125
Table 4.7: 1931 Model plough	135
Table 4.8: 1932 Model plough	136
Table 5.1: Mileage of secondary and feeder roads in 1939	162
Table 5.2: Revenue and expenditure for the period 1915 -1919	164

List of Figure

Figure 2.1: Map of The Gambia

25

ABBREVIATIONS

AGR	Agricultural Files
APR	Annual Reports
ARP	Annual Reports
ATU	Amalgamated Trade Unions
BTC	Bathurst Trading Company
CC	Crown Colony
CDC	Colonial Development Corporation
CFAO	Compagnie Francaise de l' Afrique Occidentale
CRC	Commissioner, Central Division
CRM	Commissioner, MacCarthy Island Division
CRN	Commissioner, North Bank Division
CRS	Commissioner, South Bank Division
CS	Colonial Secretary
CSO	Colonial Secretary's Office
CUS	Customs Department
DA	Department of Agriculture
DEDF	Divisional Emergency and Development Funds
DPW	Director of Public Works
FCMB	Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Board
GBOS	Gambia Bureau of Statistics
GFCMA	Gambia Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Association
MI	MacCarthy Island
MID	MacCarthy Island Division
MOWC	Ministry of Works and Communication
MTCP	Mile Two Central Prisons
NAO	Native Authority Ordinance
NCAC	National Council for Arts and Culture
NGP	Non-governmental Publications
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation
PEDF	Provisional Emergency and Development Fund

PPFR	Protectorate Public Ferry Regulations
PPLAR	Protectorate Public Lands Amendment Regulations
PUB	Government Publications Series
PWD	Public Works Department
RPA	Rate Payers' Association
SCPA	Senior Commissioner of Protectorate Administration
SEC	Senior Commissioner
TC	Travelling Commissioner
UAC	United African Company
URD	Upper River Division
URP	Upper River Province
UTG	University of The Gambia
VET	Veterinary Department
WACB	West African Currency Board
YBK	Yoroberi Kunda
YEF	Yundum Experimental Farm
YTO	Yard Tax Ordinance

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The Industrial Revolution in Europe had partly encouraged the British to search for overseas territories to create large colonial entities in which they had political, social and economic dominance. With the colonization of vast areas in Africa, the British were able to expand their markets for the surplus goods manufactured by their industries and also obtain raw materials to feed their home industries. The literature on the Gambia region seems to suggest that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a group of Europeans immigrated into the middle Gambia River basin and created a small settlement known as Bathurst. From there, they were, eventually able to govern and administer the entire country with time. By 1800, the British were able to position themselves strategically in their quest to dominate the Gambia and consolidate their spheres of interest in the country.

By the Fifteenth Century, there was evidence of Gambians having contact with Europeans even though the initial stage of the relationship was characterized by resistance. In the late 1400s, the Portuguese had sailed to the mouth of the River Gambia but the earlier European explorers who arrived in the Gambia received hostile receptions by Gambians.¹ The British later joined both the Dutch and French who had commercial and imperial interests in the Gambia River region. By the Seventeenth Century, the British were able to dominate all trading activities in the region. The trade in slaves became the initial dominant economic activity from the Seventeenth Century until Britain abolished the trade in 1807.

¹ Wright Donald, R.2010. *The World and a very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niimi, The Gambia.*3rd ed. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

After the abolition of the slave trade, trade in agricultural products was encouraged by Britain with a view to providing the needed raw materials for British industries in metropolitan Europe. A Travelling Commissioner's report on the south bank of the Gambia had documented that the British had put in place various mechanisms to facilitate the production of groundnuts and other crops in The Gambia.² This account reveals that grains have become an important commodity of trade in colonial Gambia by the 1800s and the colonial authorities had instituted mechanisms for native Gambians to cultivate and produce the necessary quantity required for exports.

The land of The Gambia is generally flat, sandy and comprised of soil that is rich in minerals suitable for crop production.³ Along the river banks and behind the mangroves are broad swamps which are much used by farmers for rice cultivation. The fresh water from the River Gambia helps the people to grow rice in the swamps generally referred to as the 'banta faros.'⁴ Groundnuts and other crops are cultivated by Gambian farmers for various purposes.

By the 1700s, there was an intensification of Anglo-French rivalry in the Senegambia region and by the 1800 the British were able to situate themselves as a dominant force in the geopolitics of the Gambia River region.⁵ Major industrial trends in Europe had significant impacts on The Gambia. The Industrial Revolution was a major impetus for the British to look for markets for the finished products of their ever increasing industries and the Gambia was seen as a suitable place. Thus, by 1816, the British were able to establish Banjul- a strategic settlement at the mouth of the River Gambia and used the place as a base to control all trading activities along the mouth of the River Gambia.⁶ The founding of this new settlement ushered the beginning of the annexation of the Gambia into the larger British Empire and the eventual colonization of the region.

² ARP 30/4 Travelling Commissioner's Report Volume II, 30th March, 1875: National Records Service, Banjul

³ Wright D. R. 2010. *The World and a very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niimi, The Gambia*.^{3rd} ed. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc Gamble, David P. *The South Bank of The Gambia: Places, People and Population*, Brisbane, California (Gambian Studies No. 30, January 1966) pp. 57-69 Gray, J. M. 1966. *A History of The Gambia*. London, Frank CASS &Co. Ltd.

⁴ Faal, D. 1997. *A History of The Gambia*. Banjul, Edward Francis Small Printing Press.

⁵ Faal, D. 1997. *A History of The Gambia*

⁶ Faal, D. 1997. *A History of The Gambia*.

1.2 Statement of the problem

One of the most serious shortcomings of Gambian historiography is the overwhelming focus on the political history of the region with emphasis on the Mandinka and Fula states and speakers of Mande and Fula languages.⁷ The economic history of the Gambia has, therefore, received little attention from Gambian historians. Fewer studies exist on how British economic activities and policies through their engagement in the grains trade in the Gambia had far-reaching consequences on the people of the country. Gambianist scholars tend to overlook the growth and development of grains trade in the Gambia and how British engagement in the trade transformed its volume and impact. This study aims at addressing this deficiency by focusing on the nature of involvement of the British in the grains trade in the Gambia River region and how it transformed the socio-economic lives of Gambians during the period under study. It hopes to shed important light on the processes of colonial administration, taxation and economic exploitation of people in the Gambia River region through the trade in grains. It will do so by drawing from a myriad of sources.

Existing studies on the grains industry in the Gambia have focused more on production with little attention paid to trade. Therefore, there is a need for Britain's involvement in the Gambia's grain industry to be interrogated. This Study was, therefore, designed to investigate how British involvement in Gambian grains trade during the period under study transformed its nature and volume in addition to the socio-economic impact it had on the country.

Since scholars such as J. M. Gray, Alice Bellagamba, David Perfect, Arnold Hughes, Abdoulie Saine and many others who study the history of The Gambia focus more on the political history of the country, there is a need for the economic history of the country to be given some attention. For instance, their works on the local political parties⁸ and the country's foreign policy⁹ mean that they overlook the economic history of The Gambia. Thus, this study seeks to investigate grains trade in The Gambia during the British participation in the geopolitics of the country and draw attention on the transformations of demographic structures, settlements and impact on the

⁷ Quinn C. A. 1968, Niimi: A Nineteenth-Century Mandingo Kingdom, Africa: *Journal of the International African Institute* 38. 4: 443-455

⁸ Hughes, A. and Perfect, D. 2006. *A Political History of The Gambia 1816-1994*. University of Rochester Press

⁹ Saine, A. 2009. *The Paradox of Third-Wave democratization in Africa, The Gambia Under AFPRC-APRC Rule, 1994-2006*. Lexington Books; Touray, O. 2001. *The Gambia and the World: A History of the Foreign Policy of Africa's Smallest States, 1965-1995*. Hamburg: Institute of African Affairs

environment. This work will make a modest contribution to Gambian historiography because most Gambianist scholars overlook the relationship between grains production and marketing and the growth of settlements and transportation networks in the country. Hitherto, the role of the trade in grains in the Gambia River region has received little attention from historians who studied the region and this work hopes to fill that gap.

The study will draw attention on the patterns of some Gambian settlements and how the trade in grains transformed such settlements and their populations. This will make a significant contribution to Gambian historiography because most Gambian studies overlook the relationship between grains production and marketing and the growth of settlements in the country. This study hopes to fill that gap.

The pertinent research question is: What were the nature, dimensions and impact of Britain's involvement in the grains trade in the Gambia from 1830 to 1965?

1.3 Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to interrogate Britain's involvement in the grains trade in the Gambia during the period 1830 - 1965. The specific objectives of the work are to:

1. study the nature and dimensions of Britain's involvement in the grains trade in the Gambia during the period of the study.
2. examine the growth and development of the grains trade during the period of the study .
3. assess the impact of the grains trade on the Gambia.

1.4 Scope of the study

This study focuses on the involvement of the British in the grains trade in the Gambia. The period 1830-1965 is considered for examining the nature, activities and impacts of British involvement in grains trade in The Gambia because 1830 marked the beginning of the first export of grains from the Gambia to the West Indies¹⁰ and 1965 marked the end of the colonial

¹⁰ Reeve, H. F. 1968. *The Gambia its History: Ancient Mediaeval, and Modern*. New York: Negro University Press; Sourthorn, B. 1952. *The Gambia: the Story of the Groundnut Colony*. London George Allen & Unwin. P283; Wright D. R. 2010. *The World and a very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niimi, The Gambia*.3rd ed. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. p379 &381

regime and the independence of The Gambia. So, the work covers the period of active British dominance in the economic affairs of The Gambia and focuses on their involvement in grains trade in the country.

1.5 Significance of the study

The study of British involvement in the Gambia's grains industry during the period under study will enhance our understanding of colonialism in the Gambia and the emergence of the country as a mono-economy. Scholars tend to overlook the growth and development of grains trade in the Gambia and how British engagement in the trade transformed its volume and impact. This study is significant because it addresses this deficiency by focusing on the nature of involvement of the British in the grains trade in the Gambia River region and how it transformed the socio-economic lives of Gambians during the period under study. The study is also significant because it sheds important light on the processes of colonial administration, taxation and economic exploitation of people in the Gambia River region through the trade in grains. It will contribute to our understanding of how the involvement of Britain in the country's grains industry led to her emergence as a mono-economy.

The involvement of European trading companies and merchants with the British colonial government's support through its policies enabled these companies and entrepreneurs dominate and monopolise all commercial activities in the Gambia Colony and Protectorate. The importation and exportation of grains and other goods were controlled by the British. The imposition of different forms of taxation to finance colonial administration in the Gambia was received with different forms of resistance by Gambians. Therefore, the interrogation of British economic and agricultural policies in colonial Gambia will help us to understand the extent to which such policies impacted on the nature and volume of grains production and trade in the country during the period under study.

1.6 Methodology

This work is a historical research and the historical approach was adopted. A study of this nature requires the use of different sources which include both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources utilised included archival materials, oral interviews and newspapers. Time was spent at the National Archive of The Gambia and available data on British economic activities and policies on The Gambia were accessed. Available colonial records at the Gambian archives

contain colonial officers' correspondences concerning the Gambia River region with vital information on the British engagement in grains trade and their economic policies on the country. Furthermore, oral interviews were vital to this study. Key informants were purposively drawn from *griots*, elders across various classes, gender, religion and ethno-linguistic backgrounds and they were interviewed based on their statuses of being grain farmers and/or traders or their knowledge of the histories of their communities. Places that were trading centers were visited and community leaders of such places interviewed. The data collected were analyzed using the historical method with a view to reconstructing the economic history of grains trade in the Gambia as well as the British involvement in the growth and development of the Gambian grains industry during the period under study.

This study further used oral sources available at the National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) in an attempt to shed light on the growth, development and impact of British involvement in the grains trade on Gambians during the period under study. The available tapes at the NCAC were listened to and transcribed. The oral traditions of the people in the case study area and the target groups for the oral interviews significantly helped in the assessment of the issues this thesis tries to examine. In areas where the researcher conducted fieldworks and could not speak the language of the respondents, a research assistant was co-opted to help with the translation.

The study further utilised secondary sources which included books, journal articles, materials from the internet, and theses. The historical method of analysis had been employed for this study and in so doing, the data obtained was interpreted and analyzed in time perspective to identify causes and consequences, as well as continuity and change with regards to British engagement in grains trade in the Gambia.

1.7 Conceptual clarifications

The concepts of Britain, grains, grains trade, the Gambia, Gambia and The Gambia are explained as they are germane to the comprehension of the content of this study.

Britain: Britain in this work refers to the British colonial administration as well as their agents in The Gambia before and during their interactions with Gambians during the period under study. The agents of the British administration mainly included the different trading companies

and individuals who had trading and other vested economic interests in the Gambia during the period under study. They received backing from the British government and colonial establishment which provided them the enabling environment to operate, invest in and obtain the goods they needed from the Gambia.

Grains: In this work, grains will refer to groundnuts and cereal crops produced by the peasantry in the Gambia mainly for subsistence and trade. The advent of Europeans in the region led to their usage as articles of trade between Gambian producers and British traders, merchants and trading companies in the country during the period under study. Groundnuts, rice and millet (coos) are the main grains that this work focuses on. Even though groundnuts are legumes, this work uses the generic term grains to refer to groundnut, rice and millet (coos) as peasant commodities that are germane to the present study. Groundnuts will be used to refer to a legume grain in the same context as the other stated cereal grains that this study looks at. Bambara groundnuts (*voandzeia subterranean or mancarra*) was a legume grain that scholars like George Brooks refers to as a ‘subsidiary food crop that spread from Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde’ to other places like the Gambia River region.¹¹

Grains trade: In this work, the buying and selling of the grains mentioned above will be considered as grains trade. It shall be used to mark the beginning of the commoditization and commercialization of groundnuts, rice and millet in the case study area.

The Gambia: This term is used to refer to the River Gambia which is one of the most navigable rivers in West Africa. The river has its source in the Futa Jallon Highlands in Guinea Conakry and empties its waters in the Atlantic Ocean. Also, the term ‘The Gambia’ is today used to refer to an independent and sovereign country.

the Gambia: The term is used in this work for the purpose of territorial identification. It is used to refer to that geographical space that the British occupied as a colonial territory.

Gambia: In this work, this term is used to refer to the Crown Colony which was established by the British as a base for their trading activities along the coast of The River Gambia. We can further understand that Gambia as a term is also used to territorially qualify settlements used by

¹¹ Brooks, G.E. 1975 Peanuts and colonialism: consequences of the commercialisation of peanuts in West Africa. *The Journal of African History* 16.1: p31

the British as their bases for the eventual domination of the Gambia starting from 1816 with the founding of Bathurst.

Migrant farmers: These are seasonal farmers who are also referred to as *strange farmers* in the Gambia. This is because in Gambian society, anyone who goes to another community to farm or live is considered a stranger. Some of them come from neighbouring French and Portuguese colonies of Senegal, Guinean Conakry and Mali. Others migrate from Guinea Bissau, which was a Portuguese colony. Additionally, there were Gambians who were considered as internal migrant farmers once they moved from their regions of origin to look for lands to cultivate in another region in the country. Once in their host communities, the migrant farmers were accommodated and fed by their hosts in exchange for the labour they provide on the grain farms of the their hosts. Sometimes, the migrant farmers were referred to as *samalalu* or *nawetans* depending on where they found themselves in their seasonal farming activities. Therefore, in this work, the terms migrant farmers, *strange farmers*, *samalalu* and *nawetans* would be used interchangeably to refer to the same group of people who migrate to other communities to cultivate the grains that this work focuses on.

1.8 Literature Review

Many historians have made important contributions to the scholarship on Gambian history but much of their works seem to focus more on the people particularly the Mandinka and Fula. Since the 1960s, when John Gray, published his pioneering study on the history of the Gambia, numerous historians have written on various aspects of the region's past.¹² By the end of the nineteenth century, internal tensions between Bakari Dembel and Musa Molloh reached their peak in Fulladu. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, in 1892, Musa got the upper hand over Bakari and proclaimed himself as 'the ruler of all Fulladu.'¹³ Even though J. M. Gray gives a sweeping account of the political history of The Gambia, his work does not offer any insightful study of the country's economic history with regards to the time this work studies.

J.M. Gray further observes that by the middle of the nineteenth century, "A powerful Fula confederation" emerged with the view to react to the consistent raids that the Fula experienced

¹² Gray, J.M. . 1966, *A History of The Gambia*, London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd. p.451.

¹³ Gray, J.M. . 1966, *A History of The Gambia* .p 448-50.

from the Mandinka and other groups from the interior. This confederation, he further notes, was “the movement that became so universal that it had become organized on what might be called a national scale.”¹⁴ From this account, it could be observed that Gray and most of the earlier historians of his time on the Gambia tend to focus more on the political history of the Gambia by putting more emphasis on the Mandinka and Fula especially on the struggle for political dominance and supremacy. Their works tend to overlook the economic activities of the British and how they shape both the production and consumption patterns of the colonial Gambian subjects over time. This thesis will attempt to fill the above gap by looking at how grains trade during the colonial period transformed the socio-economic lives of the colonial Gambian subjects.

Other studies have analyzed, for example, how the Gambia River basin was affected by larger events such as colonialism, the nineteenth century jihads, the end of slavery and the slave trade, and the growth of cash cropping. This growing literature has contributed immensely in expanding our understanding of how major historical events affected the people living along the banks of the Gambia River. For example, the introduction of the cash crop economy had considerably transformed the economic activities of Gambians during the colonial period. Nonetheless, many of the earlier publications, especially John Gray’s book, relied purely on European colonial documents. Their works continue to be of great help to historians even though they seem to solicit less African voices in their efforts to reconstruct the history of the region. These African voices contain valuable information that can offer useful evidence for reconstructing the history of The Gambia. This work hopes to contribute to our understanding of the economic exploitations of Gambians through the trade in grains during the period under study. It shall do so by documenting the oral evidence concerning the British trading companies in the places they have operated their businesses during the period under study in this work.

Charlotte Quinn’s *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Gambia* in the 1970s was a momentous contribution to scholarship on Gambian historiography. Resembling most of her generation of professional historians of Africa, Quinn’s evidentiary base for her book came from written and oral sources she collected. She also gave a comprehensive analyzes of the transformative period

¹⁴ Gray, J.M . 1966, *A History of The Gambia*, London: Frank Cass &Co Ltd. p 451

in the area's history beginning with the gradual weakening of the Mandinka states and their rulers.¹⁵ This period also saw the spread of Islam and the imposition of colonial rule which with time undermined the independence of the Mandinka states and the "traditional" religious beliefs and customs of the local population. Even though Quinn's work makes an immense contribution towards our understanding of the Gambia's political history, her work completely overlooks the introduction of the grains trade in colonial Gambia and how British involvement in such a trade massively transformed the lives of Gambians during the British occupation of the Gambia River region.

In *Mandingo Kingdoms of Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam and European Expansion*, Quinn argues that by the middle of the nineteenth century, Niimi was 'on the verge of profound social changes.' Her focus was the description of the socio-political organization of the Gambian state of Niimi in the mid nineteenth century. She documents that by the 1840s; Niimi's trade shifted to the export of groundnuts but did not go further to give details as to how such a trade transformed the lives of the indigenous people of Niimi. Despite this gap, Quinn's work is helpful as it outlines land ownership rights in Niimi by the middle of the nineteenth century. Even though the nexus of this thesis is not land, but since land is one of the factors of production, our understanding of the accessibility to land for the production of the grains that were traded is useful.

Assan Sarr's *Land, Power, and Dependency along the Gambia River, late Eighteen to Early Nineteenth Centuries* is another significant contribution to Gambian historiography. As an environmental historian, Sarr utilizes oral evidence and European documentary sources to examine the significance of land in African societies by focusing on the Gambia region.¹⁶ Sarr's work reveals that paddy and upland rice farming were practiced and that control over land and people determined the accumulation of wealth in African societies. Even though Sarr's work focuses on the commoditization of both land and labour due to cash cropping, it does not examine how the trade in grains led to the transformation of communities and families in the

¹⁵ Quinn C.A.1972. *Mandingo Kingdoms of Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam and European Expansion*. Evanston: North Western University Press.

¹⁶ Sarr A. 2014, *Land, Power and Dependency along the Gambia River, late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries* *African Studies Review* 57. 3 : 101-121

Gambia region. Sarr's focus on land as a crucial factor of the production of paddy rice is very relevant for this study because it asserts that by the nineteenth century, grains such as rice were already grown by Gambian farmers in riverine areas along the banks of River Gambia. Therefore, this work relies on Sarr's study to argue that some of the grains that were used as commodities of trade with the British were not new to Gambian farmers. Perhaps, the colonialists brought new varieties and contributed in expanding the production of the grains for both local consumption and export.

Alice Bellagamba in her article *Beyond Ritualized friendship: A Historical Ethnography of Power, Trust and Interpersonal Affection in Fulladu, The Gambia (ca. 1880-1918)*, argues that the socio-political organization of Fulladu in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was to a large extent influenced by the Mandinka culture. Bellagamba's argument helps to support the view that prior to the evolution of Alpha Molloh, Fulladu was not an independent entity but was under the Mandingo of Kaabu domination. Furthermore, Bellagamba's description of the political situation in the late nineteenth century Fulladu as 'fluid' within the context of a 'rapid transformation' is a helpful clue that could help the historians to understand the basic socio-economic realities of the time and space in which Musa Molloh was operating. Bellagamba has made a phenomenal contribution to Gambian historiography because she did help to document how the existing political conditions were favorable for the Fulas under Musa Molloh to emerge as a dominant political force at the time. Bellagamba puts it clearly when she stated that through a 'military and political centralisation of power' Musa Molloh was able to maintain a strong political control over Fulladu particularly with his 'network of alliances.'¹⁷ Again, it is evident that Bellagamba's work on Fulladu primarily focused on the political history of the Gambia region. This thesis puts some focus on how the economic activities of the British and the trade in grains transformed the lives of the people of the region that Bellagamba studied.

¹⁷ Bellagamba, A. 2005. Slavery and Emancipation in the Colonial Archives: British Officials, Slave-Owners in the Protectorate of the Gambia (1890-1936). *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39. 1: 5-41.

_____ 2006. *Beyond Ritualized friendship: A Historical Ethnography of Power, Trust and Interpersonal Affection in Fulladu, The Gambia (ca. 1880-1918)*. *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie, Bd* (2006), pp 245-262

_____ 2004. Entrustment and Its Changing Political Meanings in Fulladu, the Gambia (1880-1994). *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 7: 383-410.

Bellagamba further asserts that Musa Molloh had to use violence in order to continue building 'political and economic' ties to maintain a stable socio-economic stability and cohesion in Fulladu. There are ample evidences in her accounts to demonstrate that Musa Molloh was an astute political figure who had all it takes a political personality to carve out a state and maintain a political hegemony over it for a considerable period of time. Bellagamba's account of Musa Molloh has significantly helped historians to understand the history of politics and power relations in Fulladu. However, she seems to dilate more on Musa as a brutal figure who has a high tendency of autocracy. Her work did not look at in detail the nature of Molloh's economic relationship with the British and the response of the people of Fulladu towards the imposition of a cash crop economy which was heavily dependent on grains trade. This thesis will try to examine some of the factors that made the British to adopt an autocratic economic approach in colonial Gambia as they tried to have a firm economic base in Fulladu and other regions of the country. Bellagamba did a good work by conducting an extensive oral research in Fulladu to construct the history of the region under Musa Molloh. However, for the fact that she mainly interviewed Musa's descendants in the build-up to her paper to construct an account of the region's political history means that her work overlooks the economic activities of the British in The Gambia. This thesis draws on Bellagamba's methodology but also considers how the economic activities of the British affected the socioeconomic lives of Gambians.

Barkary Sidebe and Gordon Innes have also written on some of the themes in Gambian history. Their effort of collecting old Mandinka traditions about state formation, conflict and migration is a phenomenal contribution to our understanding of the region's history. They extensively document processes of social change in The Gambia region.¹⁸ Their focus on the family and how it changed over time is fascinating because it considerably contributes to our understanding of the challenges that Gambian families continue to grapple with. However, their work does not look at how the economic policies of the British affect the Gambian families. The Mandinka myths, legends and folklores they have collected could help historians have a better understanding of the history of the Gambia valley. Their major concentration on the Mandinka oral literature means that their work will significantly help historians in their study of the other

¹⁸ Innes, G. ed. 1974. *Sundiata: Three Mandinka Versions*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies: University of London ; Sidibe, B. 2004. *A Brief History of Kaabu and Fulladu (ca. 1300-1930): A narrative based on some oral traditions of the Senegambia West Africa*. Torino: L'Harmattan Italia.

ethnic groups in the region. There are still gaps to be filled by historians and this study will contribute by looking at how the grain crop production and trade altered the socio-economic status of men and women within Gambian families.

Donald Wright, the pre-eminent historian of Niimi, is probably one of the most distinguished historians of this Gambian Mandinka state. During the past three decades, he has published numerous articles and books on migration, state formation, Mandinka oral traditions, long distance trade, the importance of ethnicity and a book on Niimi's place in World history.¹⁹ Donald Wright asserts that to a large extent, myths characterized the origins of most groups of people in the Gambia valley. Thus, it is apparent from his account of Niimi that the genealogy of most people and groups in the area is mostly linked to great figures or personalities. It is therefore not surprising that some of the Sonkos of Niimi traced their lineage to Koli Tengela while others claimed that they were descendants of Amari Sonko, a general of Sundiata Keita of the Mali Empire. The Jammeh of Niimi according to him traced their origins to Sora Musa, a famous 'Muslim pilgrim' while the Manneh claimed to be descendants of Tiramankan Traore, another general of Sundiata.²⁰ These accounts show that each group wants to associate itself with a great personality. This study therefore adds little to the scholarship on Gambian historiography by looking at how the British had transformed the dynamics of economic and power relations in the Gambia with their introduction of grains trade which massively transformed the agricultural landscape of the country and led to the introduction of a completely new system of commerce in the country.

James LA Webb Jnr's *Ecological and Economic Change along the Middle Reaches of the Gambia River 1945-1985* is a monumental contribution to Gambian historiography. He examines the processes of ecological and economic change along the middle reaches of the Gambia River in the period 1945-1985 and analyses the constraints that have shaped the options for economic growth. His argument that World War II marked a significant shift in greater production of groundnuts for export due to the boom in prices was a significant one. Webb's argument indeed supports the notion that the post Second World War period saw a proliferation of markets across

¹⁹ Wright, D. R.. 2010. *The World and a very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niimi, The Gambia*. 3rd ed. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

²⁰ Donald, R.. W. 1985. Beyond Migration and Conquest: Oral Traditions and Mandinka Ethnicity in Senegambia. *History in Africa* 12: 335-348.

the country and settlement patterns were altered in the hinterland as trading centers experienced higher population concentrations.²¹ Webb's work helps us to have an insightful glimpse of strategies that were employed to expand both swamp rice and groundnut cultivations. However, his work seems to overlook the role of trading companies and how they exploit the Gambian farmers through the unequal relations that existed between them and Gambian farmers. Indeed, his argument that the cultivation of grain crops 'brought about social change within farming communities' will be relevant to my study. This is because based on the labour and prices associated with grain crops, gender became a key factor as to who grows which grain crop in the Gambia during the period that this thesis looks at.

The scholarship on West African economic history seems to suggest that West African economies are underdeveloped because of the exploitative relationship they had with industrial Europe.²² The scholarship further demonstrates that industrialization transformed European power and at the same time led to the domination of Africa. This new relationship based on the exploitation of one by another is the inverse of the relationship that existed prior to the colonial period when the relationship between the two was that of mutual trading interest and equality. Different scholars have examined the economic relationship between West Africa and Europe. Most of them seem to support the view that European imperialist and colonial domination of West Africa was due to the industrial revolution which took place in Europe. They argue that Europe's capitalist expansion in West Africa led to the systematic exploitation of the region but at the same time made it possible for the Europeans to make significant economic gains. This

²¹ Webb Jnr, J. L.A.1992. Ecological and Economic Change along the Middle Reaches of the Gambia River, 1945-1985. *African Affairs* 91.365: 543-565

²² Hopkins, A. G. 1973 *An Economic History of West Africa* London: Longman Group Ltd. Chp. 4; 5; 6 and 7; Amin, Samir. "The Groundnut Economy of Senegal and the Limits of Light Industrialization (1880-1970)" in *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1973), pp. 3-40 ; Swindell, K. 1967. Iron Ore Mining in West Africa: Some Recent Developments in Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. *Economic Geography*, 43. 4: 333-46; Headrick, Daniel R.1981. Technology, Imperialism, and History. *The Tools of Empire* .New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 58-78. pp. 3-12 ; Rodney, W.1982. Africa's Contribution to the Capitalist Development of Europe –The Colonial Period. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press. pp. 149-201; Rodney, W.1982. Colonialism as a System for under developing Africa. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* .Washington, DC: Howard University Press. pp. 205-281

study examines how the British capitalist trade in grains transformed the economy of colonial Gambia.

One of the first scholars to consider in this literature review shall be Kenneth Swindell who argues that West Africa accounts for about 63% of the world's iron ore reserves but lacks the capital and other needed resources to mine this vital resource. He therefore argues that the exploitation of West African natural resources like iron ore came about when the Africans have to result to western banks which invested huge capitals through western mining companies in West Africa. The massive European investment in the iron ore mining sector in West Africa led to neo-colonialism through which West Africa's economy was controlled though the invincible forces of the market. Swindell opines that western companies allied with some local groups to exploit the resources of West African countries. He further argues that the establishment of iron ore mines has had impacts on the population structure of West African countries through migration. He contends that the mines 'stimulated the growth of new settlements' which became centers of immense economic activities. Furthermore, Swindell's assertion that 'a large proportion of the capital invested in a modern iron ore mine is for the provision of roads, railways, loading facilities, and adequate harbours for ore carriers...' could be misleading because it seems to suggest that West Africa gained a lot in terms of infrastructural development.²³ However, it should be noted that despite the fact that the different transportation networks were built in West Africa during the mining process, they were not intended to benefit the Africans but facilitate the exploitation of their resources by the imperialists.²⁴ In a similar way, British trading companies built trading posts or centers in The Gambia and a network of facilities were provided to make the British merchants and officials comfortable.²⁵

In 1973, Anthony G Hopkins, a distinguished economic historian, entered the debate on the economic history of West Africa with the publication of his book *An Economic History of West Africa*. He started by giving a sweeping account of the major factors that were responsible for the European imperialism in Africa. Like many earlier European scholars like V.I. Lenin and Bill Freund, Hopkins gave the economic basis for colonialism and came to the conclusion that

²³ Swindell, K. 1967. Iron Ore Mining in West Africa: Some Recent Developments in Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. *Economic Geography* 43. 4 : 333-46

²⁴ Swindell, K. 1967. Iron Ore Mining in West Africa.

²⁵ Swindell, K. 1967. Iron Ore Mining in West Africa.

‘economic motives and factors’ were mainly responsible for imperialist expansion in Africa and the subsequent colonization of the continent. Hopkins’ usage of the term ‘staple exports’ to refer to the agricultural products produced by Africans is fascinating. His assessment of the factors of production in African societies and how small scale African farmers and traders play key roles in the legitimate trade helps one understand the immense role of the trade in the transformation of African societies.²⁶ His view that the trade led to the increase in the ‘commercialization of land and labor’ is indeed a good point. Thus, his examination of the economic structure brought about by the legitimate trade on ‘intra-group relations’ in Africa with respect to demand, supply and economic crisis is a good assessment of the economic history of the region. Even though Hopkin does not specifically study the British involvement in grains trade in the Gambia, his work shall provide this study a good direction in understanding how the trade led to the transformation of labour and settlement patterns in the country.

Hopkins uses various arguments to support the view that European economic exploitation of African economies had massively transformed the economic structures of African countries. First, he argues that that some Africans became wealthy and powerful as a result of legitimate trade. His argument gives credence to the hypothesis that the commerce contributed to the transformation of social change in trading societies. Delta states like Bonny and Kalabari are good examples of places he mentioned where social mobility took place and transformed the societies. Secondly, Hopkins contends that an examination of ‘open and closed economies’ can help one to clearly understand how the imperialist forces continued to promote the flow of primary products from Africa to feed their industries in Europe and elsewhere. However, it seems evident that the European protectionist strategy in the export and import trades between Africa and Europe were structured in such a way that African economies continued to be at what the neoliberal economist call ‘the periphery’ while the Europeans continued to be at ‘the center’. The expatriate flow of labor and capital to and from Africa with low tariff rates continued to make African economies vulnerable to European domination.²⁷ From Hopkins’ argument on the relationship between Europe and Africa, this thesis seeks to support the view that imperial Europe registered a massive economic growth at the expense of West African countries like The

²⁶ Hopkins, A.G. 1973 *An Economic History of West Africa*

²⁷ Hopkins, A. G. 1973 *An Economic History of West Africa*

Gambia which still grapple with underdevelopment after more than half a century of gaining political independence.

Samir Amin entered the debate on West Africa's economic history in 1973 with the publication of his article *The Groundnut Economy of Senegal and the Limits of Light Industrialization (1880-1970)* in *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa*. Amin used the concept of 'deterioration of terms of trade' to illustrate how Africans lose in their economic relationship with Europe.²⁸ His focus was on the trading economy with a specialization on groundnuts and further offered a lucid assessment of Africans losing as a result of the values of their imports. Amin argued that that underemployment undermined the productivity of many African farmers by citing the Gambian farmers as an example. Amin made two very important arguments. The first part of his argument seems to be that agricultural technologies have remained unchanged in most West African countries. This is a valid argument because production in West African countries continues to be low compared to that of industrialized countries. In his second argument, he built on Kenneth Swindell's notion of 'development in the means of communication' and emphasized that the cost of transportation was reduced but the accumulated profit gained did not significantly benefit the Africans. Thus, West Africa was a satellite of Europe in economic terms in which relationship Europe is the 'core' and West Africa the 'periphery.' This work shall support the view that with the introduction of grains trade in The Gambia, the country became the source of raw materials for the British thereby making her periphery to cosmopolitan Britain.²⁹

The scholarship on the economic history of West Africa further seems to suggest that the advancement of science and technology in Europe in the early nineteenth century facilitated the colonization of West Africa by the European powers. Daniel Headrick argues that technological factors were a driving force behind European imperialism in West Africa. His assumption is that the trials and errors of treating malaria meant that western medicine evolved over time. The significant step the Europeans made in the discovery of quinine is a fascinating point because it helps to prevent high mortality rates among European explorers who came to West Africa. Headrick uses data to show the setbacks that the Europeans had encountered as a result of high mortality rates due to tropical diseases like malaria. The discovery of quinine as a cure for

²⁸ Amin, S. 1973. *The Groundnut Economy of Senegal and the Limits of Light Industrialization (1880-1970)*. *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd. pp. 3-40.

²⁹ Amin, S. 1973. *The Groundnut Economy*. p 333-46.

malaria therefore suggests that the growth of the European population in West Africa was possible because European casualties due to ‘purgings and bleedings’ were largely minimized.³⁰

This thesis argues that the increase in European population in The Gambia during the period under study was due mainly to better medical facilities and thus the period witnessed a massive exploitation of the native Gambians through the grains trade.

The literature on West Africa’s colonial history also demonstrates that European technological advancement led to improvements in the means of communication used by Europeans during their colonization of the region. Headrick argues that steamers and railways massively transformed the transportation of goods and services to every nook and cranny of West Africa. This view is valid because steamers helped Europeans to overpower local West African populations and facilitate the penetration of the region by the imperialists. The development of firearms also gave the Europeans an edge over the West African populations because the automatic rifles and maxim guns were deadlier than the African muskets. Headrick’s assessment of the role of technology seems to support Trevor R Getz and Anthony Hopkins’ view that the industrial revolution was an energy revolution which transformed European power and dominance in West Africa.³¹ This thesis hopes to examine how The Gambia was used as a source of grains that were needed to supply the British market during the period under study.

In 1982, Walter Rodney entered the debate on West Africa’s economic history as a neo-Marxist with the publication of his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. He gave a detailed assessment of the exploitative nature of colonialism in Africa. He put emphasis on how ‘foreign investments’ and ‘mineral extraction’ served as means of exploiting the Africans. Also, Rodney’s examination of the ‘import-export business’ gives a vivid picture of the extent of the economic exploitation that African economies generally experienced. He argued that Africa’s underdevelopment is to a large part due to the historical, present and continuing economic and other relationships between the African countries and the industrialized Europe. He made use of very startling statistical evidences taken from various regions of the continent to paint a picture of Africa that could not be refuted by counter arguments that are ‘apologetic’. The ‘dependency’

³⁰ Headrick, D. R. 1981. *Technology, Imperialism, and History,*” *The Tools of Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 3-12 & 58-78.

³¹ Headrick, D.R. 1981. *Technology, Imperialism, and History. The Tools of Empire*.

relationship that underpinned his theory made his arguments sound, comprehensive and relevant with the passage of time. His explanation of European attitudes towards Africans based on pseudo- scientific racism provided a logical base of comprehending the motives of European colonialism in Africa as earlier on expounded by Hopkins and Headrick. Europeans exploited African resources with the belief that Africans are inferior and do not deserve luxurious lifestyles. He goes on to assert that the colonial governments used mercantilist approaches to give undue favours to the metropolitan firms at the detriment of the colonies.³² This work relies on Rodney's work to examine how the British gave undue advantages to their trading companies to exploit Gambian farmers during the period under study.

In addition, Rodney offers an analysis of the role of banks and shipping companies in the exploitation of African peasants. His analysis is fascinating because it helps one to get a clear picture of how European countries were able to gather more capital to boost their domestic economies. He outlined that European countries were able to have large amounts of capital for investment in their economies. The European dominance of the money economy supports the view that European economies prospered at the detriment of Africans who continued to be marginalized during colonialism.

Rodney assesses the economic relationship between Europeans and the African colonies. To him, the economic relationship between West Africa and the industrialized Europe was that of exploitation. He further argued that the cultural dominance of West Africa by Europe was through education. He utilized various sources to show how the colonial masters neglected the development of education in their African colonies. He argued that the colonial masters neglected education in Africa. To him, the actions of the colonial masters led to the underdevelopment of a skilled labor force in Africa. According to Rodney, the unequal relationship between Europe and Africa, therefore explains the political and economic dominance of Europe over Africa. His argument about the expatriation of African resources and their contribution to the underdevelopment of Africa is fascinating and this work shall rely on

³² Rodney, W.1982. Africa's Contribution to the Capitalist Development of Europe –The Colonial Period. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* .Washington, DC: Howard University Press. pp. 149-201; Rodney, W. 1982. Colonialism as a System for under developing Africa. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.Washington, DC: Howard University Press. pp. 205-281

this argument to show how Gambian grains were exported to Europe to enrich Europeans at the detriment of the Gambian producers.

In 2009, Emily Lynn Osborn entered the debate on West Africa's economic history by concentrating on labor and migration. She looked at the informal sector of aluminum casting and concluded that it was a dynamic sector of the informal West African economy. According to her, the sector was managed by 'artisans who specialized in taking scrapped aluminum and recycling it into shiny new aluminum goods.'³³ According to Osborn, the idea of aluminum casting originated from the colonial era. She gave an account of Africans working for the colonial foundry in Dakar. Her account made it clear that some of the Africans may have learnt this new skill and adapted it to their needs and further developed it to meet their needs. Osborn was fascinated that within a period of about half a century, the aluminum casting industry went through a drastic transformation from being rare to being omnipresent in West Africa. She talked about apprenticeship and argued that it provides the future of the aluminum casting profession in West Africa. She further enquired about West Africa's labor history and tried to link it with migration in the region during the colonial period. She came to the conclusion that migration transformed settlement patterns in most of West Africa because more and more people tend to immigrate to centers of commerce. She revealed a new perspective on West Africa's colonial and post-colonial experiences with regards to labour and mobility because these altered the demographic structure of West Africa to some extent. Relying on Osborn's work, this thesis tries to investigate how grains trade in the Gambia transformed settlement patterns in the country especially in the rural areas of the country.

In 2013, Trevor R Getz and Dennis Laumann both entered the debate on the economic history of West Africa from different perspectives. Getz opined that the industrial revolution was an energy revolution that facilitated settler colonialism in Africa. He built on the notion of apprenticeship earlier on expounded by Osborn four years earlier. Getz contributed to the debate by putting emphasis on the role of family networks and entrepreneurship by some Africans during the colonial period. This buttressed the point that some commercial crops that the African cultivated required a division of labour at family levels. Thus, men dominated the production of cash crops

³³ Osborn, E. L. 2009. Casting aluminum cooking pots: labour, migration and artisan Production in West Africa's informal sector, 1945-2005. *African Identities* 7. 3: 373-386

while women concentrate more on food crop production. He further argued that migration also impacted labour patterns because most Africans tend to move to areas where ‘wage labour’ was mostly available.³⁴

Dennis Laumann gives an assessment of factors such as ‘diplomacy’ and ‘nationalism’ which some historians claimed were responsible for the European colonialism of Africa but was quick to assert that in the nineteenth century, technological advancement in Europe gave the Europeans an edge over the Africans in their relationship. Laumann built on Hopkins’ 1973 work and assumed that ‘legitimate commerce’ marked the beginning of ‘informal colonialism’ in Africa. He argues that prior to the nineteenth century; Europeans had no superiority over the Africans but agreed that the industrial revolution transformed the relationship between the two because local African economies were reorganized ‘for the benefit of their metropolis’ which view was earlier on put forward by Walter Rodney in his monumental work *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.³⁵ This work shall argue that from 1830 to 1894, there was informal British colonialism in the Gambia and that formal colonialism started in 1894 with the adoption of the 1894 Ordinance that declared the Gambia a British colonial territory.

From the presentation of the different perspectives on the scholarship on The Gambia’s economic history, the evidence seems to support the view that there is a general agreement among the scholars studied in this work that industrialization in Europe had great impact on West African economies and The Gambia is not an exception. Both dependency and neoliberal theorists seem to be in agreement that industrialization transformed European power and dominance in Africa. There seems to be a general agreement that the core and periphery relationship between West Africa and industrialized Europe continues to make the former a satellite of Europe in economic terms. The agricultural and technological development in West

³⁴ Getz, T. R. 2013. African Economies and the Industrial Revolution. *Cosmopolitan Africa c.1700-1875*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 67-86

³⁵ Laumann, D. 2013. *Colonial Africa 1884-1994* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.; Hopkins, A. G. 1973 *An Economic History of West Africa* London: Longman Group Ltd. Chp. 4; 5; 6 and 7; Rodney, W.1982. Africa’s Contribution to the Capitalist Development of Europe –The Colonial Period. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC:Howard University Press. pp. 149-201; Rodney, W.1982. Colonialism as a System for under developing Africa. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press. pp. 205-281.

Africa has remained unchanged. Whether the solution to West Africa's economic woes is diversification of her economy or technological development will continue to be a subject of debate among scholars on the region's economic history.

There is a lot of debate as to what must have made the British pursue their aggressive economic policies in West Africa, The Gambia in particular, but it is clear that their relationship with the Gambians was based on the exploitation of the latter even though they claimed to help their colonial subjects in The Gambia attain economic growth and development through the production and trading of grains.

CHAPTER TWO

**GAMBIA'S GRAINS INDUSTRY BEFORE 1830 AND BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL
INTEREST**

2.1 Land, peoples and their socio-political organizations

Land

The Gambia's official name is The Republic of The Gambia and she is a country in West Africa that is entirely surrounded by Senegal on all sides except for its coastline on the Atlantic Ocean at its western end. It is one of the smallest countries on mainland Africa in terms of both area and population. The Gambia is a very small and narrow country whose borders mirror the meandering Gambia River. It lies between latitudes 13 and 14°N, and longitudes 13 and 17°W. Senegal surrounds The Gambia on three sides, with 80 km (50 mi) of coastline on the Atlantic Ocean marking its western extremity. The River Gambia is one that flows from east to west and towards the eastern part of the country; the river is barely 1.5km wide. The country has a coastline which is about 80km in length along the Atlantic Ocean.³⁶

The Gambia is situated on either side of the Gambia River, the nation's namesake, which flows through the centre of the country and empties into the Atlantic Ocean. The river bisects the country into the northern and southern parts. The river has several tributaries locally called *bolons* and as one moves into the interior of the country, one sees flat-topped hills known as

³⁶ Touray, Omar A. 2000 *The Gambia and The World: A History of The Foreign Policy of Africa's Smallest State*. Hamburg: Institute of African Affairs

konkos. The most notable of these are the Nema, Jahally and Hella Kunda *konkos*. From the western part of the country, these plateaus increase in height towards the country's eastern part.³⁷

The Gambia is less than 50 kilometres (31 miles) wide at its widest point, with a total area of approximately 11,000 km².³⁸ About 1,300 square kilometres (11.5%) of The Gambia's area are covered by water. It is the smallest country on the African mainland. Ademola Ajayi is apt when he argues that the country is located in the Sahelian belt and consists of a narrow strip of land, some 400 kilometers long and 30 kilometers wide on both sides of the River Gambia, from which the she derives its name.³⁹

The Gambia's boundaries were defined in 1889 after the French and the British decided to temporarily settle their rivalries in the Senegambia region.⁴⁰ They promoted dialogue and during the negotiations between them in Paris, the French agreed that the British could control about 200 miles (320 km) of the River Gambia. In 1891, initial, boundary markers were drawn and after a decade, the final borders of The Gambia and Senegal were determined. The ultimate agreement gave the British control of about 10 miles (16 km) on both banks of River Gambia.⁴¹ Figure 2.1 on page 25 is a map of The Gambia that shows the River Gambia, some major settlements, boundaries with Senegal and regions in the country

³⁷ Touray, Omar A. 2000 *The Gambia and The World*

³⁸ There is a slight difference in the figures of the size of the country given by authors but 11,000 can be accepted as the median. For instance, Omar Touray puts it at 11,360 square kilometers (Touray, Omar A. 2000 *The Gambia and The World: A History of The Foreign Policy of Africa's Smallest State*. Hamburg: Institute of African Affairs.) The World Fact Book of the CIA gives the size as 11,300 sq. km (Central Intelligence Agency-United States. <https://www.cia.gov>. n.d. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ga.html> (accessed April 5, 2018). However, because of the variations in the figures, we shall use 11,000 km²¹⁰ express the country's area to the nearest thousand.

³⁹ Ajayi Ademola .S. 2003. *Yahya Jammeh and The Gambian revolution, 1994-2001*. Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Publishers Ltd.

⁴⁰ Wright Donald, R.2010. *The World and a very Small Place*.

⁴¹ Touray, O. A. 2000 *The Gambia and The World*.

Figure 2.1: Map of The Gambia



Source: *ontheworldmap.com*

The Climatic condition

The climate of the Gambia is tropical with distinct dry and wet seasons. The dry season is between November and May. The dry season weather in the Gambia is influenced by the northeasterly dry winds locally called *hamattan* from the Sahara. Temperatures in the cool dry season vary between 70°F (21°C) and 80°F (27°C) with relative humidity between 30% and 60%. The wet season is in the summer months beginning June until October. Mean annual rainfall ranges between 1000mm in the southwest to less than 800mm in the northeast. Over 90% of the precipitation between occurs July and September.⁴²

The Gambia lies within the tropics and has a sub-humid eco-climatic zone with rainfall range between 800 and 1200 mm annually. The climate is characterized by two seasons, wet season (between June and October) and a dry season (November to April). The dry season is a 6-7 months of no rains. During the dry season, the climate is dominated by dry and dust-laden winds blown from the Sahara Desert in the northeast. These northeasterly winds are locally known as *Hamattan*. The initial part of the dry season (November through February) is generally cooler with minimum temperatures of less than 20°F a common occurrence.⁴³

The Rainfall pattern

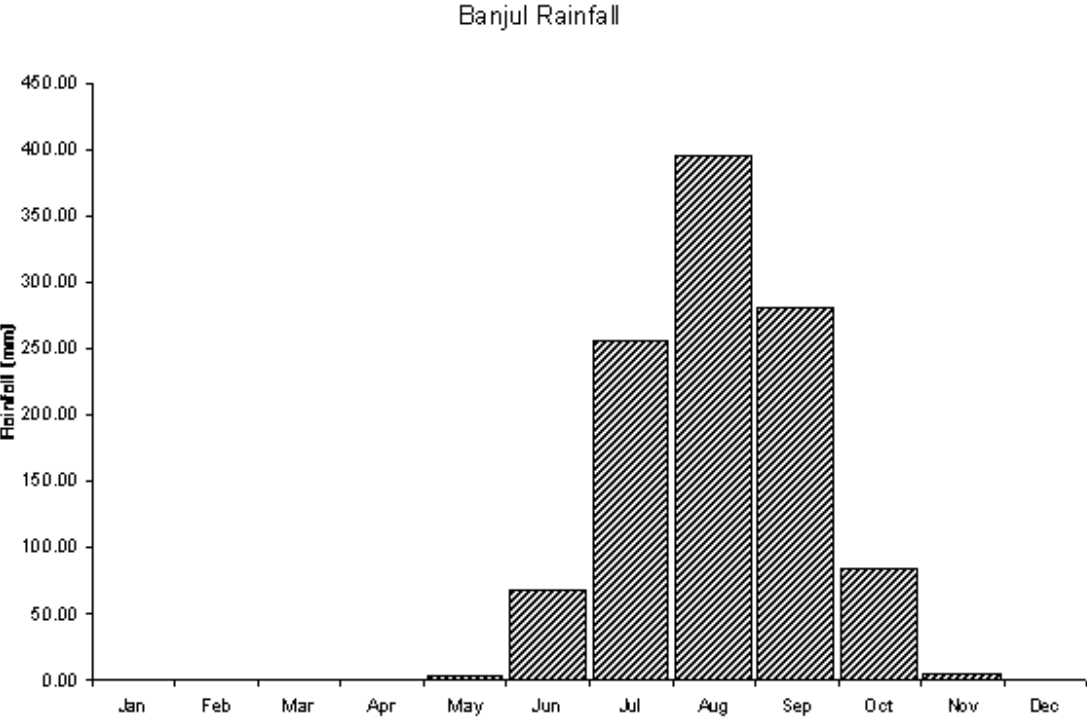
The rainy season in the Gambia lasts for almost 5 to 6 months with over 90% of the rainfall occurring between June and October. August normally receives the heaviest rains in the year because about 40% of the annual rainfall occurred in it. The average annual rainfall both significantly and spatially vary with time depending on natural phenomena. Higher rainfall is received in the southwest part of the country with an estimated 1200 mm annually. The lowest annual rainfall is received in the north-northeast part of the country. Average number of rainy days range from 54 days in Banjul to 31 days in Basse Santo Su.⁴⁴

⁴² <https://www.cia.gov>. n.d. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ga.html> (accessed April 5, 2018)

⁴³ <https://www.cia.gov>. n.d. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ga.html> (accessed April 5, 2018)

⁴⁴ NOAA Baseline Climatological Dataset - Monthly Weather Station Temperature and Precipitation Data. Provided by <http://ingrid.ldgo.columbia.edu/>; <https://www.cia.gov>. n.d. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ga.html> (accessed April 5, 2018)

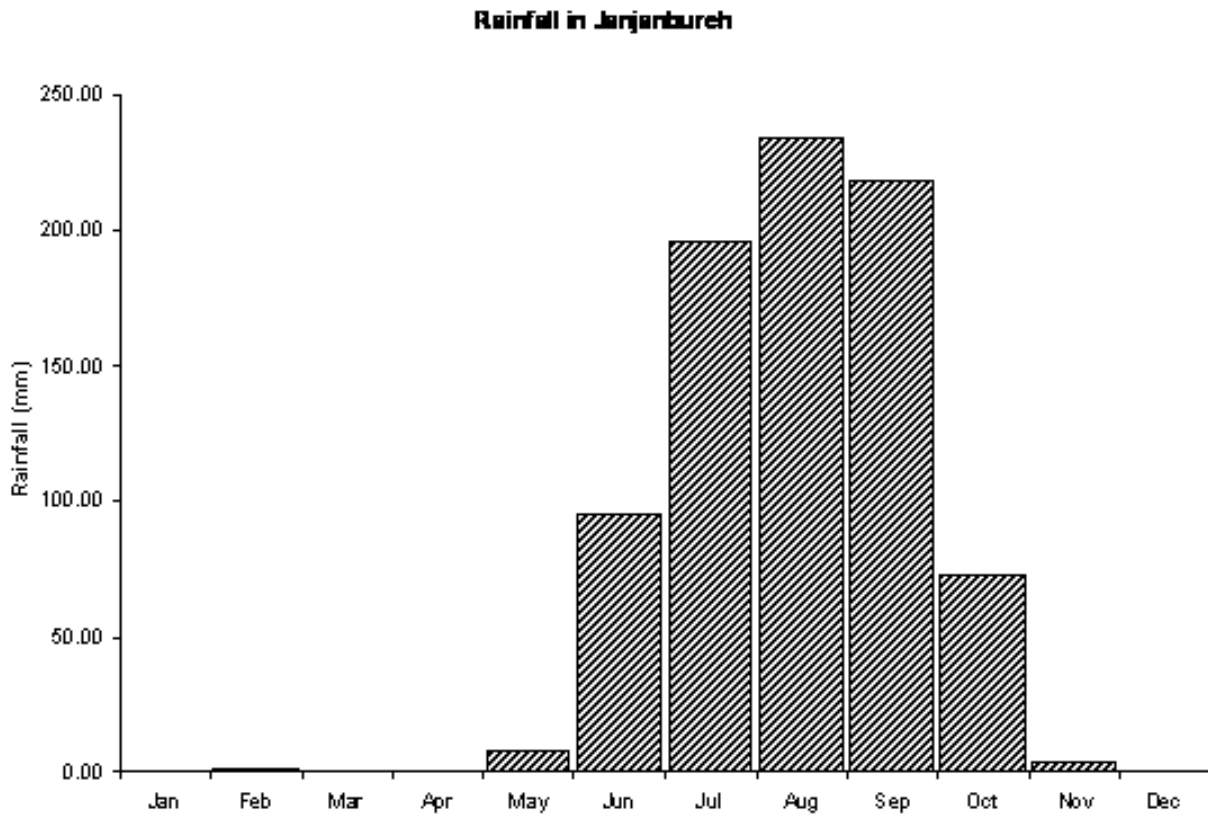
Table 2.1: Mean annual rainfall in Banjul.



Source: NOAA Baseline Climatological Dataset - Monthly Weather Station Temperature and Precipitation Data. Provided by <http://ingrid.ldgo.columbia.edu/>

Table 2.1 shows the mean annual rainfall in Banjul, the capital city of The Gambia. It could be seen that the rainy season in the city normally starts in May and ends in November. However, much of the rainfall in Banjul is usually recorded between June and October. The month of August is normally the wettest month in Banjul because about 400mm of rain is usually recorded. Although the first and last rains fall in May and November respectively, less than 50mm of rain is annually recorded in both months. It is evident that a significant amount of the annual rainfall in Banjul is recorded from July to September every year.

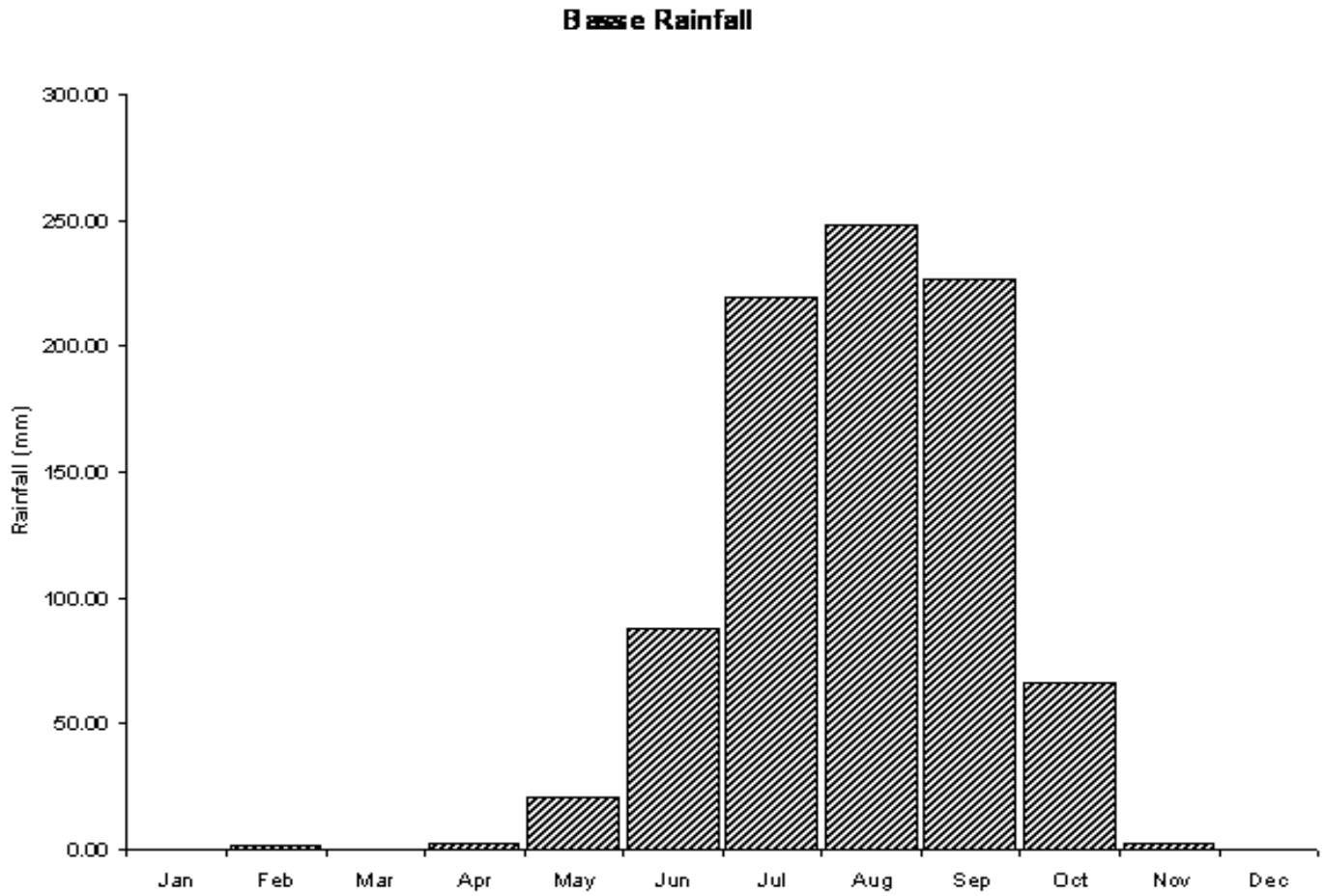
Table 2.2: Mean annual rainfall in Janjanbureh.



Source: NOAA Baseline Climatological Dataset - Monthly Weather Station Temperature and Precipitation Data. Provided by <http://ingrid.Idgo.columbia.edu>

Table 2.2 shows that like Banjul, the first rains in Janjanbureh are normally recorded in May and the least is recorded in November. The modal annual rainfall (about 225mm) is recorded in August as is the case in other settlements in the country. Janjanbureh also receives its highest annual rainfall from July to September annually.

Table 2.3 Mean annual rainfall in Basse Santo Su



Source: Mean annual rainfall in Basse Santo Su. NOAA Baseline Climatological Dataset - Monthly Weather Station Temperature and Precipitation Data. Provided by <http://ingrid.ldgo.columbia.edu/SOURCES/.NOAA/.NCDC/.GCPS/.MONTHLY/.STATION/>

Table 2.3 shows the mean annual rainfall in Basse Santo Su and the pattern of rainfall in the town is similar to that of Banjul and Janjanbureh. August receives the most rains but unlike the other settlements, the rains start in April in Basse and ends in November. However, the amount of rains that Basse Santo Su receives in April and November is not much significant.

The Gambia's rainfall pattern is similar to the rest of the Sahel region. This is to say that it is highly varies from one year to another. Banjul's rainfall data between 1951 and 1985 indicates a high annual variability in total annual rainfall and a descending trend in average yearly precipitation over the period. Mean annual rainfall between 1950 and 1966 was recorded to be 1347 mm, compared to 853mm during the period 1967 to 1985.⁴⁵

The country's terrain:

The topography of the Gambia is dominated by the River Gambia, which runs from east to west through the entire length of the country. The terrain is dominantly floodplain flanked on both banks by low laterite hills. Over 78% of the Gambia is below 20 meter above sea level and nowhere in the Gambia is elevation greater than 60m. As a result of the low topography of the country, grains cultivation is enhanced. In the interior of the country, rice cultivation is done on a large scale by mainly the women. The fresh waters of the River Gambia aid in the cultivation of rice for consumption and the sale of the excess produced for other family needs. The sandy soils of the vast areas of the interior of the country made the cultivation of groundnuts and other crops such as maize and millet easier for the farmers. The point being made here is that the soil topography of the Gambia's terrain is ideal for grains cultivation throughout in the interior of the country. The farmers do have access to suitable lands to clear and plant their grain crops depending on the season and their choices which are normally dictated by their family needs and the economic needs that the grains present to them.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ NOAA Baseline Climatological Dataset - Monthly Weather Station Temperature and Precipitation Data. Provided by <http://ingrid.ldgo.columbia.edu/SOURCES/.NOAA/.NCDC/.GCPS/.MONTHLY/.STATION/>

⁴⁶ Sarr A. 2014, Land, Power and Dependency.

Population distribution

As a small country, the population of the Gambia has always been small compared to that of other countries in Africa. By 2013, the population of the country is about 1.9 million.⁴⁷ The country had been divided into the Crown Colony (CC) and Protectorate by the British for administrative convenience and during the colonial period, the population of each had been counted separately.⁴⁸ The demographic composition of the Colony and Protectorate indicates that the population of the latter is far bigger than that of the former and successive censuses up to 1963 demonstrate this point. However, from 1819 to 1901, the British carried demographic surveys of the Colony and it was observed that its population rose from 704 in 1819 to 3666 when MacCarthy Island's population of 841 was summed up to that of Bathurst. The 1939 count was 4676 while that of the 1851 was 6939. The Colony's population more than doubled within twenty years to 14190 in 1871. There was a marginal reduction of the population ten years later when the 1881 survey recorded 14150 as the Colony's population. In 1891, a total number of 14266 were recorded and that figure rose to 13456 in 1901 by which time the British had fully incorporated the Gambia region into the British colonial enterprise.⁴⁹

In 1931, a census was conducted by the colonial government and it was estimated that the population of the Gambia was 199,520. Another census was conducted in 1944 but this time, only the population of Bathurst was counted. The 1944 census of Bathurst put the population of the city at 21,152 which indicated a significant increase over the 1931 figure of 14,370. However, the population of the Protectorate in 1944 was estimated to be 199,357. In 1946, the population of the Protectorate was pegged at 228,114. The varied increment of the population was mainly attributed to the influx of 'strange farmers' from the neighbouring countries. These people are seasoned farmers who came to the Gambia to grow groundnuts and other grains on Gambian farmlands. In 1951, there was no count of the population of the Protectorate but that of the Colony was estimated to be 27,297. In 1963, the Colony had a population of 40,017 while

⁴⁷ Gambia Bureau of Statistics (GBOS). Population and Housing Census Preliminary Results. Census, Kanifing Layout: The Gambia Bureau of Statistics (GBOS), 2013. The report is accessible through the following link: <http://www.gbos.gov.gm/uploads/census/The%20Gambia%20Population%20and%20Housing%20Census%202013%20Provisional%20Report.pdf> (Accessed April 5th, 2018); Hughes, A and Perfect, D. 2006. *A Political History of The Gambia, 1816-1994*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.

⁴⁸ GBOS, 2003.

⁴⁹ GBOS, 2003.

that of the Protectorate was 275, 469. The major ethnic or linguistic groups in the country include the Mandinka who, according to the 2013 census, constitute 34.4%⁵⁰ of the country's population. The Fula, also called the Tukolor or Lorobo, are the second largest group that accounts for 24.1%.⁵¹ The Wollof and Jola are the other major ethnic groups that made up of 14.8% and 10.5%⁵² of the population respectively. The Serahule, who are mainly concentrated in the Upper River region of the country, forms 8.2%⁵³ while the Serer makes up 3.1%.⁵⁴ The Manjago, Bambara and Aku/ Creole constitute 1.9%, 1.3% and 0.5% respectively.⁵⁵ Table 2.4 indicates the distribution of the country's population by ethnicity from 1973 to 2013 according to census reports.

⁵⁰ Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013 Census

⁵¹ Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013 Census

⁵² Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013 Census

⁵³ Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013 Census

⁵⁴ Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013 Census

⁵⁵ Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013 Census

Table 2.4: Distribution of the Gambian population by ethnicity: 1973- 2013 censuses

Ethnic groups	1973	1983	1993	2003	2013
Mandinka/ Jahanka	186,241	251,997	353,840	446,914	600,165
Fula/Tukolor/ Lorobo	79,994	117,092	168,284	272,354	420,206
Wollof	69,291	84,404	130,546	179,890	258,065
Jola/ Karoninka	41,988	64,494	95,262	141,360	182,807
Sarahule	38,478	51,137	79,690	101,347	142,606
Serere	9,229	15,511	24,710	37,979	53,567
Creole/Aku Marabou	5,596	10,741	7,458	24,492	8,477
Manjago	1,722	3,035	6,194	13,043	32,408
Bambara	4,386	5,032	16,550	6,556	22,583
Other	-	4,356	2,578	2,520	25,462
Not stated	3,791	9,440	11,023	17,418	86.0
Total	440,716	617,239	889,941	1,243,873	1,692,865

Source: Gambia Bureau of Statistics. Population and Housing Census Preliminary Results. Census, Kanifing Institutional Layout

Table 2.4 shows that the Mandinka, Fula and Wollof are the three major ethnic groups in the country. The population of all the major ethnic groups had been increasing over time. However, that had not been the case with the Aku because their population decreased from 24,492 in 2003 to 8,477 in 2013.

Table 2.5: Population of the Gambia for selected years (1911, 1931, and 1963)

	1911	1931	1963
COUNTRY	146, 101	199,520	315,486
Mandinka	71,339	85,640	128,807
Fula	27,346	22,273	42,723
Wollof	26,072	25,864	40,805
Jola	9,520	19,410	22,046
Serahule	4,619	12,316	21,318
Aku	1,308	786	2,974
Other	5897	18,861	56,813

Source: Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013

Table 2.5 shows the population of the Gambia before independence and the figures indicate that the population of the major ethnic groups in the country had been increasing with the Mandinka as the majority. It also indicates that the country's population in 1911 more than doubled by 1963. The populations of the Jola and Serahule had also significantly increased from 1911 to 1963. The table further shows that in the 1911, 1931 and 1963 census reports, the Serer, Manjago, Bambara and other non-Gambians are referred to as *Other*.

Table 2.6: Population of the major ethnic groups in Bathurst/Banjul (1911-1963)

Ethnic group	1911	1921	1944	1951	1963
Wollof	3705	3069	10130	9544	11311
Mandinka	269	425	2412	1801	3338
Aku	749	592	2564	2552	2515
Jola	423	571	1710	1351	1422
Other	2554	4570	4336	4354	9223

Source: Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013

Table 2.6 shows the populations of the major ethnic groups in Banjul from 1911 to 1963. From the table, it is evident that the Wolof was the predominant group in the city. The Aku were the second largest group up to 1951 but by 1963, their population dwindled. The population of the Mandinka significantly increased from less than 300 in 1911 to over 3000 in 1963.

In the 1911, 1931 and 1963 census reports, the Serer, Manjago, Bambara and other non-Gambians were referred to as *Other* in Table 2.6. In 1944, there was no census conducted for the entire country. The census was conducted only in the colony of Bathurst. The main reason was the Second World War made it difficult for the colonial government to embark on the census exercise for the entire country during the war period.

Table 2.7: Percentage distribution of the Gambian population by ethnicity 1973-2013 censuses

Ethnic group	1973	1983	1993	2003	2013
Mandinka/ Jahanka	42.3	40.8	39.5	35.9	34.4
Fula/Tukulor/ Lorobo	18.2	19.0	18.8	21.9	24.1
Wolof	15.7	13.7	14.6	14.5	14.8
Jola/ Karoninka	9.5	10.4	10.6	11.4	10.5
Sarahule	8.7	8.3	8.9	8.1	8.2
Serere	2.1	2.5	2.8	3.1	3.1
Creole/Aku Marabou	1.3	1.7	0.8	2.0	0.5
Manjago	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.9
Bambara	1.0	0.8	1.8	0.5	1.3
Other	-	0.7	0.3	0.2	1.5
Not stated	0.9	1.5	1.2	1.4	0.0

Source: Gambia Bureau of Statistics, Census 2013.

Table 2.7 shows the percentage distribution of the Gambian population by ethnicity from 1973 to 2013. From the table, the Mandinka had been the majority in the country since 1973 even though their majority had been declining while those of the Fula and Wollof had been increasing. The minority Manjago population had also been marginally increasing while that of the Aku significantly decreased from 2003 to 2013.

The People

The literature and oral narratives on The Gambia suggest that the Mandinka, Fula, Wollof, Jola and Serahule are major groups of people that lived side by side with one another in the country for a considerable period of time. The accounts on their origins are largely characterized by the notion that most of them, especially the Mandinka and Fula, gradually spread themselves over the Gambia River region through conquest.⁵⁶ Donald R Wright in *Beyond Migration and Conquest: Oral Tradition and Mandinka Ethnicity in Senegambia* argued that many Mandinkas of the Gambia region claim their origins from ‘Tiramankan who was one of the generals of Sundiata Keita during the years of the consolidation of the Mali Empire.’ He was believed to have travelled ‘west’ and conquered many people with a view to expanding the frontiers of the Mali Empire.⁵⁷

Other Mandinkas, especially those in the state of Niimi, claimed to have descended from Sora Musa, another general of Sundiata. Sora Musa was believed to have left Manding and travelled through northern Senegal before finally settling in Badibu, which is in the lower Gambia. A third category of Mandinka claimed their ancestry to Amari Sonko who was another great general of Sundiata. He was believed to have migrated from Mali and established the Mandinka states of Sankola, Jarra and Niimi in the Gambia region.⁵⁸ These accounts document the origins of the Mandinkas of the Gambia region but the migration of each of the ‘great men’ mentioned seem to suggest that as the generals moved from Manding to the Gambia River region, a lot of people and groups that were not Mandinkas could have been gradually conquered and become

⁵⁶ Wright, D. R. 1985. *Beyond Migration and Conquest: Oral Traditions and Mandinka Ethnicity in Senegambia*. *History in Africa* 12: 335-348; Quinn, C. A. 1972. *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam, and European Expansion* Evanston : Northwestern University Press

⁵⁷ Wright, D. R. 1985. *Beyond Migration and Conquest*.

⁵⁸ Wright, D. R. 1985. *Beyond Migration and Conquest*; Quinn, C. A. 1972. *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia*:

Mandinkanised with time due to the considerable influences that the generals of Sundiata and their forces might have had over them.

The Mandinka Empire of Kaabu was surrounded by notable Fula states, which included Futa Toro, Bundu, Masina and Futa Jallon. Many Mandinka oral sources suggest that due to the nomadic nature of the Fula cattle owners, they had always frequently migrated into the different Kaabu states.⁵⁹ There is therefore evidence that like other groups such as the Mandinka, the Fula must have migrated into the Gambia River region to have access to the fertile grazing lands for their cattle. Historically, most of the Fula in the Gambia region claim to have descended from Koli Tenguela who led his warriors from the Songhai Empire and crossed the upper Senegal River towards the Futa Jallon area. He was believed to have formed alliances with many Mandinka warriors to attack the state of Tekru. After the conquest of the state, Koli Tenguela and his alliance were believed to have created the state of Futa Toro whose rulers became known as the Denianke.⁶⁰

In the Gambia region, the Fula are believed to be divided into the linguistic categories with each claiming her own place of origin. The Firdu Fula, known as Jawaranko by the Mandinka, claimed to originate from an area that is in Portuguese Guinea. The Jombo Fula is another category of Fulas called the Jombonko by the Mandinka. They claim to come from the French Sudan. The Lorobo and Habobo are considered to be mainly non-Muslim Fulas and claim their origin from the East or 'Tilibo' where the Mandinkas also claim to originate from. The Torodo are another group of Fulas who are called Toranko by the Mandinka. Like the Hamanabi who are Muslim Fulas from Bundu, the Torodo are believed to originate from Futa Toro in French Guinea. The Labo, called the Laibo by the Mandinka are believed to have come from Kaja in the Senegal region and are mainly wood workers in the Gambia region. The Fulbe Futa, known as the Futanke claim to have come from Futa Jalon and are usually considered as migrant (strange) farmers in the Gambia region. The Jawando are another category of Fulas but much is not known about their place of origin.

⁵⁹ Gray, J.M. 1966. *A History of The Gambia*.

⁶⁰ Faal D.1997, *A History of The Gambia*, Edward Francis Small Printing Press. Pp 10-11

These Fula groups fall into three linguistic distinctions. The Firdu, Jombo, Lorobo, Habobo and Hamanabi speak a related dialect. The Torodo, Jawando and Labo form the second linguistic dialect. The Fulbe Futa is considered a distinct dialect. Like the Mandinka who have 'kabilo', the Fula have what is known as the 'Bulenda'⁶¹, that is branches of the same family. For example, the surnames: Baldeh, Bandeh, and Bah are considered as a bulenda while Jah and Jamanka are another one.

The Wollof are mainly concentrated in Banjul and the Saloum district of the northern bank of the River Gambia. The literature and oral sources on the origin of the Wollof suggest that through a voluntary association, some Wollof people were able to come together. Some sources have indicated that some villagers in Walo had a bitter dispute at the banks of a river over firewood. As the conflict among them intensified and was about to graduate into total chaos and bloodshed, a mysterious creature emerged from the river and amicably shared the wood among the villagers. According to oral sources, it was this same creature that appeared again when the same villagers appeared to have a second dispute as before and they immediately captured him and later presented him to their leader. The mysterious man was enticed and tempted to stay among the people and several attempts to lure him to integrate into the society proved difficult. However, when he was offered a beautiful lady as a wife, the temptation became irresistible and he accepted. The ruler of Sine was so astonished when case of the mysterious man was reported to him. In amazement, the Sine ruler uttered the words *Ndyadyane Ndaye* and it was later agreed that the mysterious man be accepted as their leader. Henceforth, oral tradition has indicated that from Jolof to Saloum in the north bank of the Gambia, the main center of Wollof power became Jollof and the Burba Jollof became the supreme leader of the Wollof.⁶²

Kayor, Baol, Walo, Sine, and Saloum were the main Wollof states and Saloum today is one of the districts in the North Bank region of The Gambia with a large concentration of the Wollof people. Banjul and the Central River region of the south bank of the country both have a considerable population of the Wollof. Most of the Wollof inhabitants of Banjul are believed to

⁶¹ National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) Tape 106 B: Fula History; Tape 4728: History of the Fulas

⁶² Faal D.1997. *A History of The Gambia*.

come from Goree and Dakar in Senegal to settle in the then Bathurst after its founding by the British in 1816.⁶³

The Serer are another group of people who lived with the Wollof in the Sine and Saloum regions of the Wollof Empire and the two groups share both linguistic and cultural traits. Like the Jola who mainly lived in the southern part of the country, the Serer had a decentralized society that that was egalitarian in nature. Due to the oppressive nature of their wollof leaders, some of the Serer migrated from the Wollof state of Kayor, Baaol, Walo and Sine into Saloum in the northern part of the Gambia region. Some also settled in parts of Niumi and others settled in Bathurst with other groups like Wollof, Mandinka and Jola.⁶⁴

Oral sources on the Serahule suggest that they come to the Gambia region through migration compared to the Mandinka and Fula. Most of the sources on the Serahule claim that they migrated from Bundu where conflicts with their Fula neighbours compelled them to look for other areas where they could live peacefully. The Serahule claim that the tyranny of the Fulas in Bundu made it rather difficult for them to stay there. However, some Serahule claimed to have originated from Kindu and Wagadugu, which are today found in the present day state of Mali. Others claim they are descendants of the Sonni dynasty in the ancient empire of Songhai. There are some other Serahule who claim to originate from Kaba in Manding.⁶⁵ Whatever the claim of origin is among the Serahule, what is evident in most sources is that they gradually migrated into the Gambia region through mainly trade. Once they settled in the Gambia region, the Serahule continued their farming activities in groundnut and millet cultivation. Some were long distance traders whose major commodity of trade was usually cloth. The earliest Serahule settlements in the Gambia were believed to be Sabi, Numuyel, Gambisara, and Allunhare.⁶⁶

The Jola are believed to be one of the longest groups of people to inhabit the Gambia region. Today, they are mainly found in the Foni area of the West Coast region. Foni has a close proximity with the Cassamance region of southern Senegal and some of the Jola of the Gambia have close family and cultural ties with the Jola in the Cassamance region. A good number of

⁶³ Faal D.1997. *A History of The Gambia*. P11

⁶⁴ Faal D.1997. *A History of The Gambia*; Gray, J.M. 1966. *A History of The Gambia*.

⁶⁵ NCAC Tape 417: *A History of Serahule and Trade*

NCAC Tape 417 B: *migration, Economy, Religion and Culture*

NCAC Tape 418 A & B: *History and Migration of the Serahule*

⁶⁶ NCAC Tape 417 B; NCAC Tape 418 A & B.

Jola are also found in the Kombos and Banjul. Like the Serer, the Jola society was a decentralized one and most of their communities were scattered and each was independent of the others.⁶⁷ Jola oral traditions have indicated that they are called *Ajamatau* but the Mandinka oral traditions have designated that they derived their name from the Mandinka who called them *jola* meaning a person who reciprocates for anything done to him or given to him.⁶⁸

The Aku are descendants of freed slaves who were resettled in Freetown after the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Some of them came to the Gambia during the British occupation of the country and served in the colonial civil service. They embraced western education and some of them were employed in the colonial civil service in different positions. They are believed to be very industrious people who are very dedicated to their work and leaders. The Aku are predominantly Christians and they have always played vital roles in the socio-economic development of the country.⁶⁹

Socio-political organizations

The caste system was a major feature of the social organization of the major groups of people in the Gambia: Mandinka, Fula, Wolof and Serahule. The nobility, commoners, caste members and slaves were stratified classes that every member of the society belongs to. In each of these linguistic groups, the nobles were the holders of royal power and their close family members. As leaders of their societies, the nobles exercise their powers and fulfill their major responsibilities of maintaining stability and expanding their frontiers through conquests during the pre-colonial period. It was their duty to make sure that their societies were well-defended against any outside attack and to maintain a good check on any internal strife and disputes that could be an impediment to the well-being of their people.⁷⁰

The commoners comprised of the farmers, traders and clerics among all the three groups major ethnic groups. They owe allegiance to the nobles, cultivated their lands and trade in goods and pay tributes to their leaders. The clerics were considered to be holy men because of their literacy

⁶⁷ Searing, J. F. 2002. No kings, no lords, no slaves': Ethnicity and religion among the Sereer-Safen of Western Bawol, 1700–1914. *The Journal of African History* 43:03.

⁶⁸ Faal D.1997, *A History of The Gambia*.

⁶⁹ Faal D.1997. *A History of The Gambia*; Gray, J.M. 1966. *A History of The Gambia*.

⁷⁰ Faal D.1997. *A History of The Gambia*; Gray, J.M. 1966. *A History of The Gambia*.

in Arabic and function as scribes. According to some Mandinka oral traditions, the Fula and Serahule scholars were instrumental in converting the non-Muslim Fula, Wollof, Serere, Jola and Mandinka to Islam and continued to be their source of religious inspiration, teaching and guidance.⁷¹

The Mandinka, Fula and Serahule all have caste members in their societies. The three major groups of people in this category include the: griots, metal workers and leather workers. Each of these groups was attached to a patron noble who provides their needs while the caste members owe them their allegiance by demonstrating their skills to their ‘masters.’ The *griots* serve as historians, praise singers, social relation experts and entertainers in their respective societies. The metal workers and leather workers are believed to possess special supernatural skills and abilities that make their art coded with so many secrets. The blacksmiths were very useful because they made the farm tools for the farmers and also make some of the weapons that the soldiers use during wars. The leather workers work on the charms that individuals and families use as they seek spiritual protection.⁷²

The slaves are considered to be at the lowest level of the society by each of the groups of people under discussion. They are believed to be categorized under domestic and trade slaves according to the oral traditions of these people. The domestic slaves serve in their masters’ households and in a situation where the slave has exceptional skills; he or she was well treated by the master and his household. Some masters are believed to marry some of their slaves. Domestic slaves and their children were always looked upon as members of the master’s household and are integrated into the master’s family.⁷³

Each of the major linguistic groups in The Gambia has their own term for a family. To them, it refers to people with blood relations and the members live together. The word ‘dimbaaya’ seem to be a general term the Mandinka, Fula and Serahule use to refer to a family which has a head who makes sure that the norms and values of the society are instilled in every member, particularly the young ones. Family heads and parents had absolute powers over the children and

⁷¹ Faal D.1997, *A History of The Gambia*.

⁷² Faal D.1997. *A History of The Gambia*; Gray, J.M. 1966. *A History of The Gambia*.

⁷³ Faal D.1997. *A History of The Gambia*; Gray, J.M. 1966. *A History of The Gambia*.

younger adults. In the case of death, a man was succeeded by his brother who marries his widow and becomes the guardian of the orphans. Among all these groups, a woman was usually expected by the family to marry the deceased husband's brother although she may refuse to do so if she wishes. In such cases, she loses the rights over the guardianship of the children if she has any with the deceased husband. Kaabilo or Kaabila or Bulenda of the Mandinka, Serahule and Fula respectively is another type of family structure in which different related families lived together and shares so many things in common.⁷⁴

Among the people of The Gambia, marriage exists as an institution. It has always been seen as a very sacred thing through which both men and women have legal rights over sexual activities, spouses, and have or develop kinship ties. It is usually the duty of the father to find a wife for the son. Upon finding a suitable bride for his son, the boy's father approaches the father or uncle of the girl for discussions. If the two parents agreed for their children to get married, a date is fixed for what both the Mandinka and Serahule call 'Nokong la' which marks the official engagement of the boy and the girl. A later date is fixed for the wedding or 'Futu sitoo.' During the wedding, a dowry is paid by the groom's family to the bride in either kind or cash depending on the agreements between the two families.⁷⁵

The Mandinka, Fula and Serahule of Fulladu have a lot of regards for children and young adults in an event that one loses the parents due to death. Orphans were believed to come under the guardianship of their father's brothers or aunts who play the roles of father and mother to them. In the case of females, the period of guardianship under an uncle or aunt would end once the female gets married. However, in the case of males, it continues for a longer time.⁷⁶ Usually, uncles and aunts take very good care of the orphans that are placed under their care and tutelage. This is evident in the Mandinka saying *mbariding la kuwo koleyataa nnang wuludingo ti* meaning the affairs of my niece or nephew are more of a concern to me than my own child.

⁷⁴ Gamble, D. P. 1996. *The South Bank of The Gambia: Places, people and Population*. Brisbane, California, Gambian Studies No. 30. p57-69

⁷⁵ CSO 2/94: The Laws and Customs of the Various Communities in West Africa, The Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁷⁶ CSO 2/94.

Among the Gambian people, any one may own property and contracts were mainly transacted through exchange.⁷⁷ There were both individual and collective rights to property. In the case of some property such as land and cattle, ownership is inherited. Buying and selling could be done based on mutual consent and agreement. Among the Fulas for instance, cattle which constitutes their major wealth seldom changes hands even though milk and milk products are sold mainly by women. In cases of disputes over property and ownership rights among each of the groups studied in this work, the head of the family settles such disputes.⁷⁸

Among the Mandinka, Fula and Serahule societies in The Gambia, communities had councils of elders who preside over cases at village levels. Most offences are classified according to their degrees of seriousness and were punished accordingly. The Commissioner of the Upper River Province in his report on Fulladu dated 6th April, 1933 outlined that: ‘The most serious offences were murder and homicide.’⁷⁹ Both the colonial records and oral sources indicate that the former was punished by death while for the latter; the punishment was exile in most cases. Some crimes were punished by paying fines or flogging. Assault and rape were believed to be punished by paying fines. Usually, parents of offenders were forced to pay the fines imposed on the offender if he or she could not pay the fine imposed on him or her. In criminal cases, the fines paid by offenders were handed over to the king. In civil cases, the fines were handed over to the king who may decide to give it all or some part to the interested parties.⁸⁰

2.2 The Gambian Economy and the grains industry before 1830

Prior to contact with the British and other Europeans, the people of the Gambia region had trade relations within and with the outside world.⁸¹ From the time of the great Sudanic empires, the people of the region had contacts with North Africa through the Trans-Saharan Trade and various articles of trade were exchanged.⁸² With time, both short and long distance trades

⁷⁷ Gamble, D. P. 1996. *The south bank of the Gambia: Places, People, and Population*, Nyaamina, Jaara, and Kiyang Districts. Brisbane, CA: publisher not identified; Gamble, D. P. (1999). *The north bank of the Gambia: Places, people, and population the Nyoomi, Jookadu, and Badibu Districts*. Brisbane, CA: Gamble & Rahman

⁷⁸ CSO 2/94.

⁷⁹ CSO 2/94.

⁸⁰ CSO 2/94

⁸¹ Wright, D. R. 1985. *Beyond Migration and Conquest: Oral Traditions and Mandinka Ethnicity in Senegambia*

⁸² Curtin, P. D. 1975. *Economic change in Pre-colonial Africa: Senegambia in the era of Atlantic slave Trade*. 1st ed. Madison : University of Wisconsin Press.

characterized the market as African economies began to evolve and underwent massive transformations.⁸³

Donald Wright and Philip Curtin commented on the roles played by long distance trade in the Senegambia region.⁸⁴ Both agreed that the roles played by long distance traders made them a dominant group in the exchange of goods which include slaves, cloth, iron, salt, European manufactures etc. For the fact that Mandinka Jula (trader) obtains slaves and other goods from vast areas ranging from the River Gambia's eastern hinterland to its upper reaches and Upper Niger made their spheres of influence very great. The settlement patterns of the Jula traders show that they were able to form economic and social ties with their host societies whom they met during their trips. Both Wright and Curtin buttressed this point. This strategic socioeconomic alliance with ruling dynasties enabled the long distance traders to have local influence which they used to effectively carry out their long distance trade.⁸⁵

Donald Wright is one of the most eminent scholars to carry out an extensive work on the Mandinka state of Niumi. He explored how this strategic kingdom was integrated into the global system. Wright's discussion of the "landlord-stranger" relationship, the "suruga", "samalan", and "jatigi" relationships shows that socioeconomic networks were formed in Mandinka societies whose economic activities he studies.⁸⁶ He postulates that the "samalan" pays a fee for the land he uses to suggest that there were clear cut rules that governed the land tenure system in the region. It also means that this system was institutionalized.⁸⁷

⁸³ Wright, D. R. 1985. *Beyond Migration and Conquest*; Curtin, P. D. 1975. *Economic change*.

⁸⁴ Wright, D. R. 1985. *Beyond Migration and Conquest*; Curtin, P. D. 1975. *Economic change*.

⁸⁵ Wright, D. R. 1985. *Beyond Migration and Conquest: Oral Traditions and Mandinka Ethnicity in Senegambia*; Curtin, P. D. 1975. *Economic change in Pre-colonial Africa: Senegambia in the era of Atlantic slave Trade*

⁸⁶ Wright, D. R. 1977. Darbo Jula: The Role of a Mandinka Jula clan in the long-distance trade of the Gambia River and its hinterland. *African Economic History* 3:33-45.

⁸⁷ Wright, D. R. 1977. Darbo Jula: The Role of a Mandinka Jula clan in the long-distance trade of the Gambia River and its hinterland. *African Economic History* 3:33-45; Wright, D. R. 1985. *Beyond migration and conquest: oral traditions and Mandinka ethnicity in Senegambia. History in Africa* 12: 335-348.

Curtin puts emphasis on the role played by “culture contact and change”⁸⁸ as the traders came into contact with people in different communities. Curtin and Wright agreed that the trades were well organized. Curtin further uses the term “trade diaspora” who deal with political authorities for them to trade well without much hindrance. The role played by Curtin’s “trade diaspora” is synonymous to that played by the Jula mentioned by Wright.⁸⁹ However, Curtin’s view on the relationship that existed between the traders and their host communities is parallel to the one expressed by Wright. This is because to Curtin, the host community dominates the people of the diaspora completely and keeps them in dependent positions in order to economically exploit them. But to Wright, the host community accommodates the visitors as were in the case of the ‘samalan’ and ‘suruga’ and even help some to settle down.⁹⁰ There is therefore evidence that in the Gambia River region, trade had been an important economic activity of the people both among themselves and with others from other climes. Through the trading activities of the Jula traders, the people were able to obtain and exchange goods. This indicates that there were inter group relations through trade and the Jula were very crucial in connecting people and communities.

2.3 Grains culture, organisation of production and trade

In human history, the cultivation and exchange of crops for domestic consumption and exchange had been one of the oldest forms of the daily life of the peasantry. Food production had been the hallmark of human civilization, and once humans began sedentary life, they were compelled by circumstances to make use of their environment for survival. Once people started developing permanent settlements, their earlier hunter-gathering system gave way to crop production leading to an evolution of the living conditions of the human communities established over time and space. Over time, humans barter and exchange food and other commodities to improve their own material conditions.⁹¹ Environmental conditions were such that no one group of people could be self-sufficient in what they needed to survive. This dictated people to create connections and

⁸⁸ Curtin, P. D. 1975. *Economic change in Pre-colonial Africa: Senegambia in the era of Atlantic slave Trade*. 1st ed. Madison : University of Wisconsin Press.

⁸⁹ Curtin, P. D. 1975. *Economic change in Pre-colonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of Atlantic slave Trade*; Wright, D. R. 1977. Darbo Jula: The Role of a Mandinka Jula clan in the long-distance trade of the Gambia River and its Hinterland.

⁹⁰ Curtin, P. D. 1975. *Economic change in Pre-colonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of Atlantic slave Trade*. 1st ed. Madison : University of Wisconsin Press.

⁹¹ Smith, A. 1937 *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, New York, Modern Library, p238.

linkages among themselves. The creation of markets and economic institutions that facilitated the use of money as a means of exchange became apparent.⁹²This led to a significant transformation of human life in every clime. Walter Hawthorne argues that in pre-colonial Senegambian communities, peasants cultivated grains to sustain themselves.⁹³

Grains such as rice, coos, millet and groundnuts had been the mainstay of the pre-colonial Gambian economy produced by the peasantry for subsistence. Agrarian communities in the Gambia River region like other African societies mainly depended on the grains for their livelihoods. What is evident is that grains cultivation had been part of the culture of Gambians even before the people even started having contacts with Europeans. Walter Hawthorne argues that some acephalous groups of people in decentralized societies relocated to coastal areas to escape slave raiding and embarked on grains farming in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹⁴ Hawthorne's argument that the Balanta of Guinea Bissau 'retreated to isolated riverine areas near swamps' and 'developed highly sophisticated paddy-rice production techniques in the mid to late seventeenth century'⁹⁵ is also true of the Jola communities in the Gambia River region. Charlotte Quinn and Walter Hawthorne have argued that the Senegambian peasantry produced grains mainly for subsistence before the penetration of Europeans and imposition of colonial rule in the region.⁹⁶

Before the arrival of Europeans on the coast of River Gambia, the region was a centre of African trade in gold, salt, beeswax, cloth, ivory and even slaves.⁹⁷ Long distant traders known as the Jula played a significant role in the exchange of goods among people in the Gambia River region.⁹⁸ However, contact with Europeans transformed the nature of trade in pre-colonial Gambia. The European demand for African goods transformed the Gambian grains industry. It led to the monetization of the grains as well as the shifting of production for subsistence to that

⁹² Smith, A. 1937 *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, New York, Modern Library, p238

⁹³ Hawthorne, W.2001. *Nourishing a stateless society*. P2.

⁹⁴ Hawthorne, W. 2001. *Nourishing a stateless society*. P3

⁹⁵ Hawthorne, W. 2001. *Nourishing a stateless society* p 8.

⁹⁶ Quinn, C. A. 1968, *Niumi: A Nineteenth-Century Mandingo Kingdom* ; Hawthorne, W. 2001. *Nourishing a stateless society*. P3 & p8

⁹⁷ Wright, D. R. 1977. *Darbo Jula*

⁹⁸ Wright, D. R. 1977. *Darbo Jula*

of trade. Also, the demand for imported goods such as guns, gunpowder, tobacco, and cloth meant that Gambian farmers were compelled to produce more grains in order to produce surplus that could be marketed to fetch them European imports at the time.⁹⁹

Indigenous rice known as *oryza glaberrima* had been grown by farmers (women) in the Gambia River region for centuries but in the early sixteenth century, through contact with the Portuguese, another variety known as the *oryza sativa* was introduced.¹⁰⁰ Millet (*saano*, *late millet* and *sunoo*) were other varieties of food grains that were grown. Groundnuts (*tia mesengoo* and *brucusoo*) were mainly grown by the men.¹⁰¹ George Brooks contends that *arachis hypogaea*- a variety of groundnuts was introduced to Africa in the Sixteenth century.¹⁰² This account reveals that before 1830, various varieties of grains were grown by the West African peasantry. Bambara groundnuts (*voandzeia subterranean* or *mancarra*) was a legume grain that scholars like George Brooks referred to as a ‘subsidiary food crop that spread from Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde’ to other places like the Gambia River region.¹⁰³

Prior to 1830, grains production among the Gambian peasantry was centred on family units mainly for subsistence.¹⁰⁴ The geography and soil condition of the country are a major determinant of grains cultivation in the Gambia. The sandy soils and riverine plains were suitable for the cultivation of the grains that this study focuses on. Once the farmers clear the land and the rains fall, enormous labour was utilised to cultivate the crops.¹⁰⁵ Since each gender concentrates on a specific grain(s) - rice by women and coos millet and groundnuts by men, there was division in terms of production based on gender. Simple farm tools (cutlasses, axes and hoes) were generally used during the production process and once the peasants harvest their crops, the produce are taken home to be properly stored. Much care was always taken to minimize post-harvest losses and the surplus grains were traded or exchanged through barter for the acquisition of other commodities or goods. Seeds of good quality were preserved as *turoo* for the subsequent farming season. However, in terms of production, there were limitations to what could be grown

⁹⁹ Brooks, G.E. 1975 Peanuts and colonialism

¹⁰⁰ Hawthorne, W. 2001. Nourishing a stateless society. P8

¹⁰¹ Searing, J. F. 2002. No kings, no lords, no slaves: ethnicity and religion among the Serer- Safen of western Bawol, 1700-1914, *Journal of African History* 43.3: p426

¹⁰² Brooks, G.E. 1975 Peanuts and colonialism. p31

¹⁰³ Brooks, G.E. 1975 Peanuts and colonialism. p31

¹⁰⁴ Sarr, A. 2014. Land, power, and dependency.

¹⁰⁵ All the farmers interviewed buttressed this point.

due to technological and environmental issues. This was because the absence of sophisticated machinery impeded large-scale production. Also, inadequate rainfall and damage caused by noxious pests sometimes led to poor harvests.¹⁰⁶

The paucity of sources has made the interrogation of the origin of grains trade in the Gambia region a daunting task. Therefore, our understanding of the trade's origins and issues that were central to its conduct is limited due to adequate lack of much material evidence. In pre-colonial Gambia, grains constituted an important commodity of exchange amongst the people. According to Charlotte Quinn, the dominance of grains production and distribution in the Senegambia occasioned the emergence of Mandinka *jula* trading groups organised into trading corporations based on long distance trade.¹⁰⁷

Grains exchange or barter was the initial dominant mode of grains trading among Africans prior to the introduction of European legal tender.¹⁰⁸ People also traded grains through lending and borrowing. The point being made is that those who had abundance and those in need could lend and borrow grains based on agreed conditions. It was from these practices that grains trade and exchange among pre-colonial Gambian societies evolved over time. The initial methods of trade in the Gambian grains industry before 1830 were non-conventional and people traded amongst themselves based on trust and a common understanding that their survival depended on the goodwill that each extended to the other.¹⁰⁹

2.4 Factors of grains production

In pre-colonial Gambian societies, land and labour were essential for the production of grains. Access to land determined one's status as landlord, stranger and ability to cultivate grains.¹¹⁰ The structure of Gambian families determined the socio-economic arrangements that influenced access to land ownership. Sometimes, family members individually or collectively clear the forest and claim ownership of such lands. The cultivation of grains on such lands was generally

¹⁰⁶ CSO 2/71 a.

¹⁰⁷ Quinn, C. A. 1968, Niumi: *A Nineteenth-Century Mandingo Kingdom, Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 38. 4: p11

¹⁰⁸ Wright D. R. 2010. The World and a small place.

¹⁰⁹ Wright D. R. 2010. The World and a small place.

¹¹⁰ Sarr, A. 2014. Land, power, and dependency along the Gambia River, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. *African Studies Review* 57.3: p108

under the guidance and control of the head of the family. All members of the family cooperate and work together to grow grains on family lands for both consumption and trading of surplus produce. The prerogative to allocate portions of family lands to individual members who wished to cultivate certain grains of their own taste lied on the heads of families. Such individuals used their own labour and resources to cultivate the land and whatever they produce would be for their own use.¹¹¹

Individual land ownership was possible in Gambian communities when people cleared land on their own. In such cases, individuals could claim rights over such lands which are independent of their collective family lands. Both men and women who had the capacity and ability to use their own resources and labour to clear the forest could claim legitimate rights over such lands. European documentary sources have indicated that both individual and family ownership of lands on which grains were produced were part of customary practices of Gambian families.¹¹²

With regards to the distribution and allocation of land to people who needed it to farm, Assan Sarr is of the view that family heads presided over such arrangements.¹¹³ This was normally the case with uncleared land in communities when request was made by migrant farmers for them to be permitted to clear portions of such lands. Village or family heads reserved the exclusive right and power to grant such request or otherwise and no member of the family would challenge their decision. This shows that gerontocracy was respected among Gambians with regards to land allocation and usage in pre-colonial Gambia.

Assan Sarr's argument that agricultural production was organised around family units known as *kabilo* (*kabilolu*, plural)¹¹⁴ is apt because a Gambian village or compound could constitute one or more *kabilo* or *kabilolu* whose heads mobilize both labour and capital from members for the production of grains for both consumption and trade. Collectively, and individually, grain farmers could pay for additional hands on the clearing of farmlands as well as cultivation of the

¹¹¹ Sarr, A. 2014. Land, power, and dependency along the Gambia River.

¹¹² CSO2/ 94 The Laws and customs of the Gambia, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia; CSO 2/71a The Secretariat Confidential File on Native land tenure, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia; CSO2/71b A memorandum on native custom regarding land tenure in Kombo, South Bank Province, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

¹¹³ Sarr, A. 2014. Land, power, and dependency along the Gambia River. p107

¹¹⁴ Sarr, A. 2014. Land, power, and dependency along the Gambia River, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. *African Studies Review* 57.3: p107

grains to increase their productive capabilities. This was done to meet their families' consumption needs and also enabled them generate surplus that could be sold in the market. On family farms, younger adults provide the labour required from land clearing to the harvesting of the cultivated grains. During post-harvest periods, they again made sure that the produce are transported from the farms and safely kept or stored to prevent any losses.

Since most Gambian communities had a stratified caste system, the free-born and slaves provide labour on the farms of their patrons and masters. Usually, land owners who generally are masters allocate land to their dependents (slaves and migrant farmers) that in turn provide labour on the patron's farms on certain agreed days of the week. This had become a standard practice for generations. The land allocated to the dependents could be used by them for grains farming but could not be disposed without the consent of the patron that initially allocated such lands. This practice was a significant aspect of land ownership in Gambian communities. A good case in point is that rice farms along swamps in most Gambian societies are owned by individual families whose women cultivate rice on such lands. The rice farms in question are inherited by children from their parents. Sometimes, conflicts over swamp land ownership arose, but once there were contestations over who should farm on the rice fields, village elders settled such disputes bearing in mind the genealogical histories of the contesting parties associated with the land in question.

2.5 The nature of British activities in the Gambia before 1830

The Gambia's colonial experience is similar to those of the other English speaking West African countries. The British suppressed the trade in slaves after 1807, and in 1816, they established Bathurst as a colony at the mouth of River Gambia.¹¹⁵ This historical development was significant in the incorporation of the Gambia region into the British colonial establishment with time. The British were strategic in their choice of establishing Bathurst as a settlement with a view to having a somewhat absolute control of slave ships that plied the mouth of the River Gambia.¹¹⁶

Prior to 1816, European activities in the Gambia region could be said to be mainly a personal enterprise of many of the British trading firms and individuals although they had considerable

¹¹⁵ Faal, D. 1997. A History of The Gambia.

¹¹⁶ Faal, D. 1997. A History of The Gambia.

support from the British government in different forms. The British firms and other businessmen were expected to provide their own finances as they embarked on their business ventures in the Gambia region. The point being made here is that where operating British trading companies had the financial autonomy, the mother country gave them some degree of self-government in the areas they had their spheres of commercial activities. However, each of the participating British firms had to adopt and maintain the British administrative system in their dealings with Gambians at all times. This was to ensure that that was a systematic and coordinated strategy in place to enable the British commercial interests and networks in the Gambia region flourished.¹¹⁷ The overall objective was to enable the British traders get access to the goods they needed and further create the market for their goods which they brought to Africa with a view to maximizing profit which the sales of such good would have given them. In an era of great demand for European goods such as guns, a lucrative market was created whereby some Gambians got access to guns and gunpowder through various means of exchange.¹¹⁸ In the process, the British were able to obtain some of the goods they needed and these include grains.¹¹⁹

2.6 The Crown Colony and direct rule

The founding of Bathurst in 1816 led to the establishment of British colonial administration in The Gambia. Initially, the Island of Banjul was under the jurisdiction of Tumany Bojang, the king of Kombo. In 1816, the king of Kombo signed a treaty with Captain Alexander Grant and from henceforth, the island was secured by the British who named it Bathurst after Lord Earl Bathurst, the British Secretary of State for Colonies at the time. Similar arrangements were made with the kings of Niani in 1823 which led to the acquisition of MacCarthy Island and Nuimi in 1826 with the Ceded Mile Treaty. This treaty gave the British unlimited rights to the possession of River Gambia and some land of about forty miles inland up to the Jinack Creek. In 1827, the British again signed another treaty with the king of Kombo but this time, they were given the permission to build a settlement in mainland Kombo. All these territories obtained by the British later constituted what became known as the Crown Colony of The Gambia. From 1821 to 1843, and later, from 1866 to 1888, the British administered the Crown Colony from Sierra Leone. During the periods that The Gambia was administered from Sierra Leone, the legislative and

¹¹⁷ Faal, D. 1997. A History of The Gambia; Gray, J. M. 1966. A History of The Gambia.

¹¹⁸ Gray, J. M. 1966. A History of The Gambia.

¹¹⁹ Gray, J. M. 1966. A History of The Gambia.

executive councils were abolished and an advisory group was put in place. This group consisted of the Colonial Administrator, Collector of Customs and the Chief Magistrate. A resident Governor became the head of the colonial administration when the Gambia became a separate colony from Sierra Leone. Hence, the Governor became the sole person with vested powers to maintain law and order in the Crown Colony.¹²⁰

2.7 The protectorate and indirect rule

The rest of the Gambia colony was known as the hinterland or protectorate. It was incorporated into the colonial administration in 1893 and in 1894; an ordinance was passed that created a landmark legislation which incorporated the rest of the country into the colonial administration. The country was divided into two banks and a Travelling Commissioner was appointed for each bank.¹²¹

By 1893, the British had to adjust their governance machinery in the Gambia with the appointment of two Travelling Commissioners for the North and South Banks of the country. Their major responsibility was to study the general condition of the areas under their jurisdictions. The 1893 Order in council further mandated the Legislative Council of the Colony to come up with legislation for the Protectorate and in 1894, the first ever Protectorate Ordinance was promulgated. The ordinance made provision for the protectorate to be divided into districts headed by chiefs who should be under the guidance of the Travelling Commissioners. Native tribunals were set up and the powers that were vested in the chiefs were also defined. Above all, the Protectorate Ordinance made it clear that native laws and customs that are not repugnant to natural justice shall remain in full force and effect in as much as they are compatible with British laws.¹²² This new system of governance became known as the Indirect Rule system through which the British maintained the existing native system and made adjustments for them administer the Protectorate through the traditional rulers with the supervision of the few British officials on the ground.

¹²⁰ PUB 5/5, Protectorate Ordinance, 1894, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia; ; PUB 5/6, Protectorate Ordinance, 1902, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia; Gray J.M. 1966, *A History of The Gambia*.

¹²¹ Southorn, T. The Gambia: Background for Progress. *Journal of the Royal African Society* (Oxford University press on behalf of the Royal African Society). 43.170 : 10-15

¹²² Southorn, T. 1944. The Gambia: Background for Progress.

Additionally, in 1902, the Protectorate Ordinance was promulgated and it empowered the Travelling Commissioners with certain judicial and executive powers. While colonial administration in the colony was direct, the indirect rule system was applied in the protectorate of The Gambia after the passing of the 1902 ordinance.¹²³

¹²³ Gray J.M. 1966, *A History of The Gambia* ; Wright, D. R.2010. *The World and a very Small*.

CHAPTER THREE

BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE GRAINS TRADE AND LOCAL RESISTANCE, 1830 TO 1945

3.1 The introduction of the cash crop economy

Prior to the advent of Europeans in the Gambia River region, the different linguistic groups were engaged in the cultivation of different grain crops mainly for subsistence and also traded among themselves.¹²⁴ Gambian oral sources have indicated that before the colonization of the region, the different peoples had interactions amongst themselves.¹²⁵ Traders especially those who embarked on long distance trade¹²⁶ were instrumental in forming links and transactions with people in the host communities they had trade relations with. It was the norm in most African societies that people exchange goods because no one group of people had all the essential things that they need for their daily sustenance. The point being made here is that in Gambian societies, there were symbiotic relationships between groups and these cemented the bonds that existed between them for many years. For example, those who were farmers and cultivated rice in riverine areas known as the *banta faros* could not consume only the rice they cultivated. They needed groundnuts, fish, meat and other dietary ingredients in addition to other essential materials needed for a comfortable and healthy living.¹²⁷ It was therefore not surprising that the

¹²⁴ Reeve, H. F 1969 *The Gambia Its History: Ancient Medieval and Modern* New York: Negro University Press

¹²⁵ NCAC Tape 406B.

¹²⁶ Wright, D. R.1977, Darbo Jula: The Role of a Mandinka Jula clan in the long distance trade of the Gambia River and its Hinterland. *Africa Economic History* 3:33-45.

¹²⁷ Interview with Alhagie Malangding Jassey at Brikamading Village on 25th September, 2019

people had to exchange their commodities since no one category of people was self-sufficient in their communities.¹²⁸

With the advent of British colonialism in the Gambia, trade in agricultural products and commerce between Europeans and Africans in the Gambia region went through rapid transformation by the Nineteenth Century. The British search for goods and their desire to consolidate their imperial dominance and base in the country were key factors that propelled them to gain absolute control over the Gambian people.¹²⁹ By 1900, the strategic British settlement of Bathurst put the British in a good stead to strengthen their commercial and administrative control over the Gambia region. Once the entire country was incorporated into the colonial establishment, laws were promulgated for effective administration and one of these included the payment of taxes which the government collected to meet its development and operational costs in the Gambia region.¹³⁰ There had to be uniformity with regards to all commercial transactions and tax payment. Ultimately, the only way was to monetize all economic transactions thereby leading to a fundamental shift in the way and manner in which trade was conducted in the entire country.

Although there were initial resistances, a standard legal tender which was universally accepted by all in the transactions of goods and services was put in place by the British colonial authorities.¹³¹ Trading companies bought and sold goods using the Pound Sterling which was the accepted legal tender introduced. Gambians also had to pay taxes in monetary terms meaning, they had to sell their grains to obtain whatever was needed for them to pay the taxes they owed the government at the time.¹³² Hence, the introduction of a monetary economy set in motion a massive transformation in the lives of Gambians in their dealings with European traders and the British officials in Bathurst and the outpost trading centres in the protectorate. British involvement in the Gambia's grain industry and trade led to the transformation of the Gambian

¹²⁸ NCAC Tape 406B.

¹²⁹ Southorn, T. 1944. *The Gambia: Background for Progress*; Gray J.M. 1966, *A History of The Gambia* ; Wright, D. R.2010. *The World and a very Small*.

¹³⁰ Faal, D. 1997. *A History of The Gambia*; Gray, J. M. 1966. *A History of The Gambia*

¹³¹ Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region from the 12th to the Early 21st Century*. Banjul , Sunrise Publishers.

¹³² Interview with Alhagie Ansuding Keita at Banjul on 5th December, 2019

economy from subsistence to market economy. It also led to the penetration of foreign capital essential to the development of merchant capitalism in the economy of the country.

3.2 Major trading companies

Different European trading companies were involved in businesses in the Senegambia region during the colonial period. In the Gambia, both oral and documentary sources have indicated that the trading enterprise was practically entirely in the hands of agencies that benefitted from full government support during the colonial period.¹³³ The principal trading firms had headquarters in England or France with local representatives.¹³⁴ These trading companies were integral parts of the colonial infrastructure and had considerable political and administrative supports from the home country in Europe.¹³⁵

Apart from Maurel and Prom, other Bathurst based trading firms included the Bathurst Trading Company Limited (BTC), Elder Dempster and Co. Limited, United Africa Company Limited (UAC), Compagnie Francaise de l’Afrique Occidentale (CFAO), and United Kingdom Tobacco Company.¹³⁶ These companies were involved in import and export trades in addition to both retail and whole businesses in the colony and protectorate of the Gambia. There were intense competitions among the different establishments to win over the market.¹³⁷ This indicates that the domestic economy of the country was in the absolute hands of these companies even though they had local agents and partners who operated as middlemen for them in their trading ventures.

By 1900, the trading companies that were operating in the Gambia had to obtain leases from the colonial government and such lands were used as bases in the purchase of the different grains they traded in. For instance, in a letter dated 1st February 1901, and addressed to Governor Denton, Maurel and Prom indicated that the company had a piece of land in Gray Street in Cape

¹³³ Interview with Alhagie Ansuding Keita at Banjul on 5th December, 2019; Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region*.

¹³⁴ CSO2/413: Report on the Gambia before 1919: Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

¹³⁵ Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region from the 12th to the Early 21st Century*. Banjul , Sunrise Publishers.

¹³⁶ Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region*.

¹³⁷ Interview with Alhagie Seku Kanteh, an 83 year old businessman at No. 4 New Street, Banjul on the 23rd September, 2019

St. Marys.¹³⁸ The land in question had been granted to the company on the 16th day of December 1882 for the term of twenty years.¹³⁹ It was further indicated that a Deed of Assignment dated the 6th day of July 1895 had stipulated that Maurel and Prom had to pay 130 pounds to the government.¹⁴⁰

In 1902, Elder Dempster and Co was given permission to build a boat house near the Customs wharf on a site and the design was approved by the colonial engineer.¹⁴¹ However, for the construction to go ahead, these conditions were to be met by the company:

- i. that the site for the boat house is approved by the colonial engineer,
- ii. that the design of the building is approved of by the colonial engineer,
- iii. that should the government at any time so required the building will be at once removed by the company after being given a month's notice to do so.¹⁴²

Once the company had accepted these conditions in a letter dated 10th July, 1902, the colonial office gave approval for the company to erect a boat house in Wellington Street in Bathurst.¹⁴³ After the boat house had been completed, Elder Dempster and Co. used the ships they had at the time to transport groundnuts and other grains they obtained from Gambian farmers for storage in the boat house and eventually shipped the goods to Europe.¹⁴⁴

The Bathurst Trading Company (BTC) operated grain stores which were believed to have the capacity to store about 3000 tons at the wharf in Bathurst in 1902.¹⁴⁵ In addition to grain stores, the company also operated a wharf which was believed to be 12 feet inside the line of the government wharf. The Harbour master and Marine Superintendent at the time stated that any extension of the BTC wharf should be regarded as a temporary measure only.¹⁴⁶ The BTC's wharf subsequently became a principal groundnut and other grains loading wharf for ocean going ships in the Gambia by 1919. The decrease in water levels due to siltage as well as getting

¹³⁸ CSO 2/5: Maurel and Prom Cape St. Mary: Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

¹³⁹ CSO 2/5: Maurel and Prom Cape St. Mary

¹⁴⁰ CSO 2/5: Maurel and Prom Cape St. Mary

¹⁴¹ CSO 2/27: Elder Dempster and Co Ltd. Bathurst: Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

¹⁴² CSO 2/27.

¹⁴³ CSO 2/27.

¹⁴⁴ CSO 2/27.

¹⁴⁵ CSO 2/258: Bathurst Trading Company: Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

¹⁴⁶ CSO 2/258.

ships of greater tonnage for loading the grains eventually became a major challenge for the company. When there was the need to lengthen the BTC's wharf from 12 to 15 feet, the Harbour Master and Marine Superintendent granted permission for the request because he was of the view that it was not likely that the extension would not cause any greater silting at Government Wharf but it was possible that the extension of the wharf could 'impair the efficiency of the commerce of the African wharf which lies close to it.'¹⁴⁷

It is evident from the view of the approving authority that preference was given to European trading interests over those of the Africans. The point being made here is that once the extension of the wharf would better serve the commercial interest of the European firm, no other consideration of the African interest merited any attention by the colonial officials.¹⁴⁸ It was therefore a deliberate government policy to protect the BTC and by extension all other European trading companies from any stiff competition from their African counterparts. This was done to help put the European firms at a more advantage in controlling the market at the detriment of their local competitors.

Apart from trading companies, individual merchants were very instrumental in trading activities in colonial Gambia. Some of them partnered with the companies even though they operated their individual businesses.¹⁴⁹ The establishment gave them the enabling environment necessary for them to thrive in their businesses. These early local merchants included Charles Goddard, J. W. Sawyer, V. Q. Petterson, Messrs S.J. Foster, Horton Jones, Charles Grant, Thomos Joiner, Antoin Blain, and H.R Carrol, just to name but a few.¹⁵⁰ In both the colony and protectorate, these merchants operated in the trading centers especially in wharf towns like Kaur and Kuntaur in the northern part of the country. These merchants played a significant role in the promotion of the grains trade in the country. Their involvement occasioned the growth and development of the Gambia's grains industry throughout the country particularly in the trading centres in the

¹⁴⁷ CSO 2/258: Bathurst Trading Company. Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

¹⁴⁸ CSO 2/258: Bathurst Trading Company

¹⁴⁹ Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region*.

¹⁵⁰ Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region*.

Protectorate.¹⁵¹ These individual merchants also had agents who worked for them and served as links between them and the peasant producers. Through the agents, grains exchange and purchase was done through both credit buying and purchasing at designated buying stations known as *seccos* located in wharf towns and other commercial settlements.¹⁵² Table 3.1 shows some firms that carried out general import and export trade in the Gambia up to 1919.

¹⁵¹ Wright, D. R. 2010. *The World and a very Small*; Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region*

¹⁵² Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region*.

Table 3.1: Some Principal Firms that carried out general import and export trade in the Gambia up to 1919

Name	Address in the Gambia	Address in Europe (if any)
Bathurst Trading Company	Wellington Street	34 Leaden Hall Street, London
Barthens and Lesieur	Wellington Street	8 Coure de Gourgue, Bordeaux
Compagnie Francaise de L'Afrique Occidentale	Wellington Street	32 Cours de Pierre Puget, Marseilles
Maurel Freres	Wellington Street	6 Quai Louis Xvii, Bordeaux
Maurel & Prom	Wellington Street	18 Rue Porte, Dijaux, Bordeaux
African & Eastern Trade Corporation Limited	Wellington Street	Royal Liver Building, Liverpool
Louis Vezia Compagnie	Wellington Street	83 Coure de Verdun, Bordeaux
Palmine Limited	Wellington Street	Moorgate Hall, Finsbury Pavement, London
Gambia Trading Co. Limited	Buckle Street	23 Water Street, Liverpool
Horsley A.B. Limited	Russel Street	Not available
Jones S. Horton	Russel Street	Not available
Antoin Blain	Wellington Street	Not available

Source: CSO2/413: Report on the Gambia for 1919: Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

From Table 3.1, it is clear that most of the trading firms had their main offices at Wellington Street in Bathurst thus making the place the major center of commerce in the Colony. This was mainly due to the fact that the place is closest to the main Bathurst port harbour where ocean going vessels disembark their imported cargoes and also load those for export.

3.3 British policy on agriculture

Some Gambianist scholars who study the Gambia's grain industry and the economic activities of the British in the country focus more on groundnuts as a cash crop and how the colonial economy depended on its export for revenue generation.¹⁵³ The British colonial economic policies in the Gambia by 1900 were mainly prescriptions that were intended to address certain administrative and socio-economic challenges that the colonial officials and their agents were faced with in both the colony and protectorate.¹⁵⁴ The policies also tended to address the economic base of the colonial government with regards to revenue generation.¹⁵⁵ Both Tijan Sallah and Kenneth Swindle looked at migrant farmers (who were also called 'strange farmers' in the Gambia) who come to the Gambia during the rainy seasons to cultivate groundnuts and other grains and in their submissions argue that such farmers not only increased grains production but also put much pressure on the country's food grains due to their numbers.¹⁵⁶

The British policy on agriculture in colonial Gambia could be broadly categorized under executive and investigational works.¹⁵⁷ The executive policy framework included guidelines that dealt with the preparation and marketing of agricultural produce in the country while the investigational one puts particular emphasis on produce inspection and research on methods of production. There was also a policy on agricultural education with the training of staff that was

¹⁵³ Judith Carney and Michael Watts. 1991. Disciplining Women? Rice, Mechanization, and the Evolution of Mandinka Gender Relations in Senegambia. *Women, Family, State and Economy in Africa* 16:4: 651 -68. ; Swindell, K and Jeng, A. 2006. *Migrants, Credit and Climate: The Gambian Groundnut Trade, 1834-1934*. Leiden: Brill. ; Sallah, T. 2013 Strange Farmers and the Development of The Gambia's Peanut Trade. *State and Society in The Gambia since Independence, 1965-2012* Eds. Saine, A., Ceesay, E. and Sall, E. Trenton: Africa World Press. 57-78.; Archer, F. B. 1967. *Gambia Colony and Protectorate: Official Handbook 1906*. Psychology Press, 1967.

¹⁵⁴ CSO2/3220.

¹⁵⁵ CSO2/3220.

¹⁵⁶ Sallah, T. 2013 Strange Farmers and the Development of The Gambia's Peanut Trade. *State and Society in The Gambia since Independence, 1965-2012* Eds. Saine, A., Ceesay, E. and Sall, E. Trenton: Africa World Press. 57-78.; Swindell, K. 2013. Enter the 'experts': environmental and agrarian change in The Gambia, 1900-1951. *State and Society in The Gambia since Independence, 1965-2012*, eds. Abdoulaye Saine, Ebrima Ceesay and Ebrima Sall, Trenton: Africa World Press, 2013. p 27-56.

¹⁵⁷ CSO2/3220.

useful in helping farmers in the country on good practices of crop cultivation. Since the Department of Agriculture was keen on making the country self-sufficient in food, seeds were purchased and made available to needy farmers to boost production at the end of harvest periods.¹⁵⁸

Field stations were developed in the country for the colonial authorities to study the development of the mangrove and salt grass swamps since the Gambia had an estimated area of about 450,000 acres that was sparsely cultivated.¹⁵⁹ Experimental farms on livestock farming were another area that was implemented with a view to improving the local supplies of meat and other animal products for both export and local consumption. The experiments with groundnuts and upland produced food crops were further intensified as mechanization was studied to incorporate modern methods of cultivation in the country. The policy further sought to determine and set out factors that limit food production for economic reasons.¹⁶⁰ There were policy guidelines that were designed to maintain and improve soil fertility and conservation with the utilization of a balanced system of crop cultivation and animal husbandry.¹⁶¹

Additionally, there was a policy on cattle grazing in the Protectorate. All native authorities were mandated to make sure that grazing disputes and damages to farmlands were amicably settled. It was an offense for any resident in any part of the Gambia to bring cattle other than those owned by residents of the country for grazing in any part of the country.¹⁶² This measure was necessary to prevent the cattle from causing considerable damage to the crops cultivated during the raining season and those found wanting were sanctioned and fined in line with the existing rules and regulations.¹⁶³

There was a clear policy on the migrant farmers¹⁶⁴ and local leaders were encouraged to make sure that male farmers in their communities take up grains cultivation seriously during planting seasons. Oral sources have indicated that clear instructions on grains cultivation were given by

¹⁵⁸ CSO2/3220: Proposal Relating to Agricultural Policy in the Gambia : Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

¹⁵⁹ CSO2/3220.

¹⁶⁰ CSO2/3220.

¹⁶¹ CSO2/3220.

¹⁶² CRU1/4 Grazing disputes: Gambia Records Service, Banjul , The Gambia

¹⁶³ CRU1/4.

¹⁶⁴ Tijan Sallah, "Strange Farmers and the Development of The Gambia's Peanut Trade; Kenneth Swindell, "Enter the 'Experts': Environmental and Agrarian Change in The Gambia, 1900-1951. p 27-56.

colonial officials.¹⁶⁵ This supports the view that instructions such were enforced by the district chiefs and village heads.¹⁶⁶ This signifies that there was a deliberate British policy on grains cultivation and all necessary measures were put in place to ensure compliance on the part of the indigenous population. The involvement of the local leadership in coercing farmers to cultivate the much needed grains is a clear manifestation that they constitute a critical place in the colonial economy.

Gambian oral traditions have indicated that prior to the advent of colonial rule in the Gambia, there were no uniform and generally accepted indigenous agricultural policies that were observed by farmers in the country. Each community practised what was suitable for them in terms of land clearing, cultivation and harvesting. Thus, the nature of agricultural practices to a large extent depended on environmental factors, culture and traditions of the people in any given locality. The advent of British colonial rule in the country ushered the introduction of formal agricultural practices and with time, policies were prescribed to address the cultivation of grain crops which were of much commercial interests to the British colonial government and traders who were operating their businesses in the country. The creation of a department of agriculture and the focus on the cultivation of grains for export necessitated the construction of harbours in the interior of the country for easy transportation of goods from the hinterland to Bathurst for eventual exports abroad.

Grains production and distribution in colonial Gambia underwent significant transformations as the colonial economy was more dependent on cash crop production than food crops. Colonial economic policies were therefore tilted towards large scale production and effective distribution of grain crops. An oral interview with Alhagie Malangding Jassey, a Mandinka elder was quite informative when he revealed that it was a colonial government policy that the prices of grains were mostly fixed unilaterally without adequate consultation with the farmers, traders and conductions of proper market surveys in the Gambia.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, producing areas attracted more colonial government attention through the provision of infrastructural and social amenities,

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Alhagie Malangding Jassey at Brikamading Village on 25th September, 2019

¹⁶⁶ Webb, *Ecological and Economic Change along the Middle Reaches of the Gambia River, 1945-1985*: p553

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Alhagie Malangding Jassey at Brikamading Village on 25th September, 2019

and improved variety of seeds that could ensure more production for domestic consumption and export.

There was a policy that the grain seeds that should be sown by Gambian farmers to boost production must be of good quality. Some of my informants have indicated that seed stores were built in some communities to stock healthy seeds that would be needed by farmers during planting periods.¹⁶⁸ This indicates that the colonial authorities attached great importance to grains cultivation in colonial Gambia and strategies were put in place to boost production by farmers. With government support, farmers could sow good seeds which are necessary for good harvests at the end of planting seasons. In some cases, new varieties of seeds were introduced and farmers were educated on how to grow them.

By 1890, the colonial government in the Gambia realized that grains were significant to its economy as taxes paid with cash from grains, duties paid for their exports and imports maintained the administrative cost of the colony and protectorate. Therefore, emphasis was put on some of the grains such as groundnuts as key export commodities while others such as rice and millet were categorized more as food crops. Groundnut cultivation was given more attention in the Gambia and as it attracted better prices at the world market before 1919, the farmers especially the male were much more motivated to cultivate it at the detriment of the food crops. The point being made here is that Gambian farmers concentrated more on groundnut production which led to less food crop cultivation. Consequently, food shortages occurred but male farmers continued to focus more on groundnut cultivation due to the enormous economic benefits associated with the crop at the detriment of food crops. In order to address food shortage in the country, the colonial government was compelled to regularize and control rice importation.¹⁶⁹

There were clear and stringent British policies on the selling and buying of grains in the country during the colonial period. Those firms and merchants who were interested in trading in grains especially groundnuts were required to obtain the required licenses and failure to comply attracted dire consequences. Specific periods were normally designed for the trading seasons and all those involved in the trade were expected to operate within the prescribed dates ordered as the

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Alhagie Malangding Jassey at Brikamading Village on 25th September, 2019; Interview with Mariama Saidykhan at Dankunku Village on 10th December, 2019

¹⁶⁹ Wright, D. R. 2010. *The world and a very small place in Africa: A history of Globalization in Niimi, The Gambia*, 2ed. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe. p. 155-157.

trading seasons. In November 1948, three petty traders namely: Karfa Kinte, Babou Bahoum, and Lamin Dibba were charged for buying groundnuts and other grains without a license after the 1947/48 season had ended.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, they were fined by the presiding magistrate because as the accused persons, they raised no objections to the charges levied against them. Karfa was fined 16 pounds and 8 donkey loads of grounds but Bahoum and Dibba were each fined 40 pounds and 25 pounds respectively.¹⁷¹ Additionally, Bahoum was to pay 200 bushels while Dibba had to pay 120 bushels. The charges and fines imposed on deviant farmers and merchants were significant because they indicated that the British were in charge of all grains trading activities in the Gambia.

An assessment of the British involvement in the grains trade in the Gambia during the period that this thesis covers reveals that the government pursued series of policies that sought to address the production of grains for both consumption and export. In doing so, experimental farms were set up in addition to the clearing of vast swampy areas for the promotion of rice cultivation in the country. Standard measurement tools were introduced to facilitate the marketing of the grains according to best practices that obtained in the global market at the time. Samson Adesola Adesote's argument that the colonial agricultural policy of the British placed emphasis on the production of cash crops and undermined food crop production in Nigeria was also the case in the Gambia.¹⁷² This is because as rubber was promoted in Southern Nigeria in lieu of palm oil, so was groundnut promoted at the detriment of rice and coos in the Gambia during the period under study. In addition, the competition among the different trading firms and merchants enticed Gambian farmers to produce more grains to satisfy the demands of the market. This entrenched what Olisa Mojuoma refers to as the 'process of incorporation into global capitalism through the expansion of peasant commodity production'¹⁷³ which had begun as a consequence of the slave trade.¹⁷⁴ Again, we can understand that there was a deliberate policy to incorporate

¹⁷⁰ AGR1/75 Trade season(Gambia) groundnut harvesting, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

¹⁷¹ AGR1/75.

¹⁷² Adesote, S.A 2016. Plantation agriculture and the growth of migrant settlements in Ondo division, Southwestern Nigeria, 1947-1986 being a PhD dissertation submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan

¹⁷³ Muojama, O.2018. The Nigerian cocoa industry and the international economy in the 1930s: a world systems approach. Newcastle: Scholars Publishing. p25

¹⁷⁴ Rodney, W. 1982. "Africa's Contribution to the Capitalist Development of Europe – The Colonial Period" in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press. pp. 149-201; Rodney,W. 1982. "Colonialism as a System for under developing Africa" in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982. pp. 205-281

the Gambia in the global economy as was the case in other British colonial possessions in West Africa.

In 1933, it was decreed in every district that yard owners and migrant (stranger) farmers shall each deposit to their respective alkalolu four bushels and three *tentenge* of seednuts of good quality.¹⁷⁵ This has come to be known as the storage of the seed nut rule. Every alkalo concerned was duty bound to be personally responsible to the chief and commissioner as far as the safe custody of the seed nuts so deposited were concerned. The *tentenge* on the other hand was meant to form the town or village reserve, which if issued for planting shall be replaced by those who used them after they harvested their crops. By the 1940s, the government came up with a policy that set up village stores for food reserves throughout the country and chiefs were mandated to make sure that all excess quantities of food were stored to avoid any wastage. Each yard was to put in 2 hands of rice from the women and 2 ties of coos from the men. This reserve was needed in case there were accidents so that the victims could borrow some grains. Also, acting under the Native Authority Ordinance (NAO) of 1933, the Senior Commissioner of Protectorate Administration in December, 1944 ordered that ‘all yard owners shall cultivate or arrange for the cultivation of an area not less than one quarter of an acre with corn in respect of each male adult within his yard.’¹⁷⁶ Strict measures were taken to enforce compliance as a fine of 10 pounds and or two months imprisonment was the punishment for those who failed to obey the rules and guidelines given. The storage of groundnut seed rule was promulgated in 1946. Accordingly, the colonial government gave approval for native authorities to enforce the provisions of the rule. The Senior Commissioner of protectorate administration acting on an advice received from Mr. G S Cotterills, a former Gold Coast senior entomologist gave instructions that the old nuts in village seed stores be burnt to control the spread of the brucid beetles. One other method of preservation was the sun drying of the seed nuts before storing them in the seed stores.

¹⁷⁵ SEC1/338 Seed nut Stores and Seed nut Purchase: Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

¹⁷⁶ SEC1/327 Village Food ReservesL Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

3.4 British policy on the taxation of grains

British colonial policies in the Gambia were broadly informed by their desire to improve the production and marketing grains.¹⁷⁷ Produce were regularly inspected at the buying and shipping points by the staff of the agricultural department who were trained to perform such tasks.¹⁷⁸ Since the Gambia was a critical importer of foodstuffs, the government devised strategies that would enhance more food grains cultivation in the country. The British government had to meet the cost of colonial administration out of the earnings of the Gambia colony and therefore, various forms of taxes were levied on Gambians and trading companies that were operating in the country.¹⁷⁹ The rationale was to enable the government raise the needed revenue required to meet its operational costs of administering the country.

The British government had been levying duties on exports in the Gambia during the colonial period. The authorities were of the view that an open and unrestricted market was a viable one for the colonial government to oversee all economic activities in their overseas possessions. A good case in point was that prior to 1919, the tax on palm kernel which was a major export commodity attracted so much discontent among the colonial citizens.¹⁸⁰ Also, the matters affecting the export duty on groundnuts had become a major issue that the colonial government in the Gambia grappled with by 1919. The Legislative Council in their submission in 1919 stressed that the export duty on groundnuts could not be reduced in the Gambia colony in any way.¹⁸¹ This suggests that in a bid to increase the financial base of the colonial government in their West African colonies, the British had to come up with strategies that could help them generate more income through the levies they imposed on exports.

Different taxes were levied on Gambians by the British government and broadly speaking, the taxes could be categorized as direct and indirect. These taxes were meant to generate the much needed capital for the colonial state to carry out its operational costs in the Gambia colony as all expenditures were to be borne out of the earnings of the colonial government from the native Gambians.

¹⁷⁷ CSO2/3220: Proposal Relating to Agricultural Policy in the Gambia. National Records Service, Banjul

¹⁷⁸ CSO2/3220.

¹⁷⁹ Faal, D. 1997. A History of The Gambia

¹⁸⁰ CSO 2/439: Trade Taxation in West Africa Colonies Committee : National Records Service, Banjul.

¹⁸¹ CSO 2/439.

Direct taxation: the yard tax, commonly called the ‘hut tax’ was the most notable form of direct taxation that the colonial government introduced in the Gambia in 1895 through an ordinance. According to the 1913 Protectorate Ordinance, the yard tax is: ‘collected for a yard containing not more than four huts, for every hut over four 1/- each and for every person (not one of the family members of the owner or occupier) 2/- each.’¹⁸² The point being made is here that every adult member of all households was required to pay tax as required by law since one of the government’s major sources of income for the colonial state was the taxes that were generated from the colonial subjects at the time. The payment of the hut tax further signified the insubordination of the Gambians to the British colonial officials since it meant that they had lost their sovereignty to the British colonial administration that was imposed on them.

Indirect taxation: this was mainly got from customs, port dues, licenses, fees. Posts and telegraph charges. Other revenues were generated from fines levied on people for law breaking, as well as payments for specific services. Town rates, reimbursements in aid, rent of Crown lands, interest on investment and other miscellaneous sources all constitute revenue obtained from other sources. Colonial records have indicated that by 1862, there was an export tax of 5/- a ton levied on groundnut exports from the Gambia.¹⁸³ By 1902, the colonial government had started documenting the amount collected annually as taxes and the Travelling Commissioners of both the North Bank and South Bank were tasked to furnish the resident British governor the necessary data to that effect. Consequently, the commissioners started furnishing the authorities the different taxes collected on an annual basis with details as were required of them. The data presented had to be precise and detailed.

The Travelling Commissioner of the North Bank Province reported that several taxes were collected for different years. Tables 3.2 to 3.5 show the taxes collected for selected years.

¹⁸² CSO 2/439: Trade Taxation in West Africa Colonies Committee: National Records Service, Banjul

¹⁸³ CSO 2/439.

Table 3.2: Taxes collected in North Bank for 1902 – 1903

Type of Tax	Amount Collected in Pounds
Hut Tax	992. 1. 0
Traders	099. 18. 0
Strange farmers	124. 4. 0
Fines	128. 5. 9
Royalty on timber	001. 14. 0
Pasturage rents	022. 10. 9
Total	1368. 13. 6

Source: ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921: National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Table 3.2 shows that between 1902 and 1903 that hut taxes and fines constitute the most dominant forms of taxes collected during the period. According to the Travelling Commissioner's Report, the Hut tax did constitute over 80% of the total tax revenue collected which made it the major source of revenue generation for the government. Due to the presence of migrant (stranger) farmers who came from neighbouring countries to cultivate the grain crops during the rainy seasons, some taxes were levied on them by the government. Through the fines and taxes paid by the migrant farmers, the government was able to raise more revenue from the Gambians. Traders were also taxed through the licenses that they paid to operate their businesses in the country.

3.3: Taxes collected for in North Bank for 1904 – 1905

Type of tax	Amount collected in Pounds
Hut tax	1002. 17. 0
Farm rents	218. 14. 0
Licenses	95. 6. 0
Fines	114. 0. 1
Royalty on timber	6. 10. 0
Pasturage rents	171. 16. 5 ½
Total	1609. 3. 6 ½

Source: ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921: Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Table 3.3 shows that taxes obtained from hut tax continued to grow but those of fines dwindled mainly due to a reduction of crimes in the province. This means that the natives had been more compliant to the laws and other existing rules and regulations. It also suggests that the negative sanctions meted out to law breakers served as lessons for other would be offenders. The amount received as pasturage rents increased considerably over the one collected during the previous year.

Table 3.4: Taxes collected in North Bank for 1905-1906

Type of tax	Amount collected in Pounds
Hut tax	981. 12. 0
Farm rents	177. 16. 0
Licenses	61. 14. 0
Fines	127. 3. 8
Pasturage rents	54. 2. 0
Total	1402. 7. 8

Source: ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921: National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Table 3.4 shows a decline in the taxes collected as compared to the previous period of 1904-1905. The decline in the amount of revenue generated from licenses from the previous year was mainly due to the fact that most of those who paid for licenses paid at the headquarters because the colonial authorities gave that instruction to prevent some of the officials in charge of such funds from diverting the monies collected to personal use. Additionally, there was a decline because some of the protectorate people found it difficult to travel to Bathurst for such payments.¹⁸⁴ It is also noted that no tax was collected as royalty on timber due to the restriction placed on the felling of trees. Most importantly, there was a marginal decline in the hut tax collected compared to the one collected for the period 1904-1905.

¹⁸⁴ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921: Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Table 3.5: Taxes collected in North Bank for 1907-1908

Type of tax	Amount collected in Pounds
Hut tax	843. 7. 0
Farm rents	81. 7. 0
Licenses	216. 0. 0
Fines	145. 7. 0
Pasturage rents	43. 14. 0
Royalty on timber	2. 12. 0
Total	1332. 0. 0

Source: ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921: National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Table 3.5 shows that there was a marginal decline in the hut tax collected compared to the previous period of 1905-06 while that of licenses had significantly increased. This indicates that more businesses and individuals were granted different licenses to engage in trading activities in the North Bank region of the Gambia.

By 1910, the government continued to intensify efforts at expanding tax compliance in the north Bank region. The 881 pounds and 862 pounds¹⁸⁵ collected as hut taxes in 1908 and 1909 respectively are indicative of the government's uncompromising stance on tax avoidance in the North Bank protectorate. Tax obtained from licenses also continued to increase significantly as 297 and 332 pounds¹⁸⁶ were collected in 1909 and 1910 respectively. The 1912- 1913 and 1913-1914 reports had indicated that 1777 pounds and 2254 pounds¹⁸⁷ were the total taxes collected in the north Bank. There was an increase of about 500 pounds and even though the hut tax farm rents increased in the 1914- 1915 period, the sum total of the tax collected for the period decreased to 1993 pounds.¹⁸⁸ This was a major concern for the colonial government in Bathurst as the mother country had to mobilize both financial and material resources to support its allied forces taking part in the war efforts at the time.

The revenue collected as tax in the 1916-1917 period rose to 2543 pounds with a significant increase in the hut tax mainly due to the large number of strange farmers in the region.¹⁸⁹ The following year, there was a marginal increment of about 250 pounds culminating to a total amount of 2808 pounds for 1918. By this year, the total for hut tax was 1450 pound with a record 530 pounds collected as licenses.¹⁹⁰ In 1919, 1448 pounds was realized as hut tax while fines and farm rents collected were 635 and 466 pounds¹⁹¹ respectively. All other items have been observed to undergo similar increases mainly due to the increased number of strange farmers from neighbouring climes.

¹⁸⁵ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921: Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

¹⁸⁶ ARP32/2.

¹⁸⁷ ARP32/2.

¹⁸⁸ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921; ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive): Gambia Records Service, Banjul

¹⁸⁹ ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive); ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921: Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

¹⁹⁰ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921; Gambia Records Service, Banjul; ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive): Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

¹⁹¹ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921; ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive)

South Bank: taxes collected from 1902 – 1919

In his report to the Governor in 1903, Travelling Commissioner A.K. Withers gave a sweeping analysis of the general condition of the South Bank of the Gambia. He indicated that the grain crops cultivated ‘were all good and plentiful.’¹⁹² It was further revealed that a total revenue of 679 pounds was collected in 1903 compared to 486 pounds collected in 1902. There was an increase of 193 pounds due to what the Travelling Commissioner referred to as ‘dispasturage’ and extra number of court cases (23 cases in 1902 and 38 cases in 1903.)¹⁹³ The hut taxes collected in 1902 and 1903 were 371 and 376 respectively.)¹⁹⁴ From this submission, there was a marginal increase of 5 pounds in the 1903 hut tax collected over that of the preceding year.

However, no details were reported with regards to the revenue collected as taxes by W. B. Stanley, the travelling Commissioner of the South Bank for the period 1904-1905. In 1906, Hugh F. Sprenstien who was the Travelling Commissioner reported the revenue collected as follows: hut tax, 367 pounds: farm rents, 106 pounds: licenses, 35 pounds: fines, 60 pounds: and miscellaneous, 6 pounds. A total of 574 pound was realized. The absence of records concerning what was collected as revenue in the previous year made it impossible for any comparative analysis to be done between the 1906 revenue and that of 1905. No data was available for 1907 and 1908 in the Travelling Commissioner’s reports as far as taxes for the South Bank are concerned. For 1909- 1910 season, it was reported that the revenue collected in the South Bank was far less compared to those of the previous years. The hut tax accounted for only 10 pounds while farm rents collected was 24 pounds.

The 1911 statement of the revenue collected in the South Bank according to Travelling Commissioner E. Hopkinson was 1538 pounds and out of this amount, 550 pounds were returns

¹⁹² ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner’s Reports 1902-1921; ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive)

¹⁹³ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner’s Reports 1902-1921; ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive)

¹⁹⁴ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner’s Reports 1902-1921; ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive)

of advances made to native chiefs for seed nuts and rice.¹⁹⁵ The hut tax constitutes 471 pounds out of the total revenue while court fines stood at 105 pounds. There was however no report with regards to the revenue collected as taxes from 1913 to 1916. By 1917, the revenue collected significantly increased to 1652 pounds with 695 pounds, 554 pounds, 284 pounds as hut tax, farm rents and court fines respectively.¹⁹⁶ These were huge increments at the time. The 1919 total of 3657 pounds collected as tax was unprecedented in the South Bank and Table 3.6 shows the different types of taxes collected with their corresponding amounts for the year 1919.

¹⁹⁵ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921; ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive)

¹⁹⁶ ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921; ARP 8/1: Colony of the Gambia Financial Reports for the years 1909-1921(1911 exclusive)

Table 3.6: Taxes collected in the South Bank for 1919

Type of tax	Amount collected in Pounds
Hut tax	1735
Farm rents	954
Trade licenses	308
Pasturage fees	61
Royalties	124
Court fines	413
Miscellaneous	62
Total	3657

Source: ARP32/2: Travelling Commissioner's Reports 1902-1921: National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Table 3.6 shows that the hut tax continued to be the dominant form of revenue that the colonial government depended on. Farm rents and court fines were also significant forms of taxes in addition to licenses.

The significant rise in the amount of tax collected in 1919 suggests that the government needed to mobilize more funds after the end of the war to fund its activities. The 1735 pounds collected as hut tax and 413 pounds court fines demonstrated that yard owners and the general population had to comply with the colonial government on the payments due to the government. The tax collected on farm rents had also significantly increased to 954 pounds and this further suggests that grains cultivation had massively improved in 1919 because there was stability and predictability in the country after the World War ended.

It was a deliberate government policy to maximize the collection of domestic taxes for the purpose of enlarging the coffers of the colonial state which heavily relied on the revenue it generated internally to take care of its operational activities in the colony and protectorate of the Gambia. The evidence before us is indicative that there was a zero tolerance towards the non-compliance to laws and also tax avoidance in the country was not tolerated. Those who defaulted in their tax obligations were strictly sanctioned according to the existing rules and regulations by the colonial government.

3.5 British interventions in the religious tensions that affected trade in the 1850s

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the entire Gambia region had gone through political and economic transformations to some extent. The period also witnessed the co-existence between the majority Muslim and minority Muslim populations. A good number of clerics were allowed by the non-Muslim leaders to settle in their kingdoms and served in various capacities as scribes and advisers. Some Muslims created their own towns and the expansion of their population created the emergence of different Islamic sects with different views about religion. Therefore, religious tensions affected all trading activities in the country and British commercial interests were threatened. Put differently, economic necessities compelled British intervention in the religious affairs of the colony because religious tensions affected trade; to the extent did it become compelling for the British colonial administration to intervene in the religious affairs of the colony of Gambia.

Charlotte Quinn argues that through trade and migrations, Muslim clerics were able to spread Islam in many Gambian communities and by the middle of the nineteenth century, the non-Muslims or Soninke began to contest their exclusion of holding political offices in their societies.¹⁹⁷ Both the north and south banks of the Gambia experienced certain upheavals due to the changing relationships between the local leadership and their populations. In addition, the relationship between the indigenous leaders and the British colonialists started to metamorphose due to internal power dynamics. Sometimes, the relationships between the two were so tense that grains cultivation and production were adversely impacted and consequently, the British were forced to intervene to diffuse the turbulence that ensued as a result of the tensions between the different competing powers that were in existence and competing for supremacy.

The tensions between the Soninke and Islamic religious leaders throughout the country created chaos and uneasiness which affected the population in several ways. There was instability which made it difficult for farmers to cultivate the land thereby leading to a considerable decline in grains production throughout the country. Therefore, the British authorities had to intervene to restore peace and predictability in order to restore normalcy for any meaningful boost in the grains cultivation to be carried out. Such interventions undoubtedly led to tensions between the British and the religious leaders as the latter in some instances felt that the former were interfering with their local affairs.

Through the sale of grains, some Gambians were able to purchase European firearms by the middle of the nineteenth century. Donald Wright is on point when he argues that some of the Gambians used such weapons to take on their oppressive rulers who included both the traditional Soninke rulers and the British colonialists.¹⁹⁸ Once some of the local people were armed with European firearms, they felt that they could resist the British and any other group that want to oppress them. In some instances, the firearms were used by some people for the wrong purposes thereby leading to internal disturbances in some places.

¹⁹⁷ Quinn, C.A.1972. *A Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam, and European Expansion*, Evanston Northwestern University Press.

¹⁹⁸ Wright, D. R. 2004. *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Nuimi, The Gambia*. 2nd ed. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Gambia region was engulfed in persistent wars between the traditional ruling aristocracies (Soninkes) and the Muslims who were also called the Marabouts. The Soninkes were the political elite and the Marabouts considered them to be repressive leaders whose leadership they believed lacked legitimacy because it was not based on Islamic jurisprudence. Through teaching, trade and agriculture, many of the Marabouts accumulated wealth and with time, they began to question their exclusion from wielding political power. Ultimately, due to the marabouts's religious and political ambitions, they challenged the ruling elites and started waging jihads against the ruling aristocracies. Thus, by the late nineteenth century the entire north and south banks of the Gambia region was plunged into instability and the British colonial administration had to intervene to maintain peace in order for them to execute their imperial ambition without hindrance.

In the 1850s, Maba Bah led the wars in the north bank of the Gambia and with time, they spilled over to the south bank where Foday Kabba Dumbuya and Foday Kombo Sillah were the most prominent personalities. Donald Wright opines that the exposure to a Tijaniyaa doctrine through Shaykh Umar Taal inspired a revolutionary spirit into Maba to start a revolutionary campaign against the existing traditional authorities in the north bank of the Gambia.¹⁹⁹ Sillah in 1853 declared a jihad on the Soninke of his native Kombo and the Jola of neighbouring Foni with a view to creating a theocratic system. By 1880, Sillah succeeded in overcoming the Soninke regimes in Kombo but did not achieve his aim of islamizing the Jola of Foni up to 1894 when the British exiled him.²⁰⁰ Dumbuya operated in Niamina, Jarra, Kiang and Foni but he was mainly remembered for his highhandedness in wreaking havoc and horror on the people of Foni especially the Jola. In Fulladu, Musa Molloh was instrumental in consolidating the state he inherited from his father and he used the religion of Islam as a medium to achieve his ambition of state building in Fulladu. Through a variety of tactics, these personalities used the Islamic religion as a means of achieving political and economic ends that were in contrast to the British imperial interest in the Gambia region. The dealings of Foday Kabba and Musa Molloh in slaves

¹⁹⁹ Wright, D. R.2004/ *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Nuimi, The Gambia*. 2nd ed. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

²⁰⁰ Nugent,P. 2007. Cyclical history in the Gambia/Casamance border lands: refuge, settlement and Islam from c. 1880 to the present. *Journal of African History* 48 . 2 : 221-243.

led them to have conflicts with the British who abolished the slave trade in 1807. These two according to colonial records especially Travelling Commissioners' reports enslaved some of their captives and dislocated many who should have grown the much needed grains during the farming seasons.²⁰¹ The commercial interests of both Foday Kabba and Musaa Molloh were not in line with those of the colonial administration and their agents. It was therefore prudent that the activities of these people be checked so that British traders get access to the much needed grains and also get markets for their imported European goods.

It is therefore important to note that once the British economic interest of obtaining grains and their effort at suppressing the slave trade were threatened by Foday Kabba and the other Gambian leaders most notably Musa Molloh, Maba and Foday Sillah, the British had to act decisively to put them under check. J. M Gray argues that when the Anglo-French border between the Gambia and Senegal was delimited in 1891, the British had concerns that Foday Kabba Dumbuya would obstruct the delimitation efforts, but he did not stand in the way of the exercise until the boundary commissioners departed only for him to continue his raids and further refused to heed the British warning that he ceased to be a recognised ruler of Kiang, Jarra or Foni.²⁰²

Documentary and oral sources have indicated that Musa Molloh and the British had an agreement that the British should give him a yearly stipend of five hundred pounds, which the latter agreed.²⁰³ The British also gave Musa the concession to appoint his own vassal chiefs and continue his slave trading activities without much interference by the British²⁰⁴ but soon conflict with the British seemed unavoidable. Their confrontations mainly centered on concerns relating to his dealings in slaves as he was accused of holding slaves in his household. In other words, he

²⁰¹ ARP 32/2, Travelling Commissioner's Report, 1893-98, North Bank province, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

²⁰² John M. Gray, *A History of The Gambia*, (London: Frank Cass 1940) p.472-73

²⁰³ Alice Bellagamba, 2004, *Entrustment and Its Changing Political Meanings in Fulladu, the Gambia (1880-1994)*, Africa: Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. 74, No. 3, pp. 383-410; Interview with Mamadi Singhateh at Boraba Village On 14, 15th and 16th February 2014

²⁰⁴ Quinn, C.A. 1968, Niumi: A Nineteenth-Century Mandingo Kingdom, Africa. *Journal of the International African Institute* 3. 4:443-455; Bellagamba, A. 2004. Entrustment and Its Changing Political Meanings in Fulladu, the Gambia (1880-1994), *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 74. 3: 383-410.

was defying British law that abolished slavery and the slave trade in the Gambia region. It was against this background that the British tried to limit Musa Molloh's powers by forcing him to set free those they considered slaves whom he kept in captivity.²⁰⁵ The Travelling Commissioner of the South Bank of the Gambia in 1901 stated that he discussed the issue of slaves with Musa who was reluctant to stop the practice. He put it as follows:

I then approached the subject of slaves, always the most difficult to deal with, and finally I persuaded him to consent to the abolition of all buying, selling or trafficking in slaves in that part of his country lying within the British sphere of influence and he also agreed to put a stop to certain practices and punishments of a cruel and inhuman nature which formerly obtained in his country.²⁰⁶

This account reveals that the British were not ready to allow Musa continue with his slave trading activities and consequently, they had to meddle in the geopolitics of the South bank with a view to consolidating their imperial gains in the entire Gambia. Their main target was to encourage the cultivation of grain crops that will tilt the balance of trade towards grains in the protectorate of the Gambia. Anybody who attempted to engage in slave trading was viewed as a recalcitrant subject who needs to be checked using any means possible. Such measures had to be decisive and appropriate so that they could serve as lessons for those with similar intensions and enable the British officials to maintain law and order in the Colony and Protectorate regions of the Gambia.

As the level of instability increased in the areas affected by the Soninke-marabout uprisings, the British realized that they had to intervene and mediate between the parties involved in the crises.²⁰⁷ Their decision was anchored on the need to avert conflicts and maintain peace for trading activities to be carried out without any undue interferences whatsoever by the forces loyal to the different leaders competing for political supremacy. The dwindling of grains production due to conflicts between militant Muslims and the local non-Muslim people in both the north and south banks of the country was a major concern to the colonial authorities. During Muslim attacks on villages, farmers could not till the land for fear of their lives and during skirmishes too, lives were lost thereby causing depopulation in some communities. Since the process of grains cultivation is labour intensive, any loss of live among the agrarian population

²⁰⁵ Interview with Mamadi Singhateh at Boraba Village On 14, 15th and 16th February, 2014

²⁰⁶ CSO 1/141: Dispatches from Gambia to Sierra Leone, No 100, 7th June 1901: National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

²⁰⁷ ARP 33/1, Travelling Commissioner's Report, 1896-99, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

affected production negatively. The conflicts also led to the internal migration of people who normally leave their settlements in search of safety. All these internal dynamics were not favourable for large scale grains production in the country. The British used mediation as a major technique of convincing the Marabout leaders to maintain peace and further encouraged them to engage in more lawful economic activities like farming with emphasis on the cultivation of grain crops which had become vital to the colonial economy. The relocation of labour from conflicts to grains cultivation was a significant British strategy which led to transformations in grains production throughout the country from the incorporation of the protectorate into the colonial establishment.²⁰⁸

By the end of the nineteenth century, the British were able to coerce Gambians especially the religious leaders and political elites into grains cultivation as the country was integrated into the global economy. Once Gambian farmers embraced grains cultivation on commercial bases, they were able to improve their economic situations and lifestyles. The point being emphasized here is what was articulated by Donald Wright when he argued that they could obtain imported European goods for a more comfortable well-being.²⁰⁹ More importantly, yard owners were put in a better stead to meet their tax obligations once they found themselves under British occupation and rule. What is buttressed here is that the money they realized from the sale of their grains was used to pay their taxes and purchase European imported goods. Consequently, the colonial government and its agents consolidated their economic base with time and the elimination of strong African personalities like Foday Kabba, Musa Molloh and Foday Sillah set the stage for the pacification of local populations who were adversely affected by the unrests caused by the religious wars.

By 1900, British rule was established and district chiefs were appointed to work under travelling commissioners in executing the rules that were promulgated by the government. With the elimination of religious leaders who were seen as obstacles to British rule, enforcement of the rules was in the hands of the chiefs even though they had to be supervised by British officials to

²⁰⁸ PUB 5/5, The 1894 Protectorate Ordinance, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; PUB 5/6, The 1902 Protectorate Ordinance, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; PUB 4/24, Amendment to Protectorate Ordinance 1902, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁰⁹ Wright, D. R. 2004. *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Nuimi, The Gambia*. 2nd ed. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

ensure that compliance to the laws was strictly maintained throughout the colony and protectorate. Those who were found wanting in terms of compliance to the laws that were promulgated by the colonial establishment were tried and fined according to the prescribed laws. The native authorities were empowered to preside over some cases with the full backing of the British officials under whose supervision they operated. This style of colonial supervision and administration is akin to the indirect rule system with which the British governed their Nigerian territories.²¹⁰ Obaro Ikime is of the view that through the traditional institutions of the African people, the British colonialists were able to govern their African subjects in colonial territories such as Nigeria and the Gambia.²¹¹ Ikime further argues that native authorities were the ‘local arm of the British administration’ and with the introduction of direct taxation, they were allowed to collect taxes for the colonial administration in the Warri Province and Ndonga Native Administration areas of Nigeria.²¹² What was true of these administrative arrangements in Nigeria was also true in the Gambia as the chiefs in the Gambia were like their counterparts in Nigeria given responsibilities to collect taxes on behalf of the colonial administration. The creation of what Ikime refers to as a ‘native treasury’²¹³ was a common feature of the British colonial administration in both Nigeria and the Gambia. It was also a common feature of the British style of colonial administration that the failure of the indirect system of taxation through customs duties led to the adoption of direct forms of taxation which ultimately became the major sources of Native Administration finance²¹⁴ in line with the policy that every colonial territory should be self-sufficient in terms of funds that were required to meet the cost of colonial administration.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Ikime, O. 1967. Native administration in Kwale-Aboh, 1928-1950: A Case Study. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3.4: 663-682; Ikime, O. 1975. The British and Native administration Finance in Northern Nigeria. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 7.4: 673-692

²¹¹ Ikime, O. 1968. Reconstructing Indirect Rule: the Nigerian Example. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 4.3: 423-438

²¹² Ikime O. 1968. Reconstructing Indirect Rule.

²¹³ Ikime, O. 1967. Native administration in Kwale-Aboh.

²¹⁴ Ikime, O. 1975. The British and Native administration Finance in Northern Nigeria. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 7.4: 673-692

²¹⁵ Ikime, O. 1975. The British and Native administration Finance.

3.6 Gambians' resistance to British agricultural policies

With the incorporation of the entire Gambia region into the colonial administration in 1894, it was clear to Gambians that the British colonial administration meant total business in extracting the much needed agricultural resources that were in high demand in metropolitan Europe.

In order to meet the cost of administration in the Colony and Protectorate, different policies were instituted at different times for effective governance. The Protectorate Ordinance of 1894²¹⁶ and the Yard Ordinance of 1895²¹⁷ were landmark legislations that incorporated the Gambia into the British colonial administration. For effective administrative purposes, the 1894 legislation made provision for the protectorate to be divided into the north and south banks or provinces. A travelling commissioner was appointed to be in charge of each bank and their major responsibility was to serve as links between the local people and the colonial administration in Bathurst. They relayed instructions from the government to the local authorities and also transmitted complaints from the colonial subjects to the British officials.

By 1900, the Gambia was fully integrated into the British colonial project and the policies that were promulgated by the colonial government for regulating agriculture in the country filtered down to the Gambian farmers through the chiefs who were the native authorities. Once the ordinances that capture the agricultural policies were passed, the travelling commissioners were instrumental in enforcing their implementations and compliance among the farming communities in both banks of the country. Strict measures were put in place for farmers to adhere to the agricultural guidelines that were given out by the government officials whose main task was to serve as extension officers advising the farmers on best practices on agriculture to boost production. The animal drawn plough was introduced and led to a significant transformation of grains cultivation throughout the country. Abdou Jawara of Badibou Kerewan disclosed that 'Since the use of traditional farming implements was labour intensive, the animal drawn plough revolutionized grains cultivation in the country as it boosted production.'²¹⁸ Abdou Jawara's view seems to confirm that Gambian farmers were engaged in subsistence farming and prior to

²¹⁶ PUB 5/6, The 1894 Protectorate Ordinance, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²¹⁷ PUB 5/6.

²¹⁸ Interview with Abdou Jawara on the 16th June, 2019 at Badibu Kerewan.

the introduction of the wheel and plough, the technology they used was ‘basic and crude’.²¹⁹ It is clear that these farmers were mostly rural people whose livelihoods entirely depended on the land they tilled.

Before 1924, there was no formal and recognizable government policy on agriculture in colonial Gambia. In order to make sure that native Gambians comply with British rule, the 1894 Protectorate Ordinance was passed and a fundamental component of it was the creation of native courts where the chiefs were assisted by five competent members.²²⁰ Additionally, the courts had the jurisdiction to try breaches of any regulations, “native laws or customs” on civil and minor criminal offenses.²²¹ The main aim of the government was to enforce compliance to laws and regulations that were put in place for an effective administration of the entire country. It was also envisaged that the laws will be useful in making the population adhere to guidelines that were put in place for a comprehensive and effective tax governance as well as grains cultivation and marketing throughout the country. An interview with Alagi Jagne, the chief of Badibu Central in Njabakunda is very revealing. Jagne indicated that colonial chiefs were given clear instructions and authority to admonish and punish offenders of the law and fine such culprits as was instructed by the travelling commissioners at the time.²²²

In 1938, the Department of Agriculture passed a legislation that sought to regulate public land in the protectorate and the native authority was empowered to enforce its implementation in both banks of the country.²²³ Although the emphasis of the 1938 ordinance was more on environmental protection, the protection of the natural vegetation was critical for grains cultivation in the country. The initiative to improve swamp rice production was meant to increase food security since it was observed that more Gambian men were into groundnut cultivation due to its status as a more viable cash crop.

The policy on village food reserves was designed to make provision for the storage of seed nuts that were required for subsequent planning seasons. The rule that made it a requirement for

²¹⁹ Interview with Chief Alagie Jagne of Badibu Central on the 19th May, 2020 at Njabakunda Village; Interview with Abdou Jawara on the 16th June, 2019 at Badibu Kerewan.

²²⁰ PUB 5/6, Protectorate Ordinance 1894, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

²²² Interview with Chief Alagie Jagne of Badibu Central on the 19th May, 2020 at Njabakunda Village

²²³ CSO 2/ 1655 Forestry Control Legislation under Protectorate Public Lands and Native Authority Ordinance, 1938, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

farmers to deposit part of their produce to the *alkalolu* who were then answerable to the chiefs was believed to be grossly misused or disobeyed by many farmers and yard owners. The Commissioner for the Upper River Division (URD) in 1946 reported to the Senior Commissioner in Bathurst that it was rare for the *alkalolu* in his area of jurisdiction to keep proper accounts of seed nuts deposited in their village stores.²²⁴ Some of the village heads were believed to be dishonest and the case of Banta Kasse Sumare of Kulari was a notable one that was reported to the Senior Commissioner of protectorate administration in Bathurst in 1946.²²⁵

Where fines imposed on Gambian farmers and traders were deemed unjust and exorbitant, many failed to pay as a sign of resistance. In some cases, small villages whose *alkali* and residents were inflicted heavy fines due to non-compliance to the British policies immigrate to other places within the country and in some extreme cases over the border into French territory.²²⁶

Through the Gambia Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Association (GFCMA), Gambian farmers reacted to unfavourable British policies that affected the prices of their grains. In 1930, Edward Francis Small mobilized Gambian farmers to hold up their groundnuts and other grains. A 'tong' on the sale of grains was observed because farmers felt that 'prices offered by local merchants are very low, and the farmers have government debts and taxes to pay.'²²⁷ The Gambia Farmer's Co-operative Marketing Association mobilized farmers to engage the colonial government on price regulations, market organizations, and rice importations and seed nut supplies. The action of the Gambian farmers under the leadership of Edward Francis Small indicates that the farmers had started to examine their own situation and predicament and were therefore, resolved to challenge the colonial government and urged the authorities to implement reforms in the agricultural sector. The farmers also wanted the government to look into the debt repayment scheme in operation by 1930 and the government was made to understand that one of the major concerns of the farming community was a re-examination and adjustment of such a scheme.²²⁸

²²⁴ SEC1/338 Seed nut Stores and Seed nut Purchase, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

²²⁵ SEC1/338.

²²⁶ SEC1/338.

²²⁷ CRN1/7 Gambia Farmers' Co-operative Board (E F Small) 1931-32, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²²⁸ CRN1/7.

3.7 Gambians' resistance to British policies on taxation

By 1900, the British had already started introducing changes in the Gambia region to consolidate their administration of the colony and entire protectorate. The underlying motive was to increase revenue generation since the cost of colonial administration was to be borne out of the earnings of the country.

The institutionalization of the colonial tax system transformed the relationship between the British officials and the Gambian people. Initially, Gambians had to pay their taxes in kind (grain crops and livestock) but with the introduction of the hut tax, Gambians were compelled to pay their taxes in cash. This had compelled some of the Gambians to seek other forms of employments in order for them to raise the required amount needed to meet their tax obligations. Some sought employment in Bathurst and major trading centers like Ballanghar, Illisia, Kaur, Kuntaur, Wallikunda, and Basse as cooks, garden boys and also as agents of the trading companies engaged in trading in grains. Some of the Gambians became known as the traders' traders according to Tapha Jawara.²²⁹ Jawara indicated that some local Gambians who served as agents for the trading companies ultimately became well-off due to the commissions they get as a result of the roles they played as go-betweens. Gambian oral sources indicate that some of the villagers resented the local agents because they were seen as collaborators who enabled the Europeans to brazenly exploit Gambians.²³⁰ Modtalla Ceesay was of the view that some villagers in his hometown of Njain Sanjal and its catchment areas were always suspicious of local agents who worked with the trading companies and in some extreme instances, villages refuse to do any commercial transactions with them as a sign of resistance to what was considered as unfair trading terms.²³¹

Tax boycotts

After the incorporation of the entire country into the British colonial system, the maintenance of law and order became a major preoccupation of the British officials. It was the policy of the colonialist that all expenditures incurred by them in their colonies must be locally generated. The

²²⁹ Interview with Mustapha Jawara on the 20th June, 2019 at Badibu Kerewan.

²³⁰ Interview with Modtalla Ceesay on the 23rd June, 2019 at Jarra Soma.

²³¹ Interview with Modtalla Ceesay on the 23rd June, 2019 at Jarra Soma; Interview with Sainey Demba Taal at Jarra Pakalinding on the 23rd June, 2019.

maintenance of the colonial bureaucratic system, civil service, law and order required funds that could only be generated by levying taxes on the colonial subjects in the Gambia. The promulgation of the 1895 Yard Tax Ordinance (YTO) made it mandatory for yard owners to pay hut taxes to the government.²³² The imposition of the Yard Tax was significant because it made a clear distinction as to what and who was covered by the law. A major provision of the ordinance was that ‘the owner or occupier of every yard in the protected territories adjacent to the Colony of the Gambia shall pay the yard tax according to the scale in the schedule.’²³³ There was provision for the deadline of tax payment which was the last day of February when the Administrator of the Colony of the Gambia was supposed to receive all taxes due to the government through village heads and district chiefs.

The village heads and chiefs were appointed to help in the collection of the required taxes for onward submission to the British officials they were answerable to. However, one major impediment was the refusal of some Gambian farmers to pay taxes and this became a major constraint that confronted the colonial administration. Tax boycotts became a very key Gambian resistance to British taxation policies which were aimed at mobilizing the necessary capital needed to meet the cost of colonial administration in the country. Reluctance to pay the required taxes was considered by the British to be a serious deviant behavior which must be punished using the available legal instruments and guidelines that were in place at the time.²³⁴

In 1899, there was a crop failure in the Gambia and the efforts of the British officials to encourage Gambians to cultivate grains particularly groundnuts was a total failure. Even food crops that were grown did not do well. Harvests were poor due to poor rains and locust invasion and an impending famine seems to be unavoidable. What made matters worse was the fact farmers were not willing to use their corns and rice to pay taxes even though their groundnut yields were not good enough to earn them enough cash to offset their tax liabilities. Oral and documentary sources have indicated that during the difficult period that followed the poor harvests, British merchants and their local partners tried to lure desperate Gambian farmers by giving them food grains as loans which they were expected to pay the subsequent trading season

²³² PUB 5/5: 1895 Protectorate Yard Tax Ordinance, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

²³³ PUB 5/5.

²³⁴ PUB 5/5.

when the farmers were expected to have bumper groundnut and other grain harvests. Indeed, this strategy was only used as bait to make the farmers more indebted and vulnerable to manipulations by the European merchants and eventually the colonial officials. The Travelling Commissioner of the South Bank province had reported that by 1901, some Gambian farmers were not willing to use their grains to pay their taxes but used the cash they got the previous trading seasons when harvests were good.²³⁵ The refusal to pay taxes in kind was a kind of resistance by the Gambian farmers to show the colonial government their displeasure of the tax policies that were in place.

Refusal to cultivate some cash crops

By the 1900s, groundnuts had become the major cash crop of the Gambian colony as most of the farmers were able to meet their tax obligations through the sale of their nuts to the merchants who were involved in the trading of grains. In some cases, Gambians paid their taxes in kind and the duties levied on groundnut and other cash crop exports were key sources of the revenue generated by the colonial government. Therefore, the British officials were compelled to promote the cultivation of cash crops because it was through such crops that the government could raise the funds that were required to finance the cost of colonial administration at the time without requesting any financial support from Britain. The point being made here is that all the funds needed to finance the colonial project in the Gambia were expected to be generated internally using all the necessary techniques that could be of help to the colonial authorities in achieving that end.

Consequently, the local native authorities were given clear instructions to make sure their subjects cultivate the crops that were considered as cash crops on which the colonial economy depended on. The policy on village food stores was instituted to make sure that good seed nuts were available at the beginnings of planting seasons so that yields could be good. However, one way through which some Gambian farmers expressed their contempt of the colonial administration was to boycott the cultivation of groundnuts and other cash crops that enabled the government to generate income to maintain the colonial civil service and meet other

²³⁵ CSO 2/14 Travelling Commissioner's Report 1902, National Records Service, Banjul The Gambia; CSO2/ 44 Report by Travelling Commissioner on North Bank District for seasons 1902-1903; CSO2/47 Report by Travelling Commissioner South Bank District, National Records Service, Banjul The Gambia

administrative costs of both the colony and protectorate. The colonial authorities did all they could to promote cash crop cultivation at the detriment of food crop production by making the cash crops more lucrative for the farmers than the other grain crops which were mainly grown for local consumption. Good prices were offered for groundnuts for example to entice the Gambian farmers into its cultivation but such attempts did not yield the required result. An interview with Kusara Kuyateh, a 75 year old *griot*²³⁶ was illuminating when he opined that the main reason responsible for such failure was because some of the farmers resisted the temptation and boycotted the cultivation of groundnuts and any other grain crop that could generate more revenue for the colonial government at the time.²³⁷

The colonial government did all it could do to promote cash crop production at the detriment of food production through better prices for the cash crops. Rice which was the staple food of the vast majority of the population was mainly grown by women and due to the fact that the men were more into groundnuts cultivation, food sufficiency was difficult to achieve. Thus, the colonial government had to put in mechanisms that were necessary to import the additional rice needed to feed the population. Import regulations and control measures were enforced to better regulate imports for the government to generate additional income on the duties and taxes levied on the importers who were mainly European merchants and firms. The income generated was utilized to meet the cost administration and other infrastructural developments that were necessary to be embarked on.

Interviews with key informants like Kusara Kuyateh and Mustapha Jawara revealed that despite the efforts made by the British government in promoting the importation of rice for domestic consumptions, local people, whenever they could avoid purchasing imported rice because they were of the view that such rice ‘smell and are not good for their well-being.’²³⁸ The point being made here is that despite the efforts of the colonial government in providing the needed food to feed the population, there was lack of interest on the part of Gambians to consume the imported

²³⁶ Griots are praise singers in the Gambia. They are also oral historians who are well-versed in the oral traditions of their societies.

²³⁷ Interview with Kusara Kuyateh of Daru Busumbala on the 11th May, 2020 at Sinchu Sorrie Village

²³⁸ Interview with Kusara Kuyateh of Daru Busumbala on the 11th May, 2020 at Sinchu Sorrie Village, Interview with Mustapha Jawara on the 20th June, 2019 at Badibu Kerewan.

rice. The major motive of the people was to show their dissatisfaction of the government's policies and system of administration as a whole.

The attitudes of some Gambians in boycotting imported European rice was premised on the belief that once the merchants could not get the needed markets for their goods, the corresponding effect was going to be a dwindling of the colonial treasury in Bathurst. It was assumed that once the European and local merchants incur losses due to the non-buying of their imported rice, their ability to meet their tax obligations to the government would be adversely affected. The point being buttressed here is that the British officials collected fewer taxes from the merchants who could not afford to pay more due to the decline of their incomes as their goods could not be marketed the way they wanted. Therefore, any dwindling of the revenue generated by the merchants had far greater negative impacts on the capacity of the colonial state to accumulate the funds required to fund the cost of administration. Gambian farmers were adamant in their bid to frustrate the government's efforts at creating the necessary enabling environment for the British capitalist interest in the Gambia since in their view; it was exploitative in nature and scope.

Non recognition of and resistance to native courts and tribunals

The passing of the 1894 Protectorate Ordinance was significant because it led to the creation of native courts which had the jurisdiction to try breaches of any colonial regulations, "native laws or customs" on civil and minor criminal offenses.²³⁹ The chiefs assisted by five competent members presided over cases brought before courts. With time, the Travelling Commissioners established "native tribunals" in every district under their jurisdictions. In some places, the natives refused to recognize the jurisdictions of courts as a sign of resistance to the imposition of colonial rule. The Gambian resistance to these tribunals was similar to the disgust expressed by Nigerians in the Warri Province during the 1927-28 anti-tax riots that were caused by the peoples' disgust for the warrant chiefs and their unwillingness to pay taxes to the colonial government.²⁴⁰ Chiefs were even imposed on the people of Foni where chiefs never existed prior to 1900 and the Travelling Commissioner of the South Bank indicated that the Jola resented the

²³⁹ PUB 5/6, 1894 Protectorate Ordinance, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

²⁴⁰ Ikime, O. 1967. Native administration in Kwale-Aboh, 1928-1950: A Case Study. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3.4: 663-682

courts and refused to appear before the district courts because they did not recognize the headmen who presided over the courts to try cases of tax avoidance and failure to cultivate certain grain crops.²⁴¹ The 1902 Protectorate Ordinance made significant transformations to the “native tribunals” as their jurisdictions were increased to include “...in all causes and matters, contentious or uncontentious, between or affecting” non-Christian West African “natives” resident in the Protectorate.²⁴² Despite the modifications to the scope and functions of the district courts, resistance continued to be demonstrated by Gambians in the Protectorate once they felt that the laws imposed on them were pugnacious and also what Obaro Ikime refers to as ‘contributing to the cost of government by a foreign power.’

Grains hoarding

In Gambian communities, grains hoarding is not a new phenomenon. When there were droughts, people hoarded their grains to avoid famine and hungry seasons. Prior to the British involvement in the trade, grains were not hoarded but were considered as a sign of affluence by Gambian agrarian communities. The wealthy kept excess grains, which they gave out to people as loans or gifts during hard times particularly prior to the onset of rainy seasons. The cash crops were the most commonly hoarded grains because they could be easily sold to get more money. Famines further increased the scale of food grains hoarding especially during poor harvests. After storing the hoarded grains for some time, Gambians take them back to the market at the time of gross scarcity in order to get better prices which were expected to double or triple their initial prices during dry seasons when the demand become high and the supply limited. The Gambians normally hoarded their grains as a sign of protest against the poor prices the British merchants offered them. Since the prices of the grains were better in the neighbouring French colony, some Gambian farmers were enticed to hoard their goods only for them to smuggle them out of the British jurisdiction for sale in the French territory. This attitude of grains farmers led to considerable loss of revenue for the colonial state as it meant loss of levies on the merchants trading companies.

²⁴¹ ARP 33/1: Travelling Commissioner’s Report, 1896-99, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁴² CSO 2/21: The 1902 Protectorate Ordinance, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

3.8 British response to Gambians' resistance

The Second World War was significant in shaping the British attitude and desire to boost grains production in the Gambia. There was a higher demand to feed the British troops in the colony and also for export. Therefore, the food crisis of the war period necessitated the need to devise strategies that would help increase grains production in the country. The colonial government with time became prepared to consider adjusting the policies and adopt temporal means that could help reverse the downward trends of production due to the negative attitudes of the Gambian farmers. A team of agricultural experts were tasked to explore possible application of mechanical methods of groundnuts production in 1946 on the behest of the Secretary of State for Colonies.²⁴³ The declines in consumer goods and the number of strange farmers who partake in grains cultivation were major concerns of the colonial authorities. Thus, policies on the importation of consumer goods were relaxed and the objective was to whet the appetite of Gambians for such goods and compel them to grow more groundnuts and other grain crops if they were to obtain the cash required to purchase the consumer goods of their choice.

Additional strategies that could increase grains production were employed since in the view of the British officials, 'The Protectorate is under populated and there are large areas of land which have not been brought under cultivation.'²⁴⁴ It was because there was insufficient labour available and F. A. Evans, the Acting Colonial Secretary in 1946 argued that the possibility of using mechanized equipment in the cultivation of groundnuts in the protectorate was to be given consideration. Several other attempts were made by the government in reaction to the attitudes of Gambians to encourage the cultivation of the much needed grains particularly groundnuts which had become significant cash crop that the economy of the colonial state in the Gambia largely depended on.

Appeasement

Due to the exploitative nature of the economic system imposed on Gambian farmers through unfavourable trading terms for their grains, most of them refused to cultivate the grains on a large scale to meet European demands. The resistance of Gambians to the colonial policies of

²⁴³ CSO2/3220: Proposal relating to agricultural policy in the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁴⁴ CSO2/3321: Mechanical Cultivation of Groundnuts, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

taxation created difficulties for the colonial authorities during the nascent stages of British rule in the Gambia. To appease the native Gambians and lure them into compliance, headmen and chiefs were appointed to help in the governance of the entire country. The mandates of chiefs and headmen were to record huts and collect taxes in the Protectorate. Payment of tax was considered as a show of loyalty to colonial administration; submissive or rebellious groups and settlements were identified through this process. In addition, taxes collected helped in financing the early colonial expenses as the British government maintained that the colonies should be self-sufficient. Generally, the colonial government had constraints at the time in administering the entire colony and protectorate due to limited manpower and communication difficulties. For them to achieve their aim of effective governance, the British had to appease influential people in the protectorate and appointed them as chiefs because they would be of help in convincing their belligerent followers into compliance to government rules. In some places like Foni, chiefs were imposed on the Jola people and in fact, some of them were non-Jola who proved to be strong men of impeccable character.²⁴⁵

The headmen and chiefs were given special privileges to motivate them to serve the British interest despite stiff resistance from their kinsmen who saw them as enablers and stooges serving a foreign interest. The Jola rejected chieftaincy positions and did not recognize the mainly non-Jola Head chiefs who presided over them, but the colonial government prioritized their appointments into the ‘native authority’ to at least made them submissive to the tax laws that were promulgated and encouraged them to cultivate both cash and food grains. In addition, good prices were offered to the farmers for their grains produce to appease them and lure them into more grains cultivation. This was deliberately done to condition the farmers who needed money to buy European imported goods and further get the required amounts to pay their taxes.

²⁴⁵ CSO 2/578: Reports on the Kombo & Foni Province 1922-1924, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia; CSO 2/534: Tax and Revenue from the Provinces 1920-1923, Kombo and Foni Province, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Imposition of charges and fines on tax evasion (avoidance) and smuggling

Once it became clear to British government that Gambians were unwilling to pay taxes to the government, legislation was promulgated to ensure compliance.²⁴⁶ In 1940, it became law that gains or profit from any employment, trade, business, profession, pension, rents, royalties, and any other profits arising from property shall attract the payment of income tax. On the basis of the assessments carried out by the colonial tax officials, exemptions were granted to certain categories of people and firms from income tax payment. The Governor, religious charitable and educational institutions in addition to registered friendly societies all benefitted from tax exemptions.²⁴⁷ The British were decisive in taking bold steps through the imposition of penalties, fines and imprisonments on any person for failing to fulfill his or her income tax obligations. In May 1940, Edward Francis Small in a letter to Malcolm Macdonald, the Governor in Bathurst expressed total condemnation of the passing of the Gambia Income Tax Bill in the Legislative Council despite the unanimous dissent of the unofficial minority in the House.²⁴⁸ Small spearheaded a public petition for the withdrawal of the bill but despite the legitimate Gambian concerns, the colonial government pressed on with the bill because of its view that ‘as long as the war lasts, the country should be free and should face the common danger as a united community.’²⁴⁹

The penal provisions in the tax ordinance instilled fear in native Gambians and compelled them into compliance as all demonstrations of their opposition to the income tax law eventually became futile. European traders and companies operating in the Gambia were relentless in their applications for exemption from income tax in the colony of the Gambia because in their view, the aggregate amount of tax they had already paid in the United Kingdom should have been enough to cover their tax obligations in colonial Gambia and they were granted such exemptions they asked for.

Evading tax was considered as a major crime in colonial Gambia. Failure to comply with notices of sermon for tax evasion carried a fine of at least 100 pounds and imprisonment for a term not

²⁴⁶ CSO2/3677: Income Tax Ordinance, 1940 and Income Rules, 1940, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; CSO2/ 943 Taxation: imposition on the people of Bathurst; CSO2/ 439 trade taxation in West African colonies; CSO2/ Yard tax, CSO2/ Rates as to payment by installment of. Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁴⁷ CSO2/3677.

²⁴⁸ CSO2/3677.

²⁴⁹ CSO2/3677.

exceeding six months or both.²⁵⁰ Any person or company that supplied incorrect returns by omitting or understating their income incurred a penalty of 100 pounds and double the amount of tax which had been under charged in consequence of such incorrect returns.²⁵¹ Above all, giving false statements and returns knowingly or willfully for the purpose of reducing one's tax obligation attracted a penalty of two hundred pounds and treble the amount of tax for which one was liable for the year of assessment in respect of which the offence was committed. These tough measures were taken by the British to make sure that people comply and settle their income tax liabilities and on time. The non-exemption of the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) from paying the colonial income tax signifies that the British government would not spare any individual merchant or trading company from paying the required income tax due to the government.²⁵²

There were clear and stringent British policies on the selling and buying of grains in the country during the colonial period. Those firms and merchants who were interested in trading in grains especially groundnuts were required to obtain the required licenses and failure to comply attracted dire consequences. Specific periods were normally designed for the trading seasons and all those involved in the trade are expected to operate within the prescribed dates ordered as the trading seasons. In November 1948, three petty traders namely Karfa Kinte, Babou Bahoum, and Lamin Dibba were charged for buying groundnuts and other grains without a license after the 1947/48 season had ended.²⁵³ Consequently, they were fined by the presiding magistrate because as the accused persons, they raised no objections to the charges levied against them. Karfa was fined 16 pounds and 8 donkey loads of grounds but Bahoum and Dibba were each fined 40 pounds and 25 pounds respectively.²⁵⁴ Additionally, Bahoum was to pay 200 bushels while Dibba had to pay 120 bushels. These fines when paid were handed over to the agricultural department whose officers were believed to be in the best position to ascertain the quality of the nuts and the uses to which they could be put into. Failure to comply and pay the required fines meant that one's grains would be seized as the British officials would like to set good examples for other would be offenders. The charges and fines imposed on deviant farmers and merchants

²⁵⁰ CSO2/3689 :Evasion of Tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

²⁵¹ CSO2/3689.

²⁵² CSO2/3682 :Colonial Development Corporation and income tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁵³ AGR1/75 :Trade season (Gambia) groundnut harvesting, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁵⁴ AGR1/75.

were significant because they indicated that the British were in charge of all grains trading activities in the Gambia and anyone who so desires to engage in the business of grains must operate under the British terms and conditions.

Sometimes, Gambian farmers felt that the British firms and merchants involved in the buying of grains offered little money for their gains. One way through which they expressed their dissatisfaction was to sell their produce to the French, who offered them better prices in neighbouring Senegal. The grains were normally smuggled out of British jurisdiction across the border by the farmers through donkey and horse carts.

To suppress the smuggling of grains out of the country, the British post some of their officials to patrol the porous borders. Interviews with many elders in Niumi and elsewhere revealed that groundnuts were normally illegally smuggled from Kerr Jain, Kerr Omar Saine, Makka Balla Manneh and other villages through Fass and Tuba to Karang in Senegal where they were sold to the French buying agents at higher prices. In the Badibu area for example, respondents revealed that people smuggled groundnuts from Kerr Ardo across the border to Kuranko where the French buying agents were normally stationed. Alhagi Lang Janke Jaiteh of Njabakunda was of the view that groundnuts and other grains were smuggled from Njabakunda and other satellite villages across the border in the same way like it used to happen in Salikene where the nuts were transported through Kerr Foday to a French trading station at Kerr Maba.²⁵⁵

Despite the fact that the smuggling activities were a normal practice along the border with Senegal, the village heads and chiefs decided to give deaf ears to the activities of the farmers and trading agents. The colonial authorities expressed their displeasure about the reluctance of the border guards and local authorities to take action and brought the offenders to justice. Therefore, to address the trend of cross border smuggling of grains, routine border patrols were instituted with a view to apprehending those involved in the illegal activities. Also, police officers who had knowledge of the local terrain were posted to the main border villages. They were placed under the supervision of superior officers who were normally well conversant with the geography of the area in question.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Interview with Alhagi Lang Janke Jaiteh of Njabakunda Village in Badibu on the 10th June, 2020.

²⁵⁶ AGR1/75 Trade season (Gambia) groundnut harvesting, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Produce inspections and seed nut distributions

During planting and harvesting periods, British officials made sure that Gambian farmers comply with guidelines issued by the department of agriculture. Once the colonial officials noticed that the Gambian farmers were not very keen in growing the major cash crops, it became pertinent to monitor their activities and motivate them to grow the much needed crops.²⁵⁷ When the crops were harvested, it was vital for the seeds nuts to be inspected especially when they were heaped to prevent spoilage. Agricultural officers were duly instructed to make sure both farmers and buying agents properly stock the seed nuts and comply with the guidelines that were given before the grains were eventually transported to the shipping centers.

Prescribed post-harvest periods were observed to make sure that quality assurance was maintained. At the height of rush periods when nuts and other grains were brought to the buying centers in large quantities, some trading firms had difficulties in coping with the daily sales they received. Therefore, some of the grains were poorly stocked but the government normally sent inspectors to check the grains stocked before their onward transmission to shipping ports for export. Cargoes loaded with the grains were further properly screened by the inspectors. These interventions by the colonial authorities were shunned by Gambian farmers who saw such actions as bottlenecks aimed at cheating them of their hard earned produce. Some grains farmers resented the officials that were sent to inspect their grains and even went further to refuse selling their grains to them. Farmers had to be persuaded and appeased for them to comply and follow the guidelines put down for the grains inspections to be carried out by the constituted authority put in place by the government.

One of the British responses to encourage grains cultivation in colonial Gambia was the distribution of seed nuts to farmers. It was a routine custom of the colonial government to issue rice and groundnut seeds to those engaged in farming. Their main aim was to ensure that production of the grains became increased and sustainable.²⁵⁸ The rice was to serve as the major staple food that was highly needed to feed a growing population. The groundnut seed was distributed to supplement farmers' seed reserves. Since the grains distributed to the farmers were

²⁵⁷ AGR1/75 Trade season (Gambia) groundnut harvesting, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁵⁸ CSO2/1095: Report on the Agriculture Department for the year 1930-1931, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

in forms of loans, the policy did not in any way seem economically sound to the farmers. This was due to the exploitative nature of the European traders on Africans at the time. Once the market value of the grains fell, the result on Gambian farmers became dire because they experienced difficulties in paying what they owed the government and the firms that gave them the seed nuts. In extreme circumstances, the farmers' inability to offset their debts compelled the government to write off the bad debts and institute a scheme which would provide the farmers extra groundnut seeds at higher prices.²⁵⁹ Through these interventions, the farmers were induced to save their own seed nuts for subsequent seasons without depending on the exploitative colonial officials and their agents.

Ploughs, ploughing trials and experimental stations

In order to boost grains production, it was pertinent that the cost of production be minimized to make the venture more profitable. The colonial government in the Gambia realized that to increase grains production and to make it more viable in terms of profitability, mechanical means of tillage were necessary. This was because it would not only make production less labour intensive, but would make it possible for a larger area of land to be put under grains cultivation. Thus, the issue of ploughs and ploughing had attracted the attention of the colonial government and several attempts were made to test various ploughs which included: motor, cattle and small hand ploughs. The ox-drawn one was later found to be the best because it was believed to be the most economical one that could be used to revolutionize agriculture in the country particularly in the Protectorate of the country where the majority of the inhabitants largely depended on farming as their major means of survival.

Tractor ploughs were employed in the Colony particularly on government owned farms in Cape St. Mary. In 1930, it was reported that tractor ploughs were quite useful and utilized on the government farms. However, the constant breakages of the tractors due to the inexperience of the native drivers rendered the tractor ploughing too expensive to be maintained. Therefore, more cost effective means were sought to enable farmers work on their farms with much ease and more efficiency.

²⁵⁹ CSO2/1095: Report on the Agriculture Department for the year 1930-1931, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

The most cost effective ploughing implement that the colonial government was successful in introducing was the one made by Messrs Beauvais and Robin, France. Two types were supplied by this firm – one with a straight bearer in which the hand wheel was in a fixed position. The second type had a curved beam with many holes for the axle giving a fair range over which the depth of cultivation could be carried out. There were attachments with the frames which comprised of a single furrow plough, a ridging plough cultivator tines and hoes. The ridging plough was believed to be more effective than the traditional ‘darambo.’ In September 1930, the colonial government invited all the chiefs of the Protectorate to attend a demonstration of the various types of ploughs and further avail them the opportunity to observe the field experiments carried out on the use of the ploughs.²⁶⁰ Major R W Macklin who was the Travelling Commissioner responsible for the North Bank Province took charge of the chiefs and the Director of Agriculture took them on a conducted tour of the farm. During these sessions, the chiefs were briefed on the usage of the different ploughs so that they would be in a better position to supervise their usages by the farmers under their jurisdictions in the villages throughout the country.

By 1924, the colonial government in the Gambia had decided to build experimental stations and recruit officials who would routinely embark on field works at the stations. Field workers were assigned to work on the various varieties of the grains particularly groundnuts, millets, corn, and rice and the building up of stocks of seeds for general distribution. Mr. R A Fisher was instrumental in organizing and training African assistants in all experimental work in the Colony at the time. By 1930, Mr. F W Hall who was the Assistant Director of Agriculture was in charge of the Cape St. Mary’s farm. In addition to a detailed meteorological data collected on the farm, the nature of the soil was also examined through experiments on soil variation and composition. Through these interventions, the climatic conditions that were crucial for the cultivation of the grains were better understood. Farmers were better advised on how to prepare their lands for new planting seasons and when and how they should sow their grain seed.

²⁶⁰ CSO2/1095: Report on the Agricultural Department for the year 1930-1931, Trade season(Gambia) groundnut harvesting, National Records Service, Banjul The Gambia

Mechanical cultivation

By the 1940s, grains production in the Gambia had been affected by several factors such as weather, world market prices, condition and supply of seed nuts, supplies of consumer goods, number of strange farmers and the relative value put in place by the government on the nature of food production compared to cash crop cultivation. By 1945, the Gambia Colony and Protectorate were said to be underpopulated mainly due to the Second World War as some young Gambians were enlisted in the colonial army. Some who did not join the army left their home villages for fear of being caught and forced to enlist. Thus, large areas of land were not brought under cultivation in the protectorate. The colonial government decided to select some of the vacant lands and tried to experiment mechanical cultivation on such lands. Some of the lands were leased from the native authorities and used as grain estates under the management and supervision of British officials who were working for the colonial state.

Additionally, irrigational methods were tried to carry out the cultivation of rice in some swampy areas where fresh water from the River Gambia was readily available. Through these schemes, water was distributed upland during the dry seasons. By 1947, an area in the Kiang West district was proposed for mechanical cultivation of groundnuts because the land in question was believed to be of gray sandy soil.²⁶¹ This project was a monumental step in contributing to the mechanical cultivation of cash crops in the country. It was estimated that throughout the country in 1947, the mechanized projects that were put in place to boost grains cultivation had covered about 35000 acres utilized and it was expected that the scheme would yield 1500 tons of groundnuts annually.²⁶² These projects made significant contributions towards expanding the volume of trade involving grains in the country.

The massive cultivation of vast lands went a long way in boosting production thereby making the trade in grains more lucrative and viable to the local farmers and even for the local agents of the big trading companies. Once more grains were produced, the livelihood of the Gambian farmers improved significantly because they had more food to feed their families and also sell the surplus to get money which they would later use to pay their taxes.

²⁶¹ CSO2/3321: Mechanical Cultivation of Groundnuts, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁶² CSO2/3321: Mechanical Cultivation of Groundnuts, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

CHAPTER FOUR

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAINS TRADE, 1946 to 1965

After the end of the First World War, Gambian farmers continued to hugely rely on the cash income they got from their grains. Through shifting cultivation, large acres of land were utilized by both resident Gambian farmers and strange farmers who were temporal migrants from neighbouring colonies. These men returned to their respective countries after the harvests and sale of their produce. Since groundnuts offered better prices for the farmers, more concentration on it led to a decline in self-sufficiency in food grains. The colonial government therefore saw the need to formulate policies that would protect the population from food shortages especially in the Protectorate where hungry seasons were prevalent before the food crops were harvested.²⁶³

The colonial government in the Gambia used propaganda for the quality of the grain crops to be maintained annually. Farmers were encouraged to plant their crops early and harvest them late. The native authorities were mandated to supervise and determine the times and methods of harvest. Produce inspections were carried out by the agricultural department at all buying centers where all the grains were properly screened for cleaning purposes before their purchase.²⁶⁴ The department of agriculture had put in place mechanisms whereby experiments on crops and a balanced system of farming that entailed the use of animals for both ploughing and manure were carried out. New areas had been put under cultivation in the riverine swamps for more rice production. Experimental rice farms were established in the central region of the Protectorate under the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC). The question of legislation covering water use came to a forefront when the CDC rice project in the MacCarthy Island was projected to cover some 30,000 acres of riparian swamps.²⁶⁵ Thus, it was realized that water usage should be legislated but by the time the ordinance came into being in 1953, the CDC had already

²⁶³ CSO2/3306: Land utilization and indigenous rural economic conference, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁶⁴ CSO2/3306.

²⁶⁵ CSO2/3306.

withdrawn from their rice project which turned out to be a failure due to several factors which included logistics problems and poor management.

4.1 The Involvement of trading companies

In the 1900s different trading companies were involved in the trade in grains throughout the Gambia. They had established trading centers at strategic places in the north and south banks of the country. One of the most notable was the Sarkis Madi Company and in series of correspondences between the Colonial Secretary, Commissioners, Harbour Master, and Marine Superintendent throughout the 1930s, it is documented that the Sarkis Madi group had always applied for permission to use government wharves at different locations in Kaur, Kudang, Njawara, and other places to load groundnuts. These companies were mainly British and French owned companies. Approvals had always been granted to the Madi Group to berth their vessels alongside the government wharves to load groundnuts subject to the payment of the prescribed ‘wharfage’ dues that should be paid to the colonial government in Bathurst at the time.²⁶⁶

Other trading firms spent their own resources to erect their own wharves since they would not like to entirely depend on the government wharves to avoid conflicts with other competing firms. Sometimes, trading companies and individual merchants were granted permissions to use government wharves upon requests. The Commissioner responsible for the province where the wharves were located would use his discretion to approve any such request once he had been notified about the applications in advance.

It is significant to underscore that trading companies in some instances constructed wharves in some of the trading centers where they had commercial interests. In fact, government vessels sometimes used such facilities and typical examples were UAC wharves at Bambali, Sambang, Wallikunda, Karantaba, Banatenda and Kanube. There were the Maurel and Prom wharves at Ballingho and Jessadi while the CFAO also operated one at Karantaba.²⁶⁷ Most of the respondents interviewed had intimated that at these wharves, the merchants operated mainly for businesses and with profit making as their main aim of investing in the wharf constructions and

²⁶⁶ CSO2/1086: Wharves: government in the Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁶⁷ CSO2/1086.

their accounts had corroborated colonial documentary evidences.²⁶⁸ So we can posit that these companies were agents of the development of the maritime trade in the Gambia.

However, since government vessels operated on the River Gambia mainly to provide transportation services to the public, it was a condition in granting a wharf license that the government shall have full and unrestricted use of any wharf built by any trading company throughout the country. The dues paid by the firms to the government for using government wharves made significant contributions in improving the economic base of the colonial state. The revenue generated through the charges levied on trading companies and individual merchants for using government wharves in the Protectorate contributed in expanding the revenue base of the government that needed funds to meet the cost of administration as well as the provision of the much needed infrastructure throughout the country. Table 4.1 shows the revenue and expenditure of the government during the period 1901-1910 while Table 4.2 shows the quantity of grains exported for the same period.

²⁶⁸ Interview with Alhagie Seku Kanteh, an 83 year old businessman at No. 4 New Street, Banjul on the 23rd September, 2019; CSO2/1086: Wharves: government in the Protectorate , Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Table 4.1: Revenue and expenditure for the period 1901-1910

Year	Revenue in Pounds	Expenditure in Pounds
1901	43726	48518
1902	51016	51536
1903	55564	67504
1904	54179	52300
1905	51868	72297
1906	65430	56988
1907	65892	57729
1908	57898	61097
1909	72675	56237
1910	82880	63301

Source: Colonial Reports- Annual No. 679 Gambia. Report for 1910

From Table 4.1, it could be observed that for 1901, 1902, 1903, 1905, and 1908, expenditure exceeds revenue due mainly to poor grain harvests in the country. However, an annual increase of over 39,000 pounds in terms of revenue was realized while that of expenditure was 14,783 pounds.

Table 4.2: Quantity of grains export for the period 1901-1910

Article	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Groundnuts	Tons 25750	Tons 31612	Tons 45477	Tons 43486	Tons 29499	Tons 36050	Tons 40858	Ton 31964	Tons 53644	Tons 58456
	€172,405	€193485	€275894	€229287	€169426	€278055	€256685	€245084	€328281	€387943
Other grains	Tons 158	Tons137	Tons 109	Tons 179	Tons 227	Tons 256	Tons 342	Tons 390	Tons 389	Tons 467
	€971	€945	€793	€1182	€1612	€2122	€3657	€3488	€3526	€5640

Source: Source: Colonial Reports- Annual No. 679 Gambia. Report for 1910

Table 4.2 shows the quantity of groundnuts and other grains exported during the period 1901-1910. It is evident that by 1910, the quantity of groundnut exported had reached 58,456 tons of a value of €387,943. It means there was an increase of 4812 tons in quantity and €64712 in value over the previous year. There was also an increase of 12982 tons over the 1903 quantity. In terms of the other grains, more coos and millet continued to be grown by farmers for both domestic consumption and sale. Despite the fact that more coos and millet were cultivated, documentary evidence suggests that there were not much of the grains available for export during the period under discussion.

During the periods of the First and Second World Wars, events in Europe affected Gambian farmers to some extent. By the end of the war, the Gambian economy which had already been integrated into the global economic system had undergone massive transformations. The post war boom in the prices of grains particularly groundnuts served as an impetus to encourage more Gambian farmers to go into grains cultivation. The dependence on grains as major items of trade had intensified and the colonial government's continued resolve to provide the enabling environment for trading companies to expand their spheres of influence and boost their productive bases for profit maximization. The revenue and expenditure for the period 1919 to 1923 is shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Revenue and expenditure for the period 1919-1923

Year	Revenue in Pounds	Expenditure in Pounds
1919	180,585	143,451
1920	268,788	171,160
1921	183,201	225,461
1922	204,244	430,312
1923	407,581	211,316

Source: Colonial Reports- Annual, No. 1201 Gambia Report for 1923

Table 4.3 shows the revenue and expenditure of the colonial government during the period 1919-1923. It could be observed that the revenue of the colonial government constantly increased from 1919 to 1923. However, there was a reduction of the revenue realized in 1921 compared to the 1920 figure of 268, 788 pounds. An amount of 85,587 pounds was the deficit between these two years. The expenditure of the government in 1921 and 1922 far exceeded the revenue accrued mainly due to the post war development projects that were undertaken by the government. In terms of revenue generated, the year 1923 showed a significant improvement over the previous year of 1922 even though the expenditure of 1922 doubled that of 1923.

During the war periods, Gambians were recruited into the colonial army and grains were in high demand to feed the troops before their deployment to the war fronts. There was further demand for the grains in Europe and additional effort was employed to increase grains export from the Gambia by the colonial establishment. Therefore, trade in grains experienced a boom during the inter war periods. Some of the local merchants who served as agents for the trading companies became well-off and farmers also had better prices for their produce due to the intense competition among the trading companies for the grains locally produced.

When war started in 1939, many young Gambians were recruited into the colonial army and were taken overseas to take part in the wars. By the end of the Second World War, agriculture was adversely affected in the country because it was the able-bodied men who were enlisted in the colonial army by then. It therefore meant that grains production dwindled due to lack of enough manpower on the farms. L.A. Button, the commissioner responsible for the Upper River Division in 1947 had reported the food situation of the division in a dispatch to the Colonial Secretary and he was frank to indicate that the native Gambians had little or no grains to sell.²⁶⁹ This account reveals that shortly after World War II, there was low grains production in the region and farmers were more or less tempted to sell the little they had due to the good prices offered by the merchants for the grains. Hence, Button advised that trading firms buy rice and coos from the neighbouring French territories to supplement food rations and went on argue that the purchase of cloth be strictly prohibited to prevent famine in the in the upper River Division

²⁶⁹ SEC1/327: Village Food Reserves, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

and the Gambian region as a whole.²⁷⁰ Some firms were authorized by the colonial government to purchase French rice and coos against cloth and Table 4.4 shows some of the firms in question.

²⁷⁰ SEC1/327: Village Food Reserves, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Table 4.4: Firms authorized to purchase French rice and coos against cloth

Place	Trading Firm
Fatoto	UAC & CFAO
Perai	UAC
Basse	CFAO & UAC
Fattatenda	CFAO & UAC
Koina	UAC
Kosemar	CFAO
Diabugu	UAC & Maurel Prom
Madina kete	UAC & Sarkis Madi
Banatenda	UAC

Source: SEC1/327 Village Food Reserves, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Table 4.4 shows that CFAO and UAC were the most vibrant firms that were authorized to purchase rice and coos grains in addition to Maurel Prom and Sarkis Madi. There was more competition between UAC and CFAO because they sometimes operated in the same places and each had to do what it takes to outsmart the other and win over the market. When the grain crops were harvested, the farmers put aside a portion for their families' use and the rest were sold to generate income for them to take care of some other expenses. Individual merchants and trading companies compete to buy the grains from the farmers and normally, the one that offered better prices got more goods and dominate the grains market. Sarkis Madi, V Q Petersen, VEZIA Establishment, CFAO, Maurel & Prom, and Maurel Freres Ltd were major buyers who bought several tons during the 1932/1933 season²⁷¹ and Table 4.5 shows the quantity of grains bought by some trading firms during the period.

²⁷¹ AGR1/27: Groundnut tonnages, purchase and harvest prospects, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Table 4.5: Quantity of grains bought by some trading firms during the 1932/1933 season

Firm	Quantity in tons in 1932	Quantity in tons in 1933
Sarkis Madi	12760	13700
VQ Petersen	2935	Nil
VEZIA Establishment	3530	Nil
Le Commerce Africain	4300	Nil
CFAO	5703	Nil
Maurel Freres	5332	Nil
Maurel & Prom	-	6133
Total	34560	19833

Source: AGR1/27: Groundnut tonnages, purchase and harvest prospects, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Table 4.5 shows that except Maurel & Prom, the major trading companies were active in the grains market in 1932. However, Sarkis Madi and Maurel Prom were the only dominant grain buyers in the 1932 season. It also indicates that the 13700 tonnes purchased by Sarkis Madi made it the major trading company in the Gambian grains industry in 1932.

However, the Commissioner for the North Bank province had indicated in 1934 that 14728 tons of grains were cumulatively purchased by traders in his region. He failed to give any breakdown of the individual firms involved and the number of tons they each bought for the season in the province. In the South Bank province, the commissioner had indicated that 20629 tons were bought in the province in 1935 while the 1934 and 1936 figures could not be independently verified. By 1937, the total number of tons purchased by trading companies was projected to be about 65000 tons but by 1938, production fell to about 50000 tons due to diseases that affected crops throughout the country according to the Senior Superintendent of Agriculture.²⁷²

Trading companies were further instrumental in the growth and development of grains trade in the Gambia because at their buying centers at the major commercial settlements, they not only created employment for their local agents and other natives, but also contributed in the development of the local infrastructure. Through their trading activities, some of the local partners who closely worked with them became prominent businessmen and leaders in their various communities. Table 4.6 shows the major trading centers in colonial Gambia.

²⁷² AGR1/27 Groundnut tonnages, purchase and harvest prospects, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Table 4.6: Major trading centers in colonial Gambia

North Bank	McCarthy Island	Upper River	South Bank
Albreda	Walikunda	Basse	Soma
Njawara	Kuntaur	Kanube	Kanikunda
Salikene	Bansang	Dasilame	Sankwia
Ballingho	Georgetown	Fatoto	Bondali
Kanikunda	Brikamaba	Kosemar	Bwiam
Aljamdu	Karantaba	Banatenda	Sibanor
Berending	Sami	Findifetto	Brikama
Kerewan	Sambang		Gunjur
	Jissadi		
	Kudang		

Table 4.6 shows that most of the major trading centers in colonial Gambia were located in the Protectorate. McCarthy Island seems to have had more trading centers than the other regions of the country.

The involvement of trading companies in the export of grains made significant contributions to the growth and development of the trade. Colonial documentary sources have indicated that in 1938 for instance, 36396 tons of groundnuts were exported from the Gambia.²⁷³ Export figures for the years preceding 1938 could not be accounted for owing to the fact that trading companies hold nuts over from one season to another. No significant figures were recorded as rice and coos exports because these grains were mainly grown for subsistence use by farmers and their families. The surplus food grains were bought by the colonial government from 1939 onwards to supplement the food rations of the colonial troops that were deployed to the war.

Both local merchants and trading companies sought approvals for import licenses.²⁷⁴ Usually, the importers must specify the quantities and destinations of the goods they intended to import before approval was granted to them. Some of the imported goods were eventually re-exported to neighbouring colonies once the trading companies obtained the necessary licenses and certificates of importation from the government. Textiles, machinery, scrap metals, cloth, sugar, and other food items became additional commodities that were imported and re-exported by merchants and trading companies and the taxes they paid to the government improved the country's economy leading to a significant shift in policy regarding importation and exportation of essential goods in and out of the country. Colonial documentary sources have indicated that by the 1950s, the British government in the Gambia liberalized the import and export trade and continued to receive significant revenue through levies and taxes it received from the trading companies involved in the import and export trade.²⁷⁵

The intense competition among the different trading companies was good for the local farmers because it meant better prices for them as the highest bidder would normally get the grains that were brought to the buying centers. Some of the local agents for the different trading firms also

²⁷³ AGR1/27: Groundnut tonnages, purchase and harvest prospects, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁷⁴ CSO2/3570: Import licenses sought by petty traders, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁷⁵ CSO2/3558: Import control and export licenses: policy; CSO2/3571: Export Licenses, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

became influential personalities as they became wealthy according to local standards at the time. Some of the early protectorate people who later became wealthy in pre-independent Bathurst were people who had ties with these trading companies. An interview with Alhahi Seku Kanteh, the brother of the late businessman Alhagi Malang Kanteh was revealing when Alhagi Seku opined that his brother got much of his wealth through his dealings with the different trading companies. According to Seku Kanteh, ‘Alhagi Malang was a clever man who knew how to deal with each trading company without compromising his personal interest.’²⁷⁶ Seku Kanteh seems to suggest that with ingenuity, some rural Gambians like Alhagi Malang were able to take advantage of their positions as agents of the British trading firms and became relatively wealthy as a result of the commissions that they received.

4.2 Processes of grains production

During the dry seasons, Gambian farmers usually clear their farmlands by clearing the grasses and burning the shrubs. Usually, it was the men and children who do the clearings. Farms were categorized as *maruo* and *kamanyano* meaning collective family farms and individual farms respectively. All proceeds from the *maruo* farms were managed by the head of the family and were used for the upkeep of the entire family. Individual family members were allowed to have their personal farms otherwise known as the *kamanyano* and whatever they produced from such farms were for their own exclusive uses. On the *maruo* farms, every member of the family was expected to join hands and take part in the cultivation and harvesting of the grain farms since the survival of all depended on a bumper harvest from the family farms. Once all works are completed on the family farm, individual members were then allowed to work on their *kamanyanos* and could even seek additional support from others particularly *kafoos* if they so desired to boost their productive capabilities. An interview with Aja Sainey Jaiteh and Kabiro Jassey was revealing when they disclosed that husbands and other male adults normally assisted the women by clearing the *kamanyano* rice farms of the women who later prepared their own nursery beds and then later transplant the rice seedlings.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ Interview with Alhagi Seku Kanteh, an 83 year old businessman at No. 4 New Street, Banjul on the 23rd September, 2019

²⁷⁷ Interview with Aja Sainey Jaiteh, a 75 year old rice farmer at Fulladu Brikamaba on the 10th April, 2021; Interview with Kabiro Jassey, a 66 year old farmer at Fulladu Brikamading on the 10th April, 2021.

The process of grains cultivation starts with the identification and selection of good quality seeds that were to be sown. For millet and coos, the different varieties that were grown by Gambians included *sunoo*, and *saanyo* while for groundnuts, the varieties were *burucuso* (*brucoos*) and *choppo* or *tia mesengo*. The rice varieties were *maani baa* and *maani meseengo* and depending on the rainfall pattern, these varieties were grown on upland fields or in riverine areas known as *banta faros*. Once the farmers decided on which variety to cultivate, the seed nuts were carefully selected and screened to make sure that the seeds that were to be sown (*turoo*) were of good quality. Immediately the rainy season starts, farmers sow their *turoo* and start weeding when the seedlings started germinating. After the weeds were cleared, farmers make sure that the crops were looked after to scare away pests that destroy the farms. Usually, children particularly boys were tasked with the responsibility of scaring away noxious wild animals and birds that normally destroy the grain farms.

Once the crops were ripe and ready for harvesting, farmers had to make sure that they were harvested and properly dried to avoid spoilage due to moisture. Sun drying has always been the major technique that Gambian farmers used to preserve their grains after harvest to minimize post-harvest losses. Threshing and winnowing were done to separate the grains from the chaff. Subsequently, surplus grains were transported home and stored before they are taken to the nearest *seccos* once the trade seasons were announced for sale to the merchants.

Before the introduction of the scale as a standard measurement tool, Gambian farmers used non-standard units of measurement. For rice, coos and millet, the *kung sito* and *padung* were used. For groundnuts, 'donkey loads' were used and transactions were carried out using these terms. Grains exchange and borrowing were initially done using the barter system. With the introduction of the British pound and pence, the trade in grains underwent a massive transformation as they became more commoditised and legal tender was used to obtain the grains. They began to be measured in terms of kilogrammes and tonnes.

4.3 Organisation of grains trade

The major participants in the grains trade in the Gambia were the European trading companies, agents who were mainly individuals and the farmers of the country. The colonial government created the enabling environment for the trade to be smoothly conducted. In order to facilitate the

movement of the traders and their goods, roads and wharves were built. With regards to the road network, several feeder roads were constructed in several parts of the Protectorate where the transportation system was a major challenge when goods were to be transported to markets and shipping centres.

The trading firms relied on middlemen who served as link between them and the Gambian farmers who produced the grains. Commissions were given to the middlemen based on the quantity of grains they were able to purchase for the firms who assigned them. Based on the commissions they earned from the European firms, the middlemen were enticed to work extremely hard for their employees and even acted as clerks for the European companies at market towns like Kuntaur and Wallikunda. Individual traders established themselves in trading centres like, Kaur, Kuntaur, Basse and Wallikunda and had shops that they used as their bases to purchase the various grains that the farmers brought to the markets for sale. Once reasonable quantities of grains were purchased by the middlemen on behalf of their employers, arrangements were made to transport the goods to Bathurst where they were eventually shipped abroad by the major trading companies.

In the organization of the grains trade in the Gambia, the credit system was instrumental. Through middlemen, European trading companies gave credits to Gambian farmers on condition that such credits would be paid at the end of the grain harvests. The system was so exploitative that the concept of *dabali gi*, meaning loan on top of another loan was coined by Gambian farmers. An interview with Ndongo Ceesay and Isatou Manjang was enlightening when they both narrated that once a man died owing a debt, his eldest son inherits the debt plus all interests due on the loan his father owed.²⁷⁸ Thus, there was competition among different trading firms and individual merchants to entice Gambian farmers to produce more grains and sell their produce to their agents who were normally stationed at the different buying centres across the country once the trading seasons were declared open by the colonial government.

English of Lebanese origin were involved in grains trade in the Gambia. Sarkis Madi and his sons Henry, Joseph and Bobby were prominent Lebanese traders who traded in grains and had

²⁷⁸ Interview with Ndongo Ceesay, a 75 year old grains farmer at Wellingara on the 20th April, 2020; Interview with Isatou Manjang, a 65 year old rice farmer at Wallikunda on 17th April, 2020.

local agents who operated for them in Wallikunda and Kuntaur. Other immigrant families such as the Carrol brothers led by Henry Richmond Carrol arrived from Freetown in the 1880s and became leading entrepreneurs in the grains business in the country. These traders opened trading posts at Ballanghar, Georgetown, Wallikunda and Kuntaur. Their presence in the communities helped boost trade in grains and enabled some of their local agents or middlemen become relatively wealthy and influential members of their rural communities. In his memoir, Dawda K Jawara gave a vivid account of his own father Almany Jawara who worked for Anton Blain at Wallikunda. Jawara had this to say about Almany:

When my father approached Anton Blain with that huge request, the man was glad to help. He was satisfied with Almany's word and reputation as collateral. He asked him to list all that the villagers wanted in his own name and he would supply whatever Almany asked for to let his people survive. It was in that manner that Blain became the first agent to provide my father with supplies which he in turn gave out to the people. All he emphasised to the villagers was that the white man must get his money at the end of the agreed time.²⁷⁹

This account reveals that the trading companies sometimes work with immigrant traders like the Lebanese who in turn hired some Gambians and used such local people to buy grains for them. It further reveals that credit buying was done and during times of difficulties, the Lebanese traders would give their agents the much needed supplies that the Gambians needed for them pay back when they harvested their grain crops. Oral sources in Fulladu suggest that Alagie Koliba Sabally was an influential grains agent who also worked for Lebanese merchants who traded in grains at Wallikunda.²⁸⁰

4.4 British administrative policy on agriculture

By the 1940s, the government set up village stores for food reserves throughout the country and chiefs were mandated to make sure that all excess quantities of food were stored to avoid any wastage. Each yard was to put in 2 hands of rice from the women and 2 ties of coos from the men. This reserve was needed in case there were accidents so that the victims could be borrowed some grains. Also, migrant farmers who were also known as strange farmers could be given grain loans if they need to farm. The loans were repaid at the rate of 3 for 2 in rice and 4 for 3 in coos. At the end of the harvest seasons, the food stores were restocked with fresh supplies and

²⁷⁹ Jawara D. K. 2009. Kairaba. p.9

²⁸⁰ Interview with Sanna Kuyateh a 60 year old farmer at Fulladu Brikamaba Village on the 12th April, 2020
Interview with Sidi Sawaneh, a 70 year old grain trader at Pacharr Villadu on the 12th April, 2020

during times of need, the population was helped. Additionally, traders at the wharf towns such as Kaur and Njawara were given clear instructions to conserve food grains in their stores. Julamen²⁸¹ who were trading in the villages also made significant contributions in the conservation of food grains because they were instructed to do so as per the policy they must abide by if they were to be given licenses to legally operate their businesses.

Also, acting under the Native Authority Ordinance of 1933, the Senior Commissioner of Protectorate Administration (SCPA) in December, 1944 ordered that ‘all yard owners shall cultivate or arrange for the cultivation of an area not less than one quarter of an acre with corn in respect of each male adult within his yard.’²⁸² Strict measures were taken to enforce compliance as a fine of 10 pounds and or two months imprisonment was the punishment for those who failed to obey the rules and guidelines given. In 1933, it was decreed in every district that yard owners and strange farmers shall each deposit to their respective alkalolu four bushels and three *tentenge* of seednuts of good quality.²⁸³ This has come to be known as the storage of the seed nut rule. Every alkalo concerned was duty bound to be personally responsible to the chief and commissioner as far as the safe custody of the seednuts so deposited were concerned. It was also the duty of the alkalo that the seed nuts were well kept until the ensuing season when the depositors could withdraw the bushels for planting. At the discretion of the alkalo, those who failed to withdraw their bushels on time could be permitted to do so at a later date provided that the depositor had a farm in his district of residence. The *tentenge* on the other hand was meant to form the town or village reserve, which if issued for planting shall be replaced by those who used them after they harvested their crops.

The demand for groundnuts in the European countries increased after the Second World War in 1945. In order to promote groundnuts cultivation during the post war era, the storage of groundnut seed rule was promulgated in 1946. Accordingly, the colonial government gave approval to the Native authorities for them to enforce the provisions of the rule. The Governor had instructed the Commissioners of both North and South banks to strictly enforce the rules. The South Bank Commissioner had reported in January 1947 that farmers in his area had

²⁸¹ Julamen were local Gambian traders who served as merchants who operated for the European firms and business men in the villages and trading centers.

²⁸² SEC1/327 Village Food Reserves, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁸³ SEC1/338 Seed nut Stores and Seed nut Purchase, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

complied to the 1946 storage of groundnuts seed rule and went further to report that the 'system seems to work well.'²⁸⁴ On the other hand, the North Bank commissioner reported that the Native authorities in his division had not adopted the rules that were embraced by the other regions. Concerns about seed nut infestations by beetle insect in large village stores were raised but the agricultural department was unable to recommend the erection of a particular type of store which could be confidently expected to prevent the beetle infestations. The Senior Commissioner of protectorate administration acting on an advice received from Mr. G.S Cotterills, a former Gold Coast senior entomologist gave instructions that the old nuts in village seed stores be burnt to control the spread of the brucid beetles. One other method of preservation was the sun drying of the seed nuts before storing them in the seed stores.

Additionally, a strategic control measure taken against the beetle infestation was the filling of the inter-angular spaces with sand and finishing off with a four inch layer of sand on the surface. To fully address the issue of seed nut infestations, the colonial government instructed agricultural officers to regularly tour the regions and inspect the seed nut stores and treat infected stores with insecticides with a view to stopping any further damages.²⁸⁵ This strategy was somehow effective because it significantly reduced the bug infestations according to Masuntu Sarr and Aja Jarra Janko who were both grains farmers and traders.²⁸⁶

There were deliberate efforts to ensure that seed nuts were well preserved. Proper stores were erected in many communities and rules were laid down as to how they must be maintained by the farmers. Sun drying of the seeds was encouraged and during the dry seasons, the stores were not roofed.²⁸⁷ This was to allow the rays of the sun to penetrate into the stores and help in preserving the stored nuts. The increase in the damage caused by the beetle to stored grains particularly groundnuts became a great concern to the colonial government by 1948. In order to curb the extensive damages caused by the beetle, the use of a chemical called gammexane dust in spraying the seed nuts was recommended. All divisional agricultural officials were instructed to

²⁸⁴ SEC1/338 Seed nut Stores and Seed nut Purchase, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁸⁵ SEC1/338.

²⁸⁶ Interview with Masuntu Sarr, a 77 year old grains farmer and trader at Brikamaba Village, Lower Fulladu West on the 15th March, 2020; Interview with Aja Janko, a 79 year old grains farmer and trader at Niani Kayai Village on 17th March, 2020.

²⁸⁷ SEC1/338.

monitor farmers' compliance with regards to the use of gammexane dust which was purchased by the government and distributed to the farmers.²⁸⁸

Ploughing

From the 1930s onward, the colonial government had started to intensify efforts at purchasing agricultural implements that were required for ploughing the land. At the protectorate agricultural farms, the planning and construction of ploughs that were suitable for and adapted to local conditions were carried out. Ploughs that were suitable for both donkeys and oxen were considered.²⁸⁹ It was evident that even prior to 1930, the government had put in place efforts to encourage and develop mechanical tillage through the testing of various ploughs. Through special public demonstrations attended by farmers, Beauvaiss and Robin through Messrs Maurel Freres their local agents tested their ploughs that were intended for use by Gambian farmers.²⁹⁰ Consequently, the Beauvais cultivator was approved by the director of agriculture and by 1932; the plough had a frame with two triangular shares. It had a scarification with 3 rigid teeth, a double mould board plough and a seeder. It also had a harness for a donkey. Two models were provided with costs attached to each. These were the 1931 and 1932 models.

The objective of introducing these models was to revolutionise farming by making it less labour intensive for the Gambian farmers. With the adoption of the plough, farmers could cultivate larger areas of land thereby increasing grains production to meet the demands of the market at the time. It must be noted that that the traditional hoe and *darambo* that were in use limited the productive capabilities of the farmers and hence low grains production. It was indeed a well-calculated decision to improvise ways through which grain cultivators could be more efficient and produce more using technologies that were to ease work for them. Once the farmers were introduced to the different ploughs, they embraced them because through their use, work on their farms became less cumbersome. It is vital to note that the willingness of Gambian farmers to adopt the usage of new implements and techniques demonstrates that they were not adamant to change but were willing to embrace new systems that could improve their efficiency and boost

²⁸⁸ SEC1/338: Seed nut Stores and Seed nut Purchase, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

²⁸⁹ CSO2/1042: Ploughing in the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁹⁰ CSO2/1042: Ploughing in the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

their productive capabilities. Tables 4.7 and 4.8 show two specimens of model ploughs and the cost associated with each of the them in 1931 and 1932.

Table 4.7: 1931 model plough

Specimen part	Cost in Pounds Sterling
Complete frame	1.2.0
2 triangular shares	0.7.0
Complete scarifier	0.12.0
Double mould board plough	0.9.0
Seeder	2.4.0
Harness	0.14.0
Complete cultivator	5.8.0
Cultivator without seeder	3.4.0

Source: CSO2/ 1042: Ploughing in the Gambia Memorandum, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Table 4.8: 1932 Model plough

Specimen part	Cost in Pounds Sterling
Complete frame	1.14.0
2 triangular shares	0.8.0
Complete scarifier	0.14.0
Double mould board plough	0.11.0
Seeder	2.14.0
Harness	0.14.0
Complete cultivator	6.14.0
Cultivator without seeder	4..1.0

Source: CSO2/ 1042: Ploughing in the Gambia Memorandum

From the two cultivator specimens shown in Table 4.7 and Table 4.8, it could be observed that both models offer exactly the same functions. It was however clear from the above tables that the 1931 model was more cost effective than the 1932 model.

Additionally, the P.I.K plough which could be used as an ordinary, ridging and hoeing plough was introduced. The department of agriculture since its inception in 1923 paid considerable attention to the best possible means of ploughing with a view to improving grains production through the use of light ploughs which were operated by one or two persons and a donkey. With the introduction of the animal drawn ploughs, traditional implements like the hoe and ‘darambo’ began to be used less tediously unlike before. While the use of the ‘darambo’ led to the creation of ridges on which the grain seeds were sown, the ploughs had been believed to improve the case of erosion. Therefore, the introduction of animal drawn ploughs massively transformed peasant grains cultivation in colonial Gambia. More land could be cultivated through the use of the ploughs that were introduced with minimal human labour.

Price control

The outbreak of the Second World War made it imperative for the colonial authorities to mobilize more funds to finance the war. Hence, regulations were enacted and enforced to regulate the prices of goods in the country. In 1943, the appointment of Mr J Palmer as a Price Inspector for the Protectorate was a significant move by the colonial government. The price inspector was empowered to inspect all grain stocks as well as the premises where they were stored.²⁹¹ Subsequently, grain merchants were cautioned that under no circumstances should they ‘obstruct any person empowered to enter and inspect premises’²⁹² and nor should such officials be denied access to the merchants’ ‘books, accounts or other documents relating to the trade or business upon demand being made by the Price Controller or Price Inspector.’²⁹³ After routine inspections of the harvested grains, the prices were fixed once the conditions laid down for their harvest were met. Similarly, the Native Authority Ordinance of 1933 considered it expedient that

²⁹¹ AGR1/75: Trade season (Gambia) groundnut harvesting, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁹² AGR1/75.

²⁹³ AGR1/75.

harvested grains be protected from damage by rain and moisture.²⁹⁴ This was to ensure that after harvesting, the grains remain good so that they could attract good prices in the market.

Weights and measures: bushel weights

All over the world, there has always been the need to establish uniformity in measures in order to protect the economic interest of both traders and consumers. If such measures are neglected, the market would be characterized by a lot of irregularities where a few percentage of the population would control the means of production and exploit the vast majority. Some Gambians relied heavily on grains traders for their food and other necessary supplies, and if appropriate standard weights and measures were not instituted, the market forces of demand and supply could lead to their exploitation by the trading companies and other local merchants whose main preoccupation was to maximize profits.

In order to maintain standards in weighing the grains to meet minimum international standards, farmers were required to automatically weigh their nuts and measure such bushel weights of their produce. This action was necessary to ensure that once the trade seasons were announced by the government, farmers and merchants would not experience much difficulty in conducting business with their agents and farmers. It was also meant to institute standard measurement in place of non-standard ones that the local farmers were hitherto used to. Once standardized measurements were introduced, it became possible to have universal rates for the buying and selling of the grains in the market. It also became easier for the colonial authorities to identify those who flout the rules that governed the standard measurements and prosecute the offenders according to the existing laws.

Post war development policies

By 1940, the British government had started to prepare a post-war development plan and a five year policy was designed to be implemented.²⁹⁵ It was agreed that further funding for agricultural expansion was necessary in addition to the supplementation of labour and transportation.

Capacity building for the staff of the department of agriculture was seen as key in transforming the capacity of Gambian farmers to increase grains production. In 1942, a policy proposal that

²⁹⁴ AGR1/75: Trade season (Gambia) groundnut harvesting, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁹⁵ AGR1/51: Proposals for Post War Development, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

put emphasis on critical areas of intervention was developed and its main objectives included the:

- a. Obtaining self-sufficiency in food production coupled with an improvement in nutrition;
- b. Adoption of higher yielding varieties of grain crops;
- c. Maintenance and improvement of the soil fertility and the conservation of the soil by the utilization of balanced systems of crop farming and animal husbandry;
- d. Development and promotion of export crops and animal products;
- e. Improvement in the preparation and marketing of agricultural products including produce inspections.²⁹⁶

From what had been highlighted, we could understand that the British colonial government was of the view that long term planning was necessary for the establishment of a comprehensive framework within which post-war development would take place. The colonial authorities were conscious of the negative impacts of war on the socio-economic lives of their colonies and therefore came up with initiatives to limit such undesirable impacts. Since the demand for primary commodities like grains would continue to grow during the post-war periods, the government concentrated on plans that were essential in improving the production and marketing of them. Government control over economic activities such as imports and exports in the immediate post war periods was a significant step that was necessary to strengthen the revenue base of the state during those difficult times.²⁹⁷

4.5 Local initiatives and British involvement in the promotion of grains production

For any meaningful development to take place in the growth and development of grains trade in the Gambia during the British occupation of the country, the participation of the local people was critical. Without a motivated farming population, the production of grains would not be maximized to meet the demands for the goods during the colonial period. With time, the British realized that Gambian farmers needed to be motivated through necessary support mechanisms

²⁹⁶ AGR1/51: Proposals for Post War Development, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁹⁷ AGR1/61: Senior Commissioner's Correspondence on protectorate and other matters, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

that would put the farmers in a better stead to increase their productive capacities. Local farming methods were studied and support was rendered to make the farming systems much easier and more effective in increasing crop yields. Efficient farming strategies were employed by Gambian farmers to transform the patterns of grains production to cater for the market demands as well as the local consumption needs of the population. The farmers organized themselves in cooperative societies to demand for better prices for their grains. Gambian farmers tried to bargain for better prices for their grains since they were not very happy with the prices that were offered to them for their produce. Edward Francis Small was instrumental in organizing the Gambian farmers to form cooperative societies in their various communities and led the farmers to agitate to better demands which included better prices.²⁹⁸ In every community, *kafoos* which were based on age grades were formed. They assisted vulnerable members of the community on their grain farms as and when the need arose. Sometimes, community farms were established and the proceeds realized from such farms were used for the general welfare of the entire community. Some relatively well-to-do people who could afford the services of the *kafoos* hire them to render them additional support on their extensive grain farms. Some of these local initiatives by Gambian farmers transformed grains production and marketing in colonial Gambia.

Apart from the policies discussed earlier that were geared towards promoting the grain trade, produce inspections and seed nut distributions were carried out during planting and harvesting periods. British officials made sure that Gambian farmers comply with guidelines issued by the Department of Agriculture (DA). Once the colonial officials noticed that the Gambian farmers were not very keen in growing the major cash crops, it became pertinent to monitor their activities and motivate them to grow the much needed crops.²⁹⁹ When the crops were harvested, the seeds nuts were inspected especially when they were heaped to prevent spoilage. Agricultural officers were duly instructed to make sure both farmers and buying agents properly stock the seed nuts and comply with the guidelines that were given before the grains were eventually transported to the shipping centers.

²⁹⁸ CRN1/7: Gambia Farmers' Co-operative Board (E. F. Small) 1931-32, Gambia Records Service; CSO3/409: E.F. Small Discussions at colonial office, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; CSO3/410: E.F. Small Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies. Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

²⁹⁹ AGR1/75: Trade season (Gambia) groundnut harvesting, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Agronomic trials and dry grass mulching

In order to increase grains yields to a higher degree, both organic and inorganic fertilizers were applied on the farms. Grain shells and mill residue mulching were mainly used by the Gambian farmers but due to the difficulty encountered in their transportations to fields, farmers had to resort to other cost effective means and consequently, dry grass mulching became an obvious substitute because grass had always been abundant and its collection and usage did not present much practical constraints to the farmers. The ingenuity of the farmers in adapting to different methods to boost their productive capacities in terms of grains cultivation meant that they had to try different strategies that were necessary to improve outputs on their farms.

Fertilizer trials were carried out to discover the most effective ones that could help improve grains production in every region of the country. As such, colonial documentary sources have indicated that the fertilizer trials had by 1956 demonstrated a major response to potash.³⁰⁰ It was established that burning grass in situ or using the ash from such burning seemed to be a cheaper substitute for potash and farmers realized that their crops grow well once they applied the ashes to take care of insects that eat up their crops.

Trials on soil erosion, insufficient and ineffective weeding of grain crops was carried out with a view to establishing the major factors responsible for poor yields. The major objective was to determine the extent of damage caused to the grain crops due to erosion and also how poor weeding practices led to undesirable grain crop productivity throughout the country.

The Yundum Experimental Farm(YEF) and the agricultural stations at Masembe, Yoroberikunda (YBK) and Wuli were chosen for trials as they represent the western, central, MacCarthy Island and Upper River Divisions of the Gambia respectively. Each of the stations was under the control of the colonial government's agricultural officers and it should be noted that the soils at each of these stations were studied and it was observed that they were representative of the upland soils of the surrounding farmlands.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ ARP26/2: Yundum Experimental Farms 1957-58, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; ARP26/1: Yundum Experimental Farms 1956-57 Gambia Records Service, Banjul; ARP26/3: Yundum Experimental Farms 1958-59 Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁰¹ ARP26/2: Yundum Experimental Farms 1957-58, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

At farming sites, dry grasses were cut and applied loose to a depth of about three to six inches in the inter rows. With the first medium rains, the grasses were flattened to a depth of about half an inch. On the mulched subplots, no panning would be carried out and to a large extent, very little weeding was done. The soil under the mulch remained moist and black and crop growth became more rapid. At harvest times, the plants particularly the groundnuts are easier to lift out from the soil because after the rains stopped, the soil remains somehow dampened.

Many of the farmers who were interviewed affirmed that grass mulching on the groundnut crops pays higher dividends to the farmers because when the farmers were aware of where they would plant their crops the next season, they slashed and weed the grass on the land immediately after harvesting in November or December. They then established a mulched fallow during the dry season and when the rains start in June or July, the grass mulch would then be applied in the inter-rows when the crops are about a month old. Some of the farmers are of the view that less labour was involved in hoeing the weeds and during harvests, the soil would still be somehow moist to make it easier and faster to harvest the nuts.

Burning, ash trials and destruction of noxious wild animals

As in the mulching trial, the blocks at Yundum were harrowed and those at the outer stations were hoed. At all sites, similar quantities of loose grass were evenly used and the grass was burnt completely. Generally, grass and weed growth on the upland soils of the farmlands were burnt in January or February annually. Sometimes, the bush burnings were accidental or on purpose in some cases. Where the grass or weeds were burnt, crop growth was normally well because of the potash obtained from the burning.³⁰²

One of the challenges Gambian farmers encountered during the colonial period was the damages caused by wild animals to their crops. Baboons, hippos, bush pigs and monkeys inflicted considerable destructions to the farms and whenever the Governor and other colonial officials toured the Protectorate, farmers lodged series of complaints to them and requested support for operations against the wild animals. In 1949, approval was granted for a community

³⁰² ARP26/1: Yundum Experimental farm 1956-57, Gambia Records Service, Banjul ; ARP26/2: Yundum Experimental Farm 1957-58, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; ARP26/3: Yundum Experimental Farm 1958-59, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

development operation by colonial troops against the noxious beasts that were causing considerable damages on the farms.³⁰³ The Governor approved funding for the operation to exterminate the beasts that were causing crop destruction on the farms. Consideration for poisoning the baboons was made but it was agreed that rifles and ammunition be supplied and used for the fight against the baboons. With time, the government appointed professional hunters who were tasked to kill bush pigs, baboons and hippos. Poisoning campaigns to destroy the wild animals that destroy farmers' grain crops must be preceded by clear warnings to the communities so that people and domestic animals in the communities could be kept away from the affected areas. Family heads were to make sure that their livestock were properly kept away from the areas that were poisoned as only the monkeys and bush pigs were the target animals for the exercises. It was always emphasized that utmost care must be taken during the hunting and poisoning of the wild animals.

Prison rice farms

After the Second World War, the British government deemed it necessary to establish a prison farm in the Gambia. Consequently, in 1946, one was made at a swamp immediately adjacent to the Mile Two Central Prison (MTCP).³⁰⁴ The scheme was to be tried while efforts would be made to identify more land for the prison farm expansion. Labour on the rice farm was to be provided by the prison services at the time. When work started, it was initially discovered that the area was intersected by low ridges with salt water intrusion a major concern. After the rice seedlings were transplanted into the middle plot, they died because of the salt water that was there. Even though considerable work was done to transport the rice seedlings from a windmill site to the middle plot, the prison management decided to retry the rice planting the following year when it was predicted that the salt water would have been washed out. Different varieties of rice were experimented on the prison farm under the supervision of the Chief Prison Warder (CPW). Despite the enormous efforts made to make the scheme a success, the experiment failed mainly because the bund at the mouth of the swamp retained the fresh water and drowned the young rice plants despite keeping out the salt water. The government was left frustrated and had to seek other alternative methods through which the economy could be diversified from being

³⁰³ CSO2/3208: Destruction of noxious beasts in the Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁰⁴ CSO2/3218: Prison rice farm, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

heavily dependent on few commodities. Efforts were intensified which culminated in the establishment of the Colonial Development Corporation which tried to come up with series of interventions that could significantly contribute to the development of the colonial economy in the country with support from the government.

Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) Schemes: poultry and rice projects

Since the economy of the Gambia was mainly dependent on groundnuts as the major export commodity, the colonial government decided to diversify the economy of the country to increase the revenue base of the state. First a poultry project was started at Yundum by the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) with support from the administration. This project was however a complete failure due to poor management. Subsequently, the CDC started a rice experimentation farm in Walikunda and Kudang with the main aim of boosting rice production in the country. The corporation requested that it be given the same facilities it had when it opened the Yundum poultry farm in addition to a prohibition of rice importation into the country.³⁰⁵ Walikunda had 10800 acres in 1950 while Kudang had 12600 acres in 1951.³⁰⁶ Even though the CDC requested financial support from the government to enable it meet the cost of the projects, the government made it categorically clear that it could not in any way extend financial support as that was not in line with its policies in British colonies. However, the government approved the CDC's rice schemes at Walikunda and Kudang and further expressed willingness to grant duty free importation of machinery and other supplies needed by the corporation for its rice schemes. Following the implantation of the project at Walikunda, the people of Saruja in the Fulladu West District in 1950 requested that the CDC opened a new rice scheme at the Kayai Island for them to also benefit. A ferry was stationed at Sapu to enable the farmers to cross over and work on the rice fields. The perimeter of the rice farm was fenced with wires to scare away the hippos, bush pigs and monkeys were a major threat to the farmers because the caused considerable damages to their farms.

It is important to note that the CDC rice schemes made significant contributions in increasing rice production in the country. According to oral evidence in the country, labour was

³⁰⁵ PWD1/21: Colonial Development Corporation rice project, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; CRU1/16: Colonial Development Corporation rice project at Pachari 1956-1961, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁰⁶ CRU1/16: Colonial Development Corporation rice project at Pachari 1956-1961, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

commercialized as villagers sometimes go to the CDC rice fields seeking daily wage jobs.³⁰⁷ Both men and women were employed to plant, weed and harvest the rice. The corporation made use of foremen who were put in charge of the daily wage workers in terms of supervision and payments at the rice farms.

4.6 Development of local infrastructure

Roads and wharves were major infrastructures that were important in the facilitation of the trade in grains in the country. This was because good networks of roads were required for the transportation of the grains from places of production to shipping centers for export abroad. Roads linking villages were constructed to facilitate the movements of goods and services as well as ease the movement of colonial officials in their supervision missions in the protectorate of the country.

At district levels, a number of locally made palm wharves with timber decking had been erected using district funds and sometimes through local participations. Wharves had been constructed in Tendaba, Sankwia, Bai, Barrow Kunda, Kani Kunda, and Bwiam. In these communities, the Native Authorities sometimes charged wharf fees and in a dispatch to the Senior Commissioner of Protectorate Administration, the Director of Public Utilities expressed that ‘ wharf charges should be payable by firms and private users.’³⁰⁸ Due to the collection of such charges, the colonial government replenished the state treasury and generated more funds to meet the cost of colonial administration in both the Colony and Protectorate.

In the Foni region of the South Bank Province, wharves were constructed in Sintet, Bondali, and Bintang. The materials used to construct these wharves were mainly krinting, rose wood, rhum piles and timber locally produced by the natives. The facilities after completion were maintained by the local people with the chiefs having the authority to collect fees for their usages. Sometimes, the wharves were constructed by firms such as the United Africa Company, one of the major trading firms as was the case at Sambang in the Niamina district. But in some instances, there were misunderstandings as to whether the firms should pay charges for using the wharves they had constructed for discharging and loading their cargoes at such facilities.

³⁰⁷ Interview with Njamana Damba at Brikamaba Village on the 3rd September, 2019; Interview with Siraring Jassey at Brikamaba Village on 4th September, 2019

³⁰⁸ SEC1/370: District wharves and waterways, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Some district wharves were built and maintained by the colonial government through the Divisional Emergency and Development Funds (DEDF). By 1948, Njawara and Kerewan in Lower Badibu had district wharves. Kaur in Lower Saloum had one while there was another in Kudang in Niamina East. Georgetown in Maccarthy Island, Bansang in Fulladu West and Basse in Fulladu East were other places that had district wharves.³⁰⁹ In the district of Jarra, Barrowkunda, Bai and Sankwia had wharves in addition to the one at Tendaba in the Kiang Central district. The recognized government wharves which were maintained by the government and those owned by the local communities each had their own bodies that were responsible for collecting dues payable to them by the traders and trading companies using the facilities for the transportation of their goods.

To ease the movement of goods and services throughout the country, the colonial government realized that there was a need to construct trunk roads in every part of the country. In 1902, the Travelling Commissioner for the North Bank reported that in the Lower Niimi district, the roads were 'much improved' and further informed the Colonial Secretary that 'an excellent bridge has been put up over the tidal creek between the towns of Bakendick and Bunyadu.'³¹⁰ In a similar way, the South bank commissioner reported in 1903 that 'the main roads throughout the region had been improved and are now widened from 20 to 30 feet wide, and in some places 40 feet.'³¹¹ This indicates a significant improvement in the roads infrastructure in both banks of the country by the government. The transportation network was a major concern of the British officials because it was an important factor in the timely transportation of both government personnel and the goods that were bought in the interior of the country to the various points where they were shipped to Bathurst and eventually to Europe.

In the construction of the roads, special attention was normally made to the route, local materials available and the distance to be covered. Once these conditions were vetted and approved, labour was provided by the people especially those who were living in the area where the roads in question were to be constructed. Forced labour was utilized in the construction of the roads and the district chiefs were required to make sure that the roads in their areas of jurisdiction were properly maintained in their own interests.

³⁰⁹ SEC1/370: District wharves and waterways, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³¹⁰ CSO2/44: Report by Travelling Commissioner on North Bank, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³¹¹ CSO2/44.

For the proper maintenance and upkeep of district wharves, every district had a District Authority with the approval of the Governor. Every district authority had to make sure that ‘no person shall, whether at the time of loading of a ship or at any other time stack or permit the stacking of any good upon any wharf built and maintained by the District authority.’³¹² The objective was to make sure that the facilities were better maintained and utilized to serve their purpose without willful damages to them.

Colonial documentary evidence suggests that any contravention of the orders and rules regarding the use of district wharves attracted a fine of 40 shillings or one month imprisonment.³¹³ In some instances as was the case in Kaur, committees were set up to complement the efforts of the government in providing the necessary infrastructure needed by the rural farmers to ease the constraints the encountered in getting access to the farms. Because the provincial people need to cross to go to their rice fields, the committees built bridges to enable the farmers to get access their fields. Chief Landing Sanyang of Foni Kansala and Famara Koli, the chief of Foni Bondali were very instrumental in making district authorities function properly in their respective districts by 1951.³¹⁴ They made sure that the stocking of goods at the district authority wharves were prohibited under their jurisdictions.

After the outbreak of the Second World War, the colonial government embarked on series of trunk and feeder road constructions throughout the country. The main objective was to connect settlements and make the transportation of the goods produced easier. In the North Bank Province, the Barra-Karang road was given special attention because it was considered a major link between the Gambia and Senegal.

The Public Works Department was tasked to draw up a programme for feeder development before approval would be granted for their constructions. For instance in February 1941, the

³¹² SEC1/494: Bridges to rice swamps: Kaur improvement committee, Upper Saloum District wharves and waterways, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia ; SEC1/733: Foni Bondali wharves and waterways, National Records Service, Banjul ; SEC1/747L Foni Kansala District wharves and waterways, National Records Service, Banjul.

³¹³ SEC1/494: Bridges to rice swamps: Kaur improvement committee, Upper Saloum District wharves and waterways, SEC1/733: Foni Bondali wharves and waterways; SEC1/747: Foni Kansala District wharves and waterways, National Records Service, Banjul.

³¹⁴ SEC1/733: Foni Bondali wharves and waterways; SEC1/747 Foni Kansala District wharves and waterways, National Records Service, Banjul.

Director of Public Works (DPW) suggested that the best way to make the Barra-Karang road a standard one would be the use of laterite and bitumen to make it a good carriageway.³¹⁵ Since the road was considered as an international route with a heavy flow of traffic once it was completed, efforts were made to make it more durable.

In the South Bank Province, the Basse-Fatoto road was constructed to serve as an alternative feeder road to the river steamer which used to transport people and goods from Basse to Fatoto and eventually to Bathurst and other locations where the goods were shipped abroad. Colonial documentary sources and oral evidence gathered suggest that during the rainy seasons, communications between Fatoto and Basse were almost non-existent due to the poor conditions of the road network in the region.³¹⁶ Since the Basse-Fatoto road was considered as a priority, the Director of Public Works by the 1950s approved a budget of 12500 pounds to finance the construction of the road. However, by the time the work was completed on the road project, the cost had almost doubled according to the Senior Commissioner in a report to the Colonial Secretary in September 1956.³¹⁷ The main reason for such an astronomical increment in the cost involved was however not explicitly known but could be attributed to mismanagement by those in charge of the allocated funds according to Alhagi Modibo Sillah of Sabi.³¹⁸

In the Western Division, similar road projects were undertaken in the case of Brikama-Kiti-Sifo-Gunjur road network. The Jambanjelly-Brikama, Kiti-Marakissa, Darsilame-Marakissa, Busura-Marakissa, and Brikama-Manduar-Penyem roads were some examples of road projects implemented in the country during the period under study.³¹⁹ These roads were significant in linking communities in the Kombos and enabled farmers to access markets for their produce. Therefore, trade between and among communities and agents of the trading firms was boosted as goods and services could easily move from one location to another with much ease and without too much delays.

In the 1950s, deliberate efforts were made to come up with a policy on protectorate roads in order to keep them in proper conditions. It was observed that the feeder roads which served the

³¹⁵ PAD3/17: Protectorate roads, Barra- Karang, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³¹⁶ PWD3/18 : Protectorate roads, Basse-Fatoto, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³¹⁷ PWD3/18.

³¹⁸ Interview with Alhagi Modibo Sillah at Sabi Village on the 10th September, 2019.

³¹⁹ PWD3/16: Protectorate roads, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

river ports at the time were mainly damaged by vehicles (lorries) that plied them during the rainy seasons. Since the district authorities were not financially strong to repair the damaged roads, the government had to assume the responsibility of road maintenance in the protectorate. Sometimes, the availability of funds and skilled labour became impediments for the protectorate administration to better maintain the roads up to any good standard. In 1955, the Director of Public Works in a report on protectorate roads had indicated that immediate and temporary remedial measures were necessary if the trade in grains throughout the country was to be carried in an efficient and effective way.³²⁰

Furthermore, the government realized that the Trans-Gambia Road that connected most of the settlements in the South Bank had 'extensive additions to bring it up to a 10 ton weight limitation' and similar remedial measures were taken to upgrade the Barrokunda-Bai Tenda, Jappineh-Bai Tenda, Brikama-Brumen, and Essau-Berending roads.³²¹ These road projects undertaken suggest that the colonial government paid special attention on upgrading the transportation network in the country. Sefo Njundu Touray of Gunjur in a letter to the Senior Commissioner outlined the poor condition of the road linking Gunjur to Serekunda and went on to state the difficulties his people encountered in travelling to Bathurst and other markets trade their grain.³²² Since Gunjur was a large commercial center and a big village, failure to transport their goods to Bathurst due to the poor conditions of the roads would decrease the economic earnings and status of the natives.

J. P. Howe, the Colonial Secretary at the Ministry of Works and Communications (MOWC) had in 1957 documented that the government had applied for the Colonial Development and Welfare Aid to construct a first class road from Brikama to Mansakonko.³²³ This indicates that the government had started to see the importance of a good road network in the South Bank as a prerequisite for effective transportation of goods and services in the area. For the fact after the Second World War, grains production in the protectorate had increased due to relative stability and good rains, the availability of better roads would mean that trading companies and their agents could easily transport their goods without much difficulties and post-harvest wastages.

³²⁰ PWD3/16: Protectorate roads, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³²¹ PWD3/16.

³²² PWD3/16.

³²³ PWD3/16.

The point being made here is that adequate main roads and better access to wharves had been a significant prerequisite for the promotion of grains trade in the country. Improvements in the road networks enabled the Gambian farmers in the Protectorate get more access to markets and acquire other tools that were required to enhance work on their farms.

The CDC rice schemes at Walikunda, Pachari and Kudang led to some infrastructural developments in terms of road and wharves constructions. For instance, a six kilometer road was constructed from Brikamaba to Walikunda. In addition, the colonial government undertook to build wharves at Walikunda and Kudang and each of them had a capacity to accommodate vessels that carry at least 8 tons of goods at any given time. A *kriting* wharf was constructed at Walikunda for the Prince of Wales, a vessel that used to transport goods and people along the river at the time.³²⁴

Sankulaykunda, Pachari and Kwinella also had CDC rice farms and both had about 5000 acres under rice cultivation after the corporation was able to obtain the necessary leases from the respective native authorities of both communities. Certainly, roads were constructed from the said villages to the rice fields to ease trekking to the farms and also make the transportation of the rice grains after harvesting less cumbersome. A two kilometer road between Pachari and Fulabantang was constructed in 1950 by the CDC because they had a rice scheme under operation at Pachari and people from neighbouring settlements come to their rice farm to work on a daily basis during planting and harvesting seasons. Similarly, Kudang was lined with satellite villages through the construction of feeder roads that made it easier for the people to access the rice fields without many difficulties.

Another major area of infrastructural development was the constructions of canal bridges at strategic points on main roads. This was done to put in place a proper drainage system which would allow water to run off during the raining seasons without much damage being caused to the roads and compounds that were closed to the roads. In addition, bridges were constructed over main roads to make the crossing of people particularly farmers and the donkey carts easier and safer.

³²⁴ CRU1/6: Colonial Development Corporation rice project at Pachari, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia 1956-61; PWD1/21: Colonial Development Corporation rice project, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF GRAINS TRADE IN COLONIAL GAMBIA

5.1 Introduction

By the nineteenth century, grains cultivation and trade had become very important activities among Gambian farmers. These activities had significant and lasting impact in colonial and post-colonial Gambian society. For the purposes of this chapter we shall be focusing on how the grains trade impacted on the colonial era in The Gambia. Britain as a leading industrial European nation promoted free trade with the view that it will create markets for the British manufacturers and entrepreneurs.³²⁵ Subsequently, the industrial strength of Britain was strengthened through the support that British merchants and trading companies received from the British colonial administration in overseas colonies, like the Gambia.³²⁶

The expansion of British commercial interest in her West African colonies led to a gradual process of incorporating the economies of the colonies into global capitalism through the expansion of peasant commodity production.³²⁷ This was the case with cocoa production in Ghana and Nigeria while groundnut was the major cash or export commodity in the Gambia. Once British rule was fully established and operational, various economic policies that bordered on taxation, imports and exports were put in place by the British colonial administration in the West African colonies.³²⁸ Aborisade argues that import control in colonial Nigeria necessitated

³²⁵ Aborisade A.S. 2018. Import Control in Colonial Nigeria, 1939-1960. Being a PhD Dissertation Submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan p 6

³²⁶ Muojama, O G. 2007. The Dynamics of International Economy from Deglobalized and Globalized Capitalism. Being an MA Dissertation Submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan p3-4

³²⁷ Muojama, O G. 2007. The Dynamics of International Economy. p3-4.

³²⁸ Aborisade A.S. 2018. Import Control

the need for domestic production.³²⁹ To be sure, what was true for Nigeria was also the case in the Gambia.

Indeed, the trade's impact affected several aspects of The Gambian society. Amongst other numerous effect of the trade were the development of infrastructural facilities especially with regards to ports and wharves, the development of market towns, establishment of new settlements, substantial demographic movements, the leasing of land to European trading companies, etc. The subsequent sections will identify and discuss more of these impacts as they pertain to the colonial era of Gambia's history.

5.2 Grains trade and settlement patterns

One of the early impacts of the grains trade in The Gambia was the establishment of farming and trading settlements in the Protectorate. Charlotte Quinn argues that people settled in 'large compact settlements surrounded by high mud or reed enclosures' and a good number of these settlements were within 'a mile of the river's bank.'³³⁰ It is evident that some of these places developed with time and became centers of commercial activities and attracted many people to settle there. European documentary evidence suggests that profound social and economic changes took place in Gambian communities due to a myriad of factors which included contacts with European traders and British colonial officials that administered the country.³³¹

In order to transform grains cultivation and trade in the country, the colonial government came up with plans which would contribute to a massive and more efficient utilization of the land. Leasing large areas of uncultivated land in the Protectorate to commercial firms was considered an option in addition to the interventions of government corporations in land leasing.³³² Hence, places where government and trading companies acquired lands or had business interests became centers of commerce and gradually grew in sizes and populations. A significant number of the early settlements that became commercial centers were located along the River Gambia and had wharves where boats, ships and steamers were used to transport people, goods and large

³²⁹ Aborisade A.S. 2018. Import Control in Colonial Nigeria. P 6.

³³⁰ Quinn. C. 1968. A nineteenth century Mandingo kingdom. 443-455.

³³¹ Quinn. C. 1968. A nineteenth century Mandingo kingdom.

³³² CSO2/3212: Report on the work of the Gambia Department of Agriculture for 1925 together with a statement of policy, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

quantities of freights on commercial bases throughout the year.³³³ An interview with Nyamo Ceesay, a 65 year old village head was revealing when he opined that the British were very clever to create settlements along the River Gambia and used them effectively for the transportation of goods to and from the hinterland to Bathurst.³³⁴ This account is significant because it indicates that the River Gambia, to some extent, influenced the development of British commercial interests in settlements that were along the river so that ports and harbours could be created to facilitate trading activities. Several efforts were made to make the wharf towns strategic places where commercial activities took place.³³⁵ Indeed the development of wharves and ports became one of the dividends of the grains trade in the Gambia.

It is therefore safe to say that most of the early settlements that helped in the facilitation of grains extraction from the Gambia were wharf settlements and the British became more interested in making sure that such communities received special government attention in order to create the enabling environment that was a necessary precondition for British commercial interest to thrive in the country without much undue constraints and interruptions. The British eventually favoured grains cultivation and marketing in the commercial settlements since the colonial state and her agents needed government support and protection in order for the government to get adequate taxes that was the bedrock of the earnings of the colonial state. The bureaucratic arrangements and procedures of the British officials in the Gambia were designed to give preferential treatments to the agents of the colonial state in their commercial activities in both the Colony and protectorate. The unequal trading conditions facilitated the exploitation of the grain farmers who had to sell their produce at giveaway prices. Thus, the terms of trade between Gambian farmers and the European traders were not in favour of the former who had little control over determining the prices of their grains.

Furthermore, there was the emergence of market towns in the Gambia. Certain communities were designated and prescribed as market towns throughout the country by the colonial government. By 1920, Kuntaur for instance, had a market after approval was granted by the Colonial Secretary for a site to be cleared and for construction work on the designated market to

³³³ CSO2/1060: Annual General Report, 1931, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³³⁴ Interview with Nyamo Ceesay, a 65 year old Village Alkali and farmer at Brikamaba Village on the 11th May, 2019.

³³⁵ Interview with Nyamo Ceesay.

commence.³³⁶ The construction of the Kuntaur market significantly transformed the settlement because more people started to relocate there for business because of the increased presence of merchants. A boom in trading activities in Kuntaur made it possible for the settlement to grow in terms of land area and population. As more people moved to the settlement for trade and farming activities, the settlement went through massive transformations in terms of its population and infrastructure. Therefore, the demographic structure of the settlement went through a significant transformation. Eventually, the people of the town became noted for rice cultivation in the protectorate and both local merchants and European traders were attracted to Kuntaur for trading activities because trade boomed in the town. So many European merchants and native traders had their business ventures in Kuntaur thereby making the place a busy center of commerce throughout the year.

Fatoto was a significant settlement in the Upper River Province (URP) that had a market where commercial activities were carried out. In May 1921, G E Wannell, the Travelling Commissioner for the Upper River province opined that Fatoto was capable of attracting a good deal of French trade because of its location and proximity to the neighbouring French territories.³³⁷ Wannell was of the view that once the Fatoto market was expanded, those living in catchment areas would largely benefit from the commercial activities that would take place in the market. Also, the government would generate more income from the fees that would be imposed on the traders and merchants that were stationed in the area and operated their businesses at the Fatoto market. Thus, the settlement of Fatoto underwent a massive transformation due to Euro-African trade and grains became very vital articles of trade in the market.

Kosemar was another settlement that attained prominence due to the nature and function of its market. Since the settlement was in the South bank, G E Wannell, the Travelling Commissioner for the Upper River in 1921 requested that the colonial government grant approval for a scale of notification charges be issued to mandate fees payment by merchants and traders in Kosemar as was the case in Basse, Fatoto and other markets in his region and beyond.

³³⁶ CSO2/340: Market at Kuntaur, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

³³⁷ CSO2/341: Market at Fatoto, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Lamin Koto was a significant settlement in the North bank province. It was strategic in the sense that it shared a boundary with MacCarthy Island (MI) which was the seat of administration for the MacCarthy Island Division (MID) of the South Bank. The River Gambia served as a boundary between Lamin Koto and MacCarthy where the European merchants had large stores that were used to store goods before they were shipped to Bathurst and elsewhere. In accordance with the amended Protectorate Rules of 1919, Hopkinson, the Travelling Commissioner of the South Bank with approval from the Colonial Secretary in Bathurst gave approval for Lamin Koto and Kuntaur Wharf in the MacCarthy Island Province to be classified as market towns in 1921.³³⁸ Hopkinson further requested that the Colonial Secretary's approval be notified in the Gazette as required by the law at the time.³³⁹ It is therefore clear that in the 1920s, serious considerations were made in the identifications of settlements that were vital to the European trading interests in the country.

The action of the colonial state in the classification of market towns signifies that the creation of markets in strategic settlements in both banks of the Gambia was consistent with the government's resolve to create the enabling environment for European merchants and trading companies to conduct their commercial activities with ease. The creation of markets in these provincial towns transformed the settlements in that their populations increased in addition to the availability of basic amenities like pipe borne water which were essential to for the inhabitants to have decent living conditions. These facilities became pull factors that attracted some people from communities to settle in the market towns. Travelling Commissioner G E Wannell writing to the Colonial Secretary in 1921 indicated his intention to transform the Basse market by digging a standard well, build good toilets and put in place fire service precautions for public safety.³⁴⁰ The transformation of the Basse market is indicative of the determination of the colonial government to make the town a more attractive place for business which ultimately led to the town being a major commercial center that attracted many people to settle there.

In 1932, the Travelling Commissioner for the South Bank province reported that the number of strange farmers dwindled in the region due to the high taxes levied on them.³⁴¹ Since a high

³³⁸ CSO2/344: Market at Lamin Koto, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³³⁹ CSO2/344.

³⁴⁰ CSO2/343: Market at Basse, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁴¹ CSO2/1443: Report on the South Bank Province for the Year 1933, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

number of strange farmers in any settlement increased the population of the place and further led to more grains cultivation, any unreasonable levy of taxes and fines on them would not be a motivation for them to stay in the Gambia territory and work on grain farms. Kenneth Swindell is of the view that the strange farmer system is of a transitional mobility in nature and therefore, a significant decrease in their numbers had corresponding impacts on the expansions of the settlements where they settled to carry out their farming activities.³⁴²

Significant demographic changes resulted as a consequence of the grains trade. The establishments of experimental farms in certain districts led to population movements in such places for various reasons. Many people sought paid employments at the experimental farms in order to generate money to sustain themselves and their families. A typical example was Wuli Farm where an experiment was conducted on the imported Allen long staple cotton and benni seeds to enable the Department of Agriculture do away with trial importations.³⁴³ The experimental farm at WalliKunda also attracted many people to settle in the neighbouring villages of Saruja, Wellingara and Brikamaba thereby leading to the expansions of these settlements in terms of population and land mass. WalliKunda itself which is a riverside settlement gradually developed into a major trading center where merchants opened shops and a wharf was constructed there for the transportation of goods. The evolution of WalliKunda into a commercial center massively transformed the road network that connected it with the neighbouring settlements. It eventually became a busy commercial center in the protectorate and people come from various parts of rural Gambia to market their grains and other goods on a daily and weekly basis.

Population movements led to the influx of people from one place to another either through the search for lands to cultivate grains, for settlements and for commercial purposes. Many people from the Badibus in the North Bank region settled in the South Bank regions of Jarra and Kiang. Some Bathurst traders who were mostly Wollof settled in Protectorate settlements such as: Kaur, Kuntaur, Bansang, and Basse thereby significantly contributing to demographic changes in these settlements. Additionally, immigrants from French and Portuguese colonies of Senegal and

³⁴² Swindell, K.1977. Migrant groundnut farmers in the Gambia: the persistence of a nineteenth century labour system. *The International Migration Review* 11.4:452-472.

³⁴³ CSO2/1020: Report on the Kombo and Foni Province for the year 1929, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Guinea Bissau also settled in some communities in the Gambia to cultivate grains and in some cases took part in commercial ventures. Monumental social changes occurred in most settlements that witnessed large influxes of immigrants from other communities.³⁴⁴ Intergroup relations were forged through intermarriages, trade and farming activities among the different linguistic groups that lived side by side in these communities and the population developed symbiotic relationships because no one group was self-sufficient in everything that they needed for their daily survivals.

5.3 Impact on transportation network

For any meaningful development of grains trade to occur, the transportation system was better enhanced to support the movement of goods and services in the colonial state. Nwachuku J. Obiako argues that transportation was a major instrument utilized by the colonial government in Nigeria to enable them achieve their objective of making the colony an export-based economy and that enormous tons of goods left the country through the transport network that connected the produce centers with the coastal areas.³⁴⁵ In addition, Obiako's view that one of the means of transportation that played a very important role in the trend was the railway in other British colonies like Nigeria is fascinating but in the Gambia, it was the river and road infrastructures that were used to facilitate the transportation of goods for both imports and exports.³⁴⁶ Thus, the transportation infrastructure that was developed was designed to facilitate the acquisition and export of the grains that were produced by the Gambian farmers. Thus, the Gambia became a periphery of the British in the context of their economic exploitation of their colonial possessions in Africa and elsewhere.

Due to the European demand for the grains produced in the country, a vibrant transportation infrastructure was necessary in order to create the enabling environment for the European merchants and their local agents in accessing the places where they could obtain the goods they needed and further market the imported goods they had. Thus, it became necessary for the British officials and the other European merchants who had commercial interests in the country

³⁴⁴ AGR4/3: Report of a Survey of rice areas in the Central Division of the Gambia Protectorate by C.O Van der Plas, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia; Swindell, K.1977. Migrant groundnut farmers in the Gambia: the persistence of a nineteenth century labour system. *The International Migration Review* 11.4:452-472.

³⁴⁵ Obiako, N. J. 2016. British colonial economic policies and infrastructure in Nigeria: the rail transport example, 1898-1960. *An African journal of Arts and Humanities* 2.3: 12-26

³⁴⁶ Obiako, N. J. 2016. British colonial economic policies and infrastructure in Nigeria.

put hands together and modernize the transportation system with a view to facilitating their commercial interests in every nook and cranny of the country. It was therefore not surprising that the colonial authorities made sure that native authorities properly maintained the roads that connected the rural communities for an easier transportation of the goods that were to be transacted in addition to making trading centers or markets towns accessible to both merchants and customers.

Since Bathurst was the seat of the colonial administration and governance in the Gambia, the main road from Bathurst to Cape St Mary, a distance of about 8 miles was properly maintained to ease the movement of government officials and the rest of the population who visited the city for both administrative and commercial purposes. The road was properly tarred by 1900 and transportation of goods was made much easier throughout the year. Commercial activities in the region was to some extent done without much problems since people could easily transport their goods from one location to another due to better road networks compared to what obtained in other parts of the country especially in the hinterlands. Alhagie Saikou Kanteh, a successful businessman based in Banjul is of the view that the good road network that connected Banjul and Cape St Mary enabled businessmen to thrive in their trading activities because transportation costs were not that high and therefore, making grains trading profitable for the merchants.³⁴⁷

In the Protectorate during the 1920s and 30s, local roads were mainly maintained by the local authorities and the inhabitants in their own interests since the main priorities of the government excluded the minor feeder roads that linked the villages in the hinterland. During the dry seasons, the roads were used with ease by the local people and the traders who operated in the various communities. During the raining seasons, the protectorate roads became extremely difficult to use by the local people, government officials and the traders or merchants who had commercial ventures in those areas. Therefore, transporting goods from one location to another became extremely difficult for the European merchants and their local agents in the rural areas.

After 1919, efforts were made to make the roads what the colonial officials termed as ‘all season’ roads in the protectorate.³⁴⁸The Public Works Department (PWD) was created and it

³⁴⁷ Interview with Alhagie Saikou Kanteh, an 80 year old businessman and retired teacher No. 4 new Street, Banjul on the 18th May, 2019.

³⁴⁸ CSO2/1060: Annual General Report, 1931, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

became a significant player in the transformation of the road network throughout the country as they surveyed the roads and came up with comprehensive routes of all-the-year-round communication from Bathurst to the rest of the country since that was necessary for the promotion of all trading activities that were critical for a viable economy.³⁴⁹ The roads that linked the Gambia and neighbouring French Senegal were also considered and efforts were made to upgrade them for the purpose of making the transportation of goods and services much easier and tenable for any meaningful economic transformation to take place in both the Colony and Protectorate regions of the country.

A deep water harbour in Banjul was useful for water transportation especially in the movement of people and goods to and from the North Bank province to the St. Mary's Island. The construction of a government wharf made it possible for ocean-going vessels to load and offload goods that were to be transported to and from the different settlements in the protectorate. During the trading seasons, grains especially groundnuts, rice, coos and millet were brought down the river in ocean going vessels, steamers and lighters. Consequently, cutters were employed to help in the transportation of the goods. Usually, the goods were transported from creeks and small ports to transit stations where deep-water vessels would be waiting to load them for onward transportation to their different destinations.³⁵⁰

A significant transformation of the transport infrastructure was the introduction of the passenger and cargo service. By the 1930s, government owned steamers Prince of Wales and Lady Denham could carry 400 tons and 250 tons of goods respectively.³⁵¹ Additionally, there were government-owned lighters which helped transformed the transportation infrastructure in the country. The self-propelled Jean Maurel had the capacity to carry 174 tons while Vampire could carry 170 tons of cargo on any single trip.³⁵² These steamers and lighters called at the different ports upcountry both outward and homeward and they contributed in increasing the volume of grains that were transported to the different trading centers. Through the steamers, trading activities underwent massive transformations and the volume of the goods traded significantly increased over time. Oral evidence from some key informants had indicated that port towns like Kaur,

³⁴⁹ CSO2/1060.

³⁵⁰ CSO2/1551 Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gambia for 1935, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

³⁵¹ CSO2/1551.

³⁵² CSO2/1551.

Kuntaur, Wallikunda, Bansang and Basse became busy trading centers in the north and south banks in the Protectorate due to the activities of the European merchants and their local agents who served as the links between them and the grain farmers.³⁵³

Another major transformation of the transport network in colonial Gambia was the introduction of launches and ferry services. The marine department ran and maintained the launches exclusively for the conveyance of government officials in the Protectorate and for harbour services in Bathurst.³⁵⁴ On the other hand, passenger and vehicular ferry services were put in place to connect the road system. Some key ferry crossing points in the Protectorate were at Kerewan, Brumen, Sankulay Kunda, Bansang, Basse, Fatoto, Kaur-Jisadi. There was a regular ferry service between Bathurst and Barra and through this route; it was possible to link Bathurst and the rest of the North Bank province. Goods and services were easily transported from Bathurst to Barra and vice versa thereby improving trading activities between the two regions of the colonial project in the Gambia. The easier transportation of goods and services made it possible for the goods to reach the consumers without much delay in addition to making them affordable and less expensive for the buyers at the buying points.

Trunk roads were important in the transformation of the transportation network throughout the country. There was a major road known as the Bathurst-Jeshwang-Abuko-Lamin-Yundum-Brikama-Kafuta-Ndemban-Bwiam-Brumen road and it was a 90 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles in length. One importance of the road was that it made transportation much easier in the South Bank. In the North Bank, the Barra- Berending road in addition to the Illiassa-Katchang road played similar roles and their constructions transformed the road network in the North Bank province. Subsequently, traders could get easier access to the grain producers and also transport their merchandise to the places where they were in high demands. Through these economic activities, grains trading went through massive transformations and its nature and volume changed based on the involvement of European merchants and their local agents.

³⁵³ Interview with Musukebba Saidykhan, a 70 year old rice farmer and trader at Kaur on 20th December, 2020 at Kaur; Interview with Foday Mankajang, a 60 year old rice farmer and trader at Kuntaur on 17th December, 2020; Interview with Jali Sarjoba Kuyateh, a 75 year old rice and groundnut farmer at Wallikunda on 16th December, 2020; Interview with Alhagie Jallow, an 80 year old grains trader at Bansang on 10th January, 2021; Interview with Jali Morrikebba Saho, a 70 year old businessman at Basse on 12th January, 2021; Interview with Alhagie Hagie Sillah, a 68 year old businessman at Sabi on 12th January, 2021.

³⁵⁴ CSO2/1551: Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gambia for 1935, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

In addition, there was a secondary road that ran from Illiassa via Ballanghar, Kaur, and Kuntaur to Bansang where connections were made to the South Bank secondary roads from Kwinella, Kudang, Bansang, Basse and Fatoto. These road networks made the transportation of goods much easier and cost effective for both farmers and merchants. The construction of feeder roads in every nook and crannies of the Protectorate to connect river ports and other settlements made significant contributions in the transformation of the transportation network in the country. By the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, colonial documentary evidence suggests that about 691 miles of secondary and feeder roads were constructed in the protectorate.³⁵⁵ Table 5.1 shows the total mileages of secondary and feeder roads in each province by the outbreak of the Second World War.

³⁵⁵ CSO2/1551 Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gambia for 1935, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Table 5.1: Mileage of secondary and feeder roads in 1939

Province	Number of miles
North Bank	116
South Bank	95
MacCarthy Island	280
Upper River	200
Total mileage	691

Source: CSO2/1551 Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gambia for 1935, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

Table 5.1 shows that MacCarthy Island and Upper River had more roads constructed than the other regions of North Bank and South Bank. The major reason for the disparity was due to the fact that by 1939, the two regions were more in need of good roads than the Travelling Commissioner responsible for the regions was persistently putting more pressure on the colonial government to consider these regions. The persistence paid dividend with the concentration of road projects in the two regions. Also, some of the feeder roads were constructed by the native authorities who mobilized the inhabitants in the communities to carry out such construction works. A total road network of 691 mileages across the country in 1939 was significant and eased transportation difficulties in the Protectorate.

The enactment of the Protectorate Public Ferry Regulations (PPFR) in 1935 was a significant step in the transformation of the water transportation system in the Gambia. Documentary evidence suggests that about seventy thousand tons of groundnuts had been exported annually by 1919.³⁵⁶ The levying of tolls for the conveyance of persons, animals, vehicles, and goods was a source of income for the government and daily tickets were issued at the rate prescribed for a single journey.³⁵⁷ Table 5.2 shows the revenue generated and the expenditure incurred by the colonial government from 1915 to 1919.

³⁵⁶ CSO2/413: Report on Gambia up to 1919, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁵⁷ CSO2/1530: Protectorate Public Ferry Regulations 1935, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Table 5.2: Revenue and expenditure for the period 1915 to 1919

Year	Revenue(in Pounds)	Expenditure(in Pounds)	Excess of assets over liabilities (in Pounds)
1915	92,253	89,028	105,959
1916	102,075	83,218	125,816
1917	117,977	94,519	149,274
1918	133,324	88,703	193,694
1919	180,585	143,451	231,028
Total	626,214	498,919	805,771

Source: CSO2/413: Report on Gambia up to 1919, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

Table 5.2 shows that through the growth of ferry services, the revenue and expenditure for the period 1915 to 1919 had an increase from 92,253 pounds to 180,585 pounds in terms of revenue while expenditure rose from 89,028 pounds to 231,028 pounds. The revenue and expenditure for the five year seems to suggest that trade and ferry services during the period had been remarkable

Ferries were stationed at Bali, Kerewan, Brumen, Sankulaykunda, Kaur-Jisadi, Lamin Koto, Tumani Fati, Bansang, Basse and Fatoto. The ferries stationed at these places mentioned above were declared as public ferries as per the 1935 PFR. The extent of government liability concerning the operations of the ferries was that:

The Government shall in no case be liable for any loss, damage, or injury done to or suffered by any person, animal, vehicle or goods at or in connection with the use of any public ferry hereby established, unless such loss, damage or injury shall have been caused by the negligence or misconduct of any of the agents or servants of the government.³⁵⁸

Stringent rules and regulations were set to prevent extortion or misconduct by ferrymen and prevent persons crossing from refusing to pay the prescribed toll fees charged. These measures were necessary for the government to generate funds necessary to maintain the facilities for the sustainable functioning of the ferries and also met operational costs at the time. It was also necessary to accumulate the necessary revenue that was required to keep the harbours functional without putting the operational costs on the government that was of the view that all expenditures in the colonial possessions must be internally generated out of the earnings on the colonies themselves through the various forms of revenue generation that were put in place by the colonial officials.

Apart from major crossing points where ferries were stationed, local wharfs were constructed at creeks that were considered as critical crossing points. At Salikeni in the North bank province, the creek of winding nature, had sharp bends, and the banks were of soft mud and covered with mangrove according to the Harbour Master and Marine Superintendent in 1928.³⁵⁹ A similar wharf was constructed at Mandori creek which was approximately six miles in length. Since its

³⁵⁸ CSO2/1530: Protectorate Public Ferry Regulations 1935, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁵⁹ CSO2/703: Roads in North Bank Province: Salikeni and Kani Kunda, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

banks were covered with dense mangroves, considerable effort was used to clear the entrance in order to make it possible for the people to use the creek as an alternative crossing point where canoes would significantly help in the transportation of people and goods for timely delivery of the goods at their respective destinations.³⁶⁰

In the Upper River province, the constructions of bridges at Porofu Bolong at Chamoi in 1928 in addition to the Shima Simong Bridge were monumental developments undertaken in the South bank of the country.³⁶¹ Oral evidence seems to suggest that since during the raining seasons there were considerable flows of runoff water that passed through these bridge sites, a culverted store causeway was not preferable for the proper storing and transportation of groundnuts and other food grains that were produced locally in the areas affected.

The Basse-Bansang road in the South bank was an important route in the transportation of goods and services. However, the Sotuma causeway had been a weak link on the route but the government was able to improve it to help ease transportation difficulties experienced by road users from Basse to Bansang by 1931.³⁶² It was a significant step to improve the Basse-Bansang road network because it enabled both colonial officials and traders get access to key commercial centers for official functions and trading activities. The road network helped better facilitate the transportation of grains to the various wharfs for transportation to the various commercial destinations at the time.

In the late 1930s, the colonial government realized that the proper maintenance of existing bridges, causeways and culverts was necessary to improve their conditions and make them more durable.³⁶³ To establish an essential road programme, funds were required and for any spending to be incurred, the relevant implementing authorities must justify such expenditures before funds would be approved and released by the colonial authorities. The establishment of the Provincial Emergency and Development Fund (PEDF) meant that serious attention was paid to the mobilization of the necessary funds required for improving the road network in the Protectorate

³⁶⁰ CSO2/703: Roads in North Bank Province: Salikeni and Kani Kunda, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

³⁶¹ CSO2/446: Secondary Roads in Upper River Province, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁶² CSO2/446.

³⁶³ CSO2/446.

especially during the raining seasons when the roads are always in deplorable conditions.³⁶⁴ It must be however noted that the required funds were generated internally through the various means of colonial taxation and other forms of fines that were levied on the people particularly those in the Protectorate. Since enormous funds were required to carry out the colonial project in the Gambia, European merchants and their agents were required to pay the required taxes due to the government failure of which attracted grave sanctions that were meant to ensure compliance among both merchants and the local populations.

European documentary sources have indicated that the buying season of 1927 was unique in that it witnessed a significant transformation in the transportation sector in the Gambia.³⁶⁵ It was so because there was a shift from donkey to motor lorry transport as European imported lorries started being used for the first time in transporting grains in many of the upriver districts in the protectorate. The emergence and use of motor vehicles which included lorries significantly transformed the manner in which groundnuts and other grains were transported as well as the volume of the grains that entered the market throughout the country. The improved transportation network massively improved the performance of the local merchants that traded in grains.

5.4 Impact on the environment

For any large scale cultivation of grains to occur in most part of colonial Gambia, massive areas of land had to be cleared by the farmers. Where the British officials had to carry out experimental farming activities, significant portions of land were cleared as was the case in Walikunda and other places. The expansion of grains cultivation and marketing in the Gambia during the colonial period had significantly impacted the survival of the country's fauna and flora. The colonial government's efforts at mechanizing agriculture in addition to the burning of the vegetation by farmers were notable interventions that were considered to be causes of environmental degradation during the colonial period. The net effect was that the vegetation cover was adversely affected because much of the natural forest cover was lost leading to the

³⁶⁴ CSO2/446: Secondary Roads in Upper River Province, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁶⁵ ARP1/1: Agricultural Reports 1923-1936, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

natural plants and shrubs being lost and the migration of some of the wild life species to some other places in the sub region where there is abundant natural vegetation that is necessary for their survival.

Significant labour was utilized to clear thick forests and swamps to make way for groundnuts, rice and other grains to be cultivated. People usually burned the vegetation and used cutlasses and axes to cut down the big trees clear shrubs on the land. Thus, significant environmental degradation resulted due to deforestation and the diminishing of the country's fauna. Initially, Gambian farmers grew the grain crops for subsistence purposes but with the gradual incorporation of the Gambia into the colonial system and world economy, there was a significant shift in the attitude of the people towards grain cultivation and marketing. Once the grains were commoditized, Gambian farmers realized that their survival in the colonial establishment was to some extent directly linked to their ability to produce more grains for them to attain food security. The commercialization of the grains further indicates that their cultivation had been transformed into an economic activity that Gambian farmers could not resist and ignore if they were to meet their civic responsibilities of tax payment to the colonial state. More people decided to venture into grains farming not only for food production but as a commercial venture to better their lot in the face of adversity since the economic situation was dire. Several accounts reveal that limited financial opportunities for Gambians in the colonial economy informed the choices made by the farmers in their choices of what to cultivate for their survival.

Documentary evidence has indicated that by 1919, the staple food of Gambians was cereals while groundnuts were the major cash crop.³⁶⁶ It is therefore clear that extensive land had to be cleared for any large scale grains cultivation to happen. The introduction of the plough was a significant step undertaken by the British to encourage Gambian farmers embrace modern methods of farming and ultimately boost their production capabilities. The opportunity cost of higher cultivation was deforestation which had far-reaching consequences on the natural environment of the country.

In their wharf building efforts, both the colonial government and native authorities had to rely on rhun palms, rosewood and mahogany as the primary materials. The point being made here is that

³⁶⁶ CSO2/413: Report on the Gambia before 1919, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

they had to cut these trees in the Gambian forests as and when the need arose. Additionally, these large plants were used to build the boats that were used to transport the grains along the river.³⁶⁷ An increased demand on these forest trees meant a gradual decline and diminishing of the country's natural forest cover and with time, the impact on the fauna and flora of the country became so severe that much original forest cover of the country became extinct. Much of the wild life of the country disappeared because of the continual deforestation that took place due to the clearance of more virgin land for grains cultivation. Eventually, there became an evident contradiction in the colonial government's policy of conservation in the country since massive grains cultivation was promoted at the detriment of the environment especially the forest cover that gradually depleted over time.

Oral evidence and documentary sources relied on during this research reveal that mangroves, bamboos and scrubs were extensively used by Gambian farmers in the constructions of houses, stores and fences that they needed to better keep their grains safe.³⁶⁸ Since the Gambians were not required to pay anything for their usage of the bamboo and scrubs since these normally grew on public land, their felling and utilization were not taxed by the colonial authorities. It was therefore obvious that Gambian farmers could clear the vegetation for their housing needs without having to take any permission from either their local native authorities or the British officials who had immense powers given to them by the colonial government to enforce rules and regulations passed by the colonial government from time to time.

During the preparations for planting seasons, farmers sometimes burnt the bush to clear the land for them to cultivate the land. Sometimes, their main objective was to drive away wild animals that posed as threats to their crops. Usually, the grass and some other plants were burnt thereby causing deforestation. Once the grasses and trees were cut and burnt, the soil would be exposed to the harmful influence of the sun and the eroding influence of the run-off water during the rainy season. Water erosion was a major impediment to the environment since the soil in the Gambia is very loose in nature. Therefore, when heavy rain falls, the exposed land suffers heavy

³⁶⁷ CSO2/413: Report on the Gambia before 1919, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁶⁸ AGR1/37B: Reports and other matters regarding Forestry, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

erosion and deep gullies are created in some places throughout the country.³⁶⁹ Consequently, the environment is badly degraded due to bad farming practices as was the case in some instances.

The *krinting*³⁷⁰ industry was a significant one that provided fencing, housing, and wharf building materials for Gambian farmers, native authorities and colonial officials who used the *krintings* to construct houses in Bathurst in addition to their wharf building endeavours. Since the *krinting* is obtained from the bamboo sticks, their usage put enormous pressure on the forest cover thereby considerably depleting the forest cover. Some Gambians used the *krinting* and the other bamboo products as fencing materials and furniture in their houses.

The noxious wild animals such as monkeys and bush pigs posed significant threats to grain farms in the Protectorate. The Travelling Commissioners received numerous complaints from farmers regarding these pests and the destructions they made to their crops. By the 1940s, grain farmers had been experiencing serious crop destructions due to the activities of the noxious beasts. Under immense pressure from the farmers in his region, the Travelling Commissioner of the North Bank Province wrote to the Colonial Secretary and demanded that ‘a professional hunter be employed to exterminate noxious beasts.’³⁷¹ Some agricultural programmes were undertaken to encourage the indiscriminate poisoning and shooting of wild animals such as wild pigs, monkeys, baboons and some dangerous aquatic animals such as hippos that were considered to be inimical to the grain farming within the context of pest control.³⁷² These measures were done to minimize the damage that was caused the grain farms in the protectorate and their successful implementation led to massive harvests throughout in the farming communities. Most farmers were grateful to the colonial authorities for the monumental support they received in controlling the wild beasts that were threats to their farming activities.

Interviews with some farmers reveal that farmers used to have several encounters with bush pigs and dog faced baboons that damaged the grain farms in the rural areas. Appeals were made to the Gambia Regiment for them to help the farmers with hunts against these noxious beasts that

³⁶⁹ AGR1/37B: Reports and other matters regarding Forestry, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁷⁰ Kirinting is produced from the bambo tree and it is used for fencing purposes. In some cases, people used it to construct houses but the colonial authorities further used it as improvisation during their wharf constructions in the Gambia.

³⁷¹ CSO2/3213: Means to Increase Agricultural Production in the Gambia, Gambia Records Service.

³⁷² CSO2/3208: Destruction of noxious Beasts 1944-1956, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

posed significant threats to the grain farms.³⁷³ The indiscriminate killings of perceived wild animals that posed threats to grain farms led to a significant dwindling of the wild life species in Gambian forests thereby creating imbalances in the country's ecosystem.

In a bid to promote rice farming in the rural areas after 1935, protectorate authorities appealed to the government for concession to exempt stranger farmers from paying taxes. The main idea was to entice them to come from neighbouring French and Portuguese territories to settle in the Gambia and clear vast mangrove areas that were deemed suitable for rice cultivation. By April 1942, twenty four out of the thirty six district chiefs had agreed to an earlier proposal made by the chief of Jarra West that migrant farmers should be given titles to own mangrove swamps provided that they cleared and maintained such areas for the sole purpose of rice farming.³⁷⁴ With time, rice farming received a monumental boost as more people were encouraged to venture into it since they were assured of receiving support from the native authorities who were even ready to appeal to the colonial officials to render them support.

Subsequently, there was approval for stranger farmers to be granted permission to initially clear mangrove lands of an area of about 70 by 70 yards and they were given titles to such lands.³⁷⁵ Despite the fact that rice cultivation was boosted in the protectorate, the cost to the environment was massive because the biodiversity was negatively impacted. Vast lands along the river banks were cleared for rice cultivation to take place. In the process, the vegetation was tampered with in the catchment areas to give way to more rice fields to be created for more rice production to take place in such areas. The loss of vast swamps had significant negative consequences on the growth and development of mangrove plants that are very vital for the rural communities for both as sources of fuel and as raw materials for buildings. Marine Life was adversely affected in areas where the swamps were cleared for rice farms to be created.

5.5 Grains trade and the Gambian economy

The Gambia was and is still not endowed with much mineral resources that are normally extracted underground. The country's economy during the colonial period largely depended on

³⁷³ CSO2/3213: Means to Increase Agricultural Production in the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁷⁴ CSO2/ 3214: Proposals for work to be done on rice and coos farms by strange farmers in the Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁷⁵ CSO2/ 3214.

trade in agricultural products in addition to trade in other consumer goods that were imported into the country by the trading firms that enjoyed considerable government support at the time. Surplus imported goods were then re-exported to neighbouring French and Portuguese territories of Casamance and Guinea Bissau. With the introduction of a money economy in the Gambia, formal institutions like the Chamber of Commerce were introduced to help the colonial government regulate all trading activities in the country. The institutionalization of taxation on the different goods produced internally in the country in addition to imports and exports were significant in transforming the country's economy. Through several government schemes, the country's economy was gradually integrated into the globalized economy particularly the one dominated by the British.

Budgetary constraints experienced by the British authorities informed government's economic policies in the Gambia during the colonial period. During the World Wars for instance, much food was needed to feed the troops and the entire population thereby making it necessary for substantial revenue to be generated to meet the cost required. A marketing board was created and empowered to aid the colonial government enforce export and import controls which became effective means through which the colonial state could create money to cater for the cost of administration and fund government projects.³⁷⁶

The colonial governor of the Gambia, in 1921, in a dispatch was on record to have said that trade in the Gambia significantly boomed in previous year of 1920.³⁷⁷ The growth and development of trade in 1920 was as a result of the post war recovery because the relative peace and stability that existed led to more economic activities in both the colonies and metropolitan Europe at the time. The increased demand for groundnuts and other food grains meant that the government was in a better position to realize more revenue from the taxes it collected from key players of the country's economy at the time. Custom duties and sale taxes were levied on merchants that traded in both imported and exported goods that included grains that were locally produced by Gambians.³⁷⁸ Through these measures, the government was able to expand its revenue base and every effort was made to force Gambians into compliance with the measures that were put in place to aid the state in its revenue generation drive at all cost.

³⁷⁶ CSO2/3213: Means to Increase Agricultural Production in the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁷⁷ CSO2/439: Trade Taxation in West Africa Colonies Committee, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁷⁸ CSO2/439.

Both direct and indirect taxation which included customs, port, license, post and telegraph fees were significant bases of revenue creation by the colonial state in the Gambia. In addition, court fines, interests on investments, re-imbursments and payments received for specific services and revenue earned for other miscellaneous charges were the main nucleus of the colonial economy in the Gambia by the 1920s and 1930s.³⁷⁹ Additionally, the ad valorem duties have been very uncertain in colonial Gambia mainly due to the fluctuation of the market values of goods especially the grains that the Gambia mainly produced at the time. For example, the five year average ad valorem duties for 1908 to 1912 were 8584 pounds but in 1920, the duties amounted to 105,141 pounds only for them to fall to 24235 pounds in 1921.³⁸⁰ These variations could explain the unpredictable nature and fragility of the Gambian economy up to 1921.

The colonial government was categorically clear that the Gambian colony could not continue to live on its capital and therefore revenue must be raised in excess of estimated expenditure or expenditure must be reduced below the level of estimated revenue.³⁸¹ The point being made here is that all expenditures in the colony must be borne out of the earnings of the colonies themselves. One way through which the government was able to raise revenue was the purchase of surplus groundnuts and reselling them to Gambian farmers at higher prices to generate additional revenue for the state.³⁸²

The introduction of a price scheme on agricultural products like grains in the Gambia and other colonies meant that African producers did not have absolute control over their own products thereby leading to their exploitation by the colonial state and her agents who were mainly the merchants and their local agents who worked in close collaborations to advance their collective interests at the detriment of the Gambian farmers.³⁸³ Gambian grain farmers were not in absolute control over the pricing of their commodities and they were at the mercy of the European merchants who offered whatever prices they wanted to buy the commodities and they received strong support from the government and all the state institutions that were in existence to make sure that European commercial interests were met in colonial territories.

³⁷⁹ CSO2/439: Trade Taxation in West Africa Colonies Committee, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁸⁰ CSO2/439.

³⁸¹ CSO2/439; CSO2/3201: Market and guaranteed prices for agricultural products, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁸² CSO2/3201.

³⁸³ CSO2/382: Trade Report, 1919, Gambia Records Service, Banjul ; CSO2/3201.

Imports and exports were significant in the growth and development of the Gambian economy during the period under study. Individual businessmen and trading companies had to apply for the granting of import and export licenses before they would be able to operate their businesses. The Controller of Supplies had to access all license applications before he would grant them approvals.³⁸⁴ Usually, quotations were fixed for the importation of all goods especially food items and some other non-food items. The rationale for such quotas was the encouragement of domestic production as well as the protection of European economic interests in the Gambian colony and protectorate since European merchants had extensive business ventures throughout the country.³⁸⁵

In the 1950s, the British policy on import licensing was that imports from some European countries were to be restricted to ‘essentials’ only.³⁸⁶ Food commodities such as milk, butter, cheese, oats, vegetables, canned meat, wine and preserved fish were some essential goods that were allowed into the country. Perfumes, soap, motor parts, and umbrellas were considered as some of the most popular non-food essential goods that importers required licenses for before the British officials would allow them to import into colonial Gambia.³⁸⁷ These goods were popular among Gambian consumers and their importers had good markets for their goods. Since the grain farmers could get money through the sale of their produce, they could afford to purchase the much needed European goods that are available to them. The acquisition of European goods was seen as a sign of prestige in Gambian communities. Those who could afford such luxurious items like bicycles for instance were considered as well-to-do personalities and their neighbours and family members accorded them enormous respect. Maline Badjie, one of the key informants in an interview expressed the view the acquisition of imported European goods was seen as a sign of success and every man would strive very hard to acquire them.³⁸⁸

The Gambian economy had been liberalized by the colonial government and all efforts were made to sure that commodities from the country adapt to the requirements of the overseas markets and also made the Gambian market more accessible to the European business interests

³⁸⁴ CSO2/ 3570: Import licenses sought by petty traders, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁸⁵ CSO2/ 3570.

³⁸⁶ CSO2/3558: Import control and import licenses regarding, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁸⁷ CSO2/3558

³⁸⁸ Interview with Maline Badjie, a 60 year old head teacher at Besseh Village on the 3rd December, 2020.

without much constraints and restrictions. The main goal was to incorporate the Gambian economy into the world economy under the direct supervision and control of the British colonial administrators. The economic cooperation with countries in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was significant for the Gambian economy up to the 1950s when there were no quantitative restrictions on the imports of goods from the OEEC countries.³⁸⁹ The British pound sterling and American dollar were the main currencies that were used in the transactions involving imports and exports in colonial Gambia. Merchants were required to apply for permits and quantities together with descriptions of the goods were to be specified in addition to the reasons for the imports and exports at the time. After a careful assessment of each application, approval was granted after all the necessary criteria set were met by the applicants of the import and export licenses.³⁹⁰

In 1920, the Chamber of Commerce (CC) reported that groundnuts were the major export commodity in the Gambia. The 56,490 tons of groundnut exported in 1918 was valued at 800,319 pounds and this made a significant contribution to the country's economy at the time.³⁹¹ The report suggests that towards the end of the First World War, grains export was a significant component of the Gambian economy. In 1921, the country received a massive boost when it received 9075 pounds from the West African Currency Board (WACB) as a contribution of the board's income on investments.³⁹² Similar payments were made in subsequent years according to European documentary evidence. In 1925, additional 6,075 pounds were paid while that of 1926 was 5,071 pounds.³⁹³

Trade and shipping were also significant aspects of the Gambian economy that need some attention as far as grains trade in colonial Gambia is concerned. Over 33% of grains export in 1927 constitutes groundnuts which were exported to the United Kingdom.³⁹⁴ This suggests that groundnuts were a vital commodity in the export trade that the British relied on to boost the

³⁸⁹ CSO2/3558: Import control and import licenses regarding, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁹⁰ CSO2/3571: Export licenses, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁹¹ CSO2/407: Chamber of Commerce, Annual Report 1919-1920, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁹² CSO2/395: West Africa Currency Board, contribution of funds amongst British, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁹³ CSO2/395.

³⁹⁴ CSO2/917: Report on Trade and Shipping for the year 1928, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Gambia's economy in addition to the imports that were meant to supplement local production and consumption especially the food imports.³⁹⁵

After 1929, the colonial government started injecting more funds towards the promotion and development of rice production and by 1940, serious consideration and emphasis were put on a proposed post-war development plan that shall supplement labour and transport which were critical in the country's economic growth.³⁹⁶ Efforts were made to diversify the economy through poultry schemes in addition to the improvement of the local cattle and pig breeding. In essence, mixed farming was promoted with a view to enhance economic growth and development. The acceleration of mixed farming and the development of export crops and animals required credit facilities for Gambian farmers. Therefore, support in the form of subsidies was rendered by the government with a view to diversifying agricultural activities for a more elaborate production and consumption to happen.³⁹⁷

The introduction of the import and export license machinery to restrict or control the trans-shipment of goods was a significant step that was taken to regulate economic activities in the country.³⁹⁸ The strict administration of the goods imported into the country was necessary to curtail the direct consumption of the imported goods by the local population. This was done by the government to create the enabling business environment for European traders and businessmen to effectively market their merchandise in colonial territories like the Gambia. Statutory rules and regulations on export control were passed in 1940 and Group One of the First Schedule of the order cited as the Export of Goods (control) (No, 39) Order stated that:

If for the purpose of obtaining any license, certificate, authority or permission or permission for the exportation or shipment as ships' stores of any goods which, without such license, certificate, authority or permission, are prohibited to be exported or shipped as ships' stores, any person makes any statement or furnishes any document or information which to his knowledge is false in a material particular or recklessly makes any statement which is false in a material particular, he shall be guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding 100 pounds, or to imprisonment; and any license, certificate, authority or permission which may have been granted for the exportation or shipment as ships' stores of any goods, in connection with the application for which the false statement was made or the false document or information

³⁹⁵ CSO2/917: Report on Trade and Shipping for the year 1928, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁹⁶ CSO2/2034: Agricultural Post War Development scheme, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁹⁷ CSO2/2034; CSO2/3682: Colonial Development Corporation and Income tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

³⁹⁸ CSO2/1841: Control of Import and Export, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

furnished, shall be void as from the time the license, certificate, authority or permission, as the case may be, was granted.³⁹⁹

The above regulation was designed to make sure that merchants obey laid down rules that underpinned the effective functioning of the market in ensuring that all those who conduct business were fairly treated since the European merchants and their local agents all depend on the commercial activities for their sustenance. The role of the government was to regulate the market for all stakeholders to be protected from undue exploitations by other actors. It was also intended to prevent merchants and business firms from making incorrect returns by omitting or understating their incomes for the purpose of evading tax payments that were due to the government.⁴⁰⁰ These measures reveal that the survival of the colonial administration in the Gambia depended on the mobilization of adequate revenue internally for the implementation of government policies and the maintenance of law and order in addition to financing the internal administration of the Colony and Protectorate for the smooth implementation of the policies of the government.

Therefore, making false statements or representations of income and expenditure for purposes of obtaining tax deductions attracted heavy fines which were meant to serve as lessons and deterrents to would be violators of the tax codes that were in existence. Severe penalties were required to enforce compliance among Gambian tax payers since the country's economy heavily relied on the taxes that the colonial officials collected from grain farmers to generate the required revenue needed to finance the government's budgetary allocations for the different sectors of government. However, some firms that had closer links with the colonial government received some preferential treatment with regards to their tax obligations to the colonial state in the Gambia. A typical example was the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) that was not completely exempted from the colonial income tax but received some exemptions because the extent to which it would be liable was limited by the Double Income Tax arrangement with the colonial office in London.⁴⁰¹ Therefore, the CDC's egg project in Yundum was able to receive tax breaks because of the existing regulation that if a United Kingdom enterprise was engaged in a permanent trading establishment in the colonies, the tax it had to pay may be imposed only on

³⁹⁹ CSO2/1841: Control of Import and Export, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁰⁰ CSO2/3689: Evasion of Tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁰¹ CSO2/3682: Colonial Development Corporation and Income tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

the profits gained by the business.⁴⁰² Such preferential treatment was not extended to local merchants and other trading companies that had business interests in the country and as such could not compete on equal footing with firms like the CDC. A critical outcome of the grains trade in colonial Gambia was the integration of the country's economy into that of metropolitan Britain and ultimately, the world's international capitalist system. This structural integration continued to shape the nature and character of the Gambian economy even in the post-colonial era. What is true of the Gambia is also the case with cocoa production in Nigeria. Oliseh Muojama demonstrates how Nigeria was 'incorporated into the world cocoa trading system as well as the impact of the international economy on the Nigerian cocoa industry.'⁴⁰³ Even though Muojama's work focuses on the cocoa industry of Nigeria, his assessment of commodity production, organization of the trade as well as the impact on colonial Nigeria is similar to that of grains in the Gambia because as he argues, European merchant penetration into the Third World stimulated commodity production.⁴⁰⁴

5.6 Grains trade and the dynamics of gender relations

British officials had by 1945 observed that protectorate chiefs in the Gambia should help women with rice farming wherever and whenever possible.⁴⁰⁵ Throughout the country, men were noted for groundnut cultivation while the women embarked on all year round rice cultivation. The point being made here is that their gender roles to a large extent affected the farming of certain crops in the Gambia. The men virtually did not have much work to do during the dry season and it became a major concern for the government officials who were of the view men should work with women on the rice fields during dry seasons if food production and security were to be increased for self-sufficiency to be realized.⁴⁰⁶ It was only through massive grains cultivation that surplus food and cash grains would be produced for both consumption and sale. Addressing chiefs at a conference held in Brikama in March 1945, the Senior Commissioner disclosed that the major interest of the government in the development of export crops continued to be groundnuts. Despite that, the Commissioner stated that the production of the main food crops-

⁴⁰² CSO2/3682: Colonial Development Corporation and Income tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁰³ Muojama, O.2018 *The Nigerian cocoa industry and the international economy in the 1930s: a world systems approach*. Newcastle: Scholars Publishing

⁴⁰⁴ Muojama, O.2018 *The Nigerian cocoa industry and the international economy*

⁴⁰⁵ AGR1/61: Senior Commissioner's Correspondence on Protectorate and other matters, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁰⁶ AGR1/61.

rice and coos was very significant since these crops could be grown by all farmers. What he tried to do was to emphasize that both male and female farmers should be involved in rice and coos cultivation if food security was to be attained in the farming communities. There was division of grains cultivation since the men mainly cultivated groundnuts while the women concentrated more on rice and the other food grains. The division in the cultivation of cash and food crops created a dynamic in power relations between men and women in terms of economic and purchasing powers. Protectorate chiefs became concerned about this disparity and one such chief who vented his concerns was Lamin Bakoto Mboge of Niamina Dankunku who stated that every yard owner should be compelled to cultivate both rice and coos to supplement the women's efforts of feeding the population.⁴⁰⁷ An interview with Alhagie Jamanty Mboge, a 90 year old man of Niamina Dankunku was revealing when he narrated how his late uncle Lamin Bakoto Mboge used to support women rice farmers in his district in addition to making sure that men in the Dankunku district cultivated coos on a large scale to avoid hungry seasons which used to bring untold hardships to many families in the Protectorate.⁴⁰⁸ In order to encourage men to venture into rice farming, rice seeds were given to them at no cost and rice importation was restricted with a view to making the demand for locally produced rice higher and more profitable for those men who had surplus rice to sell.

During the dry seasons, men had less farm work to do in the villages and most of them used that free time to look for unskilled wage labour in commercial centers particularly in key commercial settlements.⁴⁰⁹ In the 1940s, the government established a rice station scheme with the aim of boosting rice production throughout the country. Trained staff was posted to the protectorate to work with women and help train them on new methods of rice farming that could increase yields on the farms.⁴¹⁰ The scheme helped in improving the lot of women as far as rice cultivation was concerned but still, there continued to be gaps in economic power relations between them and men who were mainly cash crop farmers whose concentration on groundnuts put them on a better and more advantageous position in terms of income generation. An abundant groundnut

⁴⁰⁷ AGR1/61: Senior Commissioner's Correspondence on Protectorate and other matters, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁰⁸ Interview with Alhagie Jamanty Mboge, a 95 year old farmer of Niamina Dankunku on 20th November, 2020 at Niamina Dankunku.

⁴⁰⁹ ARP35/6: Annual Report of the Protectorate Administration of the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul..

⁴¹⁰ AGR1/62: Financial and Progress Reports on Colonial Development and Welfare, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

harvest and any increase in the price offered to farmers during the trade seasons usually increased the men's income for the year. Once the male farmers got more income from the sale of their groundnuts, they could buy other household goods like textiles for their family members.⁴¹¹

With an increase in rice production in the country particularly in the protectorate regions, the status of women became gradually strengthened according to Lisa Marena, a 75 year old rice farmer of Niamina Kudang.⁴¹² This account reveals that women felt the rice crop was theirs and they felt elated that despite the men gradually coming into rice cultivation and the new distribution of labour, rice continued to be seen as the women's commodity with all the ramifications associated with its cultivation. The women began to be assertive in their drive to consolidate their position as rice farmers who should be noticed and be given recognition based on their farming credentials and capacities in producing enough food grains to feed a growing population at the time.

In the 1930s, 40s and 50s, women traders from the Colony of Bathurst travelled to the protectorate regions to barter dried fish, tomatoes, sugar, peppers, soap, flour, kolanuts, and textiles with locally produced rice and other grains. These women and other local merchants were called 'banabana'⁴¹³ and once they arrived back in Bathurst, they mostly sold their goods at Albert Market making substantial profits in most cases.⁴¹⁴ With time, some of the female 'banabana' became influential people in society due to the socio-economic status they achieved over time. As the grain crops continued to receive better prices in Bathurst, more land was brought under cultivation in the rural areas thereby increasing the demand for land in the rural communities across the country. Farm lands were allowed to fallow and farmers practised shifting cultivation to maximize production. Several efforts were made to restore the fertility of lands that were overused and lost most of their nutrients.

⁴¹¹ ARP35/6: Annual Report of the Protectorate Administration of the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴¹² Interview with Lisa Marena, a 75 year old woman rice farmer of Niamina Kudang on the 2nd December, 2020 at Niamina Kudang

⁴¹³ Bananbanas were petty traders who were involved in long distance trade in the country. They would take goods from the European merchant for resale to the farmers and equally obtain grains from the farmers and sell them to the merchants who were in high demand for the grains.

⁴¹⁴ AGR4/3: Report of a Survey of rice areas in the Central Division of the Gambia Protectorate by C.O Van der Plas, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

The emergence of female *banabanas* led to a significant shift in power relations since some women became relatively wealthy and could influence public opinion in both the Protectorate and Colony of Bathurst. It was indeed a contradiction of the status quo that some female ventured into grains trading and became successful due to their hard work, resilience and ingenuity. Local merchants that operated as middlemen between farmers and European traders also wielded considerable influence due to the critical roles they played in the grains business. The female participation in the grains business was significant because it created some openings for some women to be key players in the economic activities that enabled them to be economically independent. An interview with Yamundow Njie, a female *banabana* reveals that masculine dominance at family and community levels was therefore put under check since the women were in a better stead to generate income to meet their own needs without wholly depending on male support.⁴¹⁵ Thus, there was a power balance in terms of the economic dependency and subjugation of Gambian women.

The Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Board (FCMB) under the leadership of Edward Francis Small had in 1930 called for the introduction of an industrial and agricultural bank in addition to the abolition of restrictions on co-operative marketing at provincial depots where the grains were marketed and shipped to Bathurst.⁴¹⁶ The consolidation of the Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Board put E F Small and farmers in a better stead to negotiate for better prices for Gambian farmers on their grain crops. The emphasis on co-operative marketing was for the government to address certain critical concerns of Gambian farmers which included:

- Regulation of prices
- Organization of marketing
- Organization of rice supply
- Organization of seed nut supply
- Government debts repayment scheme.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵ Interview with Yamundow Njie, a 75 year old former *banabana* woman of Banjul at No. 4 new Street, Banjul on the 17th April, 2020.

⁴¹⁶ CRN1/7: Gambia Farmers' Co-operative Board (E. F. Small) 1931-32, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴¹⁷ CRN1/17: Disturbance at Njabakunda, Central Badibu, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

Once farmers were united in the pursuit to get better offers for their grain produces, the power relations in terms of the economy tilted towards their favour. In fact, women began to be equally treated since their traditional grain crop began to attract more improved revenue for them. Writing to the Colonial Secretary in 1929, the North Bank commissioner noted that the, ‘removal of Syrian competition in Protectorate trade would be of considerable benefit to the native population.’⁴¹⁸ Oral evidence suggests that the European traders and their agents impoverished Gambian farmers through regular mortgaging of crops which made it difficult for the farmers to settle their loans and tax commitments since they mainly relied on credit trade. The perennial mortgages and debts incurred by Gambian farmers made them economically weak thereby making the credit system compromise them and their power to stand up to exploitation from the European merchants and their agents.⁴¹⁹

The relative abundance of food due to increases in rice production led to significant social and economic changes in Gambian communities. The debt position of the farmers dwindled because there was not only ample food, but there was abundant money in circulation for the protectorate farmers to obtain other things they needed. Kerosene, soap, sugar, matches, kolanuts, pepper, fruits and textiles were some of the major items that they used their groundnuts and rice monies to secure for more comfortable lives.⁴²⁰ Due to the high prices obtained for grains at the end of trading seasons, money in circulation increased and those farmers who produced more became relatively richer by their communal standards.⁴²¹ Thus, in the protectorate some farmers attained some economic power and prestige in their communities due to the huge income they acquired through the sales of the grains.⁴²²

In all districts in the protectorate, the extension of rice production became a prime objective of the colonial government in the 1940s. As such, bunds and bridges were built to enable farmers get easier access to their rice fields. The colonial government embarked on constant propaganda to entice farmers particularly men to venture into rice growing for both subsistence and

⁴¹⁸ CRN1/17: Disturbance at Njabakunda, Central Badibu, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴¹⁹ CRN1/17.

⁴²⁰ AGR4/3: AGR4/3: Report of a Survey of rice areas in the Central Division of the Gambia Protectorate by C.O Van der Plas, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴²¹ ARP29/1: Provisional Administration Annual Reports 1933 Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴²² ARP23/4: Report on the Trade and Shipping of the colony, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

commercial purposes.⁴²³ As the demand for grains increased during the war period after 1939, there was a need for Gambian farmers to organize themselves if they were to get better bargains for their produce. In the late 1940s, the farmers in the protectorate decided to join the Amalgamated Trade Union.⁴²⁴ Their aim was to shift the balance of power towards farmers when they deal with the colonial government and European merchants to avoid exploitation of the grain producers by agents of the state. A typical point in case was the Kaur branch of the Amalgamated Trade Unions (ATU) that brought together farmers in Kaur in order for them to have stronger bargaining positions when they deal with the native authorities in addition to those merchants who tried to exploit the farmers.⁴²⁵

Addressing the conference of chiefs in Brikama on March 21st 1945, the Governor noted that the government shall put emphasis on the development of export and food farming to give Gambian farmers more opportunities to get better seeds to produce surplus grains for food and exports.⁴²⁶ It was quite clear that groundnuts, rice and coos were then very important grains that the British officials continued to encourage Gambian farmers to focus more on growing. Since each grain crop was more or less associated with specific genders, the government's attempt to encourage gender diversification with regards to grains cultivation merits consideration since some viewed it as a laudable effort. Encouraging men to venture into massive rice cultivation was a significant step that transformed the gender roles of crop cultivation in the country.

Before the British efforts to transform farming for better productivity, grain cultivation was divided among farmers based on their gender. Culturally, men were noted for growing groundnuts while the women specialized on rice farming on their swamp fields and 'faros'. Millet and coos were grown by both genders based on their individual tastes or interests. Since grains farming required considerable manpower through the cycle of production, the native authorities were encouraged to pass rules that would entice farmers increase rice cultivation to avoid food shortages especially in the rural communities.⁴²⁷

⁴²³ SEC1/110: MacCarthy Island Division Handing over notes, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴²⁴ SEC1/78: Trade Unions, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴²⁵ SEC1/78.

⁴²⁶ AGR1/61: Senior Commissioner's Correspondence on Protectorate and other matters, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴²⁷ AGR1/61.

The provision of tools that were used by farmers to make work on their farms less cumbersome was a good step taken by the department of agriculture in a quest to transform the system of grains farming. The effect of providing additional manpower for rice farming in the protectorate was an interesting subject that continued to receive attention by the colonial officials for farmers to become self-sufficient in local food production. It was the considered opinion of British officials that large areas of swamps needed to be transformed into rice farms. Canals were deemed necessary to be constructed in order to institute some control of irrigation possible.⁴²⁸ With the transformation of swamp lands into rice farms, more men and women took part in rice farming throughout the Protectorate. Therefore, socio-cultural status of both genders shifted with regards to local food production especially with the introduction of irrigation schemes in the promotion of rice cultivation in experimental farms.

The development of large scale production of grains by mechanical means, and of dry season irrigation and rice development by bunding were measures that were undertaken to augment production. Socially, female farmers became more noticeable due to their performances on the grain fields. In fact, by 1952, the colonial government decided to promote the marketing of locally produced foods with the establishment of a shop in Bathurst with the sole purpose of creating a central marketing agency.⁴²⁹ Such a move created a favourable situation for the women to get their products marketed and as such, they were economically supported. The prospects of bumper grain harvests relied on the willingness of the farming communities to increase the areas of land they cultivated. Division of labour on the farms enabled the agrarian communities to attain food self-sufficiency as well as augment the export market in relation to the grains that were produced.⁴³⁰

Higher yields continued to be realized due to interventions that were undertaken to enhance agriculture throughout the country. Better prices sometimes enticed both men and women to intensify their farming activities and further diversify the grain crops that they concentrated on growing because of the monetary rewards they got after the harvests. At the Commissioners' conference of 1942, issues like food production and trade season policies on groundnuts and

⁴²⁸ AGR1/61: Senior Commissioner's Correspondence on Protectorate and other matters, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴²⁹ AGR1/85: The Gambia and its production from an economic view point, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; AGR1/37: Wartime food measures, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴³⁰ AGR1/85.

other grains were discussed. Similar conferences were held in subsequent years and decisions on grains that were to be imported from Senegal as well as prices of the ones to be sold in the country were fixed and imposed on Gambian farmers.⁴³¹ This indicates that the Gambian farmers had little control over the prices of their grains since much of that decision had to be taken by the British officials in consultation with the trading companies and other influential wealthy individual merchants that were involved in commercial ventures in both the Colony and Protectorate.

The Native Tribunals were established to have jurisdiction over both civil and criminal cases in the Protectorate. The chiefs and *alkalolu* were assigned both judicial and executive powers in addition to general administrative duties and supervision of the districts.⁴³² The establishment of village seed stores where farmers were required to deposit some seed nuts for safe keeping was a novel idea. However, the masculine nature of the native tribunals meant that since men had absolute political and judicial powers over decisions that centered on seed nuts storage and distribution, the female voices in terms of such matters that centered on the factors of grain production were somehow silent. It therefore meant that men dominated the women due to socially constructed notions of masculinity since the society has always been a male-dominated society in the economic sphere. The gendered stratification of the society created economic inequalities between men and women in terms of income gained through agricultural activities which were the income generating activities that Gambian farmers were engaged in for their survivals.

Crop reports on both North and South banks for 1943-45 had indicated that the rains had been both adequate and well-distributed. The success of food production campaigns was reflected in the bumper harvests that were realized.⁴³³ The prospect for surplus food and export grains was high due to favourable weather conditions in addition to farmers' resolve to produce more to beat

⁴³¹ CRC1/9: Handing over notes, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; CRN1/21: Commissioners' Conference 1942, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴³² ARP10/3 Annual Report on the social and economic progress of the people of the Gambia 1937, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; ARP10/17: Colonial reports- annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴³³ AGR1/52: Report on food crop prospects, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

food shortages. Women farmers showed considerable industry by producing more rice to feed their families and with time, some men also ventured into rice farming.⁴³⁴

The migrant farmers were instrumental in the cultivation of grains in the Protectorate. Since men were the landlords in most instances, they host these workers on condition that the strange farmers would spend some days of the week working on the farms of the hosts. It therefore meant that men had additional hands to work on their farms which put them in a more advantageous positions compared to women. In fact, it became difficult to induce groundnut-migrant farmers to become rice-migrant farmers because groundnuts continued to receive better prices compared to rice and other food grains.⁴³⁵ It therefore means that there was a shift in focus in terms of many people leaving the growing of their traditional food crops of coos, maize and sorghum for groundnut since the latter became the major cash crop in the country.

The Travelling Commissioner of the North Bank had reported in 1903 that the people of the region were willing and obedient to all the rules and regulations that were promulgated to regulate grains cultivation and marketing in the country.⁴³⁶ The account reveals that farmers were engaged in grains farming as was endorsed by the colonial authorities who encouraged the farmers to do so. The 1923-24 seasons was unique in the sense that the rice crops partially failed in some parts of the Protectorate according to the Travelling Commissioners of the South and North banks.⁴³⁷ The 'basso', a large guinea corn grown mainly by the Wollofs and Torankoes was also greatly affected by the pests which meant that 'kinto' was used as the most appropriate substitute. *Kinto* is another variety of guinea corn but it is of a smaller grain and was mainly used as a staple diet by most families in the Gambia.⁴³⁸ A good number of male farmers in the rural areas also cultivate 'suno' which is of a smaller grain than the 'kinto' and it is usually cultivated by so many male farmers, particularly household heads for daily family consumptions as 'futoo' for lunch and dinner in addition to 'monoo' for breakfast. In fact, so many rural dwellers in the

⁴³⁴ AGR1/52: Report on food crop prospects, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴³⁵ CSO2/3214: Prospects for work to be done on rice and coos farms by strange farmers in the Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴³⁶ CSO2/44: Report by Travelling Commissioner on North Bank Province for season 1902-1903, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴³⁷ CSO2/573: Report on the South Bank Province for 1922-1923 and 1923-1924, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; CSO2/576: Report on the North Bank Province for 1922-1924, Gambia Records Service, Banjul; CSO2/44: Report by Travelling Commissioner on North Bank Province for season 1902-1903, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴³⁸ CSO2/573.

Gambia believe that ‘futo’ and ‘mono’ are vital foods that could increase the fertility of those who regularly consume them.

The women received very minimal assistance from the men on the rice fields during planting time. But during harvest times when the yields were really too much, men could assist in transporting the rice home and some other works like trashing which required strenuous efforts.⁴³⁹ Again, it is evident that there was clear division of labour that was well-defined and premised on the sex of the farmers involved. Due to the need to produce more from the farms, some men married more than one wives in order to get more hands to till the land. The polygamous situation in most Gambian societies transformed the gender relations in the communities by putting men in advantaged positions to assert dominance over women since they were regarded as heads of households with powers over the female. Since more income was derived from the sale of groundnuts, men became more economically empowered than women. However, the participation of some women in cash crop cultivation and marketing massively transformed their socio-economic status in their different communities.⁴⁴⁰

In addition, land was accessed and owned by women who needed land to carry out their farming activities. The Protectorate Public Lands Amendment Regulations (PPLAR) of 1919 made significant changes to the 1896 Ordinance and henceforth, land ownership was more liberalized to give women rights over land ownership particularly over land on which they carried out their farming activities without many constraints.⁴⁴¹

Therefore, the need to expand grains cultivation altered the land tenure system in the country as the traditional notion of excluding women from owning land went through some rapid transformations. What is implied here is that land ownership became democratized as a result of the changes that occurred in terms of opening and expanding the system on ownership rights over land for women farmers particularly those that dwell and farmed in the rural communities.

The formation of the Rate Payers’ Association (RPA) in the 1930s transformed the position of men in Gambia households. The government cooperated with the association on issues that

⁴³⁹ CSO2/576: Report on the North Bank Province for 1922-1924, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁴⁰ CSO2/362: Failure of food control in Protectorate (rice and corn), Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁴¹ CSO2/305: Protectorate (public land amendment) Regulation, 1919, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

bordered on tax payments and other economic regulations that were passed from time to time.⁴⁴² Thus, men were closer to the colonial officials and therefore were seen to receive some preferential privileges from the colonial state and her agents. In February 1929, an annual agricultural conference was held at Georgetown at which event the seed nut requirements for the provinces were discussed in addition to the storing of the nuts for proper safekeeping.⁴⁴³ One would expect that gender consideration will reflect in these arrangements, but the colonial authorities worked more closely with the men who were given additional responsibilities in addition to their normal traditional roles of household heads in their communities.⁴⁴⁴

5.7 Impacts of grains trade on Gambian livelihoods

The growth and development of grains trade led to the intensification of farming activities in Gambian communities. Different interventions that were implemented to increase agricultural production facilitated massive food cultivation in addition to cash crops that generated a lot of income for the men and women that were involved in farming activities. Throughout the country, families were able to get adequate food that were required for them to avoid hungry seasons that adversely affected the well-beings of their members particularly the children and elderly. Sufficient food supplies led to food security and ultimately better living conditions for the population. The economic status of the farmers improved because of the income they get through their cash crops and some could even sell their surplus food grains to generate additional income needed to offset their tax liabilities to the colonial state. Any additional income generated through the sale of grains was used to obtain other essential imported goods for the family members. The point being made here is that grains cultivation and trade contributed to socio-economic changes within Gambian families thereby transforming the lives of people in various ways. For instance, money derived from grain sales was used by Gambian farmers to purchase imported clothes and other food items like European imported rice and coos produced in neighbouring countries. In addition European butter, cheese, biscuits and mineral drinks were commodities that were in high demand at the time. Some Gambians ventured into trading activities and obtained imported goods like clothes and go to the villages where they barter their

⁴⁴² CSO2/1235: Rate Payers' Association rice stock of and control of rice, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁴³ CSO2/908: Agricultural conference held in Georgetown on 15th February, 1929, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁴⁴ CSO2/130: Commissioner Upper River Province, report on his first tour through 1908-1909, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

goods with grains in the absence of money. In that way, so many people could obtain various goods that they needed and those traders became relatively well-off with time.

The system of giving out seed nuts to Gambian farmers on credit for an exorbitant sum in return payment for the sole purpose of deterring them from taking credits in future and making them keep their own seeds seems plausible. However, such a scheme made the farmers heavily indebted and in fact, a colonial official asserted that ‘A man in debt is only half a man’⁴⁴⁵ The government and trading companies exploited the farmers on the premise of giving out seed nuts to increase grains production for export. Once heads of households were indebted, it became difficult for them to adequately provide their families the basic needs that were necessary for a healthy family life. Due to high indebtedness, families did not get the full value of their crops because they were pauperized by the trading community. The Governor of the Gambia in 1931 expressed that trade depression in the previous year had untold repercussions on the natives of the Protectorate.⁴⁴⁶ By 1939, it was observed by the British colonial officials that an expansion of trade was the basis for the future development of the Gambia colony.

But, Edward Francis Small had warned the colonial authorities in 1945 that ‘capitalist monopoly was most injurious to the interests of Gambian people’ since rigid import and export restrictions would eliminate African middlemen in the grains business.⁴⁴⁷ In a petition to the Secretary of State for Colonies in 1946, E F Small stated that some of the Gambians who supplied the government the necessary food for the colonial army in preparation for the war in earlier years were yet to be paid.⁴⁴⁸ The non-payment of these Gambians led to significant hardships for them and their families since the goods sold were generally meant for family uses.⁴⁴⁹ It is therefore evident that the British officials had little consideration for the Gambian grain producers due to the non-payment of the monies owed to them. It was a deliberate scheme to frustrate the farmers and make them indebted to such an extent that they would be at the mercy of European merchants and colonial officials who would later exploit their dependency by offering them loans that would trap them into taking loans which would be paid later with high interests.

⁴⁴⁵ CSO3/217: The credit system in the Protectorate and the issue of seed nuts of government, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁴⁶ CSO3/208: Economic situation in the Colony and Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁴⁷ CSO3/409: E. F. Small Discussions at colonial office, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁴⁸ CSO3/410: E. F. Small Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁴⁹ CSO3/52: His Excellency’s tour in the Protectorate in 1921, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

In the 1950s, government had to increase duties on produce which led to a reduction of profits realized by marketing boards. The earnings of individual Gambian farmers correspondingly dwindled making it difficult for household heads to meet their obligations towards their families.⁴⁵⁰ The jula men who were also known as hawkers were noted for buying unscreened grains from farmers at cheaper prices and afterwards sell to the trading companies.⁴⁵¹ The point being made here is that once the trading firms obtained the grains cheaply, they cleaned up their stock and exported some, kept the rest and gave the rest back to the same Gambian farmers as grain loans at exorbitant prices. In fact, at the 1954 chief's conference, it was emphasized that since the farmers received low income from the sale of their grains. They could not buy all that they needed and therefore had to resort to credit taking from the very same merchants who were exploiting them. Eventually, Gambian families were impoverished to an extent that some found it difficult to buy mosquito netting for their members especially during the raining seasons when mosquitoes were normally plenty.⁴⁵²

Seed nut shortages had far reaching negative consequences on Gambian farmers and their families. The May 1954 edition of *The Gambia Echo* had it on record that:

Owing to the shortage of seed nuts in the Kiang West District, the groundnut production of the area has been of the lowest for several years. It is said that owing to the exceptionally bad harvest of 1952, many farmers in the district had nothing from their farms and in consequence could not and did not repay their seed nut debts when these were due in the trade season of 1952 to 1953 and that because of this, seed nuts were denied all those farmers who were not able to repay their debts in cash by May 1953.⁴⁵³

The outcome of seed nut shortages and the eventual reaction of British officials were the adoption of very stringent policies that succeeded in impoverishing the Gambian farmers. Oral evidence reveals that pressing the poor farmers to settle their debts during a period of poor harvests was unrealistic and untenable at the time.⁴⁵⁴ Thus, such a colonial government policy undermined the ability of the protectorate farmers in the Gambia to become successful farmers who had the ability to produce enough for their own consumptions and for commercial purposes too.

⁴⁵⁰ NGP1/9: *The Gambia Echo* Newspaper 1954, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

⁴⁵¹ NGP1/9.

⁴⁵² NGP1/9.

⁴⁵³ NGP1/9.

⁴⁵⁴ Interview with Ebrima Fatty, a 73 year old retired headmaster and farmer of Kombo Faraba on the 16th February, 2021 at Kombo Faraba.

Even though male domination of the judicial system enabled them through economic policies such as seed control to continue to dominate and repress the women, the emergence of a set of petty traders known as basket women was a significant development. These women specialized in trading activities up the River and they would take much needed goods like dried fish, pepper, beads, clothes, perfumes, shoes, bangles, cigarette etc. to the protectorate from Bathurst to sell and make profits. With time, they obtained government licenses to conduct their trading activities and eventually, some of them became successful business people and benefitted their families and communities to some extent.⁴⁵⁵ It was therefore evident that the trade in grains led to the economic empowerment of some women in Gambian families which ultimately transformed the socio-economic status of the women since they had become economically strengthened due to their trading activities. Thus, the notion that feminity is dependence on masculine support was proven not to be true in some extreme cases since there were all indications that once a female works hard, she could attain economic independence through her own ingenuity and resolve to succeed in her farming and trading activities.⁴⁵⁶ However, this was an exception and not a norm as masculine dominance was most prevalent.

It could be said that grains trade led to the commercialization of family labour since the grains produced were marketed to raise the income to meet other relevant needs of members. Thus, the desire for more income enticed some Gambian men to marry more wives since additional family members had corresponding impacts on more productivity on the grain farms. Therefore, there was a direct correlation between more grains production and large family sizes in rural communities in the Gambia during the period under study.

James L. A Webb Jr. argues that demographic changes due to population increases caused by healthy diets and influxes of strange farmers in Gambian communities transformed family sizes and structures.⁴⁵⁷ Influential and wealthy family members used their influences to embark on massive grains cultivation using paid labour as a means to yield more production for both local consumption and export. In some communities, the youth and women organized themselves into groups that became known as kafoos which became what Tijan Sallah refers to as work-

⁴⁵⁵ NGP1/6: The Gambia Echo Newspaper, January to December, 1942, The Gambia Echo 1954, Gambia Records Service, Banjul.

⁴⁵⁶ Interview with Balla Sanyang, a 69 year old retired civil servant of Gungur on 20th December, 2020 at Gungur.

⁴⁵⁷ Webb J. L.A Jnr. 1992. Ecological and economic change along the middle reaches of the Gambia River, 1945-1985. *African Affairs* 91.365: 543-565.

groups.⁴⁵⁸ These groups assisted their members who needed help in times of need particularly during planting and harvesting seasons when labour was required on the grain farms. The work-groups became significant in cementing social cohesion within families thereby fostering good neighborliness in the farming communities in the country. They became noted for offering psycho-social support to those who were in need of assistance within families.

Most Gambian communities have several extended family units which then constitute what Rolf Jensen refers to as ‘the basic unit of production.’⁴⁵⁹ There was division of labour as a means of the economic process of grains cultivation and production. An interview with Bintou Baba of Niani Kayai and Morro Sawaneh of Fulladu Darsilameh reveal that since the means of production were under masculine control in Gambian families, there were inequalities between and among family members as the struggle for economic supremacy continued over who benefits from the grain markets and trade with the European merchants and their local collaborators.⁴⁶⁰ The introduction of the European system of rule had far-reaching consequences on the balance of power within Gambian families since the introduction of chieftaincy consolidated power in the hands of men who could take decisive decisions with regards to issues of land use, grains cultivation, grains storage and tax payments to the colonial state in both kind and cash. The chiefs were given privileged responsibilities to work closely with the colonial officials in making sure that Gambians comply with government regulations that were promulgated from time to time. Mahir Saul’s contention that the commercialization of agricultural products like grains led to the undermining of social structures and eventually fuelled conflicts over wealth creation and power in agrarian communities in West Africa is a significant one and relevant to the Gambian situation since the growth and development of grains trade in the country transformed the economic statuses of men and women in Gambian families due to the variations of their incomes and purchasing powers in a broader sense.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ Sallah, T. M. 1990. Economics and politics in the Gambia . *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 28.4: 621-648.

⁴⁵⁹ Jensen, R. 1982. The transition from primitive communism: the Wolof social formation of West Africa. *The Journal of Economic History* 42.1: 69-76.

⁴⁶⁰ Interview with Bintou Baba, a 60 year old woman rice farmer of Niani Kayai on the 12 January, 2021 at Niani Kayai; Interview with Morro Sawaneh, a 65 year old rice farmer of Fulladu Darsilmeh on the 16th January, 2021 at Fulladu Darsilameh.

⁴⁶¹ Saul, M. 1987. The organization of a West African grain market. *American Anthropologist, New Series* 89.1: 74-95.

Income accrued from grain sales by families varied depending on levels of production.⁴⁶² The number of hands on farm work to a large extent determined the output of what was produced by each family or individual farmers. As a result, family structures were transformed as men began to marry more wives in order to bear more children based on the need to increase farm labour for greater grains production since the survival of families depended on what was produced in large quantities for both consumption and sale. Also, grown-up sons began to move out of their parents' compounds to build their own homes because of the need for them to be on their own thereby creating more nuclear families from the existing extended family systems in place. Donna L. Perry documents the crisis of masculinity in Senegambian societies when women began to question and challenge patriarchal control over labour and income derived from grains cultivation.⁴⁶³ This indicates that economic factors began to take precedence over social relations within families since everyone became conscious of the need to be economically self-sufficient through grains cultivation and sale. The commercialization of the grains increased the need for people to intensify their farming activities during the raining seasons since there would always be markets for their grains. Women became aware that for them to attain economic independence, they had to engage in grains cultivation not only for subsistence purposes but also for commercial ones since there were high demands for the grains in the local markets throughout the country. Thus, the women became resolved to compete with men on both rice and groundnuts farming particularly during the rainy seasons

With time, every farmer became conscious that more output on the farm would mean more income for them. Therefore, farmers cultivated more grain crops for both family consumption and for commercial purposes. Some women even started venturing into groundnut cultivation and started competing with men since they realized that the crop was considered as the major cash crop that had monumental economic gains for them and their families. Such a competition massively contributed in the promotion of groundnuts as the dominant cash crop that continued for several decades in the country.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶² NCAC Tape306A: Payment of taxes: NCAC Tape : NCAC Tape 406(1A): Social and political structures

⁴⁶³ Perry, D. L. 2005. Wolof women, economic liberalization, and the crisis of masculinity in rural Senegal. *Ethnology* 44.3: 207-226.

⁴⁶⁴ NCAC Tape 406B: Agriculture and division of labour: men and women; NCAC Tape 452A: Trade in Georgetown and URD and trade on the Gambia River.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The Industrial Revolution in Europe created the need for Europeans to look for raw materials and markets for excess manufactured goods abroad. Also, the abolition of slave trade in 1807 compelled the European entrepreneurs to diversify the commodities they would market in order for them to stay in business.⁴⁶⁵ Consequently, trade in agricultural products became the mainstay of the British colonial government in their West African colonies. While rubber and cocoa were the major cash crops in Nigeria and Ghana, groundnut and other grains were the major cash crops in the Gambia.

The founding of Banjul in 1816 marked a watershed event in the history of the Gambia as the British used the settlement to establish a base where they could have control over all trading activities along the River Gambia. They use the settlement to suppress all slave trading activities at the mouth of River Gambia. The port of Banjul also became significant for maritime trade in the Colony. By 1830, British trading activities in the Gambia went through a significant transformation with the exportation of groundnuts to the West Indies and with time, the volume of trade in grains increased due to higher European demands for raw materials from African colonies. Once the British established their formal rule in the Gambia and started administering the country, policies were designed to effectively govern the country. A major economic thrust of the colonial administration in the Gambia was the development of the grain trade as a main source of revenue for the colonial administration. Grains such as groundnuts became the major cash crop exports for the Gambia during the colonial era. Others such as rice became the

⁴⁶⁵ Muojama, O.2018 The Nigerian cocoa industry and the international economy in the 1930s: a world systems approach. Newcastle: Scholars Publishing. P 25

dominant food crop for the local economy. A good number of socio-political, land and judicial policies and regulations were influenced by the grains trade.

This study reveals that most of the buyers of grains in the Gambia were European trading companies or firms with the exception of few individuals. The trading firms relied on middlemen who served as a link between them and the Gambian farmers who produced the grains. From commissions they earned from the European firms and individual traders, the middlemen were enticed to work extremely hard for their employers as clerks in some instances.

In terms of the organization of the grains trade in the Gambia, the study reveals that the credit system was instrumental. Through the middlemen, European trading companies and individual traders gave credits to Gambian farmers on condition that such credits would be paid once the grain farms were harvested. This system so exploitative that the concept of ‘dabali gi’ meaning ‘loan on top of another loan’ was coined by the Gambian farmers. Once a man dies owing a debt, his eldest son inherits the debt plus all interests due on the loan the father owed.

Samson Adesola Adesote’s argument that the colonial agricultural policy of the British placed emphasis on the production of cash crops and undermined food crop production in Nigeria was also the case in the Gambia.⁴⁶⁶ This is because as rubber was promoted in Southern Nigeria in lieu of palm oil, so was groundnut promoted at the detriment of rice and coos in the Gambia during the period under study. In addition, the competition among the different trading firms and merchants enticed Gambian farmers to produce more grains to satisfy the demands of the market. This sets in motion what Olisa Mojuoma refers to as the ‘process of incorporation into global capitalism through the expansion of peasant commodity production.’⁴⁶⁷

There were well-defined policies on taxation but the Gambians resisted the colonial taxes imposed on them through boycotts and refusal to embark on large scale cultivation of some grain crops that were of interest to the European merchants. However, the British officials responded through both appeasement and the imposition of negative sanctions through the imposition of

⁴⁶⁶ Adesote, S.A 2016 Plantation agriculture and the growth of migrant settlements in Ondo division, Southwestern Nigeria, 1947-1986 being a PhD dissertation submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan

⁴⁶⁷ Muojama, O.2018 The Nigerian cocoa industry and the international economy in the 1930s: a world systems approach. Newcastle: Scholars Publishing. p25

finances and charges on those who failed to comply with the government tax and anti-smuggling policies that were designed to solicit compliance.

The division of the country into the Colony and Protectorate for administrative convenience helped the colonial officials to better govern the country in line with rules and regulations that were promulgated from time to time. The creation of native authorities that were under the direct supervision of the British officials was critical in the imposition of colonial rule and the eventual economic exploitation of Gambian farmers by trading companies that received various supports from the colonial government. Since the Gambian colony had to be economically self-sufficient, the British officials that administered the country had to devise mechanisms through which taxes, charges and other levies were collected to generate a strong revenue base for the colonial state to meet logistical and other administrative costs. In view of this, the revenue that was required to administer the Gambia colony and Protectorate was to be internally generated by the British officials that were tasked with administering the country.

The establishment of a government treasury facilitated the mobilization of revenue by the British officials in the Gambia. It further led to the empowerment of chiefs and their district authorities to collect the head and yard taxes for the government since they were in direct contacts with the farmers in their communities. Additionally, commissioners had administrative responsibilities over their divisions, but the chiefs played significant roles in making sure that government policies were implemented at district levels. In fact, they made sure that village grain stores function as expected and supervised the collection and storing of the required quantities of grains that every farmer was required to deposit for safe keeping. Grains banking eventually became popular because grain stores were established in every village in the protectorate. Government officials made it a point of duty to make sure that stored grains were not infected before planting seasons. The objective was to enable the farmers to get access to quality seeds that they would cultivate in order to increase yields and output.

An assessment of the British involvement in the grains trade in the Gambia during the period that this thesis covers reveals that the government pursued series of policies that sought to address the production of grains for both consumption and export. In doing so, experimental farms were set up in addition to the clearing of vast swampy areas for the promotion of rice cultivation in the country. Standard measurement tools were introduced to facilitate the marketing of the grains

according to best practices that obtained in the global market at the time. Again we can understand that there was a deliberate policy to incorporate the Gambia in the global economy as was the case in other British colonial possessions in West Africa.

The establishment of a department of agriculture staffed with trained personnel was deemed necessary because research and extension services were required to support indigenous farmers to improve their productive capacities in terms of grains cultivation. The introduction of the plough revolutionized grains cultivation in the country and the support that local Gambian farmers received in terms of machinery and pests control significantly increased their ability to produce more grains for both export and local consumption. The environment was degraded as a result of several interventions that were carried out to boost grains production and marketing in the country during the period under study.

The involvement of European trading companies and their agents played significant roles in the transformation of farming activities in Gambian communities and gender relations went through significant transformations due to the economic benefits that were associated with the trade in grains. Key informants have indicated that increased grains cultivation led to more incomes for the farmers thereby making it possible for them to get access to European imported goods in addition to getting enough money to pay their taxes to the government at the time.⁴⁶⁸ More grains production further meant that families had enough food and hungry seasons became less frequent.⁴⁶⁹ This further demonstrates that the living conditions of Gambian farmers better improved to some extent as a result of more food and income that they realized through the sales of their surplus products to merchants and trading companies.

Through more grains cultivation, farmers particularly those in the rural communities were able to get access to a variety of other goods that were essential for them to have comfortable lives. The growth and development of grains trade further transformed economic and power relations

⁴⁶⁸ Interview with Kemo Sanneh, a 64 year old farmer at Kiang Jenerie on the 20th February, 2021; Interview with Musa Marena, a 70 year old farmer at Makka Masireh on the 4th February, 2021; Interview with Kinda Ceesay, a 66 year old grains trader at Sabi on on the 6th February, 2021; Interview with Yusupha Jarra, a 77 year old grains trader at Wassu on 11th June 2020; Interview with Abdoulie Sowe, a 65 year old farmer at Sare Musa on 6th February, 2021.

⁴⁶⁹ NCAC Tape 406B: Agriculture and division of labour: men and women; NCAC Tape 452A: Trade in Georgetown and URD and trade on the Gambia River.

between men and women in Gambian communities. This was because the economic status of both genders became largely influenced by their ability to produce the grains that were in higher demands. Since the grains became the major commodities that determined the income of the farmers, the competition to produce more became intensified among the rural farmers in the country.

Similarly, the involvement of European traders with support from the British colonial administrators transformed grains cultivation and subsequently the trade in grains in the Gambia. The British involvement in trade led to the commercialization of grains which were earlier regarded as food crops thereby giving their cultivation a significant boost in the country. Even though the British had policies on environmental protection in colonial Gambia, their promotion of grains cultivation had negative impacts on their conservation efforts. The destruction of noxious beasts and the application of chemicals seriously led to the destruction of the fauna and flora of the country.

In order to promote the movement of goods and people from places of production to markets and shipping centers, the British colonial administration had to develop an effective and efficient transportation network which included a good road network and wharves to facilitate transportation. In terms land transportation, both major and feeder roads were built to minimize post-harvest loses and enable farmers and traders to easily transport their goods to markets and trading centers. The transportation infrastructure was further developed to facilitate the movements British personnel throughout the country. The constructions of several roads and wharfs made trading activities much easier for merchants and their agents who served as links between the trading companies and the farmers.

Settlements in the protectorate underwent massive transformations in terms of their sizes and demographic structures due to improved transportation networks. The point being made is here is that people began to migrate to settlements where it was not difficult for them to access markets and where trading activities were favourable. Some of the provincial settlements like Kuntaur, Bansang, Basse and Wallikunda became strategic places of commercial activities and various people settled in these places for economic reasons.

Since land is a critical factor in the production of grains, the colonial government developed policies that would address land use in the country. One way through which this was done was the leasing of significant areas of uncultivated land in the Protectorate to commercial firms. This was considered as a viable option that supplemented the efforts of the British officials in leasing land to government corporations, trading companies and individual European traders.⁴⁷⁰ Therefore, in settlements where government and trading companies acquired lands or had business interests, land values appreciated and the communities became centers of commerce and high population concentration.

The British involvement in grains trade in the Gambia ushered in the introduction of a money economy as formal institutions like banks and the Chamber of Commerce were introduced to help the colonial government regulate all trading activities in the country. The government institutionalized taxation on the different goods produced and marketed in the country. In addition, imports and exports regulations were significant in transforming the country's economy. Through various government schemes, the country's economy gradually became integrated into the globalized economy during the period that this work studies.

This work further reveals that the British involvement in grains trade in the Gambia transformed its nature, volume and transformed the socio-economic lives of many people. Gender relations were influenced due to the specialization of males and females in cultivating different grains. There was division of labour on the farms and since the farmers did not receive fair prices for their produce, they were economically exploited by the European trading companies and merchants through the credit system of grains buying and lending.

The study also reveals that the promotion of cash crops over food grains cultivation was a deliberate policy of the British colonial administration aimed at putting more emphasis on the production of cash crops thereby undermining local food production. The net effect of the British involvement in the grains trade in the Gambia was the eventual integration of the country in the global economy as was the case in other British West African colonies.

⁴⁷⁰ CSO2/3212: Report on the work of the Gambia Department of Agriculture for 1925 together with a statement of policy, National Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

Above all, British involvement in grains trade in colonial Gambia not only led to the commoditisation and commercialisation of grains, but also the entrenchment of British dominance over the country's economy as a mono-economy. All efforts were made by the British colonial government to create the enabling environment for British entrepreneurs for excel in their commercial activities particularly in the Protectorate regions of the country. The infrastructural and legal arrangements were such that British commercial interests took precedence over the welfare and interests of Gambians. This was because the entrenchment of the dominance of grain trade by British merchants and companies contributed to the effective entrenchment of The Gambian economy into the vortex of global capitalist economic system. The emergence of local entrepreneurs such as the female *banabana* and the introduction of wage labour on experimental farms had significant impact on the economy of the country.

References

Interviews

Name of Informants	Status	Age	Occupation	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
Abdou Jawara	Male	65	Trading	Badibu Kerewan	16/06/19
Abdoulie Sowe	Male	65	Farming	Sare Musa	06/02/21
Aja Janko	Female	79	Farming	Niani Kayai	17/03/20
Aja Sainey Jaiteh	Female	75	Farming	Brikamaba	10/04/21
Alagie Jagne	Male	75	Farming	Njabakunda	19/05/2020
Alhagie Hahie Sillah	Male	68	Trading	Sabi	12/01/21
Alhagie Jallow	Male	80	Trading	Bansang	10/01/21
Alhagie Jamanty Mboge	Male	90	Farming	Niamina Dankunku	20/11/20
Alhagie Lang Janke Jaiteh	Male	65	Trading	Njabakunda	10/05/2020
Alhagie Modibo Sillah	Male	83	Farming	Sabi	10/09/19
Alhagie Saikou Kanteh	Male	80	Trading	Sinchu Sorrie	18/05/19
Alhagie Seku Kanteh	Male	85	Trading	Banjul	23/09/19
Balla Sanyang	Male	69	Trading	Gungur	20/12/20
Bintou Baba	Female	60	Farming	Niani Kayai	12/01/21
Ebrima Fatty	Male	73	Farming	Kombo Faraba	16/02/21
Foday Mankajang	Male	60	Trading	Kuntaur	17/12/20
Isatou Manjang	Female	65	Farming	Walikunda	17/04/21
Jali Morikebba Saho	Male	70	<i>Griot</i>	Basse	12/01/21
Jali Sarjoba Kuyateh	Male	75	<i>Griot</i>	Walikunda	16/12/20
Kabiro Jassey	Male	66	Farming	Brikamanding	12/04/20
Kemo sanneh	Male	64	Farming	Kiang Jenerie	20/02/21
Kinda Ceesay	Male	66	Trading	Sabi	06/02/21
Kusura Kuyateh	Male	65	<i>Griot</i>	Daru Busumbala	11/05/2020

Lisa Marena	Female	75	Farming	Niamina Kudang	02/12/20
Maline Badjie	Male	60	Trading	Besseh	03/12/2020
Masuntu Sarr	Male	77	Farming	Brikamaba	15/03/20
Modtalla Ceesay	Male	60	Trading	Jarra Soma	23/06/2019
Morro Sawaneh	Male	65	Farming	Fulladu Darsilameh	16/01/21
Musa Marena	Male	70	Farming	Makka Masireh	04/02/21
Mustapha Jawara	Male	60	Farming	Badibu Kerewan	20/06/19
Musukebba Saidykhan	Female	70	Trading	Kaur	20/12/20
Ndongo Ceesay	Male	75	Trading	Wellingara	20/04/21
Njamana Damba	Female	80	Farming	Brikamaba	303/09/19
Nyamo Ceesay	Male	65	Farming	Brikamaba	11/05/20
Sainey Demba Taal	Male	66	Trading	Pakalinding	23/06/19
Sanna Kuyateh	Male	60	Farming	Brikamaba	12/04/20
Sidi Sawaneh	Male	70	Trading	Pacharr	12/04/20
Siraring Jasse	Female	70	Farming	Brikamanding	04/09/19
Yamundow Njie	Female	75	Trading	Banjul	17/04/20
Yusupha Jarra	Male	77	Trading	Wassau	11/06/20

National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) oral Archives

ACQ NO	INFORMANT	TOPIC	RECORDING SITE	COLLECTOR
075A	Burama Konteh & Mambuna Bojang	History of Kombo: Yundum Nyansumana Bojang	Radio Gambia, Banjul	Seedy Jammeh
077A	Tako Madi Wali	Wuli History Part 1	Manjang Kunda, Wuli	W. Galloway
077B	Tako Madi Wali	Wuli History Part 2	Manjang Kunda, Wuli	W. Galloway
089A	Muhammed Sisawo & Fanta Jawla	Sandu and Wuli History	Banjul	W. Galloway
222A	Nyakassi Bojang	Establishment of protectorate in Kombo and British colonial administration	Jambur, Kombo	GCA & Yundum College
224A	Musa Jatta	Early Settlement in Kombo	Yundum, Kombo	
226A	Mbalefele Janneh	History of Niumi	Bakau, Kombo St. Mary's	GCA & Yundum College
236A	Bamba Suso & A B Jobarteh	History of Niani	Banjul	Radio Gambia
256A	Alkali Mamadu Sabali	History of Nianija: Ngari Sabali	Nyangabanta, MID	B K Sidibe
306A	Alhaji Kemo Kuyate	1. Niumi History	Banjul	B K Sidibeh & D Wright

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. payments of taxes 3. Sonkos of Niumi 4. Selling of lands 5. Slave trade 		
332A	Sefo Abu Khan	The Settlement of Niumi, Badibu and Jokadu	Kuntair, jokadu, NBD	B K Sidibe & D Wright
406B	Jayi Saidu & B K Sidibe	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agriculture 2. Division of labour: men and women 3. Relationship with settlers 4. Koranic education 	NA	NA
406(1A)	Alhaji Suware & Wowo Jammeh	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social and political structures 2. Social customs at high points in Bakau 	Bakau Madiba Kunda	Gambia Cultural Archives
452A	Kebba Sidibe	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Trade in Georgetown and URD 2. Trade on the Gambia River 	Georgetown, MID	B K Sidibe & W C Galloway
452B	Kebba Sidibe	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Trade in Georgetown and URD 2. Trade on the Gambia River 	Georgetown, MID	B K Sidibe & W C Galloway

Newspapers

NGP1/6: *The Gambia Echo Newspaper*, January to December, 1942, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, the Gambia.

NGP1/6: *The Gambia Echo Newspaper*, January to December, 1954, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, the Gambia.

NGP1/9: *The Gambia Echo Newspaper*, January to December 1954, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, the Gambia.

Archival sources

AGR4/3: Report of a Survey of rice areas in the Central Division of the Gambia Protectorate by C.O Van der Plas, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/37A: Wartime food measures, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/37B: Reports and other matters regarding Forestry, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/52: Report on food crop prospects, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/62: Financial and Progress Reports on Colonial Development and Welfare, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/85: The Gambia and its production from an economic view point, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/27: Groundnut tonnages, purchase and harvest prospects, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/51: Proposals for Post War Development, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/61: Senior Commissioner's Correspondence on protectorate and other matters, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

AGR1/75: Trade season (Gambia) groundnut harvesting, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP1/1: Agricultural Reports 1923-1936, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP10/3: Annual Report on the social and economic progress of the people of the Gambia 1937, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP10/17: Colonial reports- annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP23/4: Report on the Trade and Shipping of the colony, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP29/1: Provisional Administration Annual Reports 1933, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP35/6: Annual Report of the Protectorate Administration of the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP26/1: Yundum Experimental Farms 1956-57 Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP26/2: Yundum Experimental Farms 1957-58, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP26/3: Yundum Experimental Farms 1958-59 Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

ARP 33/1: Travelling Commissioner's Report, 1896-99, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CRC1/9: Handing over notes, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CRN1/21: Commissioners' Conference 1942, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CRN1/7: Gambia Farmers' Co-operative Board (E F Small) 1931-32, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CRN1/17: Disturbance at Njabakunda, Central Badibu, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CRU1/16: Colonial Development Corporation rice project at Pachari 1956-1961, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO 2/21: The 1902 Protectorate Ordinance, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/44: Report by Travelling Commissioner on North Bank, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/44: Report by Travelling Commissioner on North Bank Province for season 1902-1903, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/130: Commissioner Upper River Province, report on his first tour through 1908-1909, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/305: Protectorate (public land amendment) Regulation, 1919, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/340: Market at Kuntaur, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/341: Market at Fatoto, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/343: Market at Basse, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/344: Market at Lamin Koto, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/362: Failure of food control in Protectorate (rice and corn), Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/382: Trade Report, 1919, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/395: West Africa Currency Board, contribution of funds amongst British, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/407: Chamber of Commerce, Annual Report 1919-1920, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/413: Report on the Gambia before 1919, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/439: Trade Taxation in West Africa Colonies Committee, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/446: Secondary Roads in Upper River Province, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/573: Report on the South Bank Province for 1922-1923 and 1923-1924, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/576: Report on the North Bank Province for 1922-1924, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/703: Roads in North Bank Province: Salikeni and Kani Kunda, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/908: Agricultural conference held in Georgetown on 15th February, 1929, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/ 94 The Laws and customs of the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO 2/71a: The Secretariat Confidential File on Native land tenure, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/71b: A memorandum on native custom regarding land tenure in Kombo, South Bank Province, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/917: Report on Trade and Shipping for the year 1928, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/1020: Report on the Kombo and Foni Province for the year 1929, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/1060: Annual General Report, 1931, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/1235: Rate Payers' Association rice stock of and control of rice, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/1443: Report on the South Bank Province for the Year 1933, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/1530: Protectorate Public Ferry Regulations 1935, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/1551 Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Gambia for 1935, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/1841: Control of Import and Export, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/2034: Agricultural Post War Development scheme, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3201: Market and guaranteed prices for agricultural products, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3208: Destruction of noxious Beasts 1944-1956, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3212: Report on the work of the Gambia Department of Agriculture for 1925 together with a statement of policy, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3213: Means to Increase Agricultural Production in the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/ 3214: Proposals for work to be done on rice and coos farms by strange farmers in the Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3558: Import control and import licenses regarding, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/ 3570: Import licenses sought by petty traders, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3571: Export licenses, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3682: Colonial Development Corporation and Income tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3689: Evasion of Tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO3/52: His Excellency's tour in the Protectorate in 1921, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO3/208: Economic situation in the Colony and Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO3/217: The credit system in the Protectorate and the issue of seed nuts of government, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO3/409: E. F. Small Discussions at colonial office, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO3/410: E. F. Small Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies. Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

SEC1/78: Trade Unions, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

SEC1/110: MacCarthy Island Division Handing over notes, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/ 270: Yard tax, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/ 426: Rates as to payment by installment of, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/ 439: Trade taxation in West African colonies, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO 2/534: Tax and Revenue from the Provinces 1920-1923, Kombo and Foni Province, Gambia Records Service, The Gambia.

CSO 2/578: Reports on the Kombo & Foni Province 1922-1924, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/ 943: Taxation: imposition on the people of Bathurst, Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/1042: Ploughing in the Gambia, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/1086: Wharves: government in the Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul The Gambia.

CSO2/3208: Destruction of noxious beasts in the Protectorate, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, the Gambia.

CSO2/ 3218: Prison rice farm, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, the Gambia.

CSO2/3306: Land utilization and indigenous rural economic conference, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

CSO2/3321: Mechanical Cultivation of Groundnuts, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/3558: Import control and export licenses: policy, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/3570: Import licenses sought by petty traders, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

CSO2/3571: Export Licenses, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

PWD1/ 21: Colonial Development Corporation rice project, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

PWD3/16: Protectorate roads, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

PAD3/ 17: Protectorate roads, Barra- Karang, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

PWD3/ 18: Protectorate roads, Basse-Fatoto, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

SEC1/327: Village Food Reserves, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

SEC1/338: Seed nut Stores and Seed nut Purchase, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

SEC1/370: District wharves and waterways, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia.

SEC1/494: Bridges to rice swamps: Kaur improvement committee, Upper Saloum District wharves and waterways, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, The Gambia

SEC1/733: Foni Bondali wharves and waterways, Gambia Records Service, Banjul. The Gambia.

SEC1/747: Foni Kansala District wharves and waterways, Gambia Records Service, Banjul, the Gambia.

Books

Ajayi Ademola .S. 2003. Yahya Jammeh and The Gambian revolution, 1994-2001. Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Publishers Ltd.

Amin, Samir. 1973. "The Groundnut Economy of Senegal and the Limits of Light Industrialization (1880-1970)" in *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd. pp. 3-40

Archer, F. B. 1967 *Gambia Colony and Protectorate: Official Handbook 1906*, Psychology Press, 1967.

Curtin, Philip D. 1975. *Economic change in Pre-colonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of Atlantic slave Trade*. 1st ed. Madison : University of Wisconsin Press

Faal Dawda, 1997. *A History of The Gambia*, (Banjul, Edward Francis Small Printing Press

Gamble, D. P. 1996. *The south bank of the Gambia: Places, People, and Population, Nyaamina, Jaara, and Kiyang Districts*. Brisbane, CA: publisher not identified.

Gamble, D. P. 1999. *The north bank of the Gambia: Places, people, and population, the Nyoomi, Jookadu, and Badibu Districts*. Brisbane, CA: Gamble & Rahman.

Gamble, D. P. 2006. *Places, people, and population of the South Bank of The Gambia*. Brisbane, CA: publisher not identified.

- Gamble, D. P., & Rahman, A. K. 1998. *Mandinka ceremonies*. Brisbane, CA: Dept. of Anthropology, San Francisco State University, USA.
- Getz, Trevor R. "African Economies and the Industrial Revolution" in *Cosmopolitan Africa c.1700-1875* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 67-86
- Godwin, P. S. 2014. *Trade in the Senegambia Region from the 12th to the Early 21st Century*. Banjul , Sunrise Publishers
- Gomez, P. & Fanneh M. 2015. *Baaba Sillah: Reclaiming the Mantle*. Leister: Global Hands Publishing
- Gray,J.M . 1966, *A History of The Gambia*, London: Frank Cass &Co Ltd.
- Headrick, Daniel R. 1981."Malaria, Quinine, and the Penetration of Africa" in *The Tools of Empire* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Headrick, Daniel R. 1981. "Technology, Imperialism, and History," in *The Tools of Empire* New York: Oxford University Press, 1981
- Hopkins, Anthony G. 1973 *An Economic History of West Africa* London: Longman Group
- Hughes, Arnold, Perfect, David. 2006. *A Political History of The Gambia, 1816-1994*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.
- Innes, Gordon (ed.), *Sundiata: Three Mandinka Versions* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1974)
- Laumann, Dennis. 2013. *Colonial Africa 1884-1994* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ltd. Chp. 4; 5; 6 and 7
- Muojama, O. 2018 *The Nigerian cocoa industry and the international economy in the 1930s: a world systems approach* . Newcastle: Scholars Publishing
- Quinn C.A, 1972, *A Mandingo Kingdom of Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam and European Expansion*, Evanston North Western University Press.

- Quinn, C.A.1972, *A Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam, and European Expansion*, Evanston Northwestern University Press
- Reeve, H. F 1969 *The Gambia Its History: Ancient Medieval and Modern* New York: Negro University Press
- Rice, Berkeley.1967. *Enter Gambia: The Birth of an Improbable Nation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Rodney, Walter. “Africa’s Contribution to the Capitalist Development of Europe – The Colonial Period” in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982), pp. 149-201
- Rodney, Walter. “Colonialism as a System for under developing Africa” in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982), pp. 205-281
- Sallah, T. “Strange Farmers and the Development of The Gambia’s Peanut Trade, “in *State and Society in The Gambia since Independence, 1965-2012*, eds. Abdoulaye Saine, Ebrima Ceesay and Ebrima Sall, (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2013), 57-78.
- Sarr, A. (2016). *Islam, power, and dependency in the Gambia River basin: The politics of land control, 1790-1940*. Rochester: Rochester UP
- Smith, A. 1937 *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, New York, Modern Library
- Swindell, K, 2013 “Enter the ‘Experts’: Environmental and Agrarian Change in The Gambia, 1900-1951,” in *State and Society in The Gambia since Independence, 1965-2012*, eds. Abdoulaye Saine, Ebrima Ceesay and Ebrima Sall, Trenton: Africa World Press
- Swindell, K., & Jeng, A. 2005. *Migrants, credit and climate: The Gambian groundnut trade, 1834-1934*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.
- Touray, Omar A. 2000 *The Gambia and The World: A History of The Foreign Policy of Africa’s Smallest State*. Hamburg: Institute of African Affairs
- Wright Donald, R.2010. *The World and a very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niimi, The Gambia*.3rd ed. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc
- York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 58-78. pp. 3-12

Theses

- Aborisade, A.S. 2018. Import Control in Colonial Nigeria, 1939-1960. PhD Thesis Department of History. University of Ibadan. p6 & 225
- Adesote, S.A 2016 Plantation agriculture and the growth of migrant settlements in Ondo division, Southwestern Nigeria, 1947-1986. PhD Thesis. Department of History. University of Ibadan
- Alimami M. K. 1983. An Economic Analysis of Rice Production Systems and Production Organization of Rice Farmers in The Gambia. PhD Thesis. Michigan State University.
- Muojama, O G. 2007. The Dynamics of International Economy from Deglobalized and Globalized Capitalism. MA Thesis. Department of History. University of Ibadan. p3-4

Journal Articles

- Armitage, Cecil. 1928,"The Gambia Colony and Protectorate." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts (Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce)* 76.3944: 810-818.
- Bellagamba A. 2006, Beyond Ritualized Friendship: A Historical Ethnography of Power, Trust and Interpersonal Affection in Fulladu, The Gambia (ca. 1880-1918), *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie Bd* : 245-262
- Bellagamba A. 2004. Entrustment and Its Changing Political Meanings in Fulladu, the Gambia (1880-1994), *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 7: 383-410.
- Bellagamba. A. 2005. Slavery and emancipation in the colonial archives: British officials, slave-owners in the protectorate of the Gambia (1890-1936) *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39.1: 5-41.
- Brooks, G.E. 1975. Peanuts and colonialism: consequences of the commercialisation of peanuts in West Africa. *The Journal of African History* 16.1: 29-56
- Charlotte A. Quinn, 1968. Niimi: A Nineteenth-Century Mandingo Kingdom, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 38. 4: 443-455

- Donald R. Wright, 1977. Darbo Jula: The Role of a Mandinka Jula Clan in the Long-Distance Trade of the Gambia River and Its Hinterland, *African Economic History* 3: 33-45
- Donald R. Wright, 1985. *Beyond Migration and Conquest: Oral Traditions and Mandinka Ethnicity in Senegambia*, *History in Africa* 12: 335-348
- Hawthorne, W. 2001. Nourishing a stateless society during the slave trade: the rise of Balanta paddy-rice production in Guinea Bissau. *Journal of African History* 4.1:1-24
- Ikime, O. 1967. Native administration in Kwale-Aboh, 1928-1950: A Case Study. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria* 3.4: 663-682
- Ikime, O. 1968. Reconstructing Indirect Rule: the Nigerian Example. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria* 4.3: 423-438
- Ikime, O. 1975. The British and Native administration Finance in Northern Nigeria. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria* 7.4: 673-692
- Jensen, R. 1982. The transition from primitive communism: the Wolof social formation of West Africa. *The Journal of Economic History* 42.1: 69-76.
- Klein M., 1972, Social and economic factors in the Muslim revolutions in Senegambia. *Journal of African History* 13.3: 433-440
- Obiako, N. J. 2016. British colonial economic policies and infrastructure in Nigeria: the rail transport example, 1898-1960. *An African Journal of Arts and Humanities* 2.3: 12-26
- Olokoju, A. 1992. Maritime trade in Lagos in the Aftermath of the First World War. *African Economic History* 20: 119-135
- Olokoju, A.1996. Spatial Analysis and Inter-Port Competition: Lagos, the Niger and the Capture of the Kano Tripoli Trade, c.1890-1914. *Australian Association for maritime History* 18.1: 30-47
- Osborn, Emily L. 2009, Casting aluminum cooking pots: labour, migration and artisan Production in West Africa's informal sector, 1945-2005, *African Identities*, 7. 3: 373-386
- Perry, D. L. 2005. Wolof women, economic liberalization, and the crisis of masculinity in rural Senegal . *Ethnology* 44.3: 207-226.

- Quinn. C. 1968. Niimi: a nineteenth century Mandingo kingdom. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 38.4: 443-455.
- Sallah, T. M. 1990. Economics and politics in the Gambia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 28.4: 621-648.
- Sarr A. 2009. Fighting over rice swamps: conflict and community across the Gambia River basin, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Mande Studies* 11: 145-163.
- Sarr A. 2014, Land, Power and Dependency along the Gambia River, late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries *African Studies Review* 57. 3: 101-12
- Sarr, A. 2017, Gender, Spirituality, and Economic Change in Rural Gambia: Agricultural Production in the Lower Gambia Region, c. 1830s–1940s. *African Economic History* 45.2: 1-26.
- Saul, M. 1987. The organization of a west african grain market. *American Anthropologist New Series* 89.1: 74-95.
- Searing, J. F. (2002). ‘No kings, no lords, no slaves’: ethnicity and religion among the Sereer-Safen of Western Bawol, 1700–1914. *The Journal of African History* 43.03:407-429
- Southorn, T. 1944, The Gambia: Background for Progress. *Journal of the Royal African Society* (Oxford University press on behalf of the Royal African Society) 43.170:10-15
- Swindell, K. 1977. Migrant groundnut farmers in the Gambia: the persistence of a nineteenth century labour system. *The International Migration Review* 11.4:452-472.
- Swindell, Kenneth. 1967, “Iron Ore Mining in West Africa: Some Recent Developments in Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia,” *Economic Geography* 43. 4: 333-46
- Webb James L.A Jnr. 1992. Ecological and economic change along the middle reaches of the Gambia River, 1945-1985. *African Affairs* 91.365: 543-565.

Internet sources

Central Intelligence Agency-United States. <https://www.cia.gov.n.d>.


<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ga.html> (accessed April 5, 2018)

NOAA Baseline Climatological Dataset - Monthly Weather Station Temperature and Precipitation Data. Provided by <http://ingrid.lidgo.columbia.edu/SOURCES/.NOAA/.NCDC/.GCPS/.MONTHLY/.STATION/>

<http://www.gbos.gov.gm/uploads/census/The%20Gambia%20Population%20and%20Housing%20Census%202013%20Provisional%20Report.pdf> (Accessed April 5th, 2018);

APPENDIX I

REPORT ON AMOUNT REVENUE COLLECTED

 NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE GAMBIA	
TITLE:	Report on Amount Revenue Collected
NUMBER:	CS02/46
SHIVES REF:	
CE NUMBER:	

112
1903

McCarthy Island

30 / 6 / 03.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a return showing the amount of Revenue collected up to the end of June 1903.

	£.	s.	d.
Trade Licenses.....	118.	7	3
C. Fees & Fines.....	170.	13	11
Miscellaneous.....	112.	16	9
Hut Tax.....	490.	1	0
Timber.....	5.	5	0
E. Farmers Rent.....	315.	4	0
	<u>£1215.</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant

(SGD) J.K. McCallum.

2/47

Col: Secretary.
Bathurst.

McCarthy Island.

30 / 6 / 03.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith
my annual report on the McCarthy Island Dis-
trict up to the end of June 1903.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) J. K. McCallum.

Hon:

Col: Secretary.

Bathurst.

McCarthy Island

30 / 6 / 03.

Sir,

In writing a report of McCarthy Island District, I would first refer to McCarthy Island. During the past eight months, there have been no complaints, and it is noticeable what a quiet class of people reside there. The Police Court and Jail combined is now finished, and is a very nice building. The old station is in bad condition, and I think it would be well if it were entirely removed, or else thoroughly repaired. I spoke of the repairs needed at Government House in last year's report, and the repairs referred to are still very badly needed especially the floor, which is badly eaten away in places by ants.

During my absence from McCarthy Island, the place has been in charge of Sergeant Johns of the Bathurst Police Force; he has carried out his duties very well indeed, and I have always found him a reliable and trust-worthy man.

I would now pass on to the Protectorate, which is perhaps of more importance and of more interest than the small Island just referred to.

The crops throughout the District have been very

Hon:

Col: Secretary
Bathurst.

very large this year, but the ground-nut has been a good deal smaller in size. It is to be regretted the price of nuts dropped so suddenly, and in some cases the natives on this account did not sell their ground-nuts at all. The people are of course disappointed with this year's sales, and I am of an opinion that next year's crop will consequently not be as large as usual, as many will plant corn instead.

The Chiefs and Headmen of the District have done their duties in a satisfactory manner it will be remembered last year that Chief N'garry Sabali caused some trouble, but this year, he has improved in behaviour, and has on the whole done very well. I would particularly speak of Head-Chief Suntu Komar who is a particularly intelligent man, and certainly the best chief of the whole District.

At the present writing, there have been 31 Tribunals held; the cases consisted mostly of assault, and a few cases of adultery and seduction. I have several times been present when the Tribunal was held, and they were conducted in a quiet and orderly manner. In all the cases, a fine has been imposed, and it is noticeable the fine has always been paid. All the Chiefs have been thoroughly drilled in the Protectorate Ordinance, and all things that concern their country, and I feel confident they know their duties, as well as the Headmen too. I have had one or two Headmen allowing their towns to become a dirty condition, but a sharp

sharp fine has had a wonderful effect, and at present time they are all quite clean.

The Boundary Pillars, dividing the English Protectorate with that of the French, have been thoroughly repaired, and put into proper condition. They are twenty-two in number, and their height is not less than five feet and the pillar has been built in the form of a circle, and is very large and distinct.

The main roads throughout the District have also been improved, and are now widened. They will average from 20 to 30 feet wide, and in some places 40 feet.

After this year's rain-falls, and the ground becomes soft, the whole of the Districts are going to turn out and do still more on them, so that by next Xmas, the main roads will be in a very good condition and vastly improved.

The storage fees collected from non-residents of the Protectorate coming over and bringing cattle to graze here, have been exceptionally large this year. The reason of the increase of this part of the revenue, is not so much the increase of the cattle coming from the French Protectorate, but because I have made the Chiefs and Headmen pay particular attention to this subject, and I think in future, they will attend to their duty very well. By the time the cattle are sold that have been taken in default of payment in cash, (which is 1 per head for each strange animal) I think the total amount collected should reach at least £140.

Out

Out of this total, some £71 has been collected in cash by the various Chiefs, and turned over to me.

I would now speak of the very large number of cattle that reside in the Protectorate, and belong to natives of this country. One cannot pass through any of the Districts belonging to McCarthy Island District without seeing large herds of cattle. His Excellency the Governor has been kind enough to advise the people to sell off some of their beasts, and so lessen the number that are always herded together, and I have spoken to all the Chiefs and many others beside and have tried to encourage them to do this, pointing out that the sale of a large number of their cattle helps to lessen the chance of disease. I have had several offers, but the price asked has been out of all reason, so that this year practically none have been sold. A small black fly has been a perfect pest this year through the whole Country, and I notice that wherever the cattle have been, this fly is to be found too, and as I did not see last year in the District, it appears to me to be a proof of the increase of cattle in the Protectorate. It would be a very good thing indeed if these people could be tempted to sell off and dispense with a large number of cattle; and I fear that if this is not done, the time will come when there will not be enough land in the

the District to feed them all, and if a plague among cattle were to come at the present time, the result would I fear be very serious, and the loss great.

In this District, the Fullars are the main cattle owners, and I am sorry to say they are the hardest people there to try and buy cattle from; they will not even count the number of cattle they own, much less sell them.

Just before last year's rainy-season, a certain amount of cotton seed was given out to all the Chiefs of this District to plant and grow as an experiment, so as to prove whether cotton would do well in this part of the Country.

On returning from leave last year, I visited practically all the cotton planted in this District, and although I know practically nothing about it, the cotton appeared to look very well and had grown in many places to a great height. Since that time Mr Severs (the cotton expert) has been through the District, and seen what has been done. I see no reason why cotton should not do very well here, if the natives would take an interest in it and put the same attention in cotton growing as they do to grow their ground-nuts. The Chiefs and people in the District at present however I fear are not as interested in the subject as much as they might be, their whole attention being on their ground-nuts. This year each District is being supplied with cotton seed as a present, and perhaps

knowing this, they will give it more attention than they did last year.

The natives throughout this District appear to be in a quiet and contented state of mind; and from what I know of these people, their great and only desire seems to be in getting a fine crop of ground-nuts and a good market for them. they are then satisfied and contented until the following year when they anxiously await the price of nuts again.

Regarding the health of these people I would state that this year it is distinctly ~~the~~ there have of course been deaths throughout the District, most of those who died, I happen to know, and all of them are men of considerable years, who could hardly pull through any sickness such as fever, without special attention.

I spoke in my report last year of my Interpreter Mr B.C.King, and how well he has carried out his duties; I can this year only make the same remarks, and state I consider him a most excellent Interpreter, and a thoroughly reliable and trustworthy man.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Sgd) J.K.McCallum.

T.C.

APPENDIX II

REPORT ON GAMBIA UPTO 1919

~~CS02/439: Trade and Taxation in G/A~~
CS02/413: Report on Gambia upto 1919

GAMBIA.

Government House,

Bathurst Gambia,

No. 194

12th October, 19 20.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit herewith an annual General Report on the Gambia for 1919.

1. I have, in writing the Report, followed the main lines laid down by the Sub-Committee on Blue Books and Blue Book Reports (Appendix II of the Report of the Committee, 1917). I have, however, having regard to the circumstances of the Colony, included information which properly belongs to a Handbook of Standing Information, and also certain paragraphs which would ordinarily form part of a Trade Commissioner's Report. The size and importance of the Colony do not justify the publication of a separate handbook which would require to be brought up to date at regular intervals. There is further, so far as I am aware, no early prospect of a Trade Commissioner being appointed for the Gambia and neighbouring West African Colonies. I trust however that I may be wrong in this.

3. I am aware that the Report is deficient in some respects, but I have endeavoured to include as much

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

as

as possible that may be of interest to persons in the United Kingdom and elsewhere who wish to learn of the origin, resources and development of the Colony. I shall be glad if Your Lordship will be pleased to order four hundred copies to be printed, in addition to the usual number, for free distribution at the expense of this Colony to the Chambers of Commerce and public libraries in large towns in the United Kingdom and the Empire, one hundred might be sent here and the remainder distributed by the Crown Agents.

4. I make this request from no exaggerated idea of the importance of the Colony, but because numerous requests have been received recently from the United Kingdom, Canada, India and Australia for information about the Gambia. As Your Lordship is doubtless aware there is practically no sale for publications of this kind and there is, I submit, ample justification for free distribution.

5. I particularly request that the map which has been prepared by the Land Officer for the Report may be printed.

6. I beg to express my regret that the report should be submitted at so late a date in the year. The material which is new in this form has taken me a considerable time to collect amidst pressure of other work.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,

(Sgd) H. Henniker Heaton.

ACTING GOVERNOR AND COMMISSIONER-IN-CHIEF

THE GAMBIA

ANNUAL GENERAL REPORT 1919.

I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Geographical.

1. The Gambia is the most northerly of the British West African Dependencies. It consists of the territory on the banks of the River Gambia, which flows approximately due east and west falling into the Atlantic Ocean in latitude 13.24 north and longitude 16.36 west at almost the most westerly point of Africa.

2. The Colony is surrounded on the north, east and south by the French Colony of Senegal. The French country to the south is itself a strip between British and Portuguese territory.

Area and population.

3. The area ^{of the Gambia} is 4132 square miles that is to say rather larger than Cornwall and Devon together. The population is estimated at about 240,000 of whom 8,000 live in the capital - Bathurst - at the mouth of the river. The inhabitants belong to a number of tribes with widely differing racial characteristics and speaking different languages. English is confined to about one-half of the inhabitants of Bathurst who are the educated Christian West Africans known to Europe. The remainder of the population of the Colony and Protectorate are mainly Mohammedans - the chief tribes being the Mandingos (about one half of the total), Fullas, Jollofs, Bambaras and Wolofs. The latter are pagans and are described as uncivilised. The Jollofs claim a very ancient descent, which is borne out by their striking features of an Egyptian type.

The European population of the Gambia is less than 200, composed of officials, traders and a few missionaries.

4. The first descriptive accounts of the Senegal river date from the middle of the 15th century when Vasco da Gama a Venetian visited the river in charge of an expedition fitted out by Prince Henry of Portugal. He appears to have travelled some forty miles from the mouth in 1482. The Portuguese were able to maintain a monopoly of the trade for more than a century; an English expedition fitted out in 1482 was prevented from sailing by the influence of King John II of Portugal. In 1502 a patent from Queen Elizabeth gave certain merchants of Devon and London a monopoly for ten years of the "free and whole traffique trade and feat of merchandise" to and within the Senegal and Gambia rivers. It was stated in the patent that one voyage had already been performed. The second voyage under the charter which was made in 1508 is described in Hakluyt. The French it appears had then traded in these parts for above thirty years but "the Frenchmen never used to go into the river of Gambia which is a river of secret trade and riches concealed by the Portuguese." The power of Portugal was then on the wane and early in the 17th century the English established themselves in the Gambia and the French in Senegal to the north. For the following two centuries these countries contended with varying fortunes for the mastery of the two rivers, the coast ports between and the trade of the hinterland.

5. The first permanent British settlement in West Africa was made in about 1624 on an island now known as James Island, 35 miles up the Gambia river. The French made numerous attempts to capture the island and were on one occasion able to hold it for two years until it was handed back at the peace of Ryswick in 1697. The English in turn raided St. Louis and Goree in Senegal - the latter place lying in the harbour of Dakar. Senegal was in the

hands of Great Britain from 1770 to 1779 and again during the Napoleonic wars. A clause in the Treaty of Versailles in 1763 finally confirmed England in her possession of "Fort James" and the "River Gambia". Albreda, a French factory on the north bank of the river near St. James's Island was however reserved for the French. From 1664 an annual grant of £10,000 had been made by the Crown in subsidy of the Royal African Company and their successors who owned the settlement. Mr. Colclough, an officer in the French service, estimated the trade of the Gambia in 1766 at about £260,000 per annum.

6. In 1807 the abolition of the Slave Trade, (which was followed in later years by the repatriation of captured slaves) brought economic ruin on the settlement and the Government subsidy was increased to £23,000 annually.

7. By the Treaty of Paris in 1814 England evacuated Goree. British merchants and a few French traders from Senegal who wished to remain under the British flag formed a settlement under the charge of Colonel Brereton on a sandy spit at the point of St. Mary's Island at the mouth of the Gambia, in 1816. This was first, it is said, known as Copold and afterwards in 1823 the name of Bathurst was given to it (after the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department) by Sir Charles McCarthy, Governor of Sierra Leone. The Gambia was ~~the~~ controlled from Sierra Leone from 1807. That place was eventually selected in 1821 as the seat of the Government of all the British settlements on the West Coast.

8. The history of the Gambia during the 19th century is a record of the gradual extension of settled Government along the banks of the river. It was not however until comparatively late in the nineteenth century that the limits of the Colony and Protectorate were settled between Great Britain and France. In 1857 the latter country gave up

and the river then became wholly British for 300 miles from the mouth. The boundary agreement signed in 1889 restricted the British Territory to a breadth of about 30 miles for the first 70 miles from the sea and thereafter to a strip ten kilometres wide on each bank of the river. The work of delimitating the boundary was concluded in 1899.

Administration.

9. The Gambia was made an independent Crown Colony in 1843. From 1866 to 1888 it was a portion of the Government of the West African Settlements. In the latter year it again became and has since remained a separate Government. The administration of the Gambia is of the usual Crown Colony type with a Governor and an Executive and Legislative Council, the latter being composed of officials with an unofficial nominated element.

The Colony outside of Bathurst is administered on the protectorate system. The protectorate is divided into five provinces under Commissioners, who travel continuously through their provinces for eight months in the year hearing complaints, redressing grievances and collecting taxes. ^{direct} The taxes amount to 4/- only per annum for each compound containing not more than four houses or huts. All administrative and judicial functions are centred in the Commissioners. Each province is divided into a number of districts with head Chiefs over each who are appointed by the Governor after the wishes of the people have been ascertained. Headmen of towns are appointed by the Commissioners. There is a Native Tribunal in each district, composed, in addition to the head Chiefs who presides, of four or five of the leading inhabitants with powers of trial and punishment. Appeals lie in all cases from the judgment of the tribunals to the Commissioner and from the Commissioner to the Supreme Court. All native laws and customs which are neither inconsistent with English law nor repugnant to natural justice

Industry.

10. There are no mines in the Colony. Iron ore exists in large quantities but it has hitherto not been found to be worth exportation.

Boat building and repairing by native shipwrights is done on a comparatively large scale. Most of the cutters used in the ground nut trade have been built locally from local materials.

The chief industry is Farming. The ground nut is the staple article of cultivation but the people grow sufficient corn, millet and rice to be self-supporting in a good year.

There are leather and iron workers, goldsmiths and weavers in many villages. Basket making and pottery is also carried on but there is no export of these articles. There were large herds of privately owned cattle in the Protectorate until 1917 when it is estimated that not less than 80 per cent were killed off by an outbreak of rinderpest or an allied disease.

Climate.

11. The climate of the Gambia is less unpleasant than that of the other West African Colonies, though it does not follow that it is more healthy. The mean temperature is 77° with a mean daily range of 15°. The absolute range in Bathurst is between 55° and 105°. Rain falls between June and October; for some ~~years~~ ^{years} which has not hitherto been explained the average annual fall is diminishing. For the decades 1887-1896, 1897-1906, 1907-1916 the average was 54, 48 and 39 inches respectively. In 1917 the fall was 37.68 inches, in 1918, 54.03 and in 1919, 39.23. For about one-half of the year the North East trade blows.

Health and Vital Statistics.

12. As in other West African Colonies considerable attention has been paid to the Medical and Sanitary Departments of Government. Comparatively large sums have been disbursed in the endeavour to make Bathurst healthy and the conditions of living have markedly improved. The death-rate in Bathurst was 35.28 in 1919. The total number of

statistics for the Protectorate are available.

Malaria has decreased considerably but venereal disease, tuberculosis and amoebic dysentery are stated to be on the increase.

The tsetse fly abounds in many parts of the Protectorate. The natives appear to have become immune to a great extent. Four cases of sleeping sickness and two deaths were reported in Bathurst in 1919.

General.

13. The Gambia has many natural advantages. It is the nearest to England of all her tropical dependencies. Steamers drawing up to 24 feet can enter the river at all states of the tide in safety. The harbour which is above Bathurst is without its equal on the West African Coast. The river which is tidal for 300 miles forms an unrivalled waterway. Steamers with a draught of 18 feet can proceed for about 120 miles and for a further 50 miles if drawing under 12 feet. There are also several creeks which are navigable for ocean-going steamers. Buoys have been found unnecessary in the main river.

14. Some 60,000 tons of ground nut⁸ are exported annually. As it is estimated that not less than 640,000 acres of cultivable soil are available for ground nut plantation, there is scope for considerable development of the agricultural wealth of the Colony.

15. The valley of the Gambia is rich in deposits of iron ore, ochre and china clay. An unlimited quantity of the former can be shipped direct from river cliffs into ocean going vessels. It is however of poor quality owing to the larger admixture of silica.

16. The entrance of the river is not at present lighted and the Government and private wharves are not suited to the requirements of the Colony. Proposals for opening the approaches to the harbour for navigation at any time of the day or night by lighted buoys and for building

for a long time and are likely to take practical form at an early date.

II. GOVERNMENT FINANCE.

17. The Revenue and Expenditure for the past five years has been as follows:-

	Revenue	Expenditure	Excess of As- sets over lia- bilities.
	-----	-----	-----
1915	£ 92,253	£ 89,028	£ 105,959
1916	103,075	83,218	125,816
1917	117,977	94,519	149,274
1918	133,324	88,703	193,894
1919	180,585	143,451	231,028

18. There is no Public Debt.

Approximately 75% of the revenue is derived from Customs Duties, the main sources in 1919 being £50,000 from Ad Valorem Duties £29,000 from the duty onkola nuts and £22,000 from the export duty of 6/3d a ton on Ground nuts. The general Ad Valorem duty is 7%. Boots and Shoes, jewellery and perfumery pay 10% and food 5%.

19. The flourishing state of the finances of the Colony is got altogether satisfactory as while they have been built up there has been no corresponding expenditure in the development of the resources of the country. This arises mainly from the necessity for restricting expenditure during the war years and the unwillingness of the administration to make demands on the priority authorities for machinery and building material. The position is that a great deal of leeway has to be made up if the Gambia is not to retrograde, much more progress

III. PROGRESS OF TRADE AND AGRICULTURE.

(a) Trade.

Trade.

20. The progress of trade during the last five years has been remarkable. The figures are as follows:-

1915

TRADE - 1915 to 1919.

	1915 £	1916 £	1917. £	1918. £	1919. £
Imports	521,151	884,553	991,626	1,458,014	1,250,320
Exports	595,797	705,546	1,046,503	1,100,210	1,553,521
Total	£1,116,948	1,590,099	2,038,129	2,558,224	2,803,841

Excluding specie the total trade returns show in -

	1915 £	1916 £	1917 £	1918 £	1919 £
	733,115	1,021,546	1,649,957	1,802,316	2,469,561

During the above period specie to the value of £565,808 has been imported in excess of the quantity exported.

21. The trading business of the Colony is now practically entirely in the hands of agencies. The principals have head-quarters in England or France with local representatives. A list of the chief firms with their European addresses is printed as an appendix to this report.

22. The profits made by the merchants in recent years have undoubtedly been large and should continue so but there are difficulties in the way of opening a new business. Considerable capital is necessary and there are few available sites for further buildings and wharves at Cathurst.

23. The total import trade in 1919 was valued at £1,179,640, excluding specie, the value given being that at the port of export. Of this trade the value of Cotton Piece Goods and articles of Cotton manufacture was £335,570. Almonds (from Sierra Leone) account for £157,000, rice for £104,101. Tobacco, £53,710, Hardware, £47,765.

24. The course of the import trade during the last five years has been in the following percentage proportions :

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
United Kingdom	53	41	58	58	57
British Possessions	21	15	19	15	14
France and French Possessions	19	27	12	8	8
United States of America	4	4	7	18	10

Imports

25. America has made and is making, a strong effort to secure a substantial share of the West African Trade. She has in the last few years captured as large a share in the Gambia trade as Germany had before the war with two per cent more.

26. The value of imports from America has been as follows:-

1915	1916	1917	1918	1919.
£12,322	£18,075	£50,487	£141,873	£235,548.

This is the more remarkable as there are no exports from the Gambia to the United States.

27. The principal imports from America are rice, sugar, flour, fuel oils, timber and perfumery, hardware and leaf tobacco. Of these all except the last two could be procured from India and Canada with advantage if direct shipment could be arranged. Hardware manufacturers in the United Kingdom should endeavour to secure the trade which has passed from German firms. The value of the commodities imported under this head during 1919 was £47,768, shared equally between England and America.

Exports

28. Of the export trade value of £1,329,921 Ground nuts are responsible for £1,154,429. The balance of £175,492 is made up of Palm Kernels, value £15,324, Nides £8,419, Cashewes £5,253, a few minor products and of articles not the produce of the Colony valued at £44,671.

29. The exports of ground nuts and palm kernels during the past five years have been as follows:-

	1915		1916		1917		1918		1919.	
	tons	value	tons	value	tons	value	tons	value	tons	value
Ground nuts	96152	£400435	46366	£506093	74300	£869790	56490	£800319	70270	£1154
Palm Ker- nells	326	£457	669	£1671	532	£994	646	£929	671	£150

30. During the half a century prior to 1916 the ground nut trade came mainly into French hands, though Germany was in the years immediately preceding the war securing an increas

British Possessions. In 1914 France took 78.08 % of the trade and Great Britain 9.40%. War restrictions diverted the produce to the United Kingdom. Four English firms entered the business and in 1919 Great Britain took no less a portion than 91.44%, British Possessions, 1.72., the balance going to France, 2.59% and Denmark 4.24%.

31. Gum, Ivory, Wax and rubber have practically disappeared from the export trade list. Gold also figured at one time but, like ivory, it did not originate from British territory.

32. Manufacturers and Importers of oilseeds in the United Kingdom who wish to get into touch with the Gambia trade should apply either direct to the principals of the various firms or to the Receiver General of the Colony, who is the Honorary Trade Correspondent of the Board of Trade. There is a local Chamber of Commerce affiliated to the London Chamber of Commerce.

33. Individuals who wish to apply for employment in the Gambia as mechanics, clerks etc should address themselves to the headquarters of the firms in England or France..

(b) AGRICULTURE.

34. As the whole prosperity of the Colony is dependent on agriculture too much attention cannot be paid to the needs of the Colony in this direction.

35. Climatic conditions and the lightness of the soil make the Protectorate particularly suited for ground nut cultivation. Attempts have been made from time to time to introduce a second crop to fall back upon if necessary; these have failed beyond the point of proving the other products can be raised successfully. So long as ground nuts pay the people best this will not change.

Ground nuts.

36. The ground nut industry is on a very simple

basis. There are no middlemen. The nuts are grown entirely by individual native farmers who sell direct to the merchant. The latter is in some cases the agent of the manufacturer in England or France. The crop is planted at the beginning of the rains in June or July. The Government supplies on an average about 1000 tons of seed annually to supplement seed taken from the previous crop and furnished by merchants to their customers. Fresh selected seed nuts are at intervals purchased from Senegal in order to maintain the quality. About one and one-eighth bushels of seeds are planted per acre and this produces a crop of up to 45 bushels. The crop is lifted in November; the whole plant is pulled up from the ground and dried in stacks; the nuts are then beaten off with sticks. The planter keeps the nuts until the price offered by the merchants' dealers is high enough to suit his liking, unless he requires money urgently. The nuts are transported by donkey and head loads to the river towns where the trading stations are situated. After setting aside enough to pay taxes and for seed-nuts or rice bought from Government before the farming commenced, the greater part of the money received is expended in buying cotton goods etc from the merchants - usually from those who have bought the nuts.

Strange
farmers.

37. A large proportion of the nuts produced in the Gambia are planted by "strange farmers" who come from East, North and South - sometimes long distances - from French and Portuguese territory. These farmers clear and plant the land allotted to them. They are fed and housed. In return they either work two days a week for their landlords and give him one-tenth of the produce of the land or work for three days and retain the whole. The landlord benefits further by getting a cleared area for his farm in the following year. The "strange farmer" usually returns to his home as

38. There has fortunately been so far little disease of the nuts to endanger the industry. The periodical introduction of fresh seed, the single annual crop, the fact of allowing the ground to revert periodically to bush and the enrichment of the soil by allowing herds of cattle to wander at will over the farms after the harvest has been taken up have all tended to keep the produce healthy.

Cotton.

39. In 1860 it was estimated that some 230 tons of cotton were grown. The planting of cotton decreased with the spread of the area under cultivation for ground nuts and the introduction of English cloths and yarns. Many of the weavers use the latter for making the so-called native cloths and very little cotton is grown now. In 1903 and 1904 energetic measures were taken to encourage cotton growing and large quantities of American and Egyptian seed were distributed. The experiment failed and Mr. Lodgeon, Superintendent of Agriculture, reported in 1906 that he considered that "there was very little chance of cotton growing being established in the Colony on a commercial basis owing to the unsuitability of the climate for cotton growing on a large scale".

Rubber.

40. Rubber was formerly exported from the Gambia to some extent. The highest point was reached in 1896 when 503,235 lbs of the local value of £29,670 were exported. Rubber plants were not cultivated, the collectors tapping the wild *Landolphia* vine all the year round. The rubber produced was when washed worth about one third less than hard para rubber. The export at present is negligible. The vine may have been killed off by the system of tapping, by the annual bush fires or by the increase of the land taken up for ground nuts.

41. The difficulty in the way of growing other crops commercially lies in the absence of rain for seven months

in the year. The possibilities of providing water for irrigation on a large scale were studied in 1903 by Mr. H. Parker. Good land for irrigating with a gentle gradient extends down the valley below scinote stream in the upper river where there is a small resident population. In the lower river there is a comparatively large area with access at Ballanghar to ocean going steamers which is a suitable site for irrigation.

42. A single crop of groundnuts and food crops only is harvested in the year the ground lying fallow in the dry season. The farmers have an established rotation of crops which varies in different districts. After three or four years the ground reverts to bush for two or three years.

Other crops.

43. The staple food of the people is cereals, ~~the~~ guinea corn and millet or varieties of these are the chief crops. A fair quantity of rice is also grown particularly in the river flats. Among minor crops are sweet potatoes, cassava and beans. Oranges, mangoes and pawpaws do well; there are few other fruit trees.

44. The land is all hand worked. Attempts have been made to introduce light ploughs and to encourage the people in the use of modern methods. These have failed - probably owing to the absence of an Agricultural Department in the Colony which would ensure the application of that steady pressure over a number of years which is alone of any value in the endeavour to educate natives - above all where farmers are concerned.

Timber.

45. No timber is exported. ~~Man~~ palm, rosewood and mahogany are all utilized for local industries - shipbuilding, wharf-making etc; but these trees are not found in large quantities. The quality of the latter two was reported in 1906 by the Imperial Institute to be unsuitable for

46. IV. LAND.

46. Land in the Protectorate may be said to be held communally. Each individual has as much ^{land} as he and his household can cultivate. In thickly populated districts it is on occasion necessary for some of the inhabitants to migrate for farming purposes to other parts of the Province or Protectorate where they are treated in the same manner as the "strange farmers" alluded to in paragraph 37. They return to their districts after having sold their crop of ground nuts.

Public Lands.

47. All lands in the Protectorate ^c which were not in actual occupation ^a at the time when protection was established are regarded as public lands. They are controlled and granted or leased by the Government. A few freehold grants of lands of moderate sized areas were made in the latter part of the 19th Century in the neighbourhood of Bathurst and small plots were down to 1913 granted in fee simple or leased for building and trading purposes for periods of 99 years. The present rule is however that no leases shall be allowed for a longer term than 21 years. Such leases or grants as they are called, are usually given at suitable spots on the banks of the river for trading factories. The maximum area is 6,000 square yards and the rent runs from £1 to £4 per annum per 1,000 square yards, ^{dependent} as the land is situated inland or in places where ocean-going steamers can go alongside to take in cargo.

The total rental value of lands in the Protectorate in 1919 was £2,096. The number of new grants issued in that year was 32.

Concessions.

48. No concessions of lands have yet been granted to Europeans nor have definite applications for areas been received. In 1916 a Company secured a concession to cut piasava along the river banks. Owing to a fall in the value of the fibre, operations were not carried on in 1919.

was granted in 1912 for 99 years. The work of exploration was chiefly directed to the search for payable gold, silver and iron ores. The concessionaire continued his researches for nine years and sent numerous specimens to the Imperial Institute for analysis. In no case were minerals found in payable quantities.

VI. EDUCATION.

Elementary.

49. There are six schools providing elementary education in Bathurst and two in Georgetown, MacCarthy Island. There are no schools in the Protectorate proper though there are Alimams in the majority of the Mohammedan towns who give some religious instructions to the children.

50. The number of children on the roll in the elementary schools was 1617 in 1919, including 13 pupils in a Wesleyan Technical School. 662 children were being educated in the Wesleyan Schools, 557 by Roman Catholics and 176 by Anglicans. The schools conducted by these denominations are in receipt of Government Grants which amounted in 1919 to £914. The total expenditure was £2,007 the balance being raised by contributions from the managers of the schools and fees. A Mohammedan school with 112 pupils is supported by Government at a cost of £173.

51. The sum voted by the Government for education in 1919 was £1838.

Secondary.

52. There is only one secondary school in the Colony. This is maintained by the Wesleyans and has some 40 pupils.

General.

53. The extension of facilities for education and the necessity for making provision for suitable school buildings and a skilled staff of teachers have long been recognized but progress was delayed owing to the war. Measures are now being taken for providing an educational system that is consistent with the needs of the population.

VII. CURRENCY AND BANKING.

54. British West African silver, British Sterling, French five franc pieces (legal value, $3/10\frac{1}{2}$ ^{s. d.}), nickel bronze coins (1d. and $\frac{1}{2}$ d.) and West African Currency notes for £5, 20/-, 10/-, 2/- and 1/- are all legal tender. Currency notes to the value of £963,676 were imported during 1919. Paper money introduced in 1919 was unwillingly accepted at first but perforce circulated freely later; there is however no doubt that a considerable amount of discounting took place which had a regrettable effect on prices..

There are two banks doing business in Bathurst; the Bank of British West Africa and the Colonial Bank.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications.

55. There are no railways or telegraph lines in the Colony. There is a small telephone installation in Bathurst.

56. The river is the main line of internal communication. Transport by land is effected by human head carriage and by donkeys. The only macadamized road outside Bathurst runs for eight miles from that town to the Atlantic Coast. Other roads are clearings in the bush. They are suitable to a limited extent for motor traffic but the absence of substantial bridges makes long journeys impracticable. The African Direct Telegraph Company have a station at Bathurst. The Admiralty erected a wireless station near Bathurst in 1915 and commercial messages are accepted from shore to ship and vice versa.

57. Arrangements were made in 1919 for the erection by the Marconi Company of wireless Telegraph and Telephone stations in Bathurst and at MacCarthy Island 176 miles distant for internal communication. Further installations will be made at other ports on the river if the experiment is successful.

58. Communication between the Colony and Europe is effected by the steamers of the African Steamship Company

Liverpool and Bathurst. There is also a direct line of steamers from America (the Bull Line). Passengers also frequently travel to Europe by Dakar in French Senegal which is 90 miles distant.

59. The total tonnage entering and clearing at the Port of Bathurst during 1919 was 441,960. Of this 354,837 tons were British, 40,849 American and 19,000 French.

IX. SOCIAL.

60. The cost of living is high in the Gambia and social unrest is increasing in Bathurst at least, where Unions and Associations have been formed on the most improved modern lines. Wages for skilled labour run from about 2/6 a day to 7/- or 8/- out of the season, when the great majority of the natives return to their farms to plant. Mechanics and shipwrights and carpenters who are employed all the year round earn from 6/- to 10/- a day. Household servants are scarce and they receive from £2.10.0 to £6 a month

(sgd) H. Henniker Heaton

ACTING GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

6th October 1920.

The following appendices are printed :

1. List of principal firms trading in the Gambia.
2. " " Barristers, Solicitors and Patent Agents.
3. Map of the Gambia.

Recent Publications on the Gambia.

The Gambia Colony. F. B. Archer. ^(St. Brides Press) 1905.

The Gambia. H. Reeve (Smith Elder) 1912.

Annual Trade Report of the Colony 1900-1919
obtainable from the Crown Agents.

APPENDIX I.

Principal firms etc.

The following are the principal firms carrying on a general import and export trade.

Name.	Address	Address in Europe (if any)
*Bathurst Trading Co. Ltd .	Wellington Street	34, Leadenhall Street, London, S.C.
*Barthes and Lesieur	-do-	8, Cours de Gaurque, Bordeaux
*Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale	-do-	32, Cours Pierr Puget, Marseille.
*Maurel Freres	-do-	6, Quai Louis XVIII, Bordeaux
*Etablissements Maurel & From	-do-	18, Rue Porte Dijoux, Bordeaux.
*African & Eastern Trade Corporation Limited.	-do-	Royal Liver Building Liverpool.
*Louis Vezis & Compagnie	-do-	83, Cours de Verdun, Bordeaux
*Alpine Limited	-do-	Georgie Hall, Finsbury Pavement, London, S.C.
*Gambia Trading Co. Ltd.	Buckle Street	23, Water Street Liverpool.
*Horsley, A.B.Limited	Russell Street	
*Jones, S. Norton	-do-	
*Antoin Blain	Wellington Street.	

*Members of the Bathurst Chamber of Commerce.

XXXXXX

Two XXXXX XXXXX XXXXX business in the Galaxy XXXXXXXXXX

XX

APPENDIX II.

List of Barristers and Solicitors.

Barristers are entitled to practise as Solicitors
and vice versa.

+ S. J. Forster, M.A., B.C.L., (Oxon) Barrister-at-Law,
Wellington Street.

+ I. J. Roberts, 6 Buckle Street.

M. J. R. Pratt, M.A., B.C.L., (Durham) Barrister-at-Law,
Allen Street.

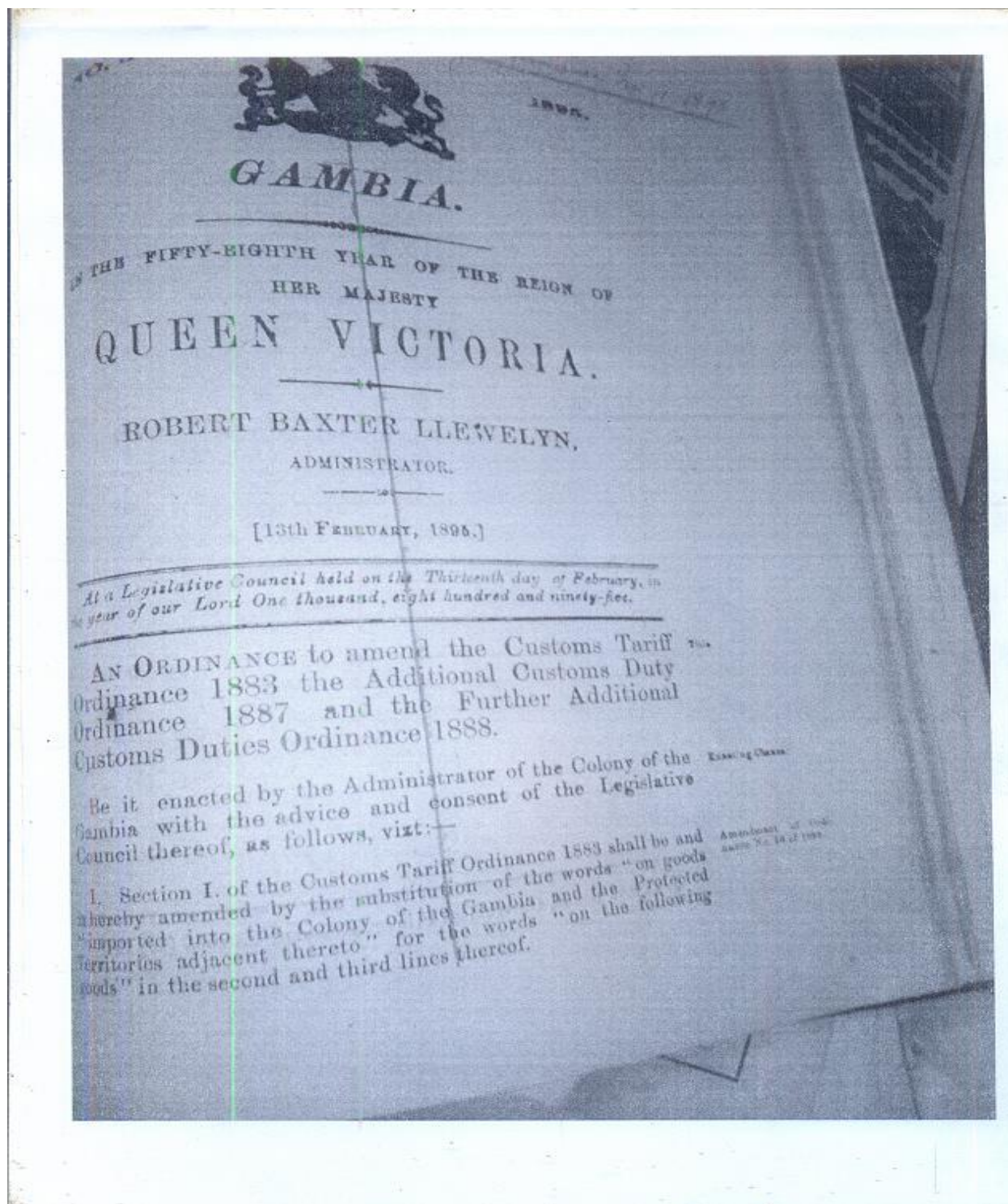
* G. K. Roberts, 6 Buckle Street.

+ Patent and Trade Mark Agents.

* Trade Mark Agent.

APPENDIX III

ADDITIONAL CUSTOMS DUTIES ORDINANCE 1888



Short Title

II. This Ordinance may be cited as the Ground Nuts Customs Duty Ordinance 1895 Amendment Ordinance 1895.

Passed in the Legislative Council this Thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and ninety-five.

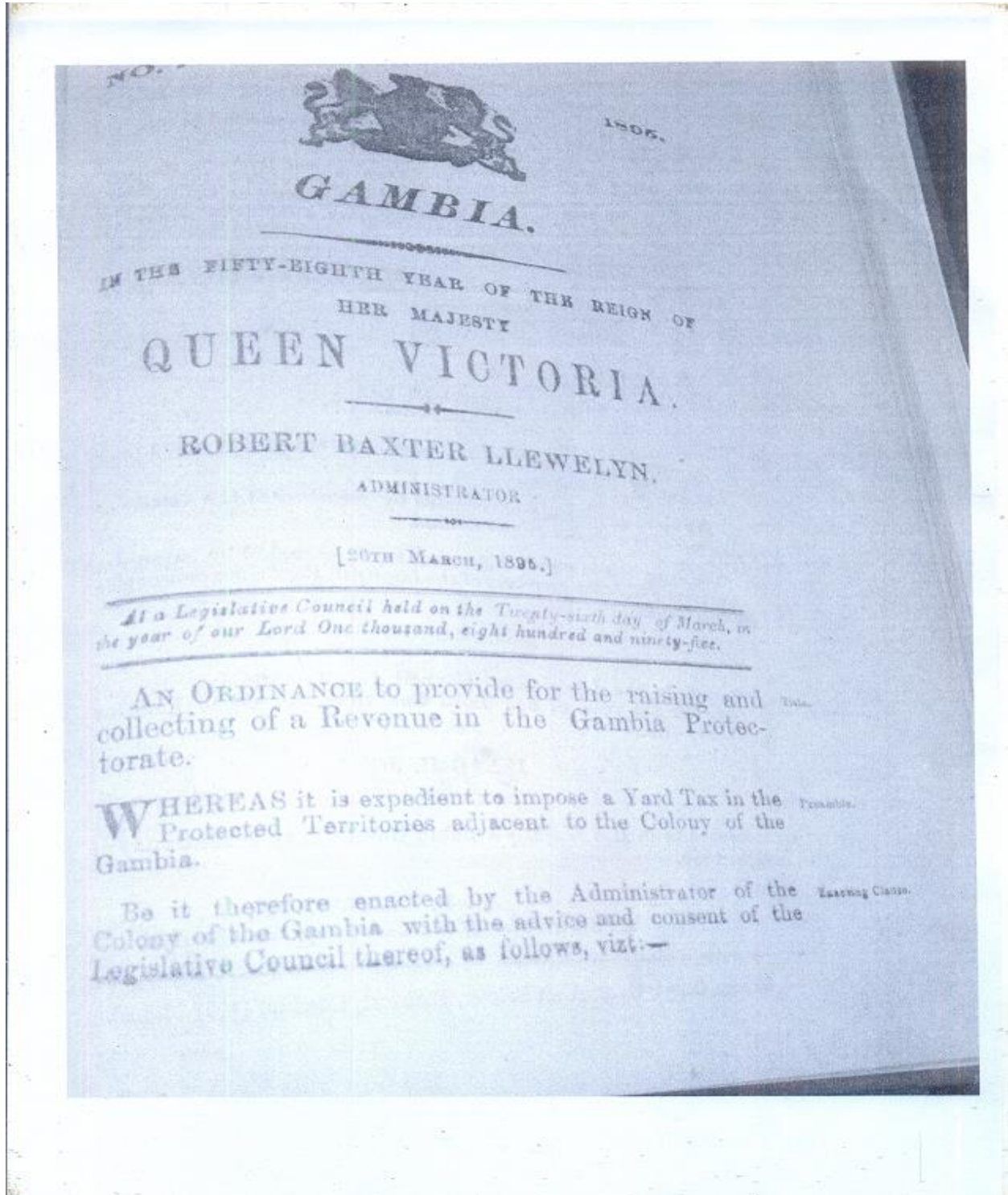
REGINALD R. GACE,
Clerk of Legislative Council.

Assented to in Her Majesty's name this Fourteenth day of February, 1895.

R. B. LEWELYN,
Administrator of the Colony of the Gambia.

APPENDIX IV

AN ORDINANCE TO PROVIDE FOR THE RAISING AND COLLECTING OF A
REVENUE IN THE GAMBIA PROTECTORATE



194

Intention of Terms

I. In this Ordinance and in the Schedule hereto the following expressions shall have the following meanings assigned to them:

"Yard" shall include every parcel lot or enclosure of land, other than farm lands, containing one or more huts or houses.

"Huts or Houses" shall not include Granaries and Cattle Enclos.

"Members of the family" shall mean persons related by consanguinity and shall include servants in the actual employment or service of the owner or occupier of the yard in which they reside.

Operation of Yard Tax in Protectorate

II. From and after the passing of this Ordinance there shall be payable to Her Majesty by the owner or occupier of every yard in the Protectorate adjacent to the Colony of the Gambia a yard tax according to the scale in the Schedule hereto and the said tax shall be paid by such owner or occupier on or before the last day of February in each year to any person duly appointed by the Administrator of the Colony of the Gambia to receive the same.

The periods on or before last day in February

Proviso

Provided that in the current year the said tax shall be payable on or before the first day of November.

Dispute to be referred to Commissioners

III. In case of any dispute as to the person liable for the payment of the yard tax for any yard or as to the class denoted in the Schedule to which any person resident in any yard belongs the matter shall be referred to the Travelling Commissioner for the District in which such yard is situate and his decision shall be final.

Application of Ordinance

IV. This Ordinance shall apply to such places or districts in the Protectorate as the Administrator shall from time to time notify by Proclamation.

Short Title

V. This Ordinance may be cited as the "Protectorate Yard Tax Ordinance 1895."

SCHEDULE.

- The owner or occupier of any yard containing not more than four huts 4/- per annum.
- For every additional hut occupied by members of the family of the owner or occupier 1/- per annum.
- For every hut in a yard belonging to or occupied by strangers or persons other than members of the family of the owner or occupier 2/- per annum.

Passed in the Legislative Council this Twenty-sixth day of March, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and ninety-five.

ISAAC H. JOHNSON,
Acting Clerk of Legislative Council.

Assented to in Her Majesty's name this Twenty-seventh day of March, 1895.

R. B. LLEWELYN,
Administrator of the Colony of the Gambia.

J. TAYLOR COCKE, Government Printer, Bathurst, Gambia, (100) 28-3-95.

210

4.
SCHEDULE A.

TRADE LICENCE.

No. _____

Received the sum of _____ Pound

from _____ shillings

who is hereby granted a Licence in No. _____

District _____ during the season

189 — 189

Treasurer
or
Commissioner.

SCHEDULE B.

A. To trade at a Factory i.e. a Station where produce is collected for direct export or where the licensee employs six or more sub-traders	£10	0	0
B. To trade at a Station and employ sub-traders not exceeding four	3	0	0
C. To trade and employ sub-traders not exceeding two	2	0	0
D. To be a Sub-trader to a Trader holding an A B or C licence	0	10	0
E. To be a petty trader in kola nuts corn salt and fish only	0	4	0
F. To be petty traders on canoes in corn fish and salt only—for each canoe	0	8	0

J. TAYLOR COKER, Government Printer, Bathurst, Gambia, 189 1-7-03.